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# JOHN COLLINS WARREN



BOSTON,

TICKNOR & FIELDS,

MDCCCLX.



### THE LIFE

OF

# JOHN COLLINS WARREN, M.D.

COMPILED CHIEFLY

FROM HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND JOURNALS.

EDWARD WARREN, M.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

BOSTON:

TICKNOR AND FIELDS.

M.DCCC.LX.

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#### CHAPTER I.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.—
NATURAL-HISTORY SOCIETY.— GEOLOGY.— GODON.— THE
PHRENOLOGICAL COLLECTION.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In the year 1838, I returned from Europe with strong impressions of the advantage of scientific associations. the year previous, I had attended the British Association for the Advancement of Science; made some remarks on the crania of the Western aborigines, and their similarity to those of the ancient Peruvians, - thus connecting the two races, or varieties. In Paris, I became a member of the Royal Academy of Medicine; attended its meetings once a fortnight; and was also admitted into the Philosophical Society at Naples, the most ancient in Europe. occurrences led me to think much of the advantage derivable from a general association of scientific men in this country. I mentioned the subject to Honorable Judge Story and Edward Everett, who entered into it very heartily. We called a large meeting of the American Academy. A strong opposition was made by two or three very respectable members: but being ably supported by the two gentlemen mentioned, and by others, the proposition was approved; and a circular was issued, with the signatures of those gen-

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tlemen and myself, and sent to every part of the United States. This was everywhere well received. At the same time, an application was made to the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia, requesting them to take the initiative, and to call a general meeting to consider the subject, and take measures for organization. The Philosophical Society received the application favorably, and chose a committee to digest a report. In the mean time, however, a jealousy was awakened lest the proposed association should interfere with the Philosophical Society; and the plan was abandoned. Nothing further was done in relation to this project till three or four years after, when some of the gentlemen who received circulars, and some others, formed a Geological Association, the objects of which were, at first, limited to geology: but, at a meeting in Boston in 1847, it was resolved to extend the association to other departments of science; and this plan was carried into execution the following year in Philadelphia, and more fully in Cambridge in 1849. I joined the Geological Association in 1847, being at that time chosen on the Local Committee for receiving and providing for the association. I took part in the discussions at various times, and gave some account of the great mastodon skeleton in my possession. I exhibited, in the course of my remarks, a number of drawings, and a fine mastodon head, four feet long, obtained from Orange County, N.Y. In 1849, I also met with the association at Cambridge; and, on one day, made remarks on the probability of the existence of Mastodon angustidens in the United States.

In May, 1848, Dr. Warren was chosen President of the Society of Natural History, and began directly to take a very active part in the proceedings.

Some account taken from the proceedings of the Society of Natural History will best show the interest which he took in this society, and the objects to which he principally devoted his attention.

It is an unfortunate, though perhaps a necessary, circumstance, that hard names meet the reader at the outset of these studies; deter him, with their formidable and uninviting appearance, from a study which is in itself so interesting as fossil remains. Perhaps few things, certainly nothing in natural history, ever excited so much general attention as the Mammoth, under which name the mastodon first appeared. The skeleton of an animal so much larger than any known creature living, to which that even of the elephant appeared insignificant, seemed to realize the stories of Gulliver; for if, at any preceding era of the world, animals existed so immensely superior in size to any now living, why should not men have been large in proportion? The names of Zeuglodon or of Plesiosaurus dolichodeirus are not very harmonious to the general reader, and may be considered as the guardians of the threshold; obscure, chaotic forms, indicating darkness and incomprehensibility.

But when we speak of a lizard twenty feet long, as the *Plesiosaurus dolichodeirus*; or another, over seventy feet, as the *Megalosaurus*, — a lizard as large as a whale, — the subject becomes a matter of inte-

rest. The names are necessary, as indicating the same objects to the learned men of England, France, Germany, and elsewhere; but they are formidable to the unscientific.

We will, therefore, explain that the saurians are lizards,—the *Megalosaurus* the largest of them; the *Icthyosaurus* a smaller individual, though still immense, living in the sea, but crawling upon the land like a seal; monsters, realizing the fabulous forms drawn on the monuments of the middle ages, and uniting the characters of quadrupeds with those of whales.

The Zeuglodon was supposed to be a sea-serpent; but, on further examination, it has proved to be a species of whale.

The Manatus is the sea-horse.

One of the earliest and most interesting subjects to which Dr. Warren called the attention of this society was the bones of the large bird of New Holland, — Dinornis gigas; casts of which he exhibited to them in November, 1847. This bird far exceeded the ostrich in size and bulk. In the same month, he exhibited a cast of the lower jaw of the Mastodon elephantoides, the original of which was brought from India.

On the 5th of January, 1848, the society met for the first time in their new hall in Mason Street, the building formerly erected for the Medical College, and sold by the trustees to this society on the removal of the college to Grove Street. After congratulating the members upon the more ample accommodations they had obtained, the President exhibited again casts of the bird above mentioned, showing their comparative relation to the ostrich and the dodo.

After his visit to Washington in June of this year, he gave an interesting account of the objects of natural history brought home by the United-States Exploring Expedition, the collection of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia, and the Baltimore Museum. At Washington, he saw a tooth of the Mastodon giganteus, brought home from Oregon; the first of the species known to have been received from that vicinity. On a subsequent meeting, he expressed his opinion that there were but two species known, — the Mastodon giganteus and the M. angustidens; the former, the only one found in North America; the latter, in South America and New Holland.

May 16, he presented five teeth and a tympanitic bone of the Zeuglodon, and also three Peruvian skulls from the vicinity of Lake Titicaca. He pointed out the remarkable resemblance between these skulls and those found in the mounds of the western part of the United States, which have already been spoken of in a preceding page. He repeated a tradition of the Delaware Indians, that their ancestors came from the North-west, and, after crossing the Mississippi, became engaged in wars with the Ohio or Mound Indians, which ended in the expulsion of the latter

from their homes, and their disappearance toward the South. He considered it not impossible that they crossed the Isthmus to South America, and founded the race to which the South-American skulls belong.

Nov. 2, he presented to the society a stuffed skin of the *American Manatus*, and the mounted specimen of the same animals; contributions pronounced by Professor Agassiz of great value, as the stuffed skin was the only one which existed in any scientific collection. Of the bones, there was only one perfect skull, part of another, a broken cranium, and a few vertebræ of ribs in other collections.

At one of the succeeding meetings, he presented a cast of the *Plesiosaurus dolichodeirus*, seven feet in length. The cast shows the assemblage of parts, seemingly belonging to a variety of animals; as a lizard's head, crocodile's teeth, bird's neck, chameleon's ribs, whale's paddles, &c.

On Nov. 6, 1850, he announced to the society the reception of a portion of a valuable donation of casts of Himalaya fossils, consisting of fossil elephants and other large animals, which he had obtained from the East-India Company through the medium of the American minister, Hon. Abbott Lawrence. The reception of the remaining portion was announced at the next meeting.

The teeth and bones of the two varieties of the mastodon were frequent subjects of his discourse to the society. The possession of his very valuable specimen, and the researches he had made in this

country and in Europe, fully enabled him to give information upon this important branch of fossil inquiry.

The introduction of foreign fish into the waters of America was another of his objects of interest.

In May, 1853, he exhibited to the society a skeleton of the *Ornithorhyncus*; probably the only one in the United States.

Upon a previous occasion, he announced his purpose to subscribe on behalf of the society, for two or three years, for a supply of fossils from the British Natural-History Society, by which the society would receive two hundred British fossils a year.

His written communications to the society are not numerous. There is one on the Felis smilodon, an animal of the cat species, which accompanied a very perfect cast of the skull of this animal, presented in October, 1852; another, on the great bird of Madagascar, of which an account is given in his "Fossil Impressions." An account of the Nautilus was furnished in 1856.

Dr. Warren's donations to the Natural-History Society were many and valuable. In 1847, he sent to London for a cast of the *Plesiosaurus*; which was duly received in fine order, and subsequently given to the society in 1849. Previous to this, he had given the skeleton of a buffalo, a fine cast of a mastodon head, also casts of the different species of teeth of the *Zeuglodon*.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The subject of geology engaged my attention at an early period of life. I was led to it by attending Godon's lectures on minerology, when he was in Boston. Afterwards lost sight of it, as of many other things, in the midst of the strong calls of professional duty. About the year 1830, I read Fairholm's Geology, which was published at that time; a well-intended effort to oppose the new doctrines of geology, which were thought to disagree with the Scripture account of the creation. Fairholm's book seemed to be very satisfactory when I read it; but in the year 1837, going to England, I found reason to believe that Fairholm was entirely mistaken. On my return home, I began to study geology with more attention until the year 1846. On setting out to give a lecture to the Academy on one of the Cambridge mastodon heads, I perceived the close analogy between geology, comparative anatomy, and palæontology; and as, soon after that time, I resigned the place of Professor of Anatomy, I determined to study the subject, and read Dr. Buckland, Mantell, Lyell, and others. Sir Charles Lyell lectured in Boston: but I could not, consistently with my health and my other occupations, attend his lectures; and therefore got on as well as I could without. But for the mineralogy of Godon, I should not have been able to advance much in this study. In 1847, I united in the geological meeting in this place; and, the same year, was chosen President of the Natural-History Society.

I had been a member of this society from its origin. Without having attended its meetings, I had been able to

render the society some service a number of years before, by preserving a great many specimens which had belonged to a former collection, then broken up and dispersed. From the period of this my election as President, I attended the society constantly, except when out of town in the summer. The society had met before, in a room in the Savings Bank; but a plan was organized, at the Thursday-evening Club, for obtaining the Medical College in Mason Street. An effort was made to obtain subscriptions of the gentlemen of this town; and, by the additions they made to the funds of the society, the building was purchased, and fitted up in a commodious and satisfactory manner. The persons who principally contributed were the Appletons, Lawrences, Phillipses, and myself, - all of whom contributed a thousand dollars apiece, except Jonathan Phillips, who gave two thousand; and Edward Phillips, who gave five hundred. The society has increased constantly in its activity, its numbers, and the accumulation of its collection. The arrival of Professor Agassiz in this country, in the autumn of 1847, gave a great impulse to geology and natural history. In the course of the same year, I made the purchase of the petrified bones of the Zeuglodon cetoides from Professor Emmons, of Albany, the teeth of which were very interesting. There was with it the head of a mastodon; the finest, probably, in existence. For the head, I gave him three hundred dollars; and, for the zeuglodon, five hundred. Mr. Koch sold to the King of Prussia his pretended Hydrarchos, which proved to be a zeuglodon composed of a number of individuals, for twenty thousand dollars.

Godon was the son of a wine-merchant in Paris. Marrying against his father's consent, he fled his country, and came here. Having no other means of living, he set out to give a course of lectures on mineralogy; and about twenty gentlemen took tickets at twenty dollars apiece. He instructed us by lectures, and by labor in the field. Once or twice a week, we mounted our horses, and, scampering over the country, were led by him to such places as he thought interesting for geological investigations. He found out a novacula argylloid in Roxbury, and a red and green porphyry in Lynn; and made a good memoir on the mineralogy of the vicinity of Boston, which was published in the Transactions of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Afterwards he went to Philadelphia; became insane; passed a number of years in the hospital, and finally died there. I took much interest in him when he was here, and afforded him such aid as I was able. Under his direction, I, with the hammer in my hand, got together a considerable number of minerals, and arranged them systematically; but, the times of excessive business coming on soon after, I ceased to attend to the subject until after my return from Europe in the year 1838, when my mineralogy was revived by the study of geology. The collection, somewhat disordered, remains in the same case it has occupied about forty years.

At the time I was in Paris, in the years 1801 and 1802, the new system of craniognomy, as it was called, attracted some attention. Gall, of Vienna, was the founder of this doctrine; but, at the time I mention, he did not excite great attention in Paris. Soon after, however, Gall endeavored to place the phrenological system on scientific

foundations, and presented his claims of improvement to the Institute, by whom a commission was appointed to investigate the subject. At the head of this commission was the celebrated Cuvier, who, instead of throwing ridicule upon the matter, went into a thorough investigation of the claims of Gall, and laid before the Institute a very able and thorough report. In this he examined the facts and opinions which had been advanced by Gall, especially those of an anatomical nature; and, while adjudging to some of them great merit and exactness, he dissented from others. This report happily fell into my hands soon after, - that is, about the year 1808; and, I think, was brought to me by my friend Mr. Richard Sullivan. The subject was novel and interesting. I therefore went to work with Cuvier's report in my hand, and examined the structure of the brain as laid down by Gall, with the corrections of Cuvier. First I obtained a great number of human brains; then those of various animals, - as the sheep, hog, cat; various birds; among amphibia, those of turtles, frogs, and various fishes; also the brain and nervous system in the invertebral animals, - the lobster, sepia, cuttle-fish, oyster, scorpion, and medusa.

This pursuit I continued for many years with unabating interest; especially after the publications, by Gall and Spurzheim, of their "Anatomy and Physiology of the Brain," in 1810. The results of my labors were introduced into my annual lectures in Boston and Cambridge. In 1820, I made it the subject of an annual dissertation before the Massachusetts Medical Society, and then first recommended and introduced the subject of comparative anatomy into this part of the country.

Some years ago, Dr. Spurzheim, the co-adjutor of Gall, brought me letters from friends in France; and I endea-

vored to show him all the attentions due to a scientific stranger. He examined all my crania. He gave four or five lectures on the anatomy of the brain, at the Medical College; and afterwards gave a course of lectures on phrenology to a promiscuous assembly of ladies and gentlemen. His courses he continued to follow up, here and at Cambridge, with so much zeal, that being exposed, while in a state of fatigue and strong perspiration (in passing in the evening from Cambridge to Boston), he took a chill, which brought on a typhoid-fever, and proved fatal to him in the year 1832. His body being carried to the Medical College, I made a public examination of it in the presence of a crowded theatre, and preceded the demonstrative part of the discourse by an account of the investigations and improvements and other labors of this distinguished and philanthropic gentleman. In consequence of the lectures of Dr. Spurzheim, a Phrenological Society was constituted, had various meetings, and made various publications. They made quite a large collection of casts, with a few skulls. This society, having existed a number of years, began to diminish, and at length relinquished its sessions. Its collection was of course neglected, and by most persons forgotten. I kept it in mind, however, and resolved to obtain it as a whole, if practicable, with a view of rendering it useful to the Medical School and the public. In the year 1847, I made application to Dr. Lewis and to Dr. S. G. Howe; but did not, till the year 1849, receive any definite proposal for the sale of it. The proposals then made to me I accepted without qualification; and in the month of September, 1849, the collection, consisting of more than five hundred and fifty articles, was removed to the mastodon-room, in Chestnut Street. The identification and arrangement of so many articles required much time and labor. As soon as this

was satisfactorily accomplished, I wrote a letter to the Medical Faculty of Harvard University, enclosing a communication to the corporation, in which was stated an offer of the collection made to the corporation for the use of the Medical School. The Faculty having approved the articles proposed, I sent a communication to the corporation; and they returned me an answer on the 28th of November, 1849; in consequence of which, the collection was transferred to the Massachusetts Medical College on the 30th of November and the 1st of December.

The importance of phrenology is derived, according to my view, from the fact, that it leads to the development of the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system; and also the study of the forms of the crania enables us, in some measure, to understand the degree of intellectual power possessed by individuals. Some of the casts, principally those of antique heads, were retained, partly for my own gratification, and partly because I found there would be a difficulty in receiving all into the museum of the Medical College. In connection with this subject I will state, that, when in Europe in 1837, I became acquainted with Dr. Combe, of Edinburgh, and his brother, Mr. Combe, in London. The latter came to this country a few years since, at the same time with Mr. Buckingham. These gentlemen dined at my house, and Mr. Combe afterwards lectured on the subject of phrenology in various parts of the country. I never attended his lectures; for I found, that, in all the phrenological courses which I attended, the principal object of phrenological lecturers was, not to expose the ground and basis of phrenology, but to interweave it with popular and interesting topics. However judicious this might be, it was, of course, not calculated to give me the information I desired.

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#### CHAPTER II.

JOURNAL. — CHOLERA. — VISIT TO WASHINGTON. — AMERI-CAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

#### JOURNAL.

JAN. 5, 1848. — Letter from Dr. Boott, enclosing one from Sir James Clark requesting me to procure contributors to the testimonial to Dr. Forbes, on occasion of his relinquishing the "British and Foreign Medical Review."

April 10. — Visited two elephants, male and female; both Asiatic. Female eight feet high, twenty-three years old, without tusks; which the keeper told me was generally the case in regard to the female. His statement must be incorrect. The male had one tusk, a foot long; the other was broken off. They were both very docile, and obeyed various orders of the keeper. Saw at the same time eight camels.

April 12.—Interesting case of a little girl, three years old, with symptoms of lead poison, — blue-lined gums, nausea and vomiting, constipation, paralysis of lower extremities and upper. Short time before the symptoms, lived in the south part of the town, and drank Jamaica-Pond water from lead pipes. Nature of the case not suspected by any physician till she came to the Hospital.

Left Boston, April 27, 1848, at four, P.M. Reached Spring-field at half-past eight, P.M., and passed the night at the Massasoit House. The next morning, at nine, A.M., left for

New York; and arrived at the Astor House at half-past two, P.M. Mr. Bowdoin met us, and aided in making our arrangements. The next day, Saturday, went by railroad to Philadelphia; and were received by Mr. Appleton, who had provided us lodgings at Jones's, in consequence of a telegraphic despatch sent from New York.

Sunday, April 30. - Went to church at St. Stephen's in the forenoon, and to the Roman-Catholic church with Miss Hart in the afternoon. Arrived at Baltimore on Monday, and got lodgings at Barnum's after some trouble. I found there a number of members of the Medical Association: and, among others, Dr. Stevens, of New York. On the next morning, I presented my credentials at the American Medical Association. The meeting was opened at eleven o'clock by a short speech from the President, Dr. Chapman. Finding, in the course of the day, that I was voted for as the next President, I declined being a candidate, on the ground that Dr. Stevens (already a Vice-President) was better acquainted with the proceedings of the association. Dr. Stevens was, the following morning, chosen President; and I was chosen Vice-president. Dr. Stevens made a short address. The business of the association was this day retarded by various propositions of a secondary nature. Reports of committees began in the afternoon.

I should have mentioned, that last evening (Tuesday) there was a meeting, at the request of the Association, of all the medical professors, in which the subject of medical education was preliminarily discussed. I was requested to preside. The session lasted three hours, and was of great interest.

On Wednesday, May 2, a Report being read on "Etherization," in which the subject of chloric ether was introduced, I felt myself called upon to give my experience on

the subject, - although not particularly prepared for the purpose, - and made a speech of some length, which the Association listened to with much attention. I was requested to reduce it to writing, but declined for the present. The day was occupied with a number of interesting medical reports. After this came up the subject of medical education. There was a strong disposition to increase the length of the medical courses. I endeavored to show the Association that it was more important that the students should improve the number of lectures actually given, than that the number should be increased; and, in order to accomplish this, that it was necessary that the students should undergo frequent examinations on the subject of the lectures. Many other interesting subjects were discussed, and the general results of the meeting were such as were likely to be very beneficial.

On Friday, the fourth day of the meeting, I left in the afternoon for Washington. There I was kindly received by Mr. Winthrop, and remained with him ten days. This time was occupied in examining the collections made by the Exploring Expedition. They are numerous and valuable. I noticed particularly a very large mastodon tooth from Oregon, where it was found on the banks of the Willemack River, in company with other mastodon bones. The tooth was five-ridged, with a talon, and had the characters of the M. giganteus. I heard daily one or more speeches in Congress.

On Monday, the 15th of May, I left Washington for Baltimore. There I examined the relics of a mastodon skeleton owned by Ham and Lillsby, of the Baltimore Museum. The next day I left for Philadelphia, the weather being very hot. Visited Peale's Museum, and found that the mastodon had gone to New York. Made three

visits to the Academy of Natural Sciences. Here are five skeletons of ichthyosauri and plesiosauri, besides one cast and many separate pieces; a number of fossil mastodon bones, and casts of Megatherium and Megalonyx; many teeth of elephant, mammoth, and Mastodon giganteus. After long search, I found in this collection the supposed Mastodon angustidens tooth of Baltimore. It was purchased in London, by Dr. Wilson's brother, as having come from America. It is mineralized, has no fangs, has six ridges and intermediate nipples, and is about six inches long. I met Dr. Wilson there, and subscribed for the papers of the Academy publications.

I examined with Dr. Hays the collections of the American Philosophical Society, which were very numerous, including the lower jaws of the individual mastodons, five of which were tetracaulodon, and five not, as counted by Dr. Hays. Dr. Hays showed me the tooth of a mastodon in which the indentations of the enamel in a worn tooth differed from any other. I saw a fine mastodon head at the University collection, about three feet long. At Jefferson College, saw a large collection of calculi and casts. Dr. Mütter wished me to give him a calculus which I have removed, and also some surgical pieces. He also wished to exchange plaster casts for surgical pieces. I aided him in performing an operation for Mrs. Sullivan, of Boston. Passed the last evening at Philadelphia at Dr. Paige's, with numerous other medical gentlemen.

On Friday, left Philadelphia for New York. After dinner, walked to Dr. Hosack's; who was, as usual, very kind. Passed Saturday in visiting the lyceum and the queer collection of Dr. Beach, where I found Peale's mastodon in a disjointed state. The summit of the head is wood; also the tusks and many other parts. A number of the ribs are

missing, and others are whitened by lime. The skeleton has lost its pretensions to be considered a representative of the osteology of the M. giganteus.

On the day following, I attended services twice at the Trinity Church. The music was sublime. Monday, the 22d, I left New York for New Haven and Springfield. Passed the night at Springfield; and, the following day, left at one o'clock for home, and arrived at six o'clock, P.M.

Oct. 16. — Unpacked the bones of the Baltimore mastodon. Found them in a better state than could be expected. This skeleton was the second found by Peale in Orange County, N.Y.; and, being very imperfect, was made up complete with wood. The collection in which it was placed being broken up, this skeleton was lodged in the Baltimore Museum, where I found and purchased it for two hundred and twenty-five dollars.

Oct. 25.— The procession to celebrate the introduction of Cochituate water was large and appropriate. The number of strangers in town exceeded those of any former occasion. At half-past five o'clock, the water was introduced into the Frog Pond by a noble spout, or fountain. In the evening, various illuminations. Park-street houses were lighted up with lamps.

Oct. 28.—Last evening, received a letter from the City Government requesting the Board of Consulting Physicians to propose sanitary measures against cholera forthwith.

Died last night, at half-past two, Hon. H. G. Otis. He had naturally a very strong constitution. Has suffered from gout, more or less, forty years; last winter, had a severe fit of it, followed by gangrene of the great toe; from which he, however, recovered. For some months back, he has had great pain in the back, which has prevented his lying on it. The stomach has latterly declined food: in

consequence, his strength has been gradually reduced; and his life finally terminated without suffering, by a process of exhaustion.

Dec. 11.—Dr. Cutter, of Pepperell, brought a case of paralysis, principally in the upper extremity; suspected to be from the poison of lead. The patient had drunk water through a lead pipe one hundred and sixty feet long. He has had no colic. Directed one-fourth of a grain of strychnine twice a day.

Dec. 23.—Mr. Henshaw showed me to-day the fossil bones of the mammoth, or Elephas primigenius, found on the top of a hill in Rutland, Vt. They consisted of two tusks, each about seven feet long and of a flattened form (they were both very much cracked); portions of one anterior limb and two posterior; also the lamellated tooth shown to the Club. Professor Agassiz called to see me this afternoon, and was very much pleased with the petrified mastodon os femoris, which he advised should be immersed in lime-water to prevent further cracking. He was also much gratified with the casts of the teeth of Mastodon angustidens. He thinks casts of all the Eppelsheim fossils might be obtained for about seventy pounds sterling, exclusive of cost of transportation, &c. In the evening, took up the subject of fatal cases of chloroform, with Dr. Lane.

Jan. 1, 1849. — Received three valuable New-Year's presents, — from Mrs. Warren, a silver mug, to be used in sickness; from Mrs. Thompson, an elegant illuminated copy of the parables of our Saviour, in antique style; from an old patient, Mrs. Dunn, a plum-cake, baked under her direction. Made a number of calls, particularly on Dr. Gardiner, an old acquaintance, recently moved into Park Street.

In the afternoon, settled annual accounts with Mr. Smith. In the evening, with a considerable number of gentlemen, — friends of temperance, — waited on the late Mayor, Mr. Quincy, and made an address to him, — which he answered in an appropriate and feeling manner, — and presented him with two pieces of silver plate, and a copy of resolutions in his favor.

Jan. 18. — Dined with F. C. Gray, Esq., the Governor, and other gentlemen. Temperance dinner; no wine or other liquor, except water and coffee. In evening, full meeting of the Club. I made remarks on the prevention of costiveness (a prevalent evil in this country), and showed that I introduced the coarse bread into use here twenty-five years ago, and, two years since, a more efficient article, — cracked wheat, or wheat-hominy; the best thing known for the accomplishment of this object, at the present day. Also explained the use of farina and semolina, and concluded with the proper way of preventing cholera. The meeting continued until a late hour.

Jan. 19. — In the afternoon, saw Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Gray in regard to the admission of members to the Club; and had some conversation with the latter gentleman on excluding the use of wine by a gradual process, without any formality.

Jan. 22. — Dined at Mr. William Appleton's. Present, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. F. C. Gray, Bishop Potter, &c. All agreed that there was a great change as to the temperance practice. Signed a memorial to the City Government to make an investigation as to the assertion of the Mayor, that intemperance had increased since the License Law.

Received to-day an elegant present of a silver pitcher from President Everett.\*

Feb. 7. — Called with Mrs. C. Lyman on Mrs. F. K. Butler. Had an interesting visit. Mrs. Butler's remarks on the dress and exercise of ladies in this country were, I thought, judicious. She thinks they are much less robust than the English ladies.

May 16. — Saw Mr. Webster, who said, in regard to inscriptions on the Bunker-Hill Monument, he was adverse; that, if a contract had been made with particular individuals, it was a matter of consideration, whether these individuals had done more than others whose names were not to be inscribed; that, as to the persons who were his torically connected with the monument, their inscriptions were written in the history of the country, and placing them on the monument would, in his opinion, be ridiculous. He could not believe it ever would be justified by the taste and patriotism of the country.

June 18. — Attended meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association to-day, being the anniversary, and accomplished three things, — first, the relinquishment of an

<sup>\*</sup> It had the following inscription: -



inscription of the names of contributors on the monument; second, the preservation, by an inscription, of the remains of Bunker-Hill breastworks; third, the abandonment of the idea of placing a small building by the side of the monument.

July 4. — Dined with the Society of Cincinnati. Made some remarks on the occasion, and introduced the 5th of March oration of '75, in the handwriting of General Warren; also the little book of Psalms found in his pocket after his death. Eloquent speeches were made by Hon. Abbott Lawrence, General Dearborn, and Charles Davies, Esq.

Went to see the body of Mrs. Susan Knolton, who died at Lynn, at the house of my daughter, Mrs. Appleton, the day before yesterday, aged sixty-three. She came into my family in the year 1812, and has always been a most faithful and valuable domestic.

July 14.—To-day, visited the giant and giantess: the former said to be eight feet high; and the latter, something less.

July 24.— Met the committee at a quarter past nine. At half-past nine, proceeded from there to the Roxbury line, and there met Father Mathew in a carriage from Watertown. Quitting the carriage, was introduced to him; on which he left his carriage, and I, by request of the temperance societies, made an address of about eight or ten minutes. After which, he took a seat in our carriage,— a barouche with four horses. Mine, with the black horses, followed; and we then went through the prescribed route, and reached the Adams House a little after twelve. . . .

July 25. — Went with Mr. Winthrop to introduce him to Father Mathew, who received us very kindly. I invited him and Bishop Fitzpatrick to come out to tea; which they did at six o'clock. They walked around the place an hour; Father Mathew speaking to all the men he met with,

taking off his hat, and standing uncovered. Besides the bishop and himself, we had at tea Colonel Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. Appleton, Mr. and Mrs. Sullivan Warren, and Mr. Cabot. After sitting a couple of hours, and conversing very pleasantly, he left us about nine o'clock.

Aug. 6. — Mr. Davis lent me a copy of the original deed of land of my house in Park Street, given by Arnold Welles to him. He (Davis) built both houses: the one, for Mr. Welles; the other, for himself. The latter he sold to Francis C. Lowell, who, after finishing it off, sold it. The date of the deed was Aug. 5, 1805; but the land was sold by the town to Mr. Welles in March, 1801. I inhabited the house in October, 1805, — two months after the deed was given.

Aug. 8.— Mr. H. B. Rogers called to get a list of physicians to be hired by the city to attend cholera patients in Broad Street; the Hospital being full, and the cholera raging among the Irish.

Aug. 9.—Visited the Cholera Hospital this morning, and found it full, with about twenty patients. The three worst of these I examined most particularly. They lay stupid, unless roused. Pulse scarcely perceptible. No spasms while I was there. When asked, they expressed pain in the epigastric region. These three (two of them adults, and one a child ten years old) will undoubtedly die. Those who have recovered have been in the use of chloride of potass and other saline solutions. Brandy is given to some, and some hot applications are made. . . .

Cholera increasing daily, I summoned a meeting of the consulting physicians on the 11th at my house.

Sept. 18. — Went to General H. A. S. Dearborn's, in Roxbury, with Mrs. W. Had quite an interesting visit to him and Mrs. Dearborn; then accompanied him and Deacon

Davis, aged seventy-nine, with the sexton, Mr. J. G. Seaver, No. —, Zeigler Street, to the old Roxbury Burying-ground, where I found the gravestones of five of my family name, — my grandfather, Joseph Warren, who died in 1755, aged sixty; Deborah Warren, died 1743, aged forty-one; Deborah Warren, died 1749, aged eighty-two; Ebenezer Warren, died 1756, aged fifty-seven; Mrs. Susannah Warren. Mr. Seaver, ancient sexton of this burying-ground, informs me that Mrs. Mary Warren, my grandmother, who died in the year ——, was deposited in the tomb of Jesse Dogget; and he thinks that my uncle, Samuel Warren, was deposited in the same tomb. After this visit, accompanied General Dearborn to the Warren House, Roxbury; which appears to be

### Mrs. Paine \* to Mr. Warren.

Winslow, Sept. 8, 1858.

The Deborah Warren who died in 1749 was the grandmother of General Warren. She was formerly a Miss Williams.

Joseph Warren, who died in Oct. 23, 1775, was her son, and father to the general. He had two brothers,— John was a settled minister in Wenham, Mass.; Ebenezer died in Roxbury in 1756. Two sisters,— Deborah died in Roxbury, 1743. Hannah married the Rev. Mr. Chipman. For the time of her death, we refer you to the Warren Genealogy.

The Susannah referred to must have been the wife of Ebenezer, uncle to General Warren.

The mother of the general was Mary Stephens, daughter of Captain Samuel Stephens, of Roxbury. She died January, 1803. Her mother was a Miss Caliph, from England.

The general had three brothers, — Samuel, Ebenezer, and John; of whose histories you are perfectly acquainted. He had no sister.

<sup>\*</sup> The daughter of Judge Ebenezer Warren, of Foxborough, Mass. This lady was born in the same year with Dr. Warren, in the barracks on the Warren Estate, Roxbury; the family mansion, at that time, being occupied by the Revolutionary troops.

in good order, and the grounds well kept. The lot of land of one acre beyond is unoccupied, and not fenced. It is composed of conglomerate rock; and General Dearborn advises that the rock should be sold for buildings, until it gets levelled to the surrounding surface.

Sept. 28. — Completed the removal of the phrenological casts yesterday; which amount, according to the estimate, to over five hundred casts, many of them broken; and skulls, including the skull of Dr. Spurzheim.

Nov. 1.—Received a note from Mr. Grant, requesting me to subscribe in aid of Father Mathew. Returned answer, agreeing to subscribe one hundred dollars.

The general married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Horton, merchant of Boston. She died three years before the general.

Their children were Elizabeth, Joseph, Richard, and Mary.

Elizabeth married General Arnold Welles, of Boston. We think she died in 1804.

Joseph graduated at Harvard University at eighteen years of age. He was an officer for a while at Castle William, where an army was stationed to guard the convicts before we had built a prison. He came to Foxborough on a visit; and, in eleven months from the time he came, he died, on the 2d of April, 1790, at the house of his uncle, the late Hon. Ebenezer Warren.

Richard was engaged in mercantile business in Alexandria, Va.; but his constitution suffered from chills and fever, — a complaint incident to that climate. He returned to Boston, and died of a consumption, in the family of the late Dr. John Warren, his uncle.

Mary was twice married. Her first husband was Mr. Lyman, of Northampton, Mass. She lost all her children by her first marriage. Her second marriage was with the late Judge Newcomb, of Greenfield, Mass. She died of a consumption, at Greenfield. She left but one child,—Joseph Warren Newcomb, Esq.

Samuel Warren, brother to the general, was the last occupant of the family of the "Warren house." He died November, 1805.

JANE T. PAINE.

Nov. 5.—Yesterday, heard of the death of my friend Mr. Thomas Clay, of Savannah. He died of intestinal obstruction, after four days' illness: a great loss to his State (Georgia) and to the country.

Nov. 27.—Dr. George Parkman, who disappeared some days since, not yet heard of.

Nov. 29, Thanksgiving Day. — Went to St. Paul's Church. Heard a good sermon from Dr. Vinton. Afterwards drove the black horses to Roxbury to the Warren House; thence to the Forest-Hill Cemetery. Dined at three o'clock; all the family, excepting Dr. Edward Warren and wife, being present, — making, in all, twenty-nine at dinner.

#### INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THIS SPOT STOOD THE HOUSE ERECTED BY JOSEPH WARREN ,OF BOSTON, REMARKABLE FOR BEING THE BIRTHPLACE OF GEN.JOSEPH WARREN , HIS GRANDSON, WHO WAS KILLED AT BUNKER HILL, JUNE 17,1775. JOHN WARREN, A DISTINGUISHED ANATOMIST, WAS ALSO BORN HERE THE ORIGINAL HOUSE BEING IN BUINS, THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT BY JOHN C. WARREN, M.D., IN 1846, SON OF THE LAST NAMED, AS A PERMANENT MEMORIAL OF HE SPOT.

The Asiatic cholera having again commenced its progress in Europe, the City Government of Boston determined to be upon the alert to guard against its extension, if it should come here. On the 28th of October, they addressed a letter to the Board of Consulting Physicians, requesting them to propose sanitary measures. A Report was immediately prepared, and published on the 31st of the same month.

It refers to the previous Report in 1832, and recommends the pursuance of measures similar to

those then recommended, and the utility of which had been proved so beneficial. It recommends, in especial, the promotion of cleanliness, temperance, wholesome diet, and the avoidance of panic on the one hand, or supineness on the other. The Report may be found in the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," vol. xxxix. p. 454.

In the month of June, cases of cholera began to appear in this city; chiefly, however, among the foreign population. It gradually increased through the month of July; and, in August, reached the number of one hundred and eleven for the week ending that day. The Cholera Hospital being filled, the City Government applied to the consulting physicians to nominate physicians of suitable age and experience to attend the poor at the city's expense, with power to furnish nurses, medicines, &c., when required.

In November of this year occurred the mysterious disappearance of Dr. George Parkman. As Dr. Parkman was the benefactor of the Medical School, and as his family were connected with Dr. Warren, it was natural that he should feel much interest in this affair, especially when subsequent investigations began to connect it with the Medical College. It could be little imagined at this time what an astounding discovery was so soon to excite consternation in the community, and nearly cause the destruction of the newly erected college by the violence of a mob.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In the year 1848, I first attended a meeting of the American Medical Association in Baltimore. This association had been regularly organized in Philadelphia the year previous; but the initiative meeting took place in New York in 1846. Those two meetings I was unable to attend, on account of my lectures at Cambridge. The object of this association was to consider the best plans of rendering medical science useful to the profession and the public. For this purpose, reports were regularly made on various departments of hygiene, materia medica, therapeutics, &c. I went to Baltimore in the beginning of May, 1848, with Mrs. Warren, Miss Tappan, and John.\* Took lodgings at Barnum's Hotel; and, on the following day, attended the first meeting of the society. After passing four days there, we went to Washington. In the year 1849, the association met in Boston, first in the Hall of the Lowell Institute, afterwards in the Hall of the House of Representatives. On the first day, the association was addressed by the President, Dr. Stevens. In the afternoon of the same day, I was chosen President, and was very handsomely saluted by the retiring President, to whom I made a short address in reply. The association remained in session four full days, transacted some important business, and attended social meetings every evening, two of which were at my house, - one on Tuesday, of the whole association; the other on Friday, the last day, of a select body. I wrote some articles in the papers relating to the association, and took considerable pains in the organization of the Committee on Sophisticated

<sup>\*</sup> John Harkins, his servant for many years.

Drugs. This association exhibited very distinctly the advantages arising from personal communication of the profession throughout the country.

A few months after the meeting, Dr. Harrison, of Cincinnati, first Vice-President of the Association, died of cholera. He was a valuable and apparently excellent man, and remarkably active. As soon after as practicable, I obtained a meeting of about twenty-five of the most distinguished members of the association in this vicinity, and presented to them a number of resolutions in honor of Dr. Harrison, which were unanimously adopted. Dr. Bowditch, Secretary of the meeting, was appointed to distribute copies of the same.

VOL. II.

## · CHAPTER III.

JOURNAL. — FRANKLIN MONUMENT. — AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSO-CIATION. — PREVENTION OF CONSTIPATION. — LETTER FROM DR. ROOTS.

#### JOURNAL.

Jan. 19, 1850. — Mr. Davis wished me to set on foot a subscription for the erection of a statue of Franklin.

Feb. 4. — Received to-day, from Isaac P. Davis, a present of a bust of Dr. Franklin, executed in Paris, and thought to be the best likeness.

Feb. 11.—Received a very interesting letter from President Sparks on the supposed agency of Dr. Franklin in the treaty of peace of 1793, disproving the report that Dr. Franklin favored the wishes of the French commissioners. This was in reply to one written to him by me.

## President Sparks to Dr. Warren.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 9, 1850.

DEAR SIR, — It is not my purpose, for the present, to write any thing concerning the part taken by Franklin in the negotiations of 1782. Hereafter, I may be able to place that subject in a more just light than has hitherto been done.

I have read in the British and French offices all the correspondence and other papers relating to those negotiations; and, in fact, all the diplomatic correspondence of the French Government with the French ministers in this country, Spain, and Holland, during our Revolution, — amounting to more than sixty large folio volumes.

Feb. 28. — Club at Mr. Tudor's. Made some remarks on the necessity and expediency of a monument to Franklin in this city. President Sparks's letter was shown to the Club.

### Dr. Warren's Remarks at the Club.

Few things are calculated to give more satisfaction to those who love their country, and especially to those who can claim a common birthplace, than the statements of President Sparks. Here is one whose name as a patriot, an author, a discoverer, and, above all, a man of common sense, will go down to remote posterity as a native of Boston. But what have the citizens of Boston done to express their

After this research, in which I was employed nearly a year, I do not think it presumption to believe that I am qualified to form an opinion, not only of the acts and policy of the French Court, but of the agency of Franklin in the great affairs of that period.

Having turned my attention particularly to this latter point, I do not hesitate to declare, in the most unqualified terms, that the idea of the delinquency of Franklin as the representative of the great interests of his country, and of his submissiveness to the French Court, which was so industriously propagated for a long time in this country, is without a shadow of foundation. Such an idea is not sustained by a single paragraph or fact in all this voluminous mass of papers, although he often appears as a prominent actor in our complicated foreign relations. On the contrary, he is everywhere presented in the character of a true and steady patriot, wise and consistent, sagacious and firm, bold and persevering, and not a whit behind the most ardent of his compatriots in asserting his country's liberties, and maintaining her rights.

His services abroad can never be properly estimated, because they were rendered in a sphere which, at the time, was necessarily in a great measure concealed from the public eye. No one who will examine the subject, however, can doubt for a moment, that he feeling of the honor of having for their fellow-citizen a person of such high qualities? What have they done to let the world know that he was born and educated in Boston, and that they consider it to be a pleasure as well as a duty to pay him the highest honors which such distinguished patriotism deserves? And, now that more than fifty years have elapsed since the death of Franklin, where are the statues and the monuments which would speak our opinion of his virtues? Where are the evidences of that gratitude which no doubt exists for one who, in the last act of his life, remembered the place of his birth, and extended his beneficent ideas to the cultivation of her schools and the encouragement of her young artisans? Let his fellow-citizens answer these questions.

was second only to Washington in establishing his country's freedom and moulding her destinies. His genius and writings had made him renowned in Europe when the controversy began; and this renown, increased by his public character and extraordinary wisdom, enabled him to do for his country what no other man could have done: and I will repeat, that, in my opinion, no man ever executed a high trust with more fidelity, ability, and devoted patriotism.

And yet where are the monuments which testify a nation's gratitude for the services of such a benefactor? They exist in his writings, his fame, in the glory which his name has thrown over the land of his birth, and, we may add, in the hearts of mankind. They are not found in marble, bronze, or granite. Even his native city—eminent as she is for acts of public munificence, and honored by the civilized world as the spot on which Franklin drew his first breath—contains no memorial of the noble and generous pride, which, by the example of ancient and modern times, such a distinction might justly inspire.

I am, dear sir,

Respectfully and truly yours,

JARED SPARKS.

July 29. — Wrote a note to Colonel Perkins, sending him the "Jacobiniad," and President Sparks's letter on Dr. Franklin; also Colonel Swett's last pamphlet on Bunker Hill.

Aug. 5.—Went to a meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association. Heard an able Report of the Committee on the erection of a monument to General Warren. Advised that the Report should be recommitted, with a view to ascertain whether the association had power to execute such a work. It was accordingly recommitted. Governor Everett gave the Report to me for examination, and I sent it to Colonel Perkins. Made arrangements for publishing President Sparks's letter on Dr. Franklin, and Colonel Perkins's on the same subject.

Sept. 13.—Purchased of the estate of T. W. Sumner a picture of Dr. Franklin, at an early period of his life, for five hundred dollars; believing that the lapse of time would increase its value. This picture has remained in the family since it was first painted. Took an insurance of it against fire.

Purchased a statuette of Dr. Franklin, made in Paris from Houdon's statue.

## Colonel Perkins to Dr. Warren.

Brookline, Thursday, A.M., Aug. 1, 1850.

Dear Sir, — I am much obliged by the perusal of the enclosed from President Sparks. It gives me great pleasure to be disabused in relation to Dr. Franklin. I had adopted the vulgar prejudice, that flattery had operated on him as it does on most men. I think with Mr. Sparks, that, though late, some testimonial of our estimation of the services of Dr. Franklin should be placed before posterity. To this I shall readily give my aid, when the subject is brought forward.

Respectfully yours,

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The great services rendered by Dr. Franklin to his country in the American Revolution are now better understood and more fully acknowledged than they were soon after the Revolution. A report was circulated after the conclusion of the war, that the French commissioners were desirous of restricting the territory of the newly born United States within such limits as would make them dependent on France; and they proposed that the Ohio River should form the northern boundary. Mr. Adams, it was said, opposed this proposition, and demanded an extension to the Mississippi. Dr. Franklin, on the other hand, was reported to have fallen under the French influence, and was in favor of accepting the plan proposed by the French. But there are authentic documents in existence, which go to show that Dr. Franklin did not fall into the snare said to have been laid for him by the French, but uniformly maintained the rights of his own country. A very strong prejudice, however, existed in the minds of many respectable individuals, and took so deep a hold, that when it was proposed to finish Franklin Place, in Boston, by the erection of a statue to Dr. Franklin, the plan was decidedly objected to; the statue was abandoned, and a wooden urn substituted.

In the year 1827, the public feeling having been gradually changed, I ventured to speak to a number of distinguished individuals, and to call their attention to the fact, that, for a man whose remarkable capacity and patriotism placed him near the head of our Revolutionary worthies, we had never done any thing to recognize him as a fellow-

townsmen. I also let them understand that there was in the Granary Burying-ground a gravestone indicating the situation of the remains of the father and mother of Dr. Franklin; and that it became the liberality and public spirit of distinguished individuals in Boston to avail themselves of the opportunity of showing their estimation of the character of Franklin, by the erection of a monument which would protect the remains of the Franklins, and mark their respect by a permanent memorial. On consultation with Mr. William Sullivan, Mr. Webster, the Messrs. Lawrence, Mr. Ticknor, and other gentlemen, these sentiments were approved, and, by their aid, a sum nearly adequate to the construction of such a monument was obtained. Besides the gentlemen above named, the principal contributors were Lieutenant-Governor Phillips, John Tappan, Samuel Appleton. The deficit of the subscription, amounting to about two hundred dollars, was paid by Mr. Amos Lawrence and myself, in consequence of our having charge of its construction. We determined that the monument should be composed of the most durable materials, and that it should have a form best calculated to resist the action of the elements. The plan of an obelisk was proposed by Mr. Solomon Willard, architect of the Bunker-Hill Monument; and he also, with that same liberality which distinguished all his acts in regard to the Bunker-Hill Monument, gave his time and talents to the accomplishment of the work. The Directors of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, on my application, gave the permission to quarry the stone from Bunker-Hill ledge, and employ their railway: the ledge being, in fact, the property of Colonel T. H. Perkins; and the railway, of the corporation. The stone for the monument being prepared, the gravestone of the Franklins was raised, its inscription copied, and a stone afterwards

placed on the brick-work of the graves. There were two graves, placed side by side; so that the ashes of the pair, after the decomposition of the shell that covered them, were mingled together in one common mass. The remains were not disturbed; but, having been protected by a solid stonework, the foundation of the monument was placed over them: and on the 27th of June, 1827, in presence of the Mayor and other city authorities, the contributors performed the ceremony of laying the corner-stone; and an appropriate patriotic address was delivered by General H. A. S. Dearborn, with an eloquence and a feeling which will always be remembered by those who were present. The monument was erected, as had been proposed, in the most substantial manner, completed during that season, and has now been raised nearly twenty-three years without any change in its position or structure. It is a pyramid, - twenty-one feet high, and seven feet at the base, - formed of five massive blocks placed on a flat base of two blocks. The original estimate of the cost of this work, given by the architect, was three hundred and twenty-one dollars; but, at its completion, it was found to amount to nine hundred and forty dollars. On its eastern face is placed a bronze plate, containing the following inscription, placed on the first monument by Franklin; the original tablet itself being placed within the monument, in such a manner that no further change can take place in it while it retains its present situation: -

# JOSIAH FRANKLIN

and

### ABIAH HIS WIFE

lie here interred. They lived lovingly together in wedlock fifty-five years; and, without any estate or any gainful employment, by constant labor and honest industry (with God's blessing) maintained a large family comfortably, and brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren reputably. From this instance, reader, be encouraged to diligence in thy calling, and distrust not Providence. He was a pious and prudent man: She, a discreet and virtuous woman. Their youngest son, in filial regard to their memory, places this stone. J. F. born 1655; died 1744, æt. 89. A. F. born 1667; died 1752, æt. 85.

Under the stone was placed a silver plate, presented by Dr. Warren, bearing this inscription:—

# This Monument

was erected over the remains of the

# PARENTS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

by the citizens of Boston, from respect to the private character and services of this illustrious

Patriot and Philosopher,
and for the many tokens of his affectionate attachment to his native town.

The first stone was placed on the 15th of June, 1827, by Charles Wells, President of the Massachusetts Mechanic Association; and James Sullivan Savage, Mason.

Solomon Willard, Architect.

This monument is near the centre of the Granary Burying-ground: and, soon after its erection, I set around it a plantation of shrubs and trees, which was the first admitted into any burying-ground in this or perhaps any part of the country; and being gradually extended, and beautified by the addition of a great variety of the finest foresttrees, have set the example of honoring and ornamenting the last abode of departed worthies, which has led to so many beautiful imitations in the sanctuaries of the dead throughout the country. Since the first formation of this grove, I have watched over it with care; have contributed freely to the different improvements; and have lately - that is, within the last three years - supplied a deficiency in the evergreen-trees by setting out a considerable number of Norway spruces and arbor-vitæs, which have taken root, and will soon be highly ornamental.

A greater work remains to be done,—the erection of a statue of Dr. Franklin in the centre of the city of Boston, where he was born, educated, and to which he contributed, as his last memorial, a sum, the interest of which was to be expended in giving medals to schoolboys for good behavior, and for the loan of small sums to young and needy mechanics.

In the latter part of April, 1850, Dr. Warren, accompanied by several members of his family, went to Cincinnati to attend the meeting of the American Medical Association.

Continuing his usual habit of writing or dictating more or less daily, he wrote every day to his family at home. One or two extracts from these letters will be given, and may serve to show his employments during this excursion, and while at Cincinnati.

MAY 7, 1850.

. . . The meeting of the Association opened yesterday; and I made my address extempore, about three-quarters of an hour. Got through better than I expected, and am quite well to-night. Going to a party at Mr. Storer's. About seventy ladies attended the address, to my great astonishment. We have not yet succeeded in electing a new President, so that I am still tied down very closely. The division is between Dr. Drake and Dr. Mussey: the latter will probably be elected. The weather to-day is mild. We have fires in all our rooms all day. Coarse bread we have not yet obtained, but have got some good wheat.

Receive many calls, and offers of aid, and invitations to go into the country. Many gentlemen inquire about Dr. Jackson and M——.

CINCINNATI, May 8, 1850.

My DEAR FRIEND, — The weather is very pleasant here to-day. This morning, the Association accomplished its new organization; and, at about eleven o'clock, I inducted Professor Mussey into the office of President, and then descended to private life. Afterwards met with Professor Locke, who desires his best thanks to Dr. M. Warren for reducing his son's dislocated shoulder.

In the afternoon, Dr. Wood took Mr. Appleton and me round to see the wonders of the city. Also got a peep into the country, which is most beautiful. Many of the forest-trees are in foliage, and the apples in bloom; and we

brought home for E. a bunch of beautiful lilacs. Have seen many ladies to-day, particularly Mrs. Dr. S., Mrs. H., and some others. E. is better to-day, and out of her room. Everybody says I look better than I did a year ago at the Association. We shall probably be here three or four days more, and then turn our faces home by the way of the lakes. Am going to a party, and must bid you farewell.

# Affectionately yours,

J. C. WARREN.

NIAGARA, May 14, 1850.

. . . We reached Niagara at half-past ten this morning, and got very pleasant rooms at the Cataract Hotel, which I formerly visited, and found it as beautiful as ever. In fact, the quantity of water is greater than I have ever seen, and gives an appearance of continuity to the whole sheet of the three falls. Goat Island has not yet received its foliage; but the birds have resorted there in great numbers.

In the afternoon, we rode over the wire bridge to the British side, and found the country very pleasant. Visited the Burning Spring, which is very curious; and rode down to the edge of the precipice, which gave us a magnificent view of all the falls. The hotel has very few people in it, but is in good order, and well kept. The weather is quite fine at present; and, if it continues, we shall probably remain till the day after to-morrow. . . .

. . . I write this in a room full of company, and without much hope that you will receive it before I have the pleasure of seeing you.

The address delivered before the Association was subsequently enlarged, and carefully prepared for the press. He says, "Whether its publication will add any thing to the stock of medical knowledge, is very doubtful; but it was thought expedient to take this occasion to record the opinions which experience had afforded on some of the subjects now or recently discussed by the medical profession, and also to present a respectful notice of various distinguished individuals known to the author as contributors to the advancement of surgical science during the last half-century."

John Hunter, whom he always regarded as the highest authority in scientific surgery, and as one who gave a new impulse to those researches and doctrines which were so successfully pursued by his pupils and successors, is first noticed. He next avails himself of the opportunity of paying a tribute to Sir Astley Cooper, the "Wellington of surgery;" and to William Cooper, "a fine classical scholar, and a good surgeon, though not friendly to operations;" not forgetting Cline, the master and colleague of Cooper. The period of his first residence in Europe was a golden age in surgery.

As regards improvements in medical and surgical science, Dr. Warren first mentions the restoration of the microscope, first successfully employed by Malpighi, Leuwenhoek, Swammerdam, Lieberkuhn, and others, but afterwards fallen into neglect.

The second improvement is lithotrity. The opera-

tion, he says, can now be performed almost with a certainty of success, with little danger, and without suffering. He had repeatedly seen M. Civiale, the great lithotritist, before ether was used, crush the stone in the bladder, without exciting any expression of pain. His skilful and kind manner carried a patient through the operation before he was aware it had begun.

The third improvement alluded to is tenotomy. This, he thinks, has been brought into discredit by excessive use. Posture, he thinks, is of more importance. Many deformities may be cured by apparatus, without operations.

The introduction of cold water into the practice of surgery he considers a great amelioration. In the early part of his practice, cold water was not allowed to touch a wound, a fracture, or an inflamed part: now the practice has run impetuously in the other way.

"Last, though not least, in the march of improvement," he says, "comes the application of ether for the prevention of pain." This he has fully spoken of in other places, as we have seen.

In conclusion, the speaker alludes to the great discoveries in natural history, the revolution in geology and palæontology, the popularization of learning by lectures, and the temperance reform.

Dr. Warren reached home about the 17th of May, and resumed his usual employments. He shortly after wrote the following letter to Dr. Desaussure upon the subject of the Association:—

### Dr. Warren to Dr. Desaussure.

Boston, June 6, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—The desire which I have that the American Medical Association should accomplish the objects for which it was instituted, or, rather, one of those objects particularly, leads me to address you at this time. I address myself to you, partly on the ground of our recent acquaintance, and partly from the confidence with which my former connection with your family and other gentlemen of your city have inspired me.

One of the great objects of our Medical Association has been to bring together gentlemen from different sections of the country. Without other arrangements than those that have been heretofore adopted, this can be done only to a limited extent. So true is this, that there have been at each of the meetings gentlemen present whom I wished to see, but found it impracticable. In order to remedy this inconvenience, I made a representation, two months before the last meeting, to the gentlemen at Cincinnati, by which I endeavored to show them the absurdity of pinning men down to a feast they could not eat, and placing them by the side of people they did not know; and I endeavored to show them, that the money expended in one great collection of uneatable luxuries would be more than sufficient to procure a convenient place for conversational meeting, with light refreshments, during every evening of the session. The plan proposed was to have a large and handsome hall open as a place of meeting every evening for social intercourse; so that, in the space of two or three hours, individuals might conveniently find out and communicate with each other on such subjects as might be desirable. It may be thought that parties in the house of private gentlemen

would afford such opportunities; but experience has proved that such is not the fact, and the experience of every past meeting has shown that we are compelled to go home without meeting individuals who have perhaps been within a few feet of us.

Such assemblies as these would afford an opportunity to the younger part of the profession of becoming acquainted with their seniors, which now they have not. They would open a means of discussing the affairs of the association; and they would enable us to obtain, from those who have it to give, a quantity of local information we cannot otherwise have access to.

Another advantage of this plan of assembling, over that of having a great feast, would be that of enabling us to dispense with the use of stimulant liquids, and substituting, as in Europe, tea and coffee, without creating dissatisfaction and division among the younger members of the profession. Such is the plan of the Royal Society of London, and all the Continental societies I have had an opportunity of seeing; and I will venture to say, that, should you bring it into use, it would become the rule of the association, and have an important influence on its future destiny.

The Committee of Arrangements possess a mighty influence in regulating the business of the association, so that it may proceed smoothly and harmoniously, and without those heart-burnings which are the curse of our profession. The knowledge I possess of Carolina gentlemen gives me the fullest confidence that they will manage the whole of this thing in the best possible way, without any suggestions from me. But the want of success in the execution of an arrangement which seems to be so important, and so easily accomplished, will, I hope, be my apology; and I have chosen the present time, only a month after the last meet-

ing, for two reasons: first, because we have in mind the proceedings of the last association; and, secondly, because the earliest moment possible is the proper one for beginning the accomplishment of any new and necessary objects.

My desire is, that you will have the kindness to circulate this letter among the members of the Committee of Arrangements; beginning with the chairman, Dr. Frost, and continuing it through the rest of the committee, provided he and you see no objection.

I consider the American Medical Association as one of the most valuable institutions in this country, not only for the promotion of health and cure of disease, but for its patriotic tendency to harmonize and amalgamate the whole American medical profession.

With great regard, I have the honor to be, Respectfully,

Your friend and servant,

J. C. WARREN.

In April of this year, Dr. Warren published, in the "American Journal of Medical Sciences," a paper upon the prevention of constipation.

He commences with a Greek quotation from Aristotle, which shows that (as there is nothing new under the sun) fine flour was considered most wholesome when mixed with coarse at that early period of history.

Dr. Warren had always given the greatest attention to the strict regulation of diet in sickness and health, and the careful adaptation of food to the

disease or the present condition of the patient. Very few physicians, certainly among us, have made so much a science of this matter.

After speaking of the causes of constipation, he goes on to speak of the remedies. Of medicinal remedies, he speaks of three, — aloes, magnesia, and the wine of senna produced by fermentation. The mildest, though not the most certain, he considers to be pure magnesia, which can be taken at night. Injections, where they answer, are to be preferred to any cathartic. He has recommended, with excellent effect, a sponge with cold water, the hip-bath, or general shower-baths.

"The most important remedies," he says, "are to be found in articles of food. Of these, fruits are most agreeable, and, whether fresh or dried, should be taken before meals, when the stomach is empty."

As early as 1825, Dr. Warren began the use of bread in which the bran was retained. It was at first ridiculed; but it slowly came into use among a large number of persons, and finally extended over this country. In 1838, he found it much used among the upper classes in London, Paris, and Rome. Among the poorer classes, a brown bread has been used in Europe from time immemorial.

As this brown wheat bread was beneficial from its coarseness, but still not sufficiently active in all cases, it occurred to him that it might be well to use it in a still coarser state, without making it into bread. He therefore had some ground in a coffee-mill, and taken,

after boiling for three or four hours, with a little salt. "This substance," he says, "has a better effect in preventing constipation of the bowels than any article I have ever met with, after a great number of years of observation and inquiry."

The writer proceeds to explain the use and advantages of the cracked wheat; and concludes by saying, that of all articles which, in the course of fifty years' practice, he has had occasion to recommend for the purpose in question, this cracked wheat is incomparably the most effectual.

In the month of April, Dr. Warren received another long and valuable letter from his old friend Dr. Roots. It is truly gratifying to read such a representation of a cheerful and intelligent old age as this letter affords.

# Dr. Roots to Dr. Warren.

It is now some years since I have had any direct communication with you, my dear old friend Warren; though, from time to time, I have certainly heard your name mentioned, and always with respect and credit, in your professional avocations in the United States: and knowing you, of old, to be possessed of a cool, long-headed temperament, as well as judgment, I always gave you credit for winding up your earthly career with due decorum and respect. And it seems, from your last kind communication to me, that you were aware of the fitting time to draw your robe around you, and prepare for "the decent fall of Cæsar." God send you, my very dear old friend, the amount of many decades in your declining years! And, according to the

account you gave me, you must be enjoying a green old age, surrounded by your tribes (and I will stand godfather to the thought), with a "mens conscia recti;" thus possessing the fairest prospect of having passed your station in this life, "sans peur et sans reproche," like the celebrated Bayard. And though myself following at a humble distance, yet there is a something like resemblance in both our destinies: for I am also quietly descending to the tomb, in the midst of my family circle; my latter days, however, made somewhat painful by hereditary disease in the shape of gout and stone. My intellectual powers are as vivid and acute as when you first knew me half a century ago: and, thanks be to the Almighty, I have been enabled to weather the gale, so far, without any conscientious feelings of remorse to imbitter my latter moments; being perfectly at ease with God and all mankind. I have retired from active practice for some years: but being a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and being also in the commission of the peace as a magistrate, I find plenty of useful and rational amusement in the exercise of these callings; particularly as I am within reach of that finest receptacle of primeval works, the British Museum. As you wish to learn all about me, I must tell you I live in the same house at Kingston, on the banks of the Thames, as when you last were with me. I have the same old servants, who have been my faithful attendants for many long years, - one of them during fortyeight, and another upwards of thirty years; and, indeed, none of them for less than fifteen or eighteen years. They were all favorites of my beloved wife, and they have continued to be beloved and respected by me ever since her loss. My son Ludlow and his wife, with five children, are my daily companions: four of these are girls, and the youngest a boy. Ludlow lost his three eldest boys, some

ten years ago, in scarlet-fever, within a few days; and this was a fearful and heavy blow. The eldest, ASTLEY, was every thing and all to me, and would have been seventeen had he lived; and he bore all the well-intended interest of his godfather ASTLEY COOPER for pushing him forward in his after-life. "But God's will was done." Ludlow himself is all I could wish my only son to be; and Mrs. Harrison, my daughter, is married to a clergyman with good preferment in Hampshire (a nephew of the Earl of Guilford), and just what he should be as a clergyman, — a most excellent, good fellow. Thus I am fortunately able to give a favorable account of your old friend's journey to his latter end. And, after all, how trifling, how whiffling, does it appear, when I look back to events that were most interesting in former days! For "what advantageth it me now to have fought beasts at Ephesus"? what to me whether Bunker's Hill was won or lost? What care I that Trafalgar was fought? Though, it is true, I have something more like reason for thanking God that Wellington won Waterloo, as it secured the peace of the world.

I should be sorry that so fine and glorious a fabric as your republic should become involved in the jarring crash of coming events; but you have still "to bide your time." Your sword is hardly fleshed, and you have yet "to win your spurs." God send "you may wear them wisely"!

Should you not have SLAVERY to fight for, you will have something else equally perplexing; for, as regards SLAVERY, as long as the world has been standing, and as long as the world will still stand, man will rule over man, and SLAVERY WILL ENDURE, in spite of all our fine-drawn wishes and conclusions, our philanthropic liberality, and our vain attempt to hedge in a cuckoo and to purchase moonshine.

The last half-century has been so prolific in vast events, that, like the pebble on the shore, I am rounded, and care but little for the coming tide; the very monkey tricks of my tiger neighbors hardly calling forth the smile of contempt. And, surely, never did man give a more fitting delineation of character, than when their countryman, Voltaire, described them as engendered of the "TIGER AND THE APE." However, we have just sense enough to give them plenty of rope, and leave them to the full enjoyment of their insane freaks. Their drama is not yet played out; and, when the curtain next rises, "NOUS VERRONS."

I had always expected that it was your intention to publish a history of your own time. I must say, I am sorry you delay it for posthumous fame; which will, of course, prevent me from what I always wished; namely, casting my eye over many events in which I have been conversant during the last half-century. I was born in August, 1776: consequently, am a few days younger than YOUR own INDEPEND-ENCE; and your uncle, Dr. Warren, took nothing from me on the day of Bunker's Hill. You are a fine and noble race of people; you have good blood in your veins: but you have still got to move with great caution; and, in order to avoid the intoxication which usually follows having it all your own way, your circumspection must be most discreet. Fifty years ago did I give the same counsel, in Auld Reeky, when you and I laid down the law of nations in Buccleugh Place. I give you credit for your prudent forbearance in the interval; but you have yet much more to do. When you can find time, follow my example, and spin a long yarn. Tell me who are treading in the path you have so ably trodden. What is my old friend Sullivan doing? and how many grandchildren have you around your fireside? In consequence of my proximity with London, I am frequently



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in communication with the leading men in our profession: but I hate the smell of physic, and meet them only as birds of a feather and old social companions; and, - as you may perhaps remember to your cost, - having a devilish long tongue, there is no lack of chatter when thus we meet. It is, however, gratifying to me to know that I am a great and indulged old favorite with them all; and this renders the winter of my life to pass in cheerfulness and comfort. To wind up my long, tough story, let me again assure you of the pleasure it gives me in communicating with one I esteem and respect so greatly as yourself. May you long continue to enjoy your green old age! and, when ripe, may you be gathered to your fathers in the same good, wholesome state in which the ripening process is obtaining! May God bless you and yours! and may you believe that I am, as of old, your sincere and faithful old friend,

Wm. Roots!

SURBITON, KINGSTON UPON THAMES, April 2, 1850.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, M.D.

# CHAPTER IV.

JOURNAL. — UNION MEETING. — DEATH OF MRS. WARREN.

#### JOURNAL.

Feb. 16, 1850. — Saw Mr. Appleton on the subject of a meeting to express the general opinion on the subject of the dissolution of the Union of the States. Mr. A—— was rather of an opinion that such a measure would not be judicious at present. He thought it would exhibit the appearance of anxiety on our part, which might operate unfavorably in the South; but he agreed to consult others.

June 3. — Attended the opening of Mr. Gliddon's mummy. It proved to be a male, very friable. The hieroglyphics on the outside were counterfeits.

July 1. — Attended a meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Society, and presented a note from Colonel Perkins offering to contribute one thousand dollars towards the erection of a monument in honor of General Joseph Warren. A vote of thanks was passed, and the subject committed to Governor Everett, Hon. Franklin Dexter, and G. W. Warren.

Had a conference with Mr. Grant in regard to reprinting Dr. Carpenter's Essay on Alcohol. Mr. Wilson, printer, reports it will cost three hundred and twenty-five dollars to print and bind one thousand copies, to be sold at fifty cents per copy.

Nov. 20. — Received an application to act as Chairman of the Union meeting to be held on Tuesday, the 26th inst., at Faneuil Hall.

Nov. 25. — Had various communications to-day on the subject of the Union meeting at Faneuil Hall to-morrow.

Nov. 26.—To-day the great Union meeting took place in Faneuil Hall. Went to the Tremont House at a quarter past three. Met the Committee of Arrangements, and accompanied the Chairman and the City Marshal in a carriage, with Mr. J. S. Warren, to Faneuil Hall. At four o'clock, Mr. T. B. Curtis announced the organization; after which, I took the chair, and made an introductory speech. The resolutions were then read by Mr. W. W. Greenough. Eloquent and able speeches were made by Messrs. B. R. Curtis, B. F. Hallett, S. D. Bradford of Spring Street, Roxbury, and Rufus Choate. The hall was entirely filled, and the meeting enthusiastic, and continued three hours and a half.

# Dr. Warren's Address at the Union Meeting.

It is not without reluctance that I appear before this great assembly to take part in the political proceedings of my fellow-countrymen. Having, from an early period of life, devoted myself to professional duties, I have not entered actively into the politics of the day; but I have never ceased to feel the deepest interest in the security and prosperity of our common country, and have ever considered, that, when these were in danger, it was my duty, as well as that of every good citizen, to devote mind and body to their protection and preservation. Such a crisis seems now to have arrived. The Union, and consequently the existence of this nation,

are menaced; and, unless there is a great and general effort in their support, we may soon behold the mighty fabric of our government trembling over our heads, and threatening by its fall to crush the prosperity which we have so long and happily enjoyed.

It has been my lot to have lived during a period when there was no Constitution and no Union; when there was no commerce, no manufactures, little of agriculture, or of any of the arts calculated to make a powerful and happy people. It was a period when there was no sound currency, no confidence between man and man, no harmony in the action of the different States. It was a period when men's hands were turned against their neighbors; when the courts were beset with armed men; when law and justice were trampled under foot; when our best towns and villages were threatened with pillage, fire, and the sword; when the soil was polluted with the blood of its own citizens. I remember the unorganized little band of fathers of families, who, in that emergency, issued from this place, feebly provided with arms or with other means calculated to put down a daring and desperate rebellion. What a dark moment was What a dreadful foreboding arose in the minds of those who had been expending their labor, their treasure, and their blood, for the safety of an unhappy country!

But, in the midst of this gloom, a ray of light showed itself. A Constitution was proposed, and after a cautious investigation, and careful adaptation to the varied interests of the country, was adopted as a bond of everlasting union. Under this Constitution, a new order of things has arisen: commerce and agriculture have revived; manufactures have everywhere grown up; education, literature, and science have been diffused in all our cities and towns; the highest prosperity has pervaded the nation, and presented to the

wondering eyes of Europe the spectacle of a federal republic, free without licentiousness, and rich without luxury.

Now, let me ask, is there any one desirous of returning to the disunion of 1786? Is there any one who is willing to trifle with, to spurn at, to go behind, this Constitution? If there is, I cannot go with him. I go for the whole Constitution and the whole Union, as the best security for the liberties of the people. For these I stand here; and, if I am not ready to exert every faculty which I possess to uphold and maintain them, I am false to the blood which runs in my veins, false to the ancestors from whom I am descended, and false to every sentiment of my own heart. I stand, then, at all hazards, for the Constitution and the Union, one and indissoluble, now and for ever.

Dec. 10. — Received a very handsome letter to-day from Mr. Webster, on the Faneuil-Hall meeting.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7, 1850.

My dear Sir, — I have been impatient, for a week, to find time to thank you, as I now most sincerely do, for the part you bore in the great Union meeting; and congratulate you, also, on your distinguished success. Your speech will be read all over the country. It is short, full of sense and matter, and touching and pathetic. I was at Mr. Seaton's two days after the speech arrived, and he said he had read it four times already; and, rising from his chair, he read it again with evident emotion. It is truly an important thing for the country and for yourself.

The whole character of the meeting was excellent. The more elaborate speeches are greatly commended in this quarter, and we hope to circulate all the proceedings of the meeting extensively.

Mrs. Webster is greatly gratified by your letter, which she has shown to me. She prays to be most kindly remembered till she writes herself.

I shall write to Marshfield about the corn. Yours truly and sincerely,

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Feb. 11, 1851. — Called on Miss Scollay to obtain information in regard to her aunt, Miss Nancy Scollay, who had charge of the children of General Warren for some time; after which, two or three of them came under the care of my father.

## Benedict Arnold to Dr. Townsend.

PHILAD'A, Aug. 6, 1778.

DEAR TOWNSEND, — Yesterday I received your two fav'rs of the 16th & 23d July. Am much obliged to you for the Trouble you have had in my Affair; which, by your letter, appears to be at an end: and I cannot say that I am not both mortified and disappointed in not haveing a line in Answer to my Letters. The evasion is too palpable not to be understood. I think, however, I might have been indulged with a line to Announce their sentiments, notwithstand'g the Enemy were march'g thro' the Jersey. But enough of what I wish, and am determined to forget.

I wrote you sometime since respect'g the Children of my late worthy Friend (General Warren), & requested the Favour of your putting Rich'd to a School, & Soliciting Miss Schollay to keep Betsey. Soon after, I was Inform'd you had left Boston; and, As it was uncertain if you would receive my Letter, I wrote Miss Schollay by Mr. Hancock (& Sent her five hundred Dollars), requesting Her to take particular care of the Education of Betsey, & prevail, if possible, with the relations to have Rich'd sent to the best School in Boston, at My Expense. Mr. Hancock has promised to Use his Interest to have the Children taken Care of. I shall apply to Congress soon: if they decline, make no doubt of a handsome Collection by private subscription. At all events, am determined they shall be provided For, which Fortune has put in my power to Effect. I shall be glad to hear from you at all times; and am, Dr. Townsend,

## Your Friend & H'ble S.,

B. ARNOLD.

On the 15th of December died Mrs. Anne Warren, the daughter of Governor Winthrop. Her health had always been feeble, and she was for many years under the professional charge of the subject of this Memoir before their marriage took place (in October, 1843, as mentioned in the Journal). Dr. Warren's house was again left desolate. The loss was very deeply felt by him, and undoubtedly had in many ways an unfavorable influence upon his health, as has been noticed by his friend and physician, Dr. Jackson. Not only had she assisted him in his labors, and shared his cares and anxieties; but her precarious health, by exciting constant care and anxiety on his part, turned his attention from his own complaints. No one can supply the place of a wife, especially to a man advanced in life. Nothing can remove the sense of loneliness and desolation. During the day, constant employment and business, as well as the enjoyment of social intercourse, and the kind and affectionate attention of friends, relatives, and children, may divert the mind, and produce cheerfulness; but in the night, when the house is left solitary, and in the long waking hours produced by disease, there is nothing of this kind to alleviate.

Dr. Warren's extreme susceptibility to changes of weather has already been noticed; remarkable in one who, though of delicate natural constitution, had never allowed inclemency of weather to interfere with his professional labors. In March of this year, while riding in his carriage, with a window open, for

a short distance, he contracted an inflammation affecting the maxillary, ethmoid, and frontal sinuses. For this he used purging, blistering, and leeches. The loss of blood and debility thus induced, brought on, in his own words, "mental darkness, a sort of collapse of the brain, not affecting the mental faculties, but every thing appearing dark; a perpetual noise in the ears." There was also some degree of inflammation in the left eye, indistinct vision, great disposition to watchfulness in the night and to sleep in the day, an unwillingness to be alone in the night, which lasted many weeks. Small appetite and great susceptibility to cold. By advice of Dr. Jackson, he took a journey to the South, with a view to go to Charleston. He left Boston for New Haven, April 9. With his customary activity, he visited and received visits from all the principal medical men in each city or large town on his route, and the principal institutions of the place. At New York, he found the Hospital very much improved, and was particularly struck with two glass rooms with large doors, to enable patients to enjoy the light of the sun. At Washington, he called on the President, visited the Patent Office, examined the mastodon teeth, the elephants, the Washington Monument, Smithsonian Institute, and the Capitol. He reached Richmond without receiving any of the benefit he had hoped from climate. April 22, he took the steamer for Norfolk, where he visited the Naval Hospital; and, in the afternoon, embarked for Baltimore. The cloudy state

of mind which had so much troubled him, suddenly left him after being in the Baltimore cars. He returned home, after three weeks' absence, in an improved state of health, but subject to wakefulness and disturbed state of mind at night.

This remaining, attended also with a good deal of debility, led him to yield to the solicitations of his daughter to accompany her and her family to Europe.

### CHAPTER V.

#### VISIT TO EUROPE IN 1851.

Dr. Warren embarked on board the "Mediator" on the 14th of June, at eleven o'clock. His hours on board ship, besides those spent in exercise and conversation, were employed in listening to the reading of Hugh Miller's Works, Lyell's "Manual of Geology," Dr. Drake's "Topography and Diseases of the Mississippi Valley," "Johnston's Notes of Canada and Nova Scotia," &c. July 5, he landed at Liverpool, and went to the Adelphi Hotel. After remaining three days in Liverpool, and visiting those persons and things in which he was interested, he left that place for London, and arrived July 8, seven, P.M., at the Brunswick Hotel, where Dr. Boott had engaged rooms for him. He immediately called upon Sir James Clark and upon Mr. Lawrence.

On the next day, after calling upon Sir Benjamin Brodie, he went to the Royal College of Surgeons, where he met Mr. Pierson, who had taken the place of Mr. Clift. He notices a mastodon skeleton, very perfect; Dinornis glytodon, &c.; after which, he

received a visit from Dr. Holland. The same day, he was furnished with cards for visiting the Dockyard, Arsenal, Woolwich Hospital, the Queen's Stables, an exhibition of flowers and fruits at the garden of the Horticultural Society in Farnham, the House of Lords, Windsor Castle, and Lyon-house Garden. Received from Sir Benjamin Brodie an invitation to dine.

On July 15, he attended the Royal Agricultural Show at Windsor, where he noticed particularly some Alderney cows, very beautiful; the Jersey cow, resembling the Alderney; the Channel-Island cow, dark-bay Devon, and long-horned cow. Had an interview with Dr. Carpenter, Sir James Clark, Dr. Holland, and Dr. Forbes. On the 16th, he dined at Bartholomew's Hospital, where he was called upon to make a speech.

On July 19, he visited St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington. Afterwards went to meet Mr. Fergusson at the King's-College Hospital, where Mr. Fergusson had an operation on a tumor below the jaw. Before operating, he said, "This tumor is stated by Dr. Warren of Boston, who is here present, and who is the best living authority for what relates to tumors, to have a resemblance to a tumor which was the subject of the first surgical operation, under ether, which was performed by him." This occasioned an expression of applause from the students present.

July 19, in writing to his son, he says, — you II.

"My time is very much occupied with visiting museums, hospitals, and the magnificent Crystal Palace, which, if it were continued as it is, would be an everlasting place of visiting and amusement. Probably the goods will be removed in the autumn, but the palace allowed to stand as a place of winter resort.

Dr. Mütter, of Philadelphia, is in the house with me. He and I went yesterday to see Mr. Toynbee's collection of morbid preparations of the ear, — about a thousand in number. He showed us a beautiful speculum auris, which I shall bring home, though rather complicated. His improvements are, no doubt, very great. There are here also Dr. J. Rhea Barton, of Philadelphia; Professor Gray, with his wife; and Mrs. W. Loring and her daughter are also here. I often wish I was with you, enjoying grapes and figs; but I must say, I have never seen such strawberries as those here. They are many of them nearly as large as a billiard ball, and of so delicate a flavor, that I eat them without cream or sugar.

July 23.—Attended the international dinner, which was given with a view to promote good feeling between English and Americans.

Paris, July 27, 1851.

MY DEAR M—, — We left London, day before yesterday morning. Had a very pleasant ride to Folkstone, and there passed the night. The next morning, we crossed to Boulogne, and reached Paris at seven, P.M. We are temporarily provided for at the Hotel de Londres, in the same house with Mr. Sears and Mr. Crowninshield. Mr. Crowinshield we found much better; and M. Louis and myself are to have a consultation on the question of his remaining here,

or returning to America. Before I left London, I made an arrangement with Dr. Mütter to procure for you one of Mr. Toynbee's ear speculums, and also a new-fangled probang, which he will bring. To-day being Sunday, I have done nothing but go to church.

Two days before our departure from London, we had quite a remarkable dinner, of which I shall give you some of the details. Mr. Brown Westhead, M.P., conceived the idea of aiding in the obliteration of old prejudices between the English and Americans; and, for this purpose, invited a party, consisting, besides the American minister, of twenty Americans and twenty Englishmen; among them a number of members of the House of Lords; Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, and others, of the House of Commons, &c. The place of meeting was the Clarendon Hotel. The company assembled at eight o'clock, and were arranged an Englishman and an American alternately; so that I was placed between two gentlemen, neither of whom I had ever seen before, who, I soon discovered, were members of Parliament. In a few minutes, however, we were conversing on the peculiarities and manners of the two countries, and commenting quite freely, yet with perfect delicacy, on the defects of each. Among other things which I recollect, the gentleman on my right, who was a very intelligent lawver, asked whether we were not more shackled in America by common opinion and the press than the English. To this I fully assented; and, on the other hand, pointed out, as a defect, the great inequality of conditions, particularly as to rank, in Great Britain. He allowed the existence of this state of things, but maintained that the nobility were no further respected nor liked than their private character justified, and that the shades of distinction were gradually. fading away. On the subject of slavery, both of the gentlemen near to me agreed on the absurdity of attempting to compel the Slave States to emancipate the colored people by any sudden or violent process, as it must infallibly terminate in dissolving the Union, and greatly interrupt the prosperity and the greatness of the country.

Mr. Westhead, who presided, proposed for the first toast, after some patriotic remarks, "The Health of the Queen;" next, that of Prince Albert, who is very much liked; then, of the President of the United States; and, next, that of the American minister. Mr. Lawrence answered in an animated and very successful speech, and finished by giving "The Health of the Premier, Lord Palmerston;" when his lordship rose, and, in a very eloquent and powerful manner, showed that the institutions of each of the two countries were well adapted to the peculiar state of the world at this period; that the two countries had a common interest as well as a common origin, and especially that this interest called on them to unite in the advancement of free institutions, and in checking, if it should appear, any disposition to deprive society of the benefits of the intellectual and physical improvements which so remarkably characterized the present age. This speech was received with great applause.

Very fine speeches were made by other gentlemen, and particularly by the member of Parliament on my right. Many persons present were so wrought up by this address as to burst out into the strongest acclamations; and the whole was one of the most deeply interesting scenes I have ever witnessed. Time passed off so rapidly, that when a gentleman drew out his watch, and showed it was half-past twelve, we were amazed, and rose simultaneously to retreat, but were recalled by fresh speeches. At quarter-past one, I rose again, determined to retreat; but was suddenly

arrested by hearing my name pronounced by a gentleman opposite to me at table, whom I had never seen before that evening. He said, "There is a gentleman from America present, who has distinguished himself as a physician, surgeon, man of science and humanity," and other flattering things; which, of course, disturbed my feelings. It was very certain, however, that I must make an answer, and under circumstances in which preparation was out of the question, and, of themselves, calculated to confuse and embarrass. rose, therefore, very slowly, and as if hesitating whether to The company saw that the position was a trying one, and were disposed to receive any thing favorably. I then said, that at so late an hour, and on so sudden an occasion, I was exceedingly reluctant to detain the company any longer, especially when I saw around me persons so eminently distinguished, by their situation, in the great affairs of the present day; that, however, I could not feel myself justified in omitting to add my testimony to that of my countrymen who had already spoken in favor of the sentiments of high respect and honor which had been expressed for the British Nation; that we felt proud in acknowledging our fraternity with a government which had done so much to protect the liberties of Europe from an aggression which threatened to overwhelm the civilized world; and that we did unite with them in the disposition to aid the progress of improvement, and oppose tyranny on the one part, and licentiousness on the other, wherever and whenever they might appear.

I noticed, that, during this long session, very little wine was drunk. I got home at quarter before two, having walked alone from Bond Street to Hanover Square, notwithstanding the "thugging" which is said to be fashionable in London at this time.

July 28, Paris. — To-day is the first summer day we have had. Dr. Bigelow called on us, last night, between eleven and twelve. I had some conversation with Mr. Paxton, who was much gratified with hearing from Colonel Perkins, and said he would do every thing for me if I came to Chatsworth. I was also introduced to Lord Palmerston, though introducing is much out of fashion.

July 29.—To-day we have moved to Meurice's, and have a good salon au deuxième. But lodgings are scarce and dear. I have seen some of our friends, particularly M. Louis, who was very kind, and asked much about you, as did M. Civiale. I then attended a meeting of the Academy, where I met Velpeau, Roux, Ricord, and others, and had the honor of being announced as present at the meeting, M. Orfila presiding. M. Civiale is to carry me to the Institute.

Aug. 4. — I went to examine the collection of comparative anatomy at the Garden of Plants, and had a noble view of the skeleton of the whalebone whale, or right whale; the first complete skeleton I ever saw. The whalebone, being in place, showed the way in which it served to strain the water, and retain the numerous small mollusca on which the animal lives. There were two skeletons of African orangs, of large size, — the chest and pelvis as large as that of a man. There were no mastodons' heads, but a number of skeletons and separate heads of the elephant, principally Asiatic.

I went to the President's fête at St. Cloud; was introduced to the President by our minister, and had some conversation with him about our voyage to Europe in 1837, which he readily recollected. There were about two thousand persons present, of all nations; very beautiful ladies, a vast number of officers in brilliant uniforms. The day

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was very fine, and about a hundred fountains playing. The President was dressed in a plain black suit, with white waistcoat and brown-colored scarf. He did not appear to feel at ease.

Aug. 18. — Got home, after three or four hours of pretty hard work, in time to accompany Mr. Civiale to the Academy of Sciences. He obtained permission of the President to give me a place in front of the President, where I had an excellent opportunity of hearing every thing. Present, about forty in number. Among them I recognized Dumeseil, the only professor, out of thirty, remaining from the time I was first at Paris. There was also Tenard and Dumas. The former was with Vauquelin when I was in Paris. Among the astronomers, Arago, Biot, and Leverrier; of physicians and surgeons, Civiale, Roux, and Raver. Many curious papers were read on the late eclipse; but the most remarkable exhibition was a Report by Arago, perpetual Secretary, who, though with a broken voice and constitution, gave an account of about twenty communications submitted to him.

The assembly held together till near half-past five; though, as soon as the clock struck five, most of the members began to show very decided marks of agony, under the effect of which about half of them were carried away before the session terminated.

HESSE DARMSTADT, Aug. 13, 1851.

My DEAR S——, — We left Paris four days since. By we, I mean the courier, François, — John and myself. We came through Brussels; took the Rhine at Cologne; went up the river to Hesse; thence to Frankfort by railroad; and

the next morning, by private carriage, to Hesse Darmstadt, the great scene of the late revolution. It is a beautiful town. The houses are like palaces, and most of them have gardens.

But you will probably ask, What led me to Darmstadt? My object was to visit Professor Kaup and his famous collection of fossils, which for some years have been objects of great interest to me. I found the Professor in the midst of his family, quite simple in his manners, and as kind as possible. He carried me to his collection in the castle, and left it in my charge to take such notes as I wished; and, besides giving me some valuable things, put me in train to get casts of his whole collection for about seven hundred francs. In the afternoon, I took him in a carriage, and drove out through the Grand Duke's garden to some of the finest scenery I have ever witnessed. We spoke with many people on the drive, and had some very interesting conversation with German gentlemen and ladies. The Germans are the most polite people I have ever seen. Many bowed to me in the street, and most of them to Professor Kaup. The town of Darmstadt is very clean, quiet, and handsome. The houses look like palaces. After tea, I made my last visit to the Professor, had a very valuable conversation, and finished with his walking home with me.

The next morning, at eight, I left Darmstadt by railroad; and having obtained the coupé with my courier, and a very amusing young Frenchman, who was swearing and joking all the way about the stupidity of the German railroad drivers, we traversed the country of the Grand Duke of Hesse, rich with all the beauties of nature, embellished with noble mountains and beautiful rivers, and showing still the vestiges of the ancient Roman inhabitants. We went to Strasburg to hear your old friend the cock crow.

In reviewing the course I have pursued in Europe, and the objects I have attained, I feel, on the whole, as well satisfied as I could well expect to be. I have, indeed, omitted many matters that would have been amusing; but as things which are by many considered as labor are amusing to me, and as they have promoted the great object I had in view, - the attainment of health, - I believe I ought to be well satisfied. I cannot but regret not being able to see Switzerland, Vienna, Berlin; and, in Great Britain, the Isle of Wight, Devonshire, Edinburgh, and other places. If I were to stay a month longer, I could, perhaps, have obtained these things; but I have a great apprehension of coming home in cold and gloomy weather, and a strong conviction that my health would be better confirmed by regular living at home than by a longer residence in Europe. I ought to say that I have still to complete my purchases of instruments, books, and other matters.

PARIS, Aug. 21, 1851.

MY DEAR E—, — If you have received number eight before this, you will be aware that I made an expedition into Germany, of which I gave an account as far as Strasburg. After viewing the Cathedral, and seeing the angels and the cock, I called on Mr. Sedillot, well known to me by reputation; and found him engaged in the extirpation of the elbow-joint. After he had finished, I introduced myself to him; and he very politely carried me all round the hospital, and put me in the way of seeing a great collection of fossils. He afterwards invited me to his great military hospital (which is a magnificent establishment), and to take

dinner with him in the country. After passing two days in Strasburg, we took the railroad to Scarbrough. There, the railroad failing, we found a britzska and two horses, for which we had previously made an arrangement; and the remainder of this day, and a good part of the next, we posted at the rate of ten miles an hour, passing the night at Nancy, a very beautiful place. In the afternoon, reached Bar le Duc in time for the railroad, which brought us to Paris before eleven o'clock. Thus we accomplished the ride from Strasburg to Paris in two days, without rising very early or riding very late.

The journey was a very pleasant one. We were, indeed, frequently worried by the custom-house; had considerable difficulty about passports, and were unnecessarily detained in Strasburg on account of the same. The expenses in Germany we found moderate, and the people very polite. Germans, in the small towns, regularly bow to strangers, and bid you good-morning when they meet you early. They eat little breakfast; dine at twelve; and, at dark, eat bread and salad, and drink beer. Our excursion up the Rhine was very beautiful; for the river was overflowing, and all the travelling part of the community in motion. By means of our courier, however, we obtained very good accommodations everywhere, sometimes magnificent. The Cathedral at Cologne appeared much better than when we saw it; as, though they were still at work, there were no sticks of timber to deface it within or without.

Since my return to Paris, though I try to take things leisurely, I have been very busy making arrangements. The Garden of Plants, M. Charrier, &c., I have visited almost every day. . . .

at this moment, while I am writing, edified by a balloon,

which is floating in full view of our window over the Champs Elysées, with a horse and four persons attached to it. This continued in sight for some time, and afterwards disappeared; but what became of it, we don't know at present.

Paris, Aug. 25, 1851.

My dear M—, — Two days since, we had the satisfaction of receiving our letters, up to yours of the 5th of August. They had unluckily remained in London. Your memoranda for certain objects I have attended to; that is, a portable amputating case, varicose veins, elastic knee-caps, dressing for issues, Grisolle, Lebert, &c. I have also ordered such new and peculiar instruments as I have thought would be useful for the Hospital and private practice. It has been rather difficult to select; but I have not omitted any thing on account of expense, in that department.

Mr. Civiale gave me his last volume, and had me to dine with him in the country, near St. Cloud. The place is very well situated, and he is going to build a new house. I was pleased to see his old father taking care of two cows (which reminded me of our Jerusha, Ann, and Mary); and not less to find in his garden, and very much extolled by him, Louis Bonne, Doyenné d'Hiver, St. Germain, and Easter Beurré pears, many outside grapes, and fine-looking figs. The conversation was very pleasant. I amused them with some account of ancient times, in which Chaussier, Dubois, Boyer, Fourcroy, and Vauquelin were conspicuous. Most of the gentlemen present had been at the London Exhibition lately, and gave very amusing accounts of the eating, drinking and fashions of the English. You would imagine that

there was nothing good to eat; and, in the hospitals especially, that there was a destitution of attendance and comforts.

After staying there till nine o'clock, we were conveyed in private carriages to the Chemin de Fer, where we waited, in darkness and in the open air, half an hour for the cars; being placed in the midst of a heavy body of citizens, who had been enjoying themselves at St. Cloud. Most of them consisted of young fellows in blouses. When the cars did arrive, there was a grand rush. We tore backwards and forwards like wild-cats; and, being misdirected by the conductor, I was soon separated from all my French companions. Mr. Capen, however, luckily stuck on, and found one place, which I had great difficulty in obtaining, as the conductor tried to put me back, and substitute something in petticoats in my place. However, I could not waive my claim for anybody at that time of night; and so we went on, blouses and all, in an open carriage and in utter darkness, with a recollection of the Versailles catastrophe to cheer me on the way. Mr. Capen, in the mean time, succeeded in getting upon the top of one of the cars. We occasionally heard shouts, which were rather of an ominous character; but at length arrived safe at about half-past ten o'clock, and then walked home to the Hotel Meurice, where we found our friends in some anxiety. From all this and other exposures, I do not seem to experience any inconvenience.

27th.—Yesterday I dined with Guerin, in the midst of the city, near Notre Dame. The house is large and convenient, but situated in a place with alley-ways narrower than could be found in any part of Boston. Guerin has left his palace of Muette, and been dismissed from the Hospice des Enfans; Louis says unjustly, but says his reputation is increasing, and that he will come out triumphant. He has lately been

called to England to a near relative of Lord Palmerston, and has been very successful. The dinner party consisted of our friend Louis, one other gentleman of the medical profession, and the rest lawyers, politicians, and propriétaires. The conversation soon became warm, and terminated in a political discussion, in which the claims of different parties - Imperialists, Monarchists, and Red Republicans - were supported without reserve. Guerin, however, was the only one in favor of the latter party. He stood out for the democratic principle, as the only just foundation of government, and was entirely opposed to one head. The Monarchists were not less hot. I was repeatedly appealed to, and gave a decided opinion in favor of an imperial government for France. This, coming from a republican, produced a great shout, and turned the laugh on Guerin. The discussions were conducted without acrimony, but with an impetuosity which frequently led the whole company to speak at once. We broke up about half-past nine; and I walked with Louis, rather against his will, as he wished to ride. The walk required an hour, and was rendered somewhat critical by a violent dust and wind, and threatening of rain. I have one more dinner to go through before leaving Paris, which, like the others, was got up for me. This is from my old friend Buffos, and is to be in the country. Paul Dubois has, however, on the condition I would go, agreed to take me out and return me in his own coupé. I have made some partial purchases of M. angustidens teeth at a low rate. . . .

. . . Day after to-morrow, I expect to leave for London; and I look towards home with no small degree of pleasure, and only wish I was there now. . . .

Aug. 26. — Went to the Academie de Médecine. Presented Dr. M. W.'s pamphlet to the Academy; which was favorably noticed by the Secretary, M. Dubois. The discussion was on the advantages of an artificial leech instrument, compared with natural leeches. Qualified approbation of the new instrument was voted.

Aug. 27. — The mastodon reported by Mr. Laurillard to be sold to a Russian must undoubtedly be the relics of Peale's mastodon, dug up 1801, shown in Europe in 1802, carried back to America, placed in Philadelphia, afterwards removed to New York, thence to Paris, there rejected, and then sold to St. Petersburg.

Brunswick Hotel, Hanover Square, London, Sept. 1, 1851.

My DEAR S—, — Your kind letter was very grateful to me. It gave me much information, and in a very agreeable way. In my last letter, directed to M., I gave some account of particular transactions in Paris. My time there was passed agreeably and profitably; though I labored under an indisposition all the time I was there, which compelled me to abandon all the beautiful figs, peaches, plums, and vegetables. My trouble is over now; but the figs and peaches are no longer accessible, excepting at most extravagant prices.

While in Paris, I usually arose at half-past seven; breakfasted at nine; went out at ten, and fagged away at the Garden of Plants and other places till dinner-time, which was at about six, and required an hour. After dinner, made some one or more visits, then wrote the journal, and finished with writing letters. My life, however, was very

irregular, as I frequently dined out, and sometimes went into the country. . . .

. . . I have passed some time very agreeably at the British Museum. Many of my letters advise me to remain longer in Europe; but, although I think the voyage has been very beneficial, I think the present irregularity of my living, and the désagréments arising from the want of a home, would kill me in a reasonable time. I hope, therefore, that my friends will not blame me for coming home, and will not regret my not seeing many things that it would have been desirable to have seen, — particularly Switzerland, Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, and all the pleasant country towns of England, — and will give me some credit for leaving home against my inclination, and encountering a great deal of suffering.

Sept. 2. — Called on Professor Owen, whom I found very busy in preparing a Report on the subject of the Exhibition. He then wished me to give him information on the subject of his giving a course of lectures in Boston, which had been proposed to him. I told him I thought there would be no difficulty in his selecting any period between the 1st of October and the 1st of April; that, if he had to repeat his lectures, two lectures a week would be as much as he could give; and I encouraged him to believe that his lectures would be very acceptable.

After this, I took an omnibus to Regent Street; got some very slight refreshment; and then, wishing to go to Brompton to see Miss Gray, I got into the first omnibus which went to the Exhibition, and walked on from that till I discovered I was out of the way about two miles. Then I looked

up a cab, and presently found myself moving on under the auspices of a drunken driver and and an almost immovable horse. In five minutes, the former whipped off the lash of his whip, so that I began to despair of finding Miss Gray. But the man, drunk as he was, found the place; and I had a very pleasant conversation with Miss Gray, and gave her the handkerchief which Mrs. Dwight had purchased for her in Paris.

After this, as I could not stir without my drunken driver, I got him to take me to the Exhibition, and there sought out the surgical instruments, which I found very numerous and very beautiful. I should judge there were about thirty thousand people present. There might have been fifty thousand.

Sept. 3. — Went with a student to Guy's Hospital, the first scene of my surgical labors. Examined the museum, which is very large and beautiful; the dissecting-room, which is quite perfect; the library, which contains some of my books, but none of those on ether. The librarian was very kind and attentive. I then saw the room where I used to sleep in the hospital; afterwards some of the wards; and found, in what was called the "accident ward," the sister, or nurse, the only surviving person of those who were there when I was dresser. She is now eighty years old, very much crippled, but is well taken care of in her own room. Finally, I visited what I never did when there, — the chapel of the hospital, and the splendid monument of Guy, who founded it.

Sept. 8. — Rose at seven o'clock, in order to go to Lewes. Left at nine, A.M. Took an omnibus to the Bank. Walked to the Great Eastern Railroad. Arrived about ten minutes before ten. Had some ten minutes to spare. Went through a beautiful country. Reached Lewes at ten min-

utes before twelve. Walked into the town. Noticed a house very ancient. Then walked to Southover Church. Sent for a person in the neighborhood, who let me into the church. This was supported by a range of columns running up the middle of the church: they were as thick as they were long. At one angle of the church was a small chapel, very beautifully made, in which were deposited the remains of William, the first Earl of Warren, and Gundreda, his wife. These were found in digging a railroad, 1845. Then visited the remains of the castle which belonged to the same earl. From the top of these fortifications is a magnificent view of the whole surrounding country. Bought a number of articles there, and returned so as to reach London before four o'clock.

Received letters from Dr. Roots, Mr. Sears, Mrs. Dwight, W. H. Walshe, M.D., Queen Street. In the evening, went to see Dr. Carpenter. He showed me portions of mastodon food by the microscope. We had a good deal of conversation upon temperance, religion, politics; so that I staid pretty late, and got home at eleven o'clock. He promised to send, on Wednesday morning, sections of some of the mastodon food. Received a call from Edward Charlesworth, the mineralogist; from Dr. Jackson, with the address of Auguste Bravard, — Ingenieur des Mines, 5, Cour des Fontaines. His London address, — 34, King Street, Bloomsbury Square.

LONDON, Sept. 5, 1851.

MY DEAR S—,—I have been in London six days, and had the pleasure of seeing the sun shine into my room in the morning, to-day, for the first time. The weather, for vol. II.

the last ten days, has altered from summer to autumn; but we are happily free from rain. In two or three days, I expect to quit London, and proceed to Derby or Warwick, Boston, York, and Liverpool.

Some people find great fault with me for doing too much; while, on the other hand, I am constantly teased with recommendations to do this, that, and the other; to visit all kinds of beautiful places, and see all kinds of collections; to stay in Europe a little longer, or a great while longer. In the midst of opposing difficulties and counteracting wishes, I have endeavored to unite, as well as I could, what was agreeable with what was useful; always making an important consideration, that I came abroad for my health. The necessary separation from M. has been a hard thing for us both, but was inevitable.

I have been closely employed in London in picking up information and all kinds of things. Day before yesterday, I dined at the American minister's with a large party, consisting of our minister to France, Mr. Rives; Sir Henry Bulwer, the minister from Naples; the Duchess of Lancaster, one of the royal family; and the Duchess of Somerset. By the latter lady I had the honor to be seated, and had some conversation with her. Mrs. Lawrence was very kind and attentive, notwithstanding the great company. . . .

. . . . Day before yesterday, I was at Guy's Hospital, the scene of my earliest labors. It was very interesting to me to go over the ground I trod more than fifty years ago, and to compare the feelings of that period with those of the present; but, though no doubt the balance would be in favor of the first, it was very fluctuating, from the uncertainty of success, and the predominant feeling that my life would be short. I found that only one person, who was there when I was, was still living there; and I know of

none elsewhere but my old friend Dr. Roots, who is much of an invalid, and whom I am afraid I shall not see. . . .

LONDON, Sept. 10, 1851.

MY DEAR E, - In an hour from this time, I expect to be under way for home. On the route, I shall take Chatsworth, Boston, and perhaps some other places. Two days since, I went to Lewes, to the seats of our ancient ancestors; and have an interesting account to give you. Yesterday, I walked to Mr. A. Lawrence's to dine with him for the last time; and, attempting a new route to avoid Piccadilly, got there quarter of an hour after the time. They were, however, delighted to see me; and we sat down, four at table, and had the most interesting conversation I have had in London. It related to his situation, to the society of London, to the state of things at home; till finally Mr. Lawrence ordered up his carriage, and told me I must go to keep my appointment, which I did very reluctantly. Last evening, I attended a very interesting meeting of the Zoölogical Society of London, where were present Sir Charles Lyell, Professor Owen, and others. On Sunday, I went to the Temple Church, which is newly erected; in the afternoon, to St. George's; and, in the evening, to East Sheen, to dine at Mr. Bates's, who had invited me to stay there a couple of days. . . .

Sept. 10.— Left London at twelve o'clock. Had a pleasant ride to Derby, which I reached about sunset. Found a good house, and the charge moderate.

Sept. 11. - Left Derby at eight o'clock. Soon after,

passed through Matlock, and came to Rowsley about ten. Took omnibus to Chatsworth. Stopped at tavern. Went to the palace, delivered my letters, and was shown into the grounds, particularly the Conservatory, in which were the aloes, pine-apple, banana, date, cocoa, India-rubber (caoutchouc). Saw the beautiful fountains, grapery, &c. Left at one. Went through Matlock, Derby, and Nottingham, to Lincoln, which I reached at half-past eight. "Saracen's Head."

Sept. 12. — Weather continues very fine; thermometer, about sixty-five degrees. Last night, had a fresh attack of indisposition. Discovered I was lying with the window open two nights. Took a sparing breakfast. Went out afterwards, and viewed the Cathedral; to me, the most imposing I have seen. While I was surveying the exterior, I heard the peal of the organ. Went in, found a service going on, and became so engaged, that, on looking at my watch, I perceived I was on the point of losing the train. I tumbled down the hill, and, in my hurry, lost my way; but happily reached the station in time. At eleven, left for Boston, and reached it at twelve. Drove to Dr. Shaw's, and found he was in New Zealand. Then went to view the church tower, two hundred and sixty feet high. In the church is the effigy, in stone, of Lady Tilney, who founded the church. After being in Boston two hours and a half, and being in utter ignorance where to go next, I pitched into the station (what we call the depot), and took two first-class tickets for York, one hundred miles off. So few people, even of the rich, take first-class tickets, that the man stared at me with all his eyes; and he would have been still more surprised if he had known that John was my domestic. Reached York soon after sunset. Walked before dark to visit the Cathedral.

Sept. 13. - Morning fair, and the whole day remarkably

pleasant. Lived through the day on milk porridge; at night, took chicken and tea. At ten o'clock, Mr. Conter, the bookseller, called on me, and conducted me to the garden of the Philosophical Society at York, which I soon found to be the seat of St. Mary's Abbey, but beautified in a remarkable degree. Part of the ruins of an abbey had been discovered; a new building had been constructed for a museum, - the Hospitium. I then called on Professor Phillips, the geologist, who was kind enough to conduct me to the Hospitium, which was filled with Roman, British, and Anglo-Saxon remains, - particularly some British skulls, very perfect. After this, proceeded to the walls of the city, and walked on them for some distance; then to the Cathedral, and went through it. This cathedral is the longest in England, except Winchester, which is five hundred and fifty-four feet long, this being only five hundred and twentyfour feet. The day being warm, the church felt remarkably cold and damp. Returned home; rested a while; then took a cab, and drove out three miles to the Bishop's palace. The country round York is finely cultivated, but has no natural beauty. Returning home, I went to St. Mary's Gardens. Towards evening, walked round the Cathedral again, when it appeared more vast. After this, went to the upper part of the town, which has a few fine buildings; then home to tea.

Sept. 14.—Beautiful morning; thermometer, sixty degrees; wind, south-west. Complaint better. Out at ten o'clock. Went to St. Olave's Church, on the ground of St. Mary's Abbey. Heard a very good sermon and a very good service, though there was no organ. Coming out of church, was addressed by Professor Phillips, who, at my request, carried me to the zoölogical collection, where I found fossils deposited in forty-two cases, arranged according to their

natural position, from alluvial down to silurian strata. Went home to dinner; which consisted principally in sucking two mutton-chops, and eating a piece of bread and cheese. Then Dr. Tuckerman, the organist, called, and carried me to the great Cathedral, and I heard very noble music. Met the Rev. Mr. Boyd, and went with him and Dr. Tuckerman to see a piece of Roman pavement, fourteen feet square, discovered yesterday. At seven, P.M., went to tea at Professor Phillips's, and passed a very pleasant evening with him and his sister.

Sept. 15. - Kept awake last night by tea drank at Professor Phillips's. This morning a little overcast, the first time for five days. Rose at half-past seven; breakfasted at quarter-past eight. Went to the railroad at quarter-past nine: but, owing to neglect or mismanagement, the train did not start till half-past ten; in consequence of which, the connecting train had gone off, and we were obliged to wait two hours alone in an old, lonely place. I amused myself by walking about the fields, and considering the events which had there happened; for about the spot was the scene of the numerous battles which had been fought in the vicinity of York. In the afternoon, we rode to Normanton and Liverpool: the greater part of the road was highly picturesque. Reached Liverpool about six o'clock, and found there Mr. and Mrs. N. Appleton. Mr. Radley gave me very good rooms.

Sept. 16.— Called on the House of Baring Brothers and Company, India Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool. Took a carriage, and carried Dr. James Vose, 5, Gambier Terrace, Hope Street, Liverpool, to Mr. Skirving's Garden. This is a little town, with streets and squares laid out, and separated by hedges ten or twelve feet high. These hedges have a beautiful effect; but their principal use is to protect

the plants from the action of cold air. They consist of hawthorn, privet, and various other plants. With some difficulty, I selected a few species. Carried Dr. Vose to his house; then wrote a letter to ——; and concluded, in a very contracted way, some account of my movements in Europe. Then made arrangements for an order on Mr. Skirving. William Skirving, 14, Queen Square, Liverpool.

Sept. 17. — Morning, dark and cloudy; thermometer, fifty-three degrees; wind, north-east. The last day in England. Rose at half-past six. Walked out before breakfast, at half-past seven. Found the Liverpool shops not opened. Went home to breakfast at eight; but the breakfast to order did not come till half-past eight, and then cold and uneatable. The trouble produced by this occurrence was not diminished by the entrance of Mr. Feuchtwanger, of New York, a jobber in fossils. But I got rid of him without ceremony. We concluded our preparations for departure, and I took leave of the Adelphi Hotel and England without any painful sentiment; and, though I have every reason to be satisfied with England, I believed I should be better at home.

We went on board the "Baltic" at eleven, and were under way at twelve. The prodigious confusion of embarking a hundred people was soon dissipated; and, in three hours, we were tranquilly at dinner. Had a very pleasant conversation with Mr. Anderson of New York, and also with the Messrs. Stevens, proprietors of the yacht "America," which had won the prize at the yacht race. They are very sensible people. I suggested to them a number of improvements, and they seemed to be quite at home in many sciences and in horticulture. Met on board also Colonel Hamilton of New York; Mr. Mitchell, son of Dr. Mitchell of Philadelphia;

Dr. Smith of New York, and his wife; and a number of other persons who knew me, but whose names I could not find out. The steamer I found more commodious, and much better for walking, than I had expected. The clouds, in part, cleared away; and the first day on board the steamer closed very pleasantly. Above all, the hope of soon being at home contributed to render it agreeable.

Sept. 30, New York. — Thermometer, fifty-nine degrees; morning fair, afterwards cloudy. Rose at half-past five. Breakfasted at forty-five minutes past six, at Irving House; and, having plenty of time, walked to the station of the New-Haven Railroad for Boston. At eight, the train started, and trundled us through the streets of New York half an hour or so. At the second station where we took the cars, Dr. Charles B. Smith of New York, a fellowpassenger in the "Baltic," joined us, and went as far as Springfield. His conversation was very amusing, and showed much information. He told me curious anecdotes of the Duke of Devonshire, of Dr. —, and of various other persons, political, religious, and medical. The country through which we passed struck me to be browned by the long drought, but had, to my eyes, a pleasant aspect, from its being a part of New England. At quarter-past five, we arrived at the Boston Station; and, on getting out, were welcomed by Dr. Mason Warren and his son, and Mr. Sullivan Warren, - the most agreeable spectaele which has met my eyes for the last three months.

## CHAPTER VI.

# JOURNAL. — BIOGRAPHICAL AND SURGICAL NOTES. OPERATIONS.

Oct. 1, 1851. — Rose at half-past six. Thermometer, sixty degrees. Wind, north-west. Weather, fair. Breakfast, half-past seven. Soon after breakfast, Mr. Goadby, the microscopist, called. I carried him to the Hospital, and introduced him to various gentlemen as a person who would give lectures on the microscope. Afterwards went to the operating theatre; four operations. The students present welcomed me in a handsome manner. . . .

Oct. 3. — Went out at nine. Went to Brookline soon after eleven. Examined the cottage at the farm, and found the rough pasture transformed into a beautiful place, so as to be no longer recognizable as the rough, stony pasture. This is owing to the skill and industry of Mr. ——. It occurred to me to make an extensive plantation of the new evergreens, — such as Araucaria, Deodar Cedar, Irish Yew, and others. The Norway Spruce, bought of Mr. Skirving about three years since, are now generally about three feet high, and appear very flourishing. The Cedar of Lebanon does not stand the winter here. The Deodar is more beautiful than the Norway, and grows very freely in Skirving's nursery; but will not thrive near Boston, though it does in Newport, R.I.

Oct. 7. — Meeting of the Academy at Dr. Bigelow's. Mr. Agassiz made a communication on the echinodermata of the United States; and Professor Blasius gave an account

of the whirlwind which passed through the county of Middlesex last month, which was perhaps the most remarkable ever known in New England.

Nov. 12. — Made a public visit at the Hospital, for the benefit of young physicians previously invited to attend. Received a letter from Professor Holmes speaking in favorable language of the proposed donation of my father's bust.

Nov. 27, Thanksgiving Day. — Went to Brattle-street Church. Sat in the seat which I used to occupy sixty years ago, and which was previously occupied by my father, and originally by General Warren, who was the first occupant after the church was rebuilt in 1770. The church retains its ancient aspect; and I saw rising, in imagination, the former occupants of the pews, all of whom had departed. They were, compared to the people of the present time, a venerable race. There were Governor Hancock, Bowdoin, Mr. Russell (a famous merchant), Governor Sullivan, all dressed magnificently in white and scarlet robes, and wigs of various sizes. For the most part, no trace even of their families is left in the church.

We had a family dinner at my house, assembling twentythree persons, young and old; four additional in the evening. It is thirty-six years since we used to meet at School Street, at my father's house, on Thanksgiving Day.

Dec. 25, Christmas Day. — Went out early to Hospital, but was rather late at church; but, the service being short, was enabled to stay through communion. The whole service was very good, and the church fully crowded. We had "St. Martin's," though not without difficulty, the musicians being desirous of having fine pieces of music. In the afternoon, dined at Mrs. Lyman's, at half-past two, — all the grandchildren being there, to the number of about twenty. They had Christmas amusements, and, among others, a Christmas-tree.

- Jan. 1, 1852. At the Thursday-evening Club, Mr. Dexter showed the apparatus for cooking by gas. Mr. Wightman showed the new system of fire-alarms by electromagnetism.—
- Jan. 3. Operated in the Hospital for the extirpation of the lower part of the rectum; the first time this operation has been done in our Hospital.
- Jan. 9. Received notice of my appointment as honorary member of the Parisian Medical Society.
- Jan. 29. Nothing remarkable at the Hospital. At home: many patients, all poor. No pay, except one gentleman who came to complain that I had taken five dollars from a patient who was poor, and wished me to pay it back again; which I did accordingly.

Club met at Colonel Swett's; full meeting. Colonel Swett desired me to give some account of my travels in Europe. Gave an account of the habits of the English as to hours, &c.

Received this day various papers from Mr. Capen. He offered to copy my Biographical and Surgical Notes; to which I agreed. The Biographical Sketch I began some years ago. The Surgical Memoranda were written in the summer of 1849, and have since been revised and completed.

March 2. — Prepared an analysis of the cases attended by me in the Hospital during my four-months' term, which required an hour and a half. Whole number, ninety-six; operations, nineteen; fractures, twenty-five.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL AND SURGICAL NOTES.

The first operation I ever saw made a painful impression; but, after I began the study of medicine and surgery, I do not recollect to have had any disagreeable feelings on seeing operations. On going to London, from conversations of my fellow-students, particularly Center of Newport, Jones of Barbadoes, and Simmons of South Carolina, I acquired a fondness for seeing and doing surgical operations. Being dresser in Guy's Hospital under Mr. Cooper, afterwards Sir Astley Cooper; having constant charge of forty or fifty patients; receiving, and frequently operating on, accidents, - I had great opportunity for cultivating this taste. In one thing there was an entire deficiency; that is, practical instruction in operative surgery. By this I mean practising operations on the dead body, with the aid of an experienced instructor. This was in part remedied by Dubois in Paris, with whom I lived, and who did occasionally exercise us, though to a very partial extent. My first operations were, therefore, comparatively difficult. I felt this difficulty so much, that when I went to Paris the second time, in 1837, I went through a complete course with Dr. Chassingnac; and I found his dissections very useful. The making and putting-up of anatomical preparations was more useful than any thing else in giving what the French call tour de main (manual dexterity).

Feeling always a great anxiety when I had a difficult operation to do, I made a practice of first studying the surgical opinions of authors; second, investigating the anatomy concerned in it; third, of writing down the exact mode I meant to adopt; and, fourth, noting all the probable

and even possible accidents which might arise, and the means of remedying them. By adopting this plan, I generally succeeded in my object; and, always preferring security to dexterity or rapidity, I have lost as few patients, so far as I can judge, as any surgeon who has had so many difficult operations.

In the latter part of my practice, my operations have been more rapid than in the earlier part; but, as the operation of ether is to spare pain, its application in surgical operations has greatly diminished the importance of operating with rapidity, and even rendered it in some degree blamable, since it cannot be believed that great security is consistent with great haste, in ordinary cases. Furthermore, I have found it necessary, before deciding on the plan of an operation, to view the subject repeatedly, at different times and under different circumstances; and this has been the more necessary to me, from an instinctive propensity to form an opinion on the subject of an operation with great quickness. By taking repeated and different views, the errors of the first investigation have been corrected by those of the second. I have never affected to decide suddenly; a species of pride which some persons rejoice in, but which sometimes leads them into great difficulties. As has been common to surgeons, I have been less in favor of surgical operations in the latter part of my life. Few surgeons have had greater responsibility than I have; being left, after the death of my father in 1815, for a considerable number of years, without any person to consult with in surgical cases of difficulty. My only resource was to consult with Dr. James Jackson. His advice, in all the cases for which I asked it, was sound and good; and, although we were decidedly rivals on entering our career, we never quarrelled during the course of fifty years; and this may

be attributed in part to the plan we adopted when we met in Europe in 1800-2, as before mentioned, that neither should make any insinuation unfavorable to the other, or tolerate such insinuation when made by any one else.

When I began to operate in Boston, many of the great and difficult operations had never been performed. My father had done a great number of amputations and extirpations, and had successfully removed many cataracts. He had also repeatedly done the operation of lithotomy; that is, he did it, I think, four or five times altogether. I have done it since then, including operations of lithotrity, thirty, to forty times. But the operation for strangulated hernia, that of aneurism, and many others, had not been done in Boston. The first cases of hernia which I proposed to operate on excited great opposition on the part of friends of the patients, and surrounding physicians. In consequence of this difficulty, I lost two or three patients in the outset, from delay, - one, an only son of the Rev. Dr. Baldwin; the other, an only son of B. B., Esq. In consequence of these occurrences, I determined to operate soon, or not at all. This became known to physicians, and they fell in to the plan of operating early. Since this arrangement, I have lost scarcely any patients in operations for strangulated hernia. In some cases, where the patient lived at considerable distance, this plan was necessarily deviated from, without such unfavorable results as might have been expected. But these are to be considered as exceptional cases. In the winter of 1805, I was summoned to the wife of Dr. C., of Amherst, N.H., and, accompanied by Dr. Gorham, rode in an open vehicle on the snow, the best part of a cold night in February, to Amherst. The disease had lasted seven days. The hernia was crural and large. The intestines adhered to the peritoneum; and

I dissected the peritoneum from the intestine through a large space; cut off a considerable portion of swelled omentum, which could not be reduced, and which is still to be seen at the Medical College; and reduced the adherent intestine. The patient recovered, and lived many years after-The operation of strangulated hernia became at last so familiar, that it cost me no more anxiety than the extirpation of a tumor, especially since the introduction of ether. The operations of aneurism were, so far as I remember, all successful but two. Both of these were cases of the iliac artery; both of them in drinking-men; and, in both, the arteries were ossified. The most formidable of them was a case of ligature of the external iliac high up in the abdomen, and the aneurismal tumor so large and prominent as to render the artery almost inaccessible. In a fit of delirium tremens, the patient got out of bed on the third night, and walked across the room. A few days after, he died. The preparation is preserved in the museum of the Massachusetts Medical College.

Among the peculiar operations which I have performed may be named the following:—

Some tumors of the neck, in which I dissected the carotid artery, jugular vein, and most of the important nerves.

Some cases of tumors in the pharynx and fauces. These recovered.

Cases of tumor situated behind the globe of the eye. Removed without destroying the globe.

Removals of the upper and lower jaw. A patient who was the subject of the former (upper jaw) operation is still living. . . .

Two cases of dissection of tumors, with exposure of the peritoneum, — one in the upper, the other in the lower, part of the abdominal cavity. All these recovered, with the

exception of the tumor in the upper part of the abdominal parietes.

To this unfavorable case I must add another, quite remarkable, — a case of invagination of intestine in a child, a patient of Dr. Ware. I made an opening into the cavity of the abdomen, and disengaged the invaginated part as well as I could; but the patient died.

Once I extirpated the clavicle. The patient did well the first fortnight; and died, owing to some imprudence.

Two or three cases of foreign bodies in the knee-joint safely removed.

Discovery of dislocation of the crystalline lens, and removal by extraction, as in the case of Mr. Samuel Gray of Medford, and Mr. Jonathan French of Boston. This accident was before unknown. This fact is recorded, in the year 1812, in the "New-England Medical Journal." My friend Mr. Travers has also mentioned it in his work on the Eye.

Extraction of biliary calculi from the umbilical vein with the incision of this vein.

Fissure of the palate,—the first time in this country. Roux only had done it once before.

Twice, removal of a fungoid tumor from the dura mater. In both, the patients recovered from the operation. One died some time after; the other recovered, still lives, and is well.

Of lithotomy patients, have lost but two. One died from eating, on the third day from the operation; the other had the largest stone I ever removed, situated adherent in the bladder, over the place of incision, so that I had to knock it off with the gorget. The patient was of the worst habit,—that is, gross and relaxed; at the worst age, about forty; and died of purulent formation about the bladder.

I have cauterized and cut out considerable portions of the rectum without bad effect.

Once removed an ossified ovarium, or uterus. The patient died, the same day, of hemorrhage.

Had two cases of entrance of air into the veins, — one of which died immediately; the other, being less in degree, recovered. Besides these, I had two suspected cases, both of which recovered. . . .

In another, I sawed the os femoris below the neck for anchylosis with inversion, and brought the bone to its place. . . .

Breaking up false anchylosis under ether, and other operations, which had not been done before in this part of the country; and, in fact, have always considered it as my mission to introduce the as yet unknown science of Europe, rather than to attempt originality. Still, however, I believe that no one has been more ready to propose and execute new and difficult operations required by peculiar cases. necessity, however, of teaching to others what was elsewhere known, has greatly interfered with original improvements in operations. Before the Hospital was instituted, my operations were the only ones which the Faculty in general had an opportunity of seeing. When I did an operation, all medical men interested in the matter were invited to attend; but the operations done by others were seen by a few only. I never was invited to the operations at the Marine Hospital but once; which was by Dr. Charles Jarvis, forty years ago.

The establishment of the Hospital gave a new face to surgical instruction and improvement. Owing to the liberal spirit of the founders and first directors of this institution, it was understood and established that the Hospital was not intended for the benefit of the sick alone, but for that of

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society, by means of the instruction of students. Thus surgical treatment and operations were open to a great number of persons who could not have seen them elsewhere. By the students, the fame of the Hospital was also extensively diffused. One evil arose, however: a great number of people, finding that operations could be done there gratuitously, deprived the surgeon of his reasonable fee, so that our private operations were diminished more than one-half.

In the year 1837, during my absence in Europe, Dr. J. M. Warren did a number of operations, which gave him a standing as a surgeon, and afterwards increased his reputation by some peculiar operations of an autoplastic character; and he was soon called on to operate very extensively. Thus I had an opportunity of transferring to him a considerable number of operations, and saving myself anxiety and responsibility. It was surprising to myself to observe how soon the taste or desire for operating was extinguished; so much so, that I think I should have left operating entirely, but for the occasional satisfaction of instructing students. Then the introduction of ether in October, 1846, relieving the patient from suffering, gave a new impulse to operative surgery. The power of doing operations without distress naturally increased the disposition for them on the part of the surgeon, as well as that of the patient. Many people came a great distance to have operations done with ether; and many, who would not undergo operations before, agreed to them, when they could be done without pain.

The review of my surgical practice has taught me that surgical operations should be done by individuals devoted to surgery as a science and an art; and that medical practice of a general nature should not be

mixed with it, excepting where it is indispensable, as in country practice. It is a business which requires a combination of intellectual, physical, and scientific qualities elaborated with great industry. To do justice to surgical operations, a surgeon must not only be clear-headed, of indomitable courage, a fair mechanical turn; but he must work very hard and very constantly through his whole life in what may be called the mechanical part of surgery; that is, of practising dissections in general, particularly dissections for new cases, and constant repetition of surgical operations on the dead body as well as the living. In the early part of my life, I offered to my colleagues to give up the practice of medicine, and devote myself to surgery, provided all the surgery of the town was referred to me. If that had happened, I think I should have been more useful in my day and generation: certainly I should have led a much more comfortable life; escaping, as I should have done, the over-bearing mixture of surgical operations, medical and midwifery practice, and lectures.

## CHAPTER VII.

## SURGICAL NOTES.

JOHN HUNTER. — ABERNETHY. — COOPER. — CLINE. — DR. JONES. — ALANSON. — HERNIA. — LITHOTOMY. — STRICTURE. — SIR EVE RARD HOME.

At the period of my first visit to Europe, in 1799, John Hunter had recently quitted the stage; but he had left a great number of pupils fully animated with his spirit and imbued with his doctrines. Some of my friends would admit nothing which had not the sanction of John Hunter; and we had, of course, much wrangling on the comparative merits of Hunter: but his influence was altogether predominant in the London schools. We had among us a manuscript copy of his lectures, in an aphoristical form. To this we resorted, as to an inspired work, to solve our difficulties. His doctrines of inflammation, and of the distinction between constitutional and local diseases, and of the great influence of the former on the latter, were beginning to be understood. His observations on the adhesive inflammation, and union by coagulated lymph, produced a great change in the treatment of recent wounds; and cures were accomplished in a few days, which had required weeks. Yet many of the Continental surgeons, to this day, refuse to practise it, to their great loss and that of their patients; while on the other hand, in England and in this country, it has been adopted in a way too exclusive. For example, we often see it attempted when there is not sufficient skin to cover the wound; and sometimes portions of skin are saved for this purpose, when they ought to be removed. When, also, a patient has suffered long from a chronic inflammation, — as, for instance,—a chronic disease of the joint, — I deem it to be not good nor wholesome to remove that irritation too suddenly. I would, therefore, be glad to have the wound heal slowly; and, when this cannot be, I think it prudent to establish an issue, and maintain it during a year, to prevent the system from suffering too violent a change from the suppression of an habitual flow.

Among the most distinguished pupils of Hunter, at that time, were Abernethy and Astley Cooper. They were, as yet, little known, but began to show signs of the genius and industry which afterwards distinguished them so highly. Abernethy was reflective, methodical, and speculative: Cooper was experimental, and fond of operating. students, of course, admired the latter. Abernethy avoided operating, when he could. When he was compelled to, he sometimes wounded himself as well as his patient; and, if the operation was of a difficult nature, he did not succeed with it. Sir Astley was bold, decided, and somewhat rough, but very successful in the attainment of his object. I have seen him, in a case of lithotomy, when one of his colleagues had been half an hour searching for the stone, after passing his finger into the wound, and making a slight cut with a bistoury, restore the case to its owner, who then was able to extract the stone in a few minutes. The truth was, that the bladder had not been opened; and the operator had been vainly struggling to draw out the stone, which he felt through the coats of the bladder.

A very able and excellent lecturer of that time was Mr. Cline, of St. Thomas's Hospital, London. He was a pupil of Hunter, older than the other gentlemen mentioned, a

first-rate anatomist, and a very clear and elegant lecturer. But what most remarkably distinguished Mr. Cline was his wonderful coolness and quietness in operations. His knife moved with a free and flowing stroke, without precipitation; and no circumstance could ruffle his composed and quiet mind. In a very curious operation for the removal of a portion of the bone forming the sagittal suture, immediately over the longitudinal sinus, he opened the sinus. The flow of blood was immense; and every one was agitated, excepting Mr. Cline. He, without the slightest emotion, placed a portion of lint on the opening, retained it with his fingers till it became dry, and then dressed the wound. No return of hemorrhage ever took place, and the patient recovered. The depression in this case had taken place about nine months previous, in one of the West-India Islands, by a fall from the yard-arm of a vessel. A portion of bone, about an inch long, was depressed for half an inch. The patient became insensible, and remained so from that time till the operation. On the removal of the bone, he opened his eyes; a few hours after, recognized at his bed-side an individual whom he had formerly known; and soon recovered.

Mr. Cline was senior to Mr. Cooper, and adopted him as his colleague. After many years employed in lecturing and a very honorable practice, he died, leaving but a small part of his experience in print. He made, however,

An operation was performed at the Massachusetts General Hospital, by Dr. Mason Warren, on a child idiotic from depression of the vertex, in which the longitudinal sinus was uncovered for some extent, and not opened. The fibrous coat of the dura mater appeared excessively thin at the point of adhesion; and the blood in the sinus exhibited a decided pulsation, corresponding to that of the articles of the base. Every thing went on well till about a week after the operation, when the sinus opened spontaneously at the thin part, and the patient died after two or three bleedings. (For details in this case, see "trepanning.")

many valuable observations, which might have been embodied in such a form as to have preserved his memory to subsequent ages. Among his interesting observations which I can recollect are those relating to his practice in the ligature of arteries. Hunter had advised the application of a ligature, in the case of aneurism, at a distance from the aneurismal tumor; by which practice, many lives had been preserved. Still, many cases were unsuccessful; and this want of success was attributed to the form of the ligature, which, as well as the mode of application, was not well settled by him. Mr. Cline tried various forms in different cases in which he was called to operate, the object being to prevent the occurrence of secondary hemorrhage. He increased the size of the ligature gradually, on the ground that it would not be so likely to cut rapidly through the artery; and, this operation failing, he applied a broad surface, by means of a piece of wood an inch in length, to the side of the artery, confining it above and below. This, however, was less successful than the other mode; and finally he came to the conclusion, that a ligature of moderate size - say, five or six threads of sewing-silk - was the size best adapted to the ligature of the largest arteries.

Soon afterwards, Sir Astley proposed to apply two ligatures, and to cut the artery between them. This plan was adopted for a while, but soon abandoned as unnecessary,

Surgery is greatly indebted to Sir Astley Cooper for his successful ligature of large arteries. His courage in these operations made quite a revolution in surgical practice. The great blood-vessels had been occasionally tied, as a matter of necessity, after being wounded; but he, so far as I know, was the first to use the ligature on the carotid artery for the cure of aneurism. Dubois said in my hearing, "Je couperais mon père en deux, si le sang ne coulait pas." Sir Astley taught us to arrest the flow of the largest arteries without fear, and to prosecute the dissection of carotid and subclavian without blood. He proceeded, however, with due philosophical caution. He tied the carotid artery of a dog, without any

and sometimes dangerous. The subject was then taken up by my friend Dr. Jones, of Barbadoes; and, by a long series of well-conducted experiments, was placed on a ground which forms the basis for all the improvements which have been made since his time. My own experience has been in favor of very small ligatures, tied with a force sufficient to rupture the inner and middle coats of the artery; and I have never seen realized the apprehension that an artery, of any considerable size, might be divided in this way. Two precautions are quite important: one is, to insulate as little of the length of the artery as possible; the other, to insulate perfectly the exact part where the ligature is to be applied. I prefer, for the most part, to cut the ends short, and close the wound over them.

The return, of late years, to the treatment of sudden cases of aneurism by compression, I regard as a practice worthy of the attention of surgeons; for however beautiful the operation of Hunter may be, yet it must be acknowledged that it has been followed by a large number of accidents.

It was at about the period above alluded to, perhaps a little earlier, that Alanson proposed his improvements in amputation. The application of Hunter's doctrine of union by the first intention, together with the unequal division of the muscles,—that is, the division of superficial muscles lower than deep ones,—aided in hastening the cure after this

bad result. Then he tied the same artery on the other side, without any ultimate impairment of the health of the animal. Subsequently he divided the large arteries of animals, and found that the wounds were not uniformly fatal. Finally, he applied the ligature to the carotid artery of a human female who had aneurism. The patient withstood the operation and its immediate results, so far as regarded the interruption of the circulation; though she ultimately died from a severe fit of coughing, brought on, perhaps, by the inclusion of the ligature of some minute branch of the laryngeal nerves. Not at all daunted by the death of his patient, he, on the first opportunity afterwards, repeated the operation successfully.

operation, and in lessening the mortality. He attempted, however, something more than he could successfully execute, in recommending the division of the flesh in a conical form. After some years' experience, however, it was demonstrated that it was impossible to cut a conical stump with exactness by the sawing motion of the amputating knife, and that the muscles were most irregularly notched in this form of incision.

The subject of hernia, one of so much consequence to mankind, was not well understood in England, and still less in this country, till about the period we are now speaking of. The surgeons of the French Academy seemed to have cultivated this part of surgical science earlier than the English. About this time, Mr. Cline, in doing the operation of tapping for abdominal dropsy, was led to advise shifting the place of incision from the point between the umbilicus and the spinous process of the ilium to a point midway between the umbilicus and the pubic bones. He investigated, also, the relation of the epigastric artery to the neck of the sac in scrotal hernia; and this led to great improvements in the pathology and operation for hernia. Mr. Cooper, his pupil and colleague, attracted to the subject by the interest given to it by Mr. Cline, undertook its investigation; and following it up, as he always did, in a laborious and thorough manner, he developed the science of hernia in two splendid folios, which would preserve his name for ages if he had done nothing else.

Lithotomy was at that time practised by the English and French surgeons with greater success than formerly. The introduction of the lateral method, by Frère Jacques, in France, and afterwards his urethral staff, the bistoire caché of Frère Côme, the gorget of Hawkins, and the knife of Mr. John Bell, rendered the operation comparatively safe in the

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hands of good anatomists and experienced surgeons.\* Sir Astley Cooper was, I believe, the first who proposed a bilateral gorget: but this double-edged gorget was never very extensively employed, and, after a while, was relinquished by Sir Astley Cooper himself; he substituting for it a straight probe-pointed knife. A number of improvements in the mode of dividing the bladder have been made in our own country, and an ingenious instrument has been contrived for this purpose by my friend Dr. A. H. Stevens. An attentive study of the anatomy of the parts concerned in the operation for stone, and frequent trials on the dead body, have brought me to the conclusion, that the bilateral method, originally mentioned by Celsus, and improved and illustrated by Dupuytren, is preferable to any other. Among the reasons for preferring it are, first, its directness, the external incision and the internal corresponding with each other; second, the simplicity of its anatomy; third, the little danger of hemorrhage; fourth, the size of the incision in the prostate, which is double that in the lateral operation, without the proportionate increase of danger; and, lastly, the more direct access to the bladder. All the patients I have operated on in this way have recovered. I will mention here, as a somewhat singular fact, that the operations of lithotomy in Boston within the last sixty years or more, up to this time, have been performed by my father, myself, and my son. The introduction of lithotrity has, in a great measure, superseded that of lithotomy, and brings to my mind a remark made to me by M. Roux, of Paris, ten years ago, and which has not recurred to me till this moment, that there will be no longer any good lithotomists, since lithotrity would so much diminish the

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Cline improved the gorget very much by converting the round instrument of Hawkins into a flat and oblique one.

practice as to lessen the inducement to its study. On this subject, we shall, however, have something to say hereafter.

Sir Everard Home flourished at this time. He was nephew to Mr. John Hunter. Sir Everard was distinguished by his work on "Strictures of the Urethra," and introduced the treatment by caustic into very general use; so that, for many years, the caustic treatment was carried to a great extent. I can recollect myself having used it more than sixty times in a patient who previously had had as many operations performed on him by Sir Astley Cooper. After allowing the caustic bougie to remain in the urethra five minutes, notwithstanding all our efforts, this patient, by his own imprudence, brought on a suppression of urine; and, not being willing that the bladder should be punctured seasonably, it ruptured spontaneously, and the urine extravasated into the scrotum: but, not discharging freely through the skin, the distention of the bladder was not relieved, and he was obliged to submit to the puncture of the bladder through the rectum. He ultimately recovered, wearing a curved tube in the rectum. In this condition, he enjoyed a comfort to which he had been a stranger for twenty years back. He was able to command the urine by a cork, pressed in the aperture of the tube, which he could withdraw when he pleased, and have a free discharge of urine, instead of the perpetual dropping from the urethra, which had tormented him previously. The urine, of course, ceased to pass through the urethra. On one occasion, however, he got into trouble. Finding a degree of obstruction in his instrument, he attempted to remove it, and, perceiving a resistance, made a sudden nervous effort, by which he broke from its inner extremity a considerable portion of stony substance which had formed on the tube. Soon after, he began to feel the symptoms of stone in the bladder;

and, being called to see him in the country, I succeeded in passing an instrument through the rectum into the artificial aperture, and thence into the bladder. At first, I was at a loss how to proceed in relieving the patient from his new complaint; but ultimately succeeded in the following way: Passing the forefinger of the left hand into the urinary orifice in the rectum, I introduced a conical piece of prepared sponge into the bladder, and, when this swelled and enlarged the aperture, another, which made an opening large enough to pass in the dressing-forceps. By this the calculi were seized, and extricated through the rectum. By the substitution of a gold for a silver tube, he was never troubled with another incrustation. I have seen this gentleman gallop on horseback through the streets of Boston, without suffering any inconvenience; and he afterwards came to inform me that he had a reasonable prospect of the birth of a son and heir. Ultimately, he was able to dispense with the canula; and, dying some years after of apoplexy, the recto-vesical aperture was found to be guarded by an adventitious sphincter, which enabled him to control the urinary evacuation.

The use of caustic to remove stricture of the urethra I have long since abandoned, for the following reasons: first, it is apt to make false passages; second, instead of shortening, it delays the cure. Mechanical dilatation, employed with care and skill, is a better mode; although liable to great objections, if roughly used. The employment of a bougie in the urethra is an operation requiring great delicacy and little force. The secret of the practice is to accommodate the direction of the instrument to the flexuosity of the passage. And thus it has happened to me a hundred times, after being unable to pass a straight bougie, that a silver catheter, with a proper curve and of

large size, would enter the bladder with ease, especially when aided by a finger passed into the rectum. In a great many cases, however, a straight wire affords the only means of drilling a passage through the stricture; and although it will often, if not directed with the utmost caution, deviate from the urcthra into a by-passage, the surgeon must be alive to the danger of such a mistake, and use due precaution to avoid it. By what has been said, it is not intended to recommend the banishment of caustic from practice, but to restrict its use to those cases where other modes will not succeed.

Besides the celebrity which Sir Everard Home gained from his extensive practice on the urinary organs, this gentleman became much distinguished as a comparative anatomist, and held, for the time, a high rank among men of science. After his death, however, some suspicions arose that he had built his fame on the labors of Mr. Hunter. The British Government having, with great liberality, purchased the invaluable collection of Mr. Hunter, ordered an investigation into the course pursued by Sir Everard Home; when, through the intervention of Mr. Clift, now or lately conservator of the Hunterian Museum, it appeared that Mr. Hunter, with a literary industry not always found in scientific men, had prepared twenty or thirty large folio volumes of manuscripts, all written in a fair and regular hand, recording the immense discoveries he had made in human and comparative anatomy and physiology. It appeared, also, that Sir Everard Home, after having employed these manuscripts to build up his own reputation, had with unrelenting barbarity committed them successively to the flames till the whole were destroyed. Of course, the escutcheon of Sir Everard must go to postcrity with a blot which can never be effaced.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE BELLS. — MR. DEASE. — REFLECTIONS. — JOHN HUNTER'S DEATH. — DR. GREGORY. — SIR HENRY HALFORD. — FRENCH SURGEONS IN 1800.

In Edinburgh, there lived, at this time, the three Bells; all of them extensively known while living, and leaving permanent memorials of their labors. The elder of these, Benjamin Bell, preceded the two others, and was not particularly connected with them. He was highly esteemed as a practitioner of surgery, in Edinburgh; and rendered himself useful to the surgical world by his laborious, minute, and comprehensive treatise, in seven volumes. Although now rendered useless by hundreds of works which have succeeded it, it was of great value originally, as the most extensive labor of the kind in the English language. Benjamin Bell made many improvements in the practice of surgery; but it would be unnecessary to specify them: and I shall only speak of him in relation to the termination of his career, and its practical inferences. In the latter part of his life, Mr. Benjamin Bell was called in consultation on a patient who had a severe affection of the urinary organs, in regard to which a great difference of opinion was held. The most distinguished surgeons of the country considered the complaint to be a remarkable induration of the prostate, simulating a stone in the bladder. Mr. Bell, on examination, pronounced the disease to be stone, and advised an operation, which was actually performed. No stone was found, and the patient fell a victim to the operation. Mr. Bell was so much affected by this mistake, that his reason became impaired, and he died in a state of insanity.

In connection with this occurrence, I would mention Mr. Dease of Dublin, a surgeon, not surpassed by any which Ireland has produced, and whose reputation stands upon the same ground with that of Cline, Pott, Dieffenbach, Roux, and Velpeau. Mr. Dease, after a long career of usefulness and honor, happened to be called to a consultation in the Hospital, on the subject of a tumor in the thigh, which some supposed to be an aneurism, and others considered an abscess. Mr. Dease's opinion being asked, he pronounced it to be an abscess, and thought it ought to be opened. No one was willing to open it, and the knife was handed to Mr. Dease. He plunged the knife into the tumor, made a free opening. An immense gush of blood followed; and, notwithstanding every effort to arrest it, the patient was dead in a few minutes. Mr. Dease retired without expressing any particular emotion; and, the next morning, was found dead in bed, covered with his own blood.

These cases lead to some profitable reflections, which have caused me to introduce them here. The first is, that a surgeon, whatever be his age and experience, ought not to be over-confident in a doubtful case; since, although he may gain great reputation from a diagnosis which seems to be the result of long experience, he is ever in danger, even with the best precautions, of such exceptional events as the above, which may cost him his happiness. Second, with all the well-founded claims to kindness and humanity which the medical profession are justly entitled to, it must be acknowledged that there is a professional propensity to exultation in occurrences unfavorable to the reputation of

distinguished individuals. As such a propensity may re-act on any member of the profession, high or low, it is as much the interest of every one as it is his duty, to quash such feelings in himself, and repel them when emitted from others. A third reflection arising from these incidents is, that we are too sensitive to any unfortunate mistake we may have inadvertently made. When such a consequence arises from our own negligence, we must expect to suffer; but when it springs from the nature of our profession, and the impenetrable obscurity which sometimes occurs, we must submit to it cheerfully.

This brings to mind another case, scarcely less remarkable, or less worthy of consideration. When a surgeon has passed his life in very active and honorable employments, he has a right to be treated with a certain degree of deference by younger and more active members of the profession. But this kind of deference does not often find a place in the characters of young and skilful surgeons in this country. The event I would allude to, however, did not occur in this country, but in Europe. Mr. John Hunter had brought on, by his great labors, an organic affection of the heart. Being called to a meeting of his colleagues at St. George's Hospital, where he had practised for many years, he was treated somewhat rudely by a younger surgeon, which produced so violent an excitement of his feelings as to bring on a paroxysm of his complaint, of which he presently expired. How painful it is to reflect, that a life devoted to the most beneficial and humane labors should be terminated by a sort of violence inflicted by one of the same profession! On the other hand, a veteran practitioner may think himself justified in retaining an influence with which the claims of the young and aspiring are in natural opposition.

John and Charles Bell were brothers, and colleague lecturers on surgery. Neither of them was connected with any medical school or college. John was a remarkable man, and in his glory at the time I visited Edinburgh in 1800. He was tall in stature, quick in movement, eloquent in speech, full of feeling, and often carried away by the excitement of the moment much further than he could have wished. I have seen him so wrapped up in his own ardent declamations as to deviate from the subject of his lecture; follow a new track till the hour had expired; then, looking at his watch, burst into tears at his own excitability. He was an excellent operator, with natural adroitness, and great acquaintance with the human body. In sprightliness of thought, and easy flow of language, he excelled all other surgeons of the day; and his description was so vivid, that an unprofessional person could read his anatomy without fatigue, and his surgery with overpowering interest. Whatever he touched he enlivened; sometimes, indeed, at the expense of exactness. Mr. John Bell particularly distinguished himself by his pathology of the arteries, and the ingenuity and success of his treatment of arterial injuries. He threw out many suggestions for the management of hemorrhage; devised new and critical operations; was especially keen in cutting away the superfluities of the old surgery, and sometimes unsparing of the new.

Both John and Charles Bell, distinguished as they were, in consequence of professional disputes in the city of Edinburgh, were excluded from the great hospital, — the Edinburgh Infirmary. This exclusion they viewed as a great injustice. A strong party of medical men united with them in this opinion, and determined to make an effort to wrest the direction of the infirmary from those who then

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were predominant. At the head of the latter was Dr. Gregory, Professor of Practical Medicine in the University, distinguished as the author of the Latin "Conspectus Medicine Theoretice," — a work in two octavo volumes, much admired for its elegant Latinity. He may be said to have been one of the last of the Latin school; as, since his time, no Latin work, I believe, of equal magnitude, has been composed in Great Britain. The abandonment of a common language of communication between the nations of Europe and America must be considered as an evil, since we no longer have the privilege of being able to read the productions of Germany, Italy, and Spain, without acquiring the languages of those nations, or waiting for a translation which may never come.

Dr. Gregory was a person of great stature, great abilities, and great reading. At the time I saw him, he might be about fifty years old; and he said then, that he had read so much, that all his late reading was mere repetition, and he had closed his library, determined to think, instead of to read. Dr. Gregory was, of course, a formidable antagonist. He poured out volumes of controversy, of the most sarcastic character, against Mr. Bell; who, in turn, was not slow to retaliate. The war lasted some years. Its results are no longer seen, excepting in our libraries; and here they remain, affording no other instruction than that which teaches the folly, disgrace, and utter inutility, of extraprofessional dispute between medical men.

Mr. Bell's life was not so happy as those who admired his talents could have wished. After many years of tossing on the sea of passion, he was at length brought up by a paralytic affection, which to him was a living death. He contrived, however, even in this state, to use his pen; and his journey to Italy in pursuit of health afforded him the

means of amusing and instructing his profession and the public.\*

Sir Charles Bell, when I first knew him, was a lecturer on anatomy. - He was minute and laborious, but rather stiff and tedious in his mode of lecturing, probably from want of habit. His favorite topic at that period (1800) was the brain and nervous system. This topic he followed up with great assiduity, extending his lectures on the brain alone through more than a week; and he continued his investigations until he arrived at those remarkable distinctions of sensitive and tactile divisions of the nervous fibres of the spinal marrow, and of the internal and external nerves of respiration. The former of these studies is far more important than the latter; but, altogether, they form an amount of original science sufficient for the fame of one individual. Sir Charles became distinguished as a practical surgeon; and was, on this ground, transported from Edinburgh to London, where he had not the same success as in Edinburgh. After remaining there a number of years, he returned to his native city, and was received with acclamations by his friends and countrymen. The latter part of his life was busy, useful, and tranquil: but he never attained those rich pecuniary rewards which fell to the lot of some of his contemporaries; perhaps because he devoted too large a portion of his thoughts to matters of speculation.

<sup>\*</sup> To this gentleman (John Bell) we are indebted, among other things, for a criticism on the operation of trepanning, as performed at the time. Mr. Pott, the very able and distinguished surgeon of St. Bartholomew's, London, applied the trepan in many doubtful cases, and with an unsparing hand; sometimes riddling the skull by the number of his perforations. The success of these operations did not correspond with his boldness; and this, being shown off by Mr. Bell in his sarcastic and declamatory style, put a decided check on the great freedom of this operation. We might here allude to trepanning for depressions of the skull, producing epilepsy, paralysis, and fatuity; but, as this took place at a subsequent period, we shall speak of it hereafter.

At the time I last saw Sir Charles, which was in 1837, Sir Astley Cooper came to Edinburgh for the first time since he had been a student there. Sir Charles and he, now in the evening of their days, forgot the differences which had separated them during the earlier periods of life, and entered into communications, which, between two such men, could not fail to be deeply interesting. One anecdote of an amusing nature, related by Sir Charles, made more impression on my mind than the rest. Sir Charles said he had, when in London, been for some time in attendance on the Duchess of W---. The duchess, from the nature of her complaint, not recovering, a consultation was desired with Sir Henry -..... When Sir Henry entered the bed-chamber of the sick lady, he bowed, and bent his knee till it nearly touched the floor. These flexions and genuflexions were continued, as he crossed the chamber, till he reached the bedside of the patient, when, dropping lower than before, he kissed her emaciated hand. "When I witnessed these manœuvres," said Sir Charles, "I was satisfied that my longer attendance would be unnecessary; for the patient preferred the pleasing flexibility of Sir Henry to my plain manners, and he was soon installed in my place."

Having mentioned the arrival of Sir A. Cooper in Edinburgh in 1837, I will here state that his visit occasioned a festival among the medical men in Edinburgh. A public dinner was given, at which all distinguished persons of the profession in Edinburgh were present; and many interesting recollections were brought out from their obscurity to enliven the occasion.

Sir Charles Bell was the author of valuable works on anatomy, surgery, physiology, and the anatomy of expression and painting. He had great taste for the arts, and his productions in this department were of use to artists as well as anatomists. Sir C. Bell died soon after I saw him, in the year 18—.

Let us now take a view of what was doing at this time - namely, about the year 1800 - on the other side of the British Channel. This was one of the most interesting periods of surgery in France. At this time lived Sabatier, Boyer, Pelletan, and Chaussier. Roux and Dupuytren were just beginning their career. Paris was then distinguished by a number of the most brilliant lights in various branches of our profession: Fourcroy and Vauquelin in chemistry; Desfontaines in botany; Cuvier in comparative anatomy; Corvisart and Alibert in medicine. Desault and Chopart had just disappeared, - the latter under the revolutionary axe. Sabatier and Boyer had distinguished themselves by two of the most exact works on anatomy which have ever appeared; and their productions in surgery, particularly those of the latter, have formed the basis of a great number of surgical works in different languages. Among this splendid collection of worthies stood the young Bichat. Dying at an early period, and scarcely known out of France during his life, he exhibited an industry, a power of research, a talent for discrimination, and an ability to generalize, which few men had possessed. He did much for anatomy, for physiology, for medicine, and for surgery. His "General Anatomy" presented an originality not less agreeable than useful, by exhibiting distinct views of the different textures which compose the animal body, and their habitudes of action in health and disease.

I was fortunate enough to be received into the family of Dubois, afterwards Baron, where I passed a year, and had an opportunity of seeing most of the great men of the profession, and of becoming acquainted with some of them.

Dupuytren, who was of about the same age with myself, but much more advanced in science, lived under the same roof. I saw him in the early mornings crossing the courtvard of the Convent of Cordeliers, which we occupied as a dwelling, and as a practical school of surgery and anatomy. The monks had all disappeared in the revolutionary storm, - some of them in banishment, and many on the scaffold. Here, in their courts, Dupuytren was seen passing from his chamber to the dissecting theatre, and from the dissecting theatre to the lecture-room. I attended one of his first courses (it might be his very first), and was surprised at the minuteness and extent of his knowledge; but I was not suspicious at that time that he was destined to stand at the head of French surgery. He had great natural abilities; but he owed his reputation as much to his industry as to his talents. He was quick in his perception, determined in his resolution, and unscrupulous in his operations. He necessarily lost many patients; but his operations were so ingenious in plan and brilliant in execution, that he was always followed by a crowd of students in preference to other operators. It would be difficult to give an idea of the improvements in various departments of surgery which arose under his hands.

When Dupuytren was first chosen hospital-surgeon, his principal opponent was M. Roux, the present distinguished surgeon of the Hôtel Dieu. As usual in Paris, a concours, or comparative trial of ability, was opened and maintained with great skill. I was present at this conflict, which took place at the Oratoire, and was astonished at the facility with which the candidates, on drawing an unknown question from the urn, entered without hesitation on a response which extended to a variety of topics branching out from the original inquiry. At the end of two days, the balance

of opinion inclined to the side of Roux. Dupuytren had his mind so strongly fixed on obtaining the place, that he was almost distracted at the appearance of probability in Roux's favor. In this state of mind, he visited the gentleman who gave me the information, - a person of influence, and a friend of Dupuytren. Rushing into his room, he burst into tears, struck his head violently with both hands, and cried out, "I am lost!" His friend tranquillized him, and said, "Take courage. Go this evening to Madame B. She thinks favorably of you; will be flattered by your application, and gratified to exert her influence in the medical intrigue. She can turn the scale in your favor, if she choose. Kneel to her. Pray to her. Say every thing you can think of to excite her interest, and you will obtain the prize. Fly! there is not a moment to be lost!" Dupuytren took his advice, and the next day obtained a decision in his favor.

Dupuytren is remarkable for having published but a small part of the results of his experience under his own hand. But his "Legons Orales," written by another, have preserved most of his improvements; and his "Monograph on Bilateral Lithotomy" gives an idea of the correctness of his views and the clearness of his descriptions.

Dupuytren had for his instructor and predecessor, in the Hôtel Dieu, Pelletan. This gentlemen had been bred in the school of Desault and Chopart, and was a surgeon of great ability. I saw him perform an operation, however, which showed that the surgery of the arteries had not at that time received the improvements in France which Hunter had originated in England. I attended this operation, which was at the Prison of La Force, for a large popliteal aneurism, and was performed by the surgeon of the prison; Pelletan and other surgeons being present.

The operator, instead of tying the artery in the thigh, according to the plan of Hunter, made his incision in the ham, according to the old method of tying the artery near its entrance into the aneurismal sac. The depth of the vessel, the proximity of the great tumor, and the free flow of blood, foiled all his efforts; and at last, it becoming obvious that the patient must sink, he was obliged to ask for the aid of Pelletan. This gentleman did not hesitate; but, seizing a large curved needle with a ligature, he passed it under the artery, including the vessel and I know not what else, and thus succeeded in suspending the pulsation of the aneurism. The patient did not long survive; and, of course, there was no opportunity of ascertaining whether, when the ligature ulcerated through the artery, a hemorrhage would have occurred. Pelletan is said to have been unkindly used by Dupuytren; the latter having employed all his great ability to force Pelletan from the chief place in the Hôtel Dieu, in order that he might occupy it himself.

## CHAPTER XI.

OPERATIONS ON THE EYES.—TREPANNING FOR EPILEPSY. STAPHYLORAPHY.—EXCISION OF TONSILS.

In the beginning of the present century, an important change took place in ophthalmic surgery. At that time, Scarpa in Pavia, and Wenzel in Germany, were the most famous operators. Scarpa operated by depression, using quite a fine needle, a little curved, instead of the very large couching needle in use before his time. Mr. Hay, of Leeds, soon after introduced a very small, short, flat needle, which he considered more safe than Scarpa's. The object of both was to avoid wounding the iris, and bringing on an inflammation, which might close the pupil, and prove fatal to vision. Baron Wenzel had in the mean time, by his great success, rendered extraction very popular in Germany and France. Wenzel had, by great practice, become so expert, that he generally succeeded; but it cost him, he said, the loss of a hatful of eyes to learn the operation: and the danger of destroying the eye had deterred the greater number of ophthalmists from attempting it. The principal dangers are prolapse and consequent division of the iris, and the discharge of the humors of the eye when the cornea is cut open. The latter occurrence I saw happen to Baron Dubois. While he was extracting the cataract, a sudden spasm seized the muscles of the eye; the globe was compressed; the vitreous humor and crystalline lens were

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ejected into the face of the operator. Dubois coolly remarked to his patient, "Monsieur, vous avez perdu votre œil."

An improvement in the operation was attempted in Paris, about that time, by the introduction of a spring-lancet, like the German fleam, adapted to cutting the cornea at a single stroke. Such contrivances may be necessary for those who have no opportunity of acquiring the habit of a difficult operation by constant practice; but there is an objection to all contrivances which operate merely on a mechanical principle. There is no substitute for the action of the hand, directed by intelligence, and varied to the circumstances of the case. Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Adams attempted to increase the security of the process of extraction by first making a puncture in the cornea, and then enlarging the aperture by scissors. This is a very awkward operation, and could only be applicable to the extraction of foreign bodies from the interior of the globe. I have, however, used scissors with advantage in extracting an indurated and adherent crystalline lens.

About the year 1806, there occurred to me the first case I had ever noticed, or seen described, of spontaneous dislocation of the crystalline lens. I was invited to see a gentleman who had a very severe inflammation of one eye. I observed that the pupil neither dilated nor contracted in the slightest degree. This fact, the slow progress of the disease, the opacity of the crystalline lens, its prominent position, and the semi-globular projection of the eye, led me to suspect that the crystalline lens was misplaced, and made a pressure on the iris. With the advice and aid of my father, I performed the operation of extraction by first opening the cornea, enlarging the aperture with the scissors, and then dissecting the crystalline lens from its adhesion

to the iris. The patient was thus relieved from suffering, but, of course, could not recover his vision.

No long time after, I operated in another case, where the crystalline lens was ossified. Some account of these and other cases was given in the first volume of the "New-England Journal of Medicine and Surgery." The accident of dislocation of the crystalline lens has since been described by European ophthalmists, but without any reference to my remarks. I will mention another instance of this displacement, which occurred spontaneously. A number of years ago, I was called to a lady who had spontaneous dislocation of both lenses, known by dilatation and immobility of the pupil, prominence of the iris and cornea, and the severity of pain. Finding that the eyes were in danger of being lost, I proposed the operation of extraction. The friends of the patient were shocked by the suggestion, which they could not understand. They transferred the case to another surgeon, who treated it as iritis; was unwilling to believe in any displacement of the crystalline lens: and the patient lost both eyes.

The dislocation of the crystalline sometimes happens from violence; as a fall.

The principal improvement in the operative surgery of the eye, since the beginning of this century, is that of Mr. Saunders, of London. Saunders was demonstrator in St. Thomas's Hospital a short time before I was pupil there. He was rather a favorite with Sir Astley Cooper. He directed his attention particularly to the eye; and, having a large number of children with congenital cataracts, it occurred to him that the operation might be simplified by a process which was suggested by an accident in one of Mr. Cline's operations. In performing extraction of the cataract, Mr. Cline broke the point of his knife in the cornea.

The occurrence was looked on with apprehension at the time, as a probable cause of dangerous inflammation. Mr. Cline did not meddle with the broken piece, and, soon after, saw a stream of rust proceeding from the metal, which diffused itself through the aqueous humor, and caused a perfect opacity. In a short time, the opacity, diminished, finally went off; the broken point had disappeared; and the aqueous humor was perfectly clear and bright. Mr. Cline inferred, from these occurrences, that the absorbent vessels of the aqueous humor possessed great activity in the solution of the opaque crystalline lens. Using a very fine spear-pointed needle, with sharp edges on each shoulder, he passed the needle between the fore part of the opaque crystalline lens and the back part of the iris, till it appeared through the pupil. Then, turning the edge backwards, the cataract with the capsule and lens were divided into many pieces, which were afterwards pushed forwards through the pupil, dilated by belladonna, into the anterior chamber of the aqueous humor. Here they underwent a rapid solution. If the fragments were not wholly absorbed in a few weeks, the operation might be repeated; and it was found that the eye bore the secondary operation better in proportion to the frequency of repetition. This operation I have practised successfully a great number of times, and learnt, after some years' experience, that, when applied to soft or capsular cataracts, it answered well, but could not be used advantageously nor safely for hard cataracts; because the latter either could not be sufficiently divided, or, when they were divided, the fragments, pressing on the iris, were often fatal to vision by closure of the pupil.

On a review of the results of the three principal operations for curing cataracts, I should be led to say, that the most perfect is that of extraction; the most

scientific, that of absorption; and the most facile, that of depression.

The treatment of obstruction in the tear-passage received important improvements in the latter part of the last century and the beginning of the present. The French surgeons, - particularly Petit and Anel, - and, among the English, Mr. Hunter, made many improvements in the ancient processes, and employed their ingenuity in devising new ones. Yet the disease, simple as it is, and simple as its treatment might be thought to be, still remains in a very unsatisfactory state. The syringe of Anel, as a mode of cure of obstruction in the nasal duct, is very inadequate to the removal of the obstruction, especially when the pressure is made by the piston of the syringe. Instead of relying upon this, my practice has been to fill the sac with water, and then, by the pressure of the bulb of the finger, to force the water down through the obstructed duct. This process frequently gives the patient some relief. The small probe passed through the punctum lachrymale into the sac, and thence downwards through the duct into the nose, always seemed to me an uncertain and defective operation. The small size, the length, and the consequent weakness, of the fistula-lachrymalis probe, present a feeble means of overcoming the tenacity of an obstructed mucous membrane by its mere passage through the duct. In order to make this instrument efficient, I proposed, about thirty-five years ago, to retain it in the stricture. This, of course, could not be safely done by a straight instrument. It was, therefore, made to consist of two parts, - first, a horizontal part, a quarter of an inch long, extending from the punctum lachrymale to the lachrymal sac; second, a perpendicular part, about two inches long, taking its course from the sac to the lower part of the nostril. The superior extremity

was finished with a small head. The inferior had the form of a common probe. An instrument of this form could be allowed to remain in the lachrymal passage without straining upon the punctum lachrymale. The patient, being gradually accustomed to its pressure, may at length retain it for a considerable time, and by it procure a gradual dilatation of the strictured duct. I think I have seen the instrument in the hands of other surgeons; but, such as it is, — and I consider it a very good thing, — it was first proposed by me.

The French surgeons adopted the plan of removing a stricture by cutting. An incision was made under the tendon of the orbicularis muscle, and a narrow knife passed below the tendon through the sac and through the stricture into the nostril. It was followed by the probe or tube, which was left in the nasal duct for a long time, sometimes for life. When the tube is removed, the stricture is very apt to return. In order to prevent this, Mr. Hunter proposed a shorter route by perforating the os unguis. Then a short, solid style was passed into the nostril in preference to a tube. This operation has been much resorted to in England and in this country. The most satisfactory mode of removing the obstruction, according to my experience, is, after allowing the sac to suppurate and open, to introduce a probe through the fistulous aperture; to find the passage into the nasal duct; to force the stricture by a small probe, dilate it by a larger, and then pass a style as large as possible through the nasal duct. The patient should be taught to cleanse the duct with a syringe, and to remove and re-introduce the style himself. The English style has a head which ought to be large enough to prevent its slipping into the wound, and disappearing. This accident happened so frequently with the canula, which has no head, that Professor Cloquet, of Paris, was led to invent an

instrument for withdrawing a canula. This consists of a shaft, with a hooked wire in one end, which is introduced into the canula, and catches the lower edge of it in a hook, which is then withdrawn. Some years ago, I operated on a lady with a double fistula lachrymalis. She left this place after the operation, and I did not see her for many years. At length, she came to consult me about a trouble in one of the lachrymal passages; when she informed me that the style had been removed some years before, and she had considered herself well until lately, when an irritation began in the right lachrymal passage, and an ulceration took place. I introduced a probe; discovered something hard, which I naturally inferred was diseased bone; and was led to apprehend that she might have much trouble. On a second exploration, after cleansing the wound with a sponge, I discovered something like a metallic lustre, which led me to suspect the existence of a style, and to inquire how and when the style had been removed. She had no recollection on the subject. Proceeding with a pair of small forceps, I succeeded in seizing the head of the probe, and withdrew it, as may be supposed, in a state of black oxydation; the head only retaining a metallic appearance. She soon recovered, and, when I last heard from her, was quite well.

Trepanning for Epilepsy, &c.—In speaking of Mr. Cline, we have mentioned a remarkable case of trepanning for a depression of the skull, which had produced insensibility for a period of nine months. The distinguished Dr. Physick, of Philadelphia, applied this operation to a case of epilepsy produced by accidental depression of the bone, with most happy results. The patient, if I recollect rightly, had, at a period long before, received a depression of the skull from the head of a nail, which was followed by epileptic fits.

Other surgeons were encouraged to repeat the operation for similar affections.

In the year —, I did this operation on a sailor of the United-States ship "Ohio." He had fallen upon the deck from the main-yard, and received a depression of about an inch and a half in length, and half an inch in depth. He had, in consequence, paralysis of the opposite side, and loss of recollection and of the power of articulation. The operation was in this case partially successful. In another case, — of a young woman with epilepsy from depression, produced by a brick falling on her head, — the epilepsy did not cease immediately after the operation; but ultimately she recovered, and, I think, is quite well, as I saw her, a few months since, with every appearance of health. The operation was performed ten or fifteen years ago.

Dr. Hayward has published the account of his having done the same operation. Dr. Mason Warren trepanned the cranium of a child, for accidental idiotism, in June, 1849. The child was ten years old. For the first three months after birth, it appeared as intelligent as other children of that age. It then received a fall on the summit of the head, which produced an undefined depression about the size of a dollar. When the child's faculties should have been developed, it showed itself idiotic, and so continued to the age of ten years, when she was brought to Boston for examination. She was very strong, ate heartily, and was quite difficult to manage. The parents felt it necessary to obtain advice as to the possibility of performing an operation, which, by removing pressure, might remove the cause of the derangement. We thought, on examining the child, that the possibility of relief was slight: first, because the depression was not very strongly marked; secondly, it was not quite certain that the child was not born an idiot; and, thirdly, the dangers of removing so considerable a portion of bone were worthy of consideration; fourthly, the depression was exactly over the longitudinal sinus, which, it was feared, might be wounded. Taking into view all the circumstances, however, we thought that we should advise the patient's friends to accept even the possibility of relief from an operation under circumstances so distressing. The operation was accordingly performed. Two crowns were applied, and the bone safely removed from its attachment with the membrane covering the sinus. The sinus was seen to pulsate through its very thin membrane for a space of from one to two inches. The pulsations were synchronous with those of the arteries. The child appeared free from any symptoms of inflammation of the dura mater; but at the end of some days, when danger seemed to be over, a disposition to bleed appeared in the sinus. This, though readily checked at first, recurred, and ultimately proved fatal on the tenth day from the operation.

The child was improved in intelligence after the operation sufficiently to render it probable, that, had she lived, the object of the operation would have been attained. The opening of the sinus, at the time it took place, was quite unexpected, and shows, that, notwithstanding the favorable result of Mr. Cline's case, the danger of trepanning over the sinus is not to be estimated lightly.

Staphyloraphy. — Staphyloraphy, on account of the importance of the defect it remedies and the principles on which it is founded, is a striking improvement in modern surgery. It is said, but on what authority I do not know, to have been employed in Poland; but was first practised in France and in this country in 1820. M. Roux was first to use it in his practice. I operated after him, but without

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any knowledge of his method. The plan which I adopted was the following: First, the patient's head was secured, and the jaws separated by a wedge. Second, the left edge of the palate was seized by a hook, and the left lip of the fissure excised by a narrow, pointed, curved knife; beginning the cut about two lines above the angle of the fissure. This was repeated on the opposite side. The parts were then drawn together by carrying a curved needle, having a handle, with an eye in the point, containing a ligature, through the left side from behind forwards, near the upper angle of the wound. The ligature was drawn out with a hook, and passed on the opposite side in the same manner. In this way, three stitches were completed. They were then tied, and secured by the forefinger of each hand passed upon them. This operation succeeded, except at the lower edge, on which I operated a second time at the end of four weeks, and accomplished a satisfactory union. Some years after, on entering a house in this city, I was accosted by a young lady in sounds so well formed, that I could not recognize her as the staphyloraphic patient, till she informed me of the fact.

After the first operation, I made some improvements, particularly in the needle for passing the suture. This I made with a movable point containing the eye, through which the needle was passed. The curved needle containing this eye was passed as before; the point with the thread being withdrawn by a hook. This made the operation much easier than the former. After following this operation for a number of years, I put my cases into the hands of Dr. Mason Warren, who further improved the operation\* by lateral incisions directed so as to cut off the muscles

<sup>\*</sup> See his account in the American Journal of Medical Sciences.

which tend to separate fissures. He applied this mode of operating with success, even in cases complicated with fissure of the bone. He has now operated in nearly thirty cases. It should be mentioned, that, besides the division of the palatine muscles, he dissects the soft palate from the hard in order to be able to draw it across the wound. The instrument employed for passing the suture is a forceps, secured by a slide. The needle is held in the jaw of the forceps, and, after being passed, is relieved by drawing the slide backwards.

It is a little remarkable, that nearly the same mode of passing the needle, employed by Dr. Mason Warren, was practised by my father, Dr. John Warren, about fifty years ago. He had occasion to remove a remarkable radiated cancerous tumor, of about half an inch diameter, from the soft palate of a young lady. After the tumor was removed, a considerable fissure remained. He took a needle very much curved and flattened on the edges, which he secured by a waxed thread in the jaws of a dressing forceps. The needle was passed through, first one, then the other, edge of the fissure; the thread, securing it in the jaws of the forceps, cut; and the needle and its ligature drawn out and tied. One suture at the lower edge of the fissure was sufficient to secure the union in this case.

Dr. Stearns, of Springfield, has, with great ingenuity, contrived instruments adapted to fill the aperture in the palate when any remains after the operation. The patients are greatly relieved, and without any unfavorable influence on the success of the operation, by allowing the use of liquids.

Among the other operators who have improved staphyloraphy are M. Roux (who first performed the operation), M. Krimer, and William Ferguson, Esq. In this country,

Professor Alex. H. Stevens of New York, and Professors Mütter and Pancoast of Philadelphia.\*

Excision of Tonsils. — The first operation for excision of tonsils which I performed was done by ligature, after the method of Desault. The patient was seventeen years old, my brother-in-law; and the operation was done in my house. He was in fine health; but his speech was somewhat affected by the tonsillar enlargement, and he was becoming deaf. The instrument employed was a silver probe, three inches. long, with one extremity a little bent and perforated, and the other extremity bifurcated. The noose of a strong ligature was passed through the hole, carried down to the tonsil, and passed around the neck of the polypus by a forked probe. The two ends hanging out of the mouth were then drawn tight, and secured by being twisted separately around each division of the fork. As the ligature cut through the tonsil, it was untwisted from the fork, and tightened. The same application was made on the other side. The patient suffered much from the swelling of the palate and fauces, and the odor of the sphacelating tonsils was very offensive. At the end of six days, he got rid of the instruments. This operation relieved the peculiarity of speech; but the deafness continued as before, and gradually increased, till, after some years, he was induced to take a voyage to Europe to consult Sir Astley Cooper and other eminent surgeons. No relief was obtained either in England or on the Continent; and I am sorry to say, that I have never known an instance of a person, leaving this country to obtain the aid of celebrated aurists abroad, who returned with any amelioration of his complaint.

<sup>\*</sup> See Dr. Mason Warren's paper in the American Journal of Medical Science, April, 1848.

The very disagreeable concomitants of operation by ligature determined me to employ the knife and scissors. In this operation, the tonsils were seized by the four-pointed forceps or tenette, drawn forwards a little, and divided by a probe-pointed bistoury. Scissors, curved on the flat part, were employed to divide the tonsils. Both of these instruments, particularly the knife, had the disadvantage of cutting in the dark, owing partly to the deficiency of light, partly to the movements of the thumb and finger, and partly to the depth of the part operated on. Hence it followed that the incisions did not reach far enough back, and sometimes reached too far. Dangerous hemorrhage was occasionally the consequence. Instances occurred in which the patient bled twenty-four hours after the operation, in spite of astringents, cautery, and compression by the sponge.

About the year 1820, I received an instrument, invented by Dr. Cox of New York, contrived so as to direct and move the blade of the knife; and likewise one that answered better, which included the tonsil in the ring, and then cut it by a ring-shaped knife. Both of these instruments often failed in taking off a sufficient portion of the tonsil. A gentleman in Boston, having seen me do this operation on his son, proposed to make an instrument acting like the French guillotine; the tonsil having been previously enclosed in an oval-shaped ring adapted to receive it. This instrument I found to answer very well. Noticing, however, that the oval extended in a transverse direction, and, therefore, did not correspond with the perpendicular oval of the tonsil, I applied to Mr. Tieman, instrument-maker in New York, to make an instrument with its oval situated perpendicularly. He found, however, it was impossible to contrive one which would cut on the guillotine principle, and that it must be made to cut in withdrawing. He contrived an instrument on the latter plan, which was exactly accommodated to the shape of a tonsil, and cut very well, though not so perfectly as the guillotine. This we have made use of for several years; recurring, however, frequently to that which preceded. By these instruments, the operation can be done on young children with safety and facility, and without the necessity of employing any contrivance to keep the mouth open. It does not, indeed, remove the larger part of the tonsil, but takes off sufficient to relieve the patient from the difficulty of speaking, of swallowing, and of breathing; and can be repeated, if necessary. When the patient has objected to a cutting operation, I have applied a brush, dipped in sulphuric acid or in tincture of iodine, with ultimate though protracted success.

## CHAPTER X.

CANCER OF THE TONGUE. — CANCER OF BREAST. — OPERA-TION FOR NEURALGIA.

THERE are a number of cancerous affections of the tongue which are well worthy of description. Some of these are real cancerous affections. When they attain a large size, their removal has been objected to, on account of the danger of hemorrhage, and the difficulty of securing the divided arteries. I have found that more than half of the tongue could be removed without any objection on this ground. The difficulty has arisen from a want of control of the bleeding section of the organ. This may be overcome by the use of the instruments invented by Dr. Leonard of Sandwich, Mass.; or, after a section has been made, the remaining portion of the tongue may be seized by tenettes, drawn out, and the lingual arteries easily secured. In cases where the affection was so diffused as to render it difficult to remove the whole of it, without removing a portion of the sound tongue, the actual cautery may be employed with great advantage. The horror of this application is now happily removed by the use of ether; so that we can apply it with as little ceremony as was formerly practised with the potential cautery, as in the following case: -

A lady was attacked, in the year 1848, with an ulceration on the left side of the tongue, opposite the first and second molar teeth. After a long course of regimen and caustics,

it was found necessary to resort to the knife; and the ulceration, together with a hardened surrounding portion about the size of a chestnut, was removed. This was done in the early part of 1848. The disease, however, re-appeared; extended backwards to the soft palate, and forwards to within an inch of the anterior extremity of the tongue. The tumor was accompanied with constant pain, requiring opiates every night, and with much difficulty of speaking and swallowing. The disease seemed to be so extended as to be unmanageable with a knife; and I therefore proposed the actual cautery. The patient was put under the influence of ether. Then, the mouth being opened, and confined by a piece of wood introduced between the teeth, the irons were heated as near to a white heat as possible, and successively introduced to the number of four; embracing, as far as could be judged, the whole disease. The patient, of course, went through the operation without suffering. The consequent swelling was very trifling. The slough separated, and the wound healed: but, some months after the operation, it was found that the cord formed by the cicatrix on the left side of the tongue restrained its motions, and caused considerable pain; and a similar cord confined the anterior part of the tongue. By cutting-scissors applied to each of these, the stricture was removed and the patient relieved.

Success of Operations on Cancer of the Breast. — A great diversity of opinion prevails on the curability of cancer of the breast by operations; and it is the duty of every one, who has had much practice, to present its results, if he has any, to his professional brethren. I do not profess to have come to any satisfactory results; for, in order to do so, a long and careful record is indispensable, which it is necessary to begin at an early period of life, with careful observations

accurately recorded, and extended through the period of a generation. Had I been as deeply impressed with the importance of this subject when I began to practise, I should have laid down a system for obtaining the information necessary to determine this matter. The surgical record of the Hospital I began in the year 1820; that is, thirty years ago. It has been continued regularly to this time, and affords a vast mass of surgical facts for the information of present and future generations. There is, however, in these records, a deficiency, which, as the organization of the Hospital frequently changes, it would be difficult to remedy: I mean the impracticability of knowing the terminations of such cases. This would be rather easier in private practice; as a surgeon, on dismissing his patient operated on for cancer, might, in most cases, make an arrangement by which he could attain the necessary facts. But who, in the midst of the labors of a responsible practice, will perform this great work in all its details?

I have made minutes of many cases of operations for cancer of the breast which have terminated favorably. I have thought that they might amount to a third part, as expressed in my book on Tumors; but I must admit that I may be deceived about a matter which nothing but precise records could certainly establish.

There is one point which a surgeon ought well to consider before he sets out to make records on the subject of cancer. What is cancer? To answer this question, the surgeon must notice carefully, first the external, second the internal, appearances. In regard to the former, there are cases of a doubtful character; but the greater part present phenomena, which, to the surgeon who has had moderate experience, are sufficiently obvious and satisfactory. Among these are the peculiar form, consistence, color, sensibility,

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mobility, pain, ramifications, ulcerations, &c. Second, the internal character has been illustrated, if not settled, by the microscope; by the aid of which he may ascertain the existence of nucleated and caudate cells. In most cases, however, the naked eye and the touch will determine the character of the texture. The light color, hard consistence, turbid exudation, peculiar processes, capillary veins, softening, &c., form a group of appearances which cannot fail to be satisfactory. None of these symptoms are absolutely pathognomic. Pain, for example, which is connected in the minds of most persons with cancerous disease, quite frequently does not exist. Nearly the last patient I operated on for cancer of the breast, when first informed of the malignity of her disease, said, "Why! I have no pain." She was, however, operated on; and the tumor, examined with and without the microscope, presented the peculiar appearances of cancerous organization. I will only mention one or two instances of a successful result of the operation for cancer of the breast.

A lady who died a few months since, aged eighty, was operated on by me, for cancer of the right breast, twenty-three years ago. The tumor was about the size of an egg; was hard, painful, not discolored, not fixed; and, examined after as well as before the operation, exhibited all the appearances of cancerous disease. The skin, not being diseased, was left in sufficient extent to cover the wound. There were about six ligatures. These were quite small; were cut as close as possible. The skin, brought over the wound, was held in contact by adhesive plaster, and united by the first intention, with a very slight exception. The ligatures mostly came out in ulcerations like pin-holes, without pain or other inconvenience. She remained afterwards free from any symptom of the disease till the period of her death.

The second case was very different from that just mentioned. The one was of a delicate lady of rather thin habit: the other was very fat, of florid complexion, laborious habits, free in food; well known to me during forty years preceding her death. In 1830, she showed me a considerable tumor in the right breast, which had been going on for a year. had every appearance of cancerous affection; and I advised an operation, which she submitted to. A large portion of the breast was removed. The breast healed well; but, in a year after, she came to me with a tumor the size of a walnut in the axilla of the operated side. Of course, I considered this the return of the disease, and that there was nothing further to be done; but, to please her, I directed some applications, and regulated her food. I was most agreeably surprised to find that the tumor gradually diminished in size; finally disappeared; and she lived many years after in good health. About two years before her death, she had a bronchitic affection, with very severe cough; from which, also, she recovered. In the following summer, she began to complain of shortness of breath, and palpitation of the heart; which, in the following winter, were developed into simple and organic diseases of the heart, with all its phenomena. Besides the palpitation and short breath, she had lividity and ædema of the face and neck, bright eyes, signs of effusion in the cavity of the thorax, ascites, swelling of the legs, bloody expectorations, inability to lie down, and so forth; but no marks of cancerous affection. Previous to her death, she adopted the Millerite doctrine, prepared her robes, and made all other necessary arrangements for flying off to heaven. Before this happy consummation, however, she was called off in the usual way. Although I made great efforts to examine the body, I was unexpectedly opposed by one of her Millerite friends, and lost the opportunity of ascertaining whether there were any internal marks of cancerous affection.

I conclude this subject by saying, that no very long time elapses without my learning of some patient, operated on many years before for cancer of the breast, who has retained her health without a relapse.

Operations for Neuralgia. — The operations for the division of the supramaxillary branch of the fifth pair of nerves have been practised with various degrees of success. The failure to give relief to patients has, no doubt, arisen commonly from a re-union of the divided nerve. To prevent this occurrence, the excision of a portion of the nerve has been employed with increased success.

The operations which I have performed in this way have, so far as I know, not been followed by a return of the pain. A patient who is still living in this city, operated on for the division of the supramaxillary nerve more than twenty years ago, remains free from pain to this day. In a very severe case of neuralgia of the inframaxillary, I trepanned the branch of the lower jaw, exposed and divided the nerve as it passed behind the middle of the aperture, without wounding the accompanying artery. This operation has been criticized as unnecessarily severe and difficult, because the nerve may, it is said, be attained through the mouth by the introduction of a curved and pointed knife to the fossa containing the nerve and artery, and dividing from within, outwards. No one, I venture to say, has ever done the operation in this way; or, if any one has done it, he must have had little reason to consider it an improvement: for the division of the nerve in such a manner must certainly have involved the artery; and it is well known that an open artery within the mouth, even though smaller than the

dental or inframaxillary, will sometimes produce a hemorrhage which cannot be arrested.

The operation above mentioned has not, that I know of, been repeated till lately. In the year 1847, a lady in this vicinity applied to me, affected with dreadful pains in the inframaxillary nerve, which had driven her almost to insanity. No narcotics, opiates, or anæsthetics, afforded more than temporary relief. I suggested some remedies to this patient, which she employed without advantage; and then, despairing of any cure from medicine, though without the least hope that the patient would accept the alternative, I mentioned that an operation might be done for the division of the nerve. In two or three days, she called, and said she wished to have the operation done. An arrangement was made for the purpose; and I did the operation in a way a little different from the first. Finding that the principal seat of pain was farther forward than in the first-named ease, I ventured to do the operation under the anterior edge of the masseter muscle. The anterior inferior edge of this muscle was dissected from the bone, turned outwards; and two perpendicular sections, with a small saw, were made through the bone, down to the dental canal. These were united by two horizontal cuts; a square piece was removed; the nerve exposed, separated from the artery, and a portion of it cut out. The patient was entirely relieved by this operation for above a year. The neuralgia then returned, and finally attained a great degree of severity. The patient demanded another operation. This was performed by Dr. Mason Warren, who assisted me in the first. The patient was again relieved entirely, and now thinks shall have no return.

It is very difficult in this and similar cases, where a portion of the nerve has been properly excised, to satisfy one's self as to the recurrence of the pain. Two explanations occur to me, neither of which is satisfactory. One is, that other branches of the submaxillary nerve might have been developed as the substitute of that divided: the other is, that the affected nerve might have been supplied by its anastomosis with that of the opposite side. Some persons may think that a much more satisfactory explanation will be found in the supposition that the affected nerve was not thoroughly excised. This notion is untenable; the nerve having been fully exposed for a quarter of an inch, separated from the artery, cut out by two transverse incisions. Further, the complete cessation of the pain for a considerable time shows it must have been entirely divided. These operations were done under the use of ether, with great satisfaction.

Accidental injuries and wounds of nerves produce a class of affections which has never been noticed, to any extent, within my knowledge; yet they are frequent, distressing, and intractable. I was once called to operate on one of the digito-plantar nerves, in a case of convulsions produced by accidental inclusion of the nerve in a ligature with a wounded artery. The convulsions ceased after the operation, and the patient remained well for a considerable time, - I do not know exactly how long, - but ultimately had a return, which has lasted for a number of years, and has excited great attention; for the patient is attacked many times a day with horrid spasms of the muscles of the back, distorting the trunk in various directions, throwing the patient sometimes very forcibly against the wall of the room, with such violence as to be heard all over the house. Some have thought these contortions to be hysteric; and others consider them altogether affected, for the purpose of exciting sympathy.

A more common species of nervous injury is found in those cases where the injury is apparently very slight at first. It may be produced by the puncture of a splinter of wood, by scissors, by a pin, or even a needle; also by continued pressure, and by a sudden contusion. Many of these cases have occurred within my experience. For example: A young lady, seventeen years old, in good health, but of a scrofulous constitution, punctured one of her fingers with a needle. The puncture extended to the digital nerve, running along the side of the third phalanx of the finger. The pain was very acute, and lasted some time. A few days after, she had a return of this pain, extending up the finger, increasing from day to day, and finally involving the arm. The arm-pains recurred daily, the arm ceased to be well nourished, appetite failed; and she died in the course of the second year from the accident.

A young lady, twenty-two years old, stuck her scissors into the left wrist, near the projection of the os pisiforme. The pain was severe at the time, and was followed in a few days by neuralgic paroxysms, which impaired the use of the hand, and caused a great deal of suffering. This case was ultimately cured by free incisions transversely to the wound. The first operation did not succeed: but the second relieved her, and she recovered; although an incipient wasting of the limb had led me to fear the case might prove incurable.

Constant use of the finger in sewing not unfrequently brings on a neuralgic affection. A married lady in this city, in the habit of using her needle very much, had a severe pain in the outer branch of the digital nerve of the forefinger of the right hand. Her husband, being a physician, made a great number of applications without effect. He showed the case to me; and I divided the exterior nerve

above the seat of pain, without relief. Afterwards the internal nerve of the same finger was divided, and a cure was accomplished without a recurrence.

Some such cases have been relieved by blisters and other counter-irritants. Frequently they subside of themselves, when the cause is discontinued. This happened to myself personally, in the following instances. In the month of March, 1838, I travelled from Rome to Bologna in one day. The journey is, I think, about seventy miles over the Appenines; began about four o'clock in the morning, and terminated at ten in the evening. On the next day, while walking alone through the streets of Bologna, I was seized with a neuralgic shock in the peroneal nerve of the left leg. It paralyzed me for a moment, but immediately subsided till I began to walk again, when it recurred, and so continued till I reached my hotel. I removed the coverings, had the limb well rubbed, and applied compression; but all without effect. The paroxysms returned once in two or three minutes. In despair, I got into a carriage, drove out of the city, left the carriage, and set out to walk till I conquered the paroxysm. After walking, or rather hobbling, for nearly an hour, without relief, I turned to go home, and the attacks subsided for that day. They continued, however, to appear on the following days, and almost every day until I left Europe; which was in July of the same year (1838). During the passage home, and after my arrival, the attacks continued from time to time until November. At that period, I was engaged in giving my usual course on anatomy; and when exhibiting the peroneal nerve, in order to awaken attention, as was my habit, I stated the accident which had occurred to myself; and further, that, while I had been standing there, I had had a slight invasion. From that time, the paroxysms ceased to return.

For some time, I was quite unable to account for this complaint; but, at length, I thought it might have been occasioned by pressure on the sciatic nerve. The weather, at the time of the Appenine journey, was very cold. The journey was continued without intermission, as we did not stop more than a few minutes at any time for the purpose of relieving the horses. There was, of course, very little change of posture during the whole time; and therefore the sciatic nerve must have been subject to a long-continued pressure.

During the same winter in which I became relieved, a physician practising in the neighborhood of Boston came to consult me in regard to an affection of one of his legs, which I found to be quite similar to that described above. On inquiry, I found he was in the habit of riding considerable distances on a hard seat, and in a confined posture. He was, therefore, advised to discontinue this practice; and, as he never consulted me again, I presume he ceased to suffer.

A slight neuralgic paroxysm has frequently occurred to me on the left side of the neck, thence shooting into the left shoulder. It has taken place only during a rotation of the head to the left side, and has been attributed to the compression of the accessory nerve by the sterno-mastoid muscle where it perforates the same. I have never been able to produce it spontaneously.

Another neuralgic attack which I have experienced in person took place in one of the nerves of the fore-arm, in the spring of 1844. The first symptom was a sensation like that of the bite of a large insect at the lower two-thirds of the anterior face of the left arm. On feeling it, I immediately stripped off the clothes, with the expectation of finding the source of the trouble; but nothing was seen. This pain gradually increased in severity and frequency till

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it became very annoying, and was sometimes followed by numbness, extending from the arm down to the wrist. At the end of six weeks, the trouble, after causing some anxiety, began to diminish, and ultimately disappeared. This singular affection puzzled me for some time: but finally I recollected, that during the lectures of the preceding winter, and especially the few weeks following their termination, I had sat at the dissecting-table for some hours every day, engaged in minute dissection; and that, the left hand being occupied in holding the dissecting forceps between the thumb and forefinger, the flexor muscles of these were kept in a contracted state for a long time, and had thus compressed a branch of nerve passing forward between them. Although this compression produced no inconvenience at the time, it had caused a derangement in the nervous matter, the effects of which were ultimately developed in the manner mentioned.

In each of these cases, the affection was the result of pressure. The first was the pressure from a hard seat; the second and third, from muscles contracted on the nerves. Partial wound of a nerve might impinge on and disturb the medullary matter in a similar manner, and produce an irritation of a more durable character. This derangement, at first physical and local, becoming functional and general, might derange the whole nervous system of a limb, and produce an incurable atrophy.

There is another kind of accident, which I have seen a great number of times, and been at a loss to determine whether it arose from rupture of muscular or nervous fibrils. This is produced by an overstrained or by an irregular action of the muscles. A gentleman who had just mounted on the top of a stage-coach, while attempting to throw his great-coat over his shoulders, — in consequence of the unex-

pected starting of the coach, - had to make an extraordinary effort, during which he felt something give way, in the course of the deltoid muscle, with a sudden snap. He did not attribute much importance to the occurrence at the time, but, in a few days, began to feel pain at the injured part; in consequence of which, he applied to my friend and colleague, Dr. James Jackson, who made many applications during the space of three months, without a diminution of the suffering. He then sent him to me. On examining the affected limb, I found it much wasted, very feeble, and the muscular power much diminished. Near the anterior edge of the deltoid muscle there was some degree of tenderness on pressure, but no deficiency in the continuity of the muscular fibres. He had more or less pain every day, particularly when he raised or twisted the limb. He was under my care two or three months, during which the principal application was the cold shower-bath and friction. After this, I lost sight of him; and whether he recovered ultimately, I cannot tell. The accident, in this case, certainly has a stronger similarity to laceration of muscular fibres than to that of a nervous filament.

Yet it is well known that the rupture of a muscle, or part of a muscle, may take place without permanent pain, lameness, or emaciation. Thus we frequently see the gastrocnemius, the mastoideus, and other muscles, ruptured slightly or extensively without any of the above-mentioned consequences. The application of pulleys for the reduction of old dislocations sometimes ruptures muscular fibres, without producing any permanent injury. The subject, then, seems to be involved in obscurity, which requires a great many observations to dissipate; and the frequency of these occurrences, with their disastrous effects, seems to merit great attention from the practical surgeon.

Neuralgic affections of the feet are not unfrequent. I have noticed two very different species of this complaint. First, and most common, is a shooting pain in the hollow of the sole of the foot, residing in the ramifications of the plantar nerves. It is produced by the use of alcoholic liquors, particularly wine; occurs more frequently in females than in males; and sometimes takes the place of hepatic affections springing from the same cause. The nature and origin of this are so little known, that the patient speaks freely of it to her physician, and unconsciously reveals to him a secret of which the rest of the world is ignorant; perhaps even her own family. The manner in which such an affection arises, the cause of its being transmitted to the sole of the foot, and the reason of its remaining in that part, are among the mysteries of nervous pathology. It is frequently the most prominent symptom in the temulence of delicate women; and there is no cure for it but by the removal of the habit which brought it on. An opiate bath, or the application of diluted prussic acid, may possibly mitigate it; and the internal use of opium and camphor will be sure to give temporary relief.

The other neuralgic affection of the foot is caused by pressure, and takes place in the inferior surface of the ball of the great toe and of the other toes. Sometimes it occurs in the inferior surface of the heel. A delicate constitution and increase of the weight of the body are predisposing causes; but pain is brought on immediately by unusual or long-continued pressure. Sometimes I have known it to take place in the constitution above mentioned in consequence of very long walks; sometimes by standing longer than customary. A lady about sixty, florid, rather fleshy, usually enjoying good health, was engaged in preparations for a large gathering of company in her house. She rose

early in the morning; was upon her feet nearly the whole day till four o'clock, P.M. When she went to bed at night, she was seized with severe pains in the anterior part of the foot, where the ball of the great toe presses upon the ground. This pain followed her up a length of time, in a paroxysmal form for six months, during which she employed a great many remedies without any benefit. On examining, I found no redness nor swelling, and no tenderness except when the forefinger was pressed very firmly on the inferior part of the ball of the great toe; that is, at the metatarso-phalangeal articulation. She was advised to keep the foot still, and in the horizontal posture; to apply leeches occasionally; and dip the foot daily in cold water. After a few weeks, she was relieved; but there remained a tendency to relapse, from much walking.

Ether I have used much in such cases as those mentioned above, as well as in cases of common neuralgia. Whenever its full anæsthetic effect has been produced, relief, for the time, has, of course, been experienced, but not usually with permanent cure. In some instances, however, a single application has broken up the affection; sometimes by its primary influence, and sometimes by its secondary effect. Lately I attended a fine young lady, who, for some months back, had been affected with a rheumatic neuralgia of the right crural nerve. A frequent repetition of large blisters ultimately produced relief. Soon after recovery, having used her eyes too freely in reading, she was attacked with a severe neuralgia in the left eye. The paroxysms occurred on alternate days, lasted three or four hours, and were quite overpowering. Leeches, blisters, veratria, large doses of quinine, and solution of arsenic, made no impression on the paroxysm. I recommended her, as soon as the attack commenced, to use chloric ether till it produced relief from pain

or decided anæsthesia. Under its influence she fell into a profound sleep, which continued through the night. The next morning I found her laboring under excessive nausea, which she, at the time, thought more distressing than the neuralgic pain; but she altered her opinion afterwards. Although aware that the nausea might happily break up the neuralgic paroxysms, I was compelled, by the earnest solicitations of herself and her friends, to take measures for allaying it. These did not succeed immediately, so that she labored under it for three days; at the end of that time, was much prostrated, and continued in her bed three or four days longer. She then began to take food, and, when she recovered her usual strength, found herself quite free from pain. She has now been relieved for three weeks, and finds herself in good health every way; but, as the weather has been severe, I have not thought best to expose her to the external air. The relief, in this instance, was obtained, I think, not merely from the anæsthetic effect of the chloric ether, but from the vomiting, whether produced by the chloric ether, or by the peculiar state of the stomach at the time.

## CHAPTER XI.

FRACTURES. — NECK OF THE THIGH-BONE. — DIAGNOSIS, &c. —
FRACTURE OF THE NECK OF OS FEMORIS. — FRACTURE OF THE
CONDYLES OF THE OS HUMERI.

THE treatment of fractures about the year 1800 required forcible reduction, minute bandaging, close confinement, and unfrequent dressing. The bandages of Desault were particularly complex, and required much labor in the application; so that it was quite a science to learn how to use them. Some were, no doubt, quite valuable; but my experience has led me to believe, that, in a great number of fractures, all kinds of bandages may be dispensed with, and that posture maintained by other means will, without them, give us all we can expect. One of the greatest triumphs of Desault's bandage-system was thought to be exhibited by the success of his treatment of fractures of the thigh. The system of extension and counter-extension, however perfect it appears in theory, has far less effect in practice than it should seem; for there are few patients who can bear the pressure required to counteract the muscular contraction, and those who can bear it are apt to suffer severe inflammation and distress. Sloughing, also, of the compressed parts, is a very common consequence of this mode of application. I have found that a heavy box, extended from the pelvis to the foot, well padded with cotton throughout, so as to make uniform pressure on the

sides of the limb while its back part is supported by a splint-cloth, is preferable to bandages; and that most of the cases which have appeared to be cured by Desault's plan are cured without extension and counter-extension: for the pressure applied at first is generally relaxed in consequence of the sufferings of the patient, and ultimately ceases to produce the effect for which it was made. If, then, a fractured thigh, which is shortened, is reduced under the effect of ether, and well supported by a fracturebox and cotton-wadding afterwards, every kind of bandage may be dispensed with in a great number of cases of this accident. The cure of fracture requires rest; but this rest need not be so absolute as many suppose. We see, in animals, that union may take place without any confinement. Fears, then, of moving the limb to cleanse and dress it are ill founded, and ought not to lead us to omit opening, cleansing, and re-adjusting the fracture. There are, perhaps, more bad unions of fractured limbs from a neglect of this practice of examination and re-adjustment, than from too frequent movements. Washing and cleansing the injured parts are highly important to the healthy action of the limb, and they involve a certain degree of motion.

In fracture of the leg, I recollect a single case in my experience which called for extension and counter-extension; and this was accomplished, not by the long splints of Desault, but by a laced boot connected with the fracture-box, cut across the middle of the leg into two parts, which parts were separated by the action of a screw. Fractured clavicle, as is well known to observing and experienced surgeons, recovers without the aid of Desault's bandage, and even in opposition to it: that is, when it is applied, as it frequently is, so as to impede the circulation of the limb, union will, though not always, take place. In this

case, every thing required may be done by the use of a sling, so applied as to prevent the arm from dragging on the outer fragment, and bringing it into an oblique position. The fracture of one or both the condyles of the os humeri presents a striking example of the effect of prejudice and precedent; for in this case the fracture is not reduced, and is not reducible. Of course, there is no need of bandage nor of splint to retain the fractured piece or pieces in a particular position. Here the danger is not the want of union, but of union in such a way as to interfere with the hinge-like movements of the joint. How is this to be prevented? Not by confinement, but by motion. Motion only can prevent anchylosis; and this not always, for anchylosis will sometimes take place in spite of motion. I was inquired of some time since, whether a surgeon, for his treatment of a fracture of one of the condyles of the os humeri, was not liable to the charge of malpractice. I replied, that the practice was wrong; but, as the surgeon obeyed the rules generally applied to the treatment of a case he himself might never have seen before, he was not answerable in damages for the result of such treatment. Many similar cases might be adduced to show that implicit obedience to authority should not be practised in opposition to clear principles, and sound reasoning deduced therefrom.

After many fractures, treated as usual by constant immobility, anchylosis, commonly very slight, but sometimes very durable, is not unfrequent. This will usually be prevented by seasonable and judicious movements of the neighboring articulation, and of the muscles involved in the fracture. In this way, adhesions about the articulation and about the fracture may often be prevented. When they do occur, however, we may avoid a permanent anchy-

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losis by passive motions under the influence of ether. The patient, being etherized by chloric or sulphuric ether, supports without suffering and without dangerous inflammation, the force required to break down the existing adhesions and restore motion. This I have now practised in a great number of cases, in the articulations of the shoulder, elbow, fingers, hip, knee, and ankle. Sometimes the adhesion has parted with a noise which might be compared to that of the explosion of a pistol, - a sound which, under such circumstances, cannot fail to jar the nerves of the surgeon who produces it. But, however startling the report may have been, it has never yet been followed by dangerous inflammation; partly, no doubt, because the subsequent treatment has been active; principally by reason of the character of the new adhesions; also by the absence of pain, and sometimes by repetition. For, like the repetition of operations on the eye, on the bladder, and other parts, the first operation produces a greater irritation than those which succeed it. The judicious application of ether to the removal of anchylosis, must, then, be considered a very valuable improvement in the surgical practice of the present time.

Fracture of the Neck of the Thigh-bone. — This fracture has occurred to me more frequently than any other, — five times out of six in elderly persons, — and almost in every instance by a fall on the trochanter. The patient has slipped from without inwards, fallen on his side, struck the trochanter major, and on rising, and attempting to walk, has found it painful, and in some cases impossible. I have known, however, many instances in which the patient has been able to walk the same day, and sometimes the following day.

Hon. G-B-, a patient of mine, going to the State

House, slipped and fell on the steps; but was able to get up, and ascend a very bad set of stairs to the Senate Chamber, where he stood a short time, and spoke. As soon as he got home, I visited him, and, on examination, could discern scarcely any of the common symptoms of fracture of the thigh-bone. The trochanter was in its place. The direction of the limb was natural, and the length unaltered. short, there were only two symptoms of fracture. One was his lameness; the other, the fact, that, when the thigh-bone was flexed, it produced pain in the anterior and upper third of the thigh, - a symptom which I have rarely known to fail in cases of this fracture. Mr. B. was not willing to apply any apparatus, as he could not be brought to believe in the existence of the fracture. He was, however, compelled by lameness to lie in bed the greater part of a year; the limb being supported by a pillow, and protected by a cradle. At the end of that time, he was able to ride; but, some months after, died of suppression of urine. On examination of the body, I found the fracture to extend with a very slight obliquity across the neck of the thigh-bone. The bone was united, as it appeared, firmly; but, being sawed into two pieces, one of the two was found to be united by osseous texture, the other by membranous substance, which admitted the slightest possible degree of motion. This fracture was quite within the capsular ligament.

Rather singularly, it happened that in the same street, exactly opposite to the house of the last-named gentleman, another gentleman slipped on a piece of timber, struck the trochanter, and was unable to stand afterwards. I was sent for, and reached his house before he arrived. When he was brought home, I perceived by the manner he carried his thigh that the bone was broken at the neck. He was carried up stairs, stripped, and I examined him. I found

the two limbs co-incident in appearance in every respect, excepting that, when the injured thigh was flexed to an angle of forty-five degrees with the trunk, it gave him great pain. He assured me, however, that the bone was not broken. His limb was supported by a pillow, so as to flex the knee very slightly; a cradle was adjusted to protect it from the bed-clothes; and he remained in bed six weeks, but was not able to walk until after three months. Ultimately, he walked very well. The limb was shortened about half an inch.

A third case, of the same character, happened to a writer (Mr. Foster) in Vine Street, about sixty years old, rather delicate. In going down stairs, he tripped, was thrown to the bottom, fell on the trochanter, and found himself, on rising, quite lame; but was able to go up stairs by the aid of the stair-rail. On examination, there was no difference in the appearance of the lame limb, when compared with the other; but he complained of pain on bending the thigh. As there was obviously no displacement, I did not propose to apply any apparatus, but protected the limb from pressure by pillows. After watching him three or four days, I became satisfied the limb was broken, rather by negative than positive signs; and gave my opinion accordingly to the family. The friends of the patient were satisfied; but he himself was not; and therefore he moved in the bed with a certain degree of freedom, notwithstanding my injunctions to the contrary: and, in order to convince his friends that he was right and I was wrong, about ten days after the accident, in my absence, he got out of his bed, and went down stairs. But, when he got down, he found he could not get up again; and was finally carried up: after which occurrence, he became more tranguil and manageable. At the end of six weeks, I gave passive motion to his limb very freely; and, after exercising him for some days, I directed him to get up. In two months after the accident, he began to walk a little with a cane; and has gradually improved from that time (about three years since) to the present (1849). He still requires a cane. The limb is half an inch shortened; and, in bad weather, is painful.

I could mention many other cases of this accident. They would show that there are varieties in fractures of the neck of the thigh-bone, which are very difficult to detect, and which, if they are not detected, - as they are followed by a permanent and sometimes considerable lameness, - will discredit the surgeon, and put him in the power of his patient, if he is of a malignant character. The occurrence of such cases led me, in the early part of my practice, to give an affirmative opinion when the case was doubtful: and although I often expected, and I may say hoped, to find my opinion falsified by time, I cannot satisfy myself that it happened in a single case; while, on the other hand, I have known repeated instances which occurred to experienced practitioners, in which, not being satisfied by the amount of affirmative evidence, they have come to a negative conclusion, and suffered great blame afterwards from the patient and his friends. These cases are generally, I suppose, those of enclavement; that is, where the outer fragment of the neck of the thigh-bone is driven into the inner. Quite a remarkable case of this description occurred within my experience, a few years since. The patient was a lady more than a hundred years old. She was able to walk out; and even went to church on foot, with great regularity, till within a short time before her death. One morning, in rising from her bed, she slipped the left foot from without inwards, and fell on the trochanter. There was no alteration in the length of the limbs; but the patient was unable to walk, and had a severe pain about the ileo-femoral articulation, when the thigh-bone was flexed. Her physician, Dr. Strong, came to the conclusion that the neck of the thigh-bone was broken, but sent for me to examine the patient with him; and I was quite satisfied that such was the fact. She went on in a comfortable way for more than four weeks; at the end of which time, she suddenly died. Dr. Strong had the goodness to invite me to the examination; and we found the following appearances: The left os femoris was broken across the junction of the neck with the two trochanters. The fracture extended in an irregular zigzag, so that the inner and outer portions were interlocked. Small fragments of bone had disappeared, so as to shorten the space between the trochanters and the acetabulum more than a quarter of an inch. The shaft of the bone was connected with the head, in such a way that they moved together until the soft parts had been macerated away; after which they separated. The summit of the great trochanter was broken off, and lay on the external superior part of the articulation.

Remarks. — This was a real enclavement, or interlocking, and explains the manner in which this fracture may take place without any great shortening of the limb, without eversion, and even without crepitus. Crepitus, though generally expected, is often not to be detected. My experience of this accident is, as I have before stated, not inconsiderable. For more than forty years, I was scarcely without an instance at any time; and, at one period, had five cases at the same time. Many of them came to me, under doubtful circumstances, from the hands of other practitioners; and I was therefore called to examine with the greatest care, not only to satisfy myself, but others also who might have entertained a different opinion. In so

many instances did the existence of crepitus fail to appear, that I at length learned to attach little importance to it, and to proceed accordingly. The absence of this symptom may be explained in one of the following ways: First, that when the capsular ligament is not ruptured, it confines the fractured pieces so much as to prevent their surfaces from moving on each other; second, when the fractured portions are interlocked or dovetailed together, as in the case last mentioned; third, when the capsular ligament is extensively ruptured, and the shaft of the bone, with the outer fragment, drawn up by the muscles so high as to be quite clear of the inner fragments. There may be other causes; but these are of occurrence sufficiently frequent to explain the non-existence of crepitus.

Death from Fracture of the Cervix. - In very aged persons, death frequently occurs without any severe symptoms. This happened in the case of the lady a hundred years old, as related above. It does not happen immediately after the accident, but generally four or five weeks after; and arises from the confinement to which the patient is subjected, from the sympathetic debility produced by the fracture of a large bone, and the draught on the constitution for power sufficient to carry on the healing process. However, I have known very good cases in persons over eighty. A domestic in the family of a connection of mine fell down stairs, and broke the neck of the thigh-bone, when she was ninety years old. She recovered, and lived to be ninety-eight. Doubting whether a fracture had ever actually existed, I examined the body, and found a fracture of the neck, near the outer trochanter, perfectly consolidated, and, though somewhat irregular, handsomely smoothed off by the absorbent process.

Diagnosis between the Fracture of the Neck of the Os Femoris and Ileo-femoral Dislocation. — There is little difficulty in establishing the distinction between the fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone and ileo-femoral dislocation; yet, in the course of my experience, I have seen a number of instances where one has been mistaken for the other. Some years since, a man was wrestling with another on deep sand; and, one of his feet being stuck in the sand, he was thrown. On attempting to rise, he found he was unable to stand. A surgeon being sent for, gave for opinion, that the neck of the bone was fractured: and he was confined to his bed five weeks; at the end of which time, contrary to the advice of the surgeon, who would have confined him longer, he got up, and made trial of his limb. Finding, at the end of a couple of weeks more, that he was very lame, that his limb was shortened, and the articulation stiff, he consulted other surgeons, without any satisfactory result; and, at the end of nine weeks from the accident, he came to me. I found the articulation but little movable; the limb shortened; the foot turned in, though not much more than usual; the trochanter major behind and above the socket; and the head of the bone on the dorsum ilei quite distinguishable. Although there was no hope of success, I determined, at the end of a week, to make a trial for the reduction of the limb; and subjected the patient to the pulleys, employing all the aids of bleeding, the warm bath, and tartar emetic. After the limb had been extended half an hour, the pulleys were relaxed; when, by a strong abduction, accompanied by rotation of the limb, the head of the bone was restored to its socket. No snapping sound accompanied its return, on account of the great extension of the muscles. The patient recovered the entire use of his limb. This is the latest period at which I have succeeded in reducing a dislocation of the os femoris. I had also one case at seven weeks; but a large part of these femoral dislocations have failed to be reduced after the lapse of a week from the accident.

In another instance, the patient fell on the trochanter. He was unable to walk afterwards, and the injury was believed to be dislocation. Efforts were made by different surgeons to reduce the limb; but, every such effort increasing the lameness, he, at the end of three months, came to me. The limb I found to be shortened nearly two inches; the foot turned out; the os femoris movable on the pelvis; the trochanter above the socket; the head of the bone not discoverable. There was no crepitus, and no great pain on motion; but I had no hesitation in deciding that the neck of the thigh-bone was broken.

A great number of similar mistakes have come under my notice, and some of them have occasioned me no inconsiderable trouble. The subjects of these accidents are generally persons whose course of life renders them dependent upon their daily labor. Finding that they are shackled and unable to work, they are disposed to make the surgeon pay for his mistake. Long and expensive lawsuits have been the consequence. I have always used my best efforts to discourage such suits. I have endeavored to make the patient see, that, if he selects or admits a medical practitioner to attend him in a case of accident, he does it because he thinks it the best thing he can do under the circumstances; and that, therefore, he ought to be satisfied. Further, I have stated to people thus disposed, that they cannot expect a physician, with a very slight surgical practice in the country, to be well acquainted with accidents which he may never have seen before. The personal inconvenience to me, in consequence of these lawsuits, has been very

great, and, I cannot but think, unjustly so. For example: I was summoned about a year since to go to a place twentyfive miles from Boston, with the five other surgeons of the Massachusetts General Hospital, all of whom were acquainted with the main facts of the case. On account of some indisposition, which had prevented my going into the country for a number of months, I presented a petition to be excused, and that my deposition should be substituted; but received for answer a threat, that, if I did not appear the next day, a capias would be issued against me. On inquiry, I have discovered that these instances of unnecessary summons are issued by the judge in consequence of the importunity of the lawyers, and that a certain class of the latter are little scrupulous in increasing the costs of the suits. The considerations above mentioned have led me, — though rather too late for my own comfort, - before I examine a case of an old injury, to ascertain whether there is likely to be a prosecution; and, if so, I refer the case to other surgeons, who have fewer years and more time.

The diagnosis between a fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone and ileo-femoral dislocation may be aided by a consideration of the patient's age and sex. If the patient be under fifty, the presumption is unfavorable to the probability of a fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone. The cases of such an occurrence under fifty are, according to the best of my judgment, not more than one out of six. The consideration of sex affords a very strong ground for a negative opinion in regard to the female. Many years ago, I had occasion to suspect that dislocation of the os femoris in an adult female was a rare occurrence, while fractures of the cervix I knew to be exceedingly common. From the time the thought suggested itself, I made inquiry of every practitioner of surgery in this vicinity, without

finding a single instance; and nearly twenty years have now elapsed since, without the occurrence of any such accident in Boston or its vicinity, within my knowledge. In 1837-8, I made the same inquiry in London, Paris, Rome, Naples, Brussels, and many other large cities; and was almost uniformly answered, that no instance of dislocation of the os femoris had been witnessed in a female. Sir Astley Cooper, Professor Roux, and Professor A. H. Stevens, had, in their great practice, each of them seen from one to three cases. It is evident, therefore, that the occurrence is extremely rare; while, on the other hand, fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone is much more common in the female than in the male. As females are much less exposed to fractures of the limbs than males, there must be some anatomical reason why this last accident is so frequent in the sex, and dislocation so rare. The frequent occurrence of this fracture arises, first, from the greater inclination of the thigh-bone from without inwards, in consequence of which the female is more likely than the male to fall on the side; secondly, the inclination of the upper part of the os femoris outwards exposes it more directly to violence than in the male sex; thirdly, the neck of the thigh-bone is weaker in the female than in the male; and, fourthly, it is situated more horizontally than in the male.

The non-occurrence of dislocation in the female may arise partly from the same cause as that which produces a fracture of the cervix. The knees approach so near together, and the thighs are, at the same time, so covered with adipose matter, that, when a violence is inflicted on the knee, it cannot be pushed inwards so as to throw the opposite end out of the socket. A second reason may be, that the os femoris, being shorter in the female, does not afford so long a lever to any displacing force. A third rea-

son is, that the neck of the thigh-bone is placed more horizontally in the female; and is, therefore, less likely to slip out of the socket than if it were placed more obliquely. Lastly, in cities where the principal inquiries have been made, the dress of females, as well as their habits of life, expose them less to the causes of dislocation.

The fracture of the body of the thigh-bone is a rare occurrence in the female, in my private experience, and in the public practice of our Hospital. This, perhaps, is principally a result of their exemption from heavy labor. The shortness and obliquity of the bone will have their influence in this case.

Treatment of Fracture of Neck of Os Femoris. — The treatment of fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone seems to be quite unsettled. Some would leave the accident to nature, while others make the most exact and powerful applications. I have had ample experience of every mode that has been suggested, so far as I know; and the following is the result. First, the case of fracture without displacement requires only posture and the most moderate restraint. The bed should be a hair mattress; the knee should be slightly flexed, and supported by a small pillow; a cradle should be used to steady the pillow and support the bed-clothes. This is all the apparatus that is required. Sometimes a limb, which is not shortened at first, may become so afterwards in a week or fortnight. This case must be treated differently.

Second, when there is much displacement, the treatment should be as follows. In some of these cases, if the limb is left to itself, a great shortening takes place. The inferior fragment, rough and ragged, is drawn up among the muscles, and may never cease to irritate and torment them.

There is a certain proportion of excessively painful cases, of the course and result of which the following is an instance. A lady fifty-five years old, of fine constitution, was thrown from her horse, struck the trochanter, and was unable to walk afterwards. Her physician in the country examined her, probably in an imperfect manner, and gave her reason to believe there was no fracture. She was obliged to keep her bed a number of weeks, during which she suffered great pain in the hip. She declined applying to a surgeon, lest she should have some splint or other apparatus put on, to which she was determined not to submit. She called on a physician, who prescribed as well as he could. Ultimately she got out to ride, but did this with great difficulty and pain. Her pains continued even when in bed. After suffering for more than a year, she was put on board ship, and transported to England; where she got, of course, the best advice, but no alleviation from suffering. Cough came on; and she finally died with cough, emaciation, and pain. No examination of the body was permitted; and no description of the state of the limb has been made to me, excepting that it was much shortened. The case of this lady I take to have been a dreadful irritation of the muscles, and perhaps some considerable branch or branches of nerves, by the outer ragged fragments; a state of things which is perfectly supported by preparations which I have from time to time obtained. Some of these present very remarkable projections and irregularities, quite sufficient to explain any degree of irritation and suffering.

A lady in Vermont consulted me for a fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone which had taken place nine years before. Her suffering was very great from pain in the hip; but I could advise nothing of importance in a case of that standing.

In this class of cases, it is obvious that much may be done by judicious treatment of the fracture. The first thing is to provide the patient with a proper bed. This should be made of a number of mattresses of the best kind, piled on each other. The spring-bed of Cherrington is well adapted to this purpose. The upper part of it is susceptible of being raised to a convenient angle, in order to raise the patient's shoulders occasionally. The bed is springy, but does not give way permanently. The next thing is to extend and rectify the position of the limb, so as to make it correspond in length and direction with the other. This is readily done by etherizing the patient with chloric ether, and making the necessary extension and counter-extension. But, after this, how is the limb to be retained in the right position? Some think that flexing the knee will produce sufficient resistance to the retracting force; others recommend the flexed position, with the bed of Amesbury. This apparatus is far more efficient than the mere flexion of the limb. The treatment, however, which I have found, on the whole, most effectual and convenient, is that by extension and counter-extension, with the limb lying straight on its back. This is accomplished, first, by two splints four inches wide, one extending from the crest of the ilium, along the outside of the limb, to six inches below the side of the foot; the other, from the groin along the inside of the limb, also to six inches below the sole of the foot; the two lower extremities to be connected by a cross-piece six inches wide.

Secondly, the following bandages or straps should be applied: First, a bandage around the pelvis, including the upper part of the outer splint; second, a band across the groin to the circular band, to keep it from slipping up; third, a band passed around the foot through a ring in a screw about an inch in diameter, which operates on the trans-

verse piece connecting the inferior part of the two splints. By turning the screw, this band draws the foot down; while the screw presses the splints upwards, and thus produces extension and counter-extension.

In order to make the apparatus efficient, the following accessories are required: First, a splint-cloth behind the limb, connecting the two splints and supporting the limb; second, cotton-wool in all the interstices between the limb and the splints through its whole length; third, six or eight tapes to secure the splints.

When this apparatus is properly applied and well secured, the patient may be readily moved from one bed to another, or from one side of the bed to the other; but for the treatment of fractures of the lower limbs, and for sickness generally, the bed and bedstead should not exceed four feet in width.

In the early part of my practice, I thought it necessary to keep the patient very still; but, having noticed that fractures united successfully under a certain degree of motion, I have thought it advisable to relieve the patient from the horrid consequences of absolute immobility.

The tapes should be loosened, and the whole limb opened and washed with soap and water every three days, in a simple fracture. At the end of three weeks, the limb should be rubbed every day, without relaxing the extension; and not more than four weeks should elapse without giving passive motion to the knee. If the limb is well and scientifically secured, there will be no difficulty as to evacuations, because the patient may be moved sufficiently to allow the insertion of a flat bed-pan and a urinal. If necessary, a hole may be cut in the sacking and mattresses.

A hip-splint is a useful auxiliary: it is intended to prevent the trochanter from falling backwards. It is about a

foot long, three inches broad at the upper part, and two at the lower. The upper extremity is rounded, and cut across an inch and a half from the upper edge. This section is again cut in two. The parts are then connected together by leather glued on the inside. This splint is to be well padded by layers of flannel. The lower end is fastened round the thigh by a strap; the upper end is adjusted behind the trochanter, and secured in its situation by a strap which goes round the pelvis. This is applied, of course, before the other splints.

The above description is hardly minute enough to make the application exact; but it is so well known in the Hospital, where I have used it for the last thirty years, that a more exact description seems unnecessary. There will, of course, be variations in the mode of applying this apparatus, which must be guided by the knowledge of the surgeon. I have known pretty good surgeons bring on gangrene in the heel, the groin, and the instep, by want of attention and want of common sense. No apparatus can supply such deficiencies. I have treated a vast number of cases of fracture of the cervix, and of the shaft of the thigh-bone, in this way, and have rarely had a bad case, - never one of those painful instances of fractured cervix which I have spoken of above; so that I believe this apparatus to be as good as any in use, if not better. But I often take it off at the end of four weeks, bend the knee, and support it by a pillow and cradle. Although the patient may be allowed to move horizontally, in many cases, at the end of four weeks, yet it will not answer for him to attempt to stand at that period. I recollect a patient in the Hospital, attended by one of my colleagues, with a very bad oblique fracture of the shaft of the thigh-bone. The man got up and walked about, contrary to the advice of the surgeon, at the end of six weeks, and

went off to the West Indies. After a number of months, he returned with a crooked limb, and threatened the surgeon, who had kindly, carefully, and skilfully attended him, with a prosecution for malpractice; and told him he meant to get my opinion. A short time after, the man, with his crooked leg, actually called to see me. On examination, I found the bone very much bent, and asked him how it happened. He imputed it to the surgeon who attended him. I inquired of him at what period he left his bed, and walked. He said, at the end of six weeks. "Then," said I, "you have reason to congratulate yourself that the limb is not more crooked." Nothing more was heard of the prosecution after this.

Perhaps, as I have recommended a straight position of the limb in preference to the flexed, and as very skilful surgeons have adopted the flexed position, my reasons for not employing it ought to be stated. They are as follows: First, the flexed position of the limb does not allow of extension and counter-extension: the limb, of course, is left to be shortened by muscular action. Second, the direction and length of the limb cannot be ascertained in this position. Third, the limb is not so steadily fixed as in the straight position.

Fracture of the Condyles of the Os Humeri. — Fracture of the condyles of the os humeri is quite a frequent accident. It occurs most commonly in boys from ten to fourteen years old. This fracture, although frequently passed over, is not difficult to discover when it has been once seen. The elbow-joint has its motion more or less impeded; and this motion cannot be made without pain. The broken condyle is displaced to a slight extent, and loses its sharpness. If it be the external condyle, rotation produces

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crepitus. The perfection of the articulation being destroyed by the displacement of a part of its articulating surface, the motions of the fore-arm will be more or less obstructed, at first, on the os humeri; and this will increase during the progress of the uniting process, in consequence of the formation of callous and osseous matter. The point to which I would wish to direct attention is the treatment of this accident.

In the first place, the reduction or restitution of the fractured piece to its original situation cannot be accomplished, because we have no command of the broken condyle. It lies buried in the flesh; and though sometimes we can make slight movements of it by movements of the forearm, or by seizing the piece itself, yet, if any, they are very slight. The bone not being reducible, the direction is to put on splints and bandages sufficient to impede the motions of the fore-arm, lest they should prevent the union of the fractured piece. Now, it is this union of the fractured piece which interferes with the motion of the fore-arm, and in many cases wholly arrests it, so that the joint is anchylosed or stiff. This treatment has, for a great number of years, appeared to me objectionable. I therefore endeavored to show in my lectures at the Hospital, and in a publication on Ether in 1847-8, that it ought not to be continued. Notwithstanding this advertisement, cases have occurred in this vicinity since that time, in which the old practice has been followed, and the joint become quite anchylosed. In one case of this kind, I had great difficulty in preventing the friends of the boy from instituting a suit for malpractice; but I accomplished it ultimately, informing them that the defendant would be able to produce in his favor the recommendations of standard works on surgery.

What, then, is the proper treatment of this accident? I

reply, that the first thing to be kept in view is the free and unshackled state of the limb; second, the reduction of inflammation by cold and leeches; third, the permission to move the limb from the beginning, and insisting on its motion after three or four days. The movements must necessarily be passive; that is, by the hands of another than the patient, in most instances, because the patient will have no disposition, and perhaps no ability, to move it himself. This should be quite gentle at first; but, when the period which fixes the situation of the bone approaches, these movements must be as free as they are intended and expected to be ever after. This was formerly attended with great suffering to the patient; but now, happily, this suffering is prevented by the use of ether. The excuse, therefore, which surgeons formerly made for themselves, and also assigned to the patient and his friends, is no longer valid. The danger of causing serious inflammation also, by disturbing the bone at an early period, cannot be considerable. It certainly cannot be so great as that I have frequently incurred, without bad consequences, in the rupture of the anchylosing parts. This practice I have pursued in a great number of instances of fracture of the condyle, before ether was introduced, and in a still greater proportion since. The same practice I have also employed in false anchylosis of other joints, and always without any bad consequence. Certainly I should not recommend the separation of anchylosed bones by machinery, as has been done; but I would use on the arm of the young subject no greater force than I could myself apply by using the fore-arm of the patient as a lever, while the upper arm was firmly supported by another person. In many of these cases, the tendency to union between the opposed surfaces of the articulation is so very great, that much patience on the part of the surgeon

is required to counteract it. Some years ago, a patient came to me from New Orleans for the treatment of an anchylosed elbow from fracture of the internal condyle, which had taken place five and a half months before. I succeeded in breaking the adhesions; but they were regenerated in a very short time. I then operated more frequently: but there was a difficulty in doing this, on account of the inflammation produced by the preceding operation; so that a year of painful movements was required to establish a moderate degree of motion of the fore-arm. If ether had been in use at the time, we should have been able to save the patient a great deal of suffering, and probably some time.

When the fractured piece is quite prominent, it might be expedient to remove it. This I actually practised in one case, without any unpleasant results; for the wound healed perfectly well, and without disturbing the articulation. What was the ultimate condition of the joint, I am unable to say; as, after the wound was healed, I lost sight of the patient, and have never heard of him since. In a case of perfect bony anchylosis, a new articulation might be formed very easily by sawing through the bone, from behind, immediately above the olecranon process. This I have offered to do in one or two cases; but my offers have not been favorably received.

## CHAPTER XII.

DISLOCATION OF THE HIP. — RETENTION OF URINE. — ENLARGED PROSTATE.

THE surgical treatment of dislocation is so old, and has attracted so much attention, that we should hardly expect it could be improved at the present day. Yet perhaps there is no part of surgery which has experienced greater practical advances. These are principally attributable to the treatise of Sir Astley Cooper; the scientific researches of Malgaigne; and, above all, to the application of the relaxing power of ether. Since the use of the latter, I have heard of no instance of failure in the reduction of recent dislocations; and the violence formerly employed has not been necessary. The grand desideratum, which surgeons never have been able to attain before, is now entirely within their control, — the combination of extension and mobility. In cases where great extension was required, the very fact prevented such variations in the direction of the displaced bone as were necessary to bring it to correspond with the opening in the lacerated capsule, the irregularities about an empty socket, and the contracted muscles which resisted, in various directions, the passage of the bone. Ether relaxes the muscles, so as to render great force unnecessary; and, in consequence, the limb may be moved freely in every direction, till it corresponds with the passage through which it should return to the socket. In old dislocations, the use

of ether is not attended with such favorable results, on account of new adhesions, which confine the bone in its new situation.

Dislocation of the Hip. — This accident bears no comparison, in point of frequency, to that of fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone. With two or three exceptions, I think I have seen every case which has occurred in Boston since I began practice; which is a period of nearly forty-eight years. I have not counted the number of cases; but I should judge that the dislocations of the hip, in comparison with fractures of the neck of the thigh-bone, are about in the proportion of one to five. I have never failed to reduce a recent dislocation of the os femoris, but have repeatedly failed at the end of a week. I have succeeded, however, as elsewhere mentioned, in reducing an iliac dislocation at the end of four weeks, seven weeks, and ten weeks.

About five out of six of the cases have been dorso-iliac. I have seen instances of the pubic, ischiatic, and thyroideal dislocations. Sir Astley Cooper said that a dislocation could not take place on the lower part of the os ischium; but this has been proved to be a mistake, by the experience of surgeons in France, Germany, and in this country. I have myself seen a number of instances, well characterized, of elongation of the limb, with the foot standing forward, or even, in some instances, standing a little out, the head of the os femoris resting on the lower part of the os ischium. I have also seen this dislocation and others produced by conversion: that is, while efforts were making to reduce a particular dislocation, - as, for example, the thyroideal, the head of the bone has been thrown to the opposite side of the articulation, and produced an iliac dislocation; though this was always reduced afterwards.

In regard to the reduction of dislocations of the hip, the secret lies in a narrow compass. First, relax and elongate the muscles, so as to have full control of the limb; second, manœuvre the limb in every possible direction, till the head of the bone enters the socket. In order to accomplish these two indications, first bleed the patient very freely, and etherize him; secondly, apply the pulleys, till the limb, if shortened, is drawn down lower than the other limb. Then take off the pulleys, fix the pelvis securely to the table, and manœuvre the limb according to the direction of the dislocation. I have often succeeded in the iliac dislocation by a forcible abduction, combined with a slight extension; but, having noticed in the dead body that a limb could be sometimes reduced by movements apparently ill calculated to effect this object, I have in difficult cases always practised a great variety of movements, continued until the bone was reduced. In such cases, the bone does not return with a snap; so that it is not very easy to determine that it is actually in its place.

Retention of Urine. — Many books have been written on suppression of urine: yet a great deal remains to be done to illustrate the treatment of urinary obstructions; and every surgeon of experience ought to record his information, in the hope that he may contribute something to the general stock of knowledge. The most common cause of urinary obstructions in the early part of life is stricture of the urethra. The causes of this stricture are various. The most frequent, perhaps, is general inflammation. This inflammation, producing deposits of lymph in various parts of the urinary canal, causes a greater or less degree of thickening in the walls of the urethra, narrows the passage, and, of course, obstructs the issue of the urinary fluid. Another

frequent cause of obstruction in the early part of life is onanism. How this produces obstruction I know not, but have seen many instances of the fact. In age, enlargement of the prostate gland most frequently gives origin to this disease. Sometimes it does so even in middle age. In this latter case, enlargement more commonly arises from acute inflammation, terminating in a swelling, which may be dissipated, but sometimes continues. Acute inflammation also terminates in abscess of the prostate.

Symptoms. - In stricture of the urethra, the canal becomes very much contracted before distinct symptoms manifest themselves. The first symptom is increased frequency of passing water: and, if the stream is accurately observed, it will be found diminished in diameter, and to assume a scattered, irregular, or cork-screw form; or it may issue in two streams. This course may continue many years without such suffering as would call for treatment. Sometimes the stream will continue very good, although the frequency is great, and the urethra very much contracted. A gentleman applied to me for a stricture which he had for some years. I found that the smallest bougie would not pass; yet he made, in my presence, a very fair stream. In cases of stricture, the bladder ultimately becomes contracted, from the irritation produced by retention and acridity of the urine. The muscular coat especially becomes contracted, and produces loculi, or cysts, between its fasciculi.

Treatment. — For many years, I treated stricture by caustic, according to the plan of Hunter and Sir Everard Home. But experience taught me, that the caustic, used in this way, had but little effect. I laid it aside, therefore, and have employed mechanical dilatation. I have found that there is no one particular mode of accomplishing this,

which has a preference to all others. I therefore have bougies cylindrical and pointed, straight and curved, cylindrical and conical, flexible and stiff. The most successful plan in bad stricture is the following: After getting fully acquainted with the state of the urethra by different instruments, a straight steel probe, with a slight enlargement at the extremity, is passed to the stricture; then by moderate pressure in the direction of the passage, with the forefinger of the other hand supporting and directing the point, this may be gradually insinuated along the natural passage. When it gets to the further part of the urethra, the finger is passed into the rectum, and the instrument changed for one of a curved form; and thus, if the passage is not very irregular, the bladder is at length attained. Afterwards, of course, the passage is to be enlarged by enlarging the size of the instruments. When no instrument can be passed after repeated trials, a succession of punctures in the urethra by a concealed knife must be resorted to.

When the passage becomes obstructed, so that no urine will issue, it has been recommended to make a forcible entrance into the bladder. My experience is not in favor of this plan: it leads to the formation of a false passage. I have found, that, when an instrument could not be introduced without great violence, it is best to etherize the patient; and the relaxation thus produced will be accompanied by a flow of urine. This may be aided by warm baths, narcotic clysters, and, if these also fail, by dashing the lower part of the abdomen and the perineum with cold water. Finally, all other methods failing, we must resort to puncture of the bladder by the rectum, or over the pubes.

Urinary obstructions in the latter part of life arise from the enlargement of the prostate gland. This is a disease so

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common, that few persons of sedentary professions escape its attack. Clergymen and lawyers are more particularly subject to it. In those who suffer much, it begins as early as fifty; though the patient rarely gets to notice it much till he has had some symptoms for ten or fifteen years. The first symptoms are increased frequency and heat in the urinary passage. The quantity of urine thrown out at one time becomes less; and the patient is ultimately obliged to pass his urine every hour or two, and, of course, is frequently disturbed in the night. If the complaint is not well managed, these symptoms go on till a total obstruction takes place. The degree of suffering is exceedingly various in different cases. Persons who have lived luxuriously, and who continue to use wine freely, suffer most.

The treatment of this complaint in its earliest stage, if well followed up, will do much towards mitigating the trouble. The patient, if of sedentary habits, must give up these habits, and must avoid long sitting, reading, writing, &c. He must also give up riding on horseback. His food must be rather moderate in quantity, and without stimulants. Water is the best drink. The quantity of this should be sufficient to dilute the urinary salts; but, if it exceeds what is necessary for this purpose, the bladder is teased and irritated by the frequent calls upon it. Sexual intercourse should be in a great measure abandoned. The bowels should be kept in quite an easy state. This may be almost always accomplished by the use of a proper quantity of cracked wheat boiled, and eaten with milk, butter, or cream. Sugar I am inclined to think rather pernicious than otherwise; yet some persons take it with impunity. There are no articles of food, either solid or fluid, which seem particularly beneficial.

The active treatment consists in the frequent use of cold-

water injections into the rectum. I have tried cold-water injections into the bladder; but they cause a contraction of the organ, and are generally thrown off so soon as not to produce any good effect. It is, however, a practice well worth trying in those who have not a sensitive urethra. Injection into the rectum, however, can be borne by any one. The quantity should be small, — say, not more than a gill; and it should be thrown in such a way as not to penetrate far into the rectum, but to rest immediately within the anus. There it should be retained until it acquires the temperature of the body, and may then be ejected.

Second, the frequent application of cold water to the perineum and anus by a sponge, cloth, or the hip-bath. The more frequently this is done, the better; but the frequency must depend upon the urgency of the case. The worst cases are the enlargement of the middle lobe, as it has been called; for this, rising directly into the bladder, may act as a valve to stop its aperture. Moreover, it is more sensitive than the lateral lobes. This enlarged and irritable state of the middle lobe seems to be more especially relieved by the use of cold water in the ways above mentioned. There is also another mode, which I have occasionally recommended with much advantage; that is, the douche, or direction of a stream of cold water upon the perineum and anus.

Third, another class of remedies consists in local abstraction of blood by leeches to the perineum and anus; by scarification of the rectum, and scarification of the bladder, with a concealed knife introduced through a canula.

Fourth, permanent external irritation. This is quite a valuable resource. It is most conveniently accomplished by the use of one or two setons passed through the perineum from before, backwards, along the side of the bulb of

the urethra. This seton, continued for a length of time, may be highly useful.

As to medicines, I have never been able to discover any benefit from them. In painful cases, narcotics must be employed to mitigate the suffering. A drachm of tincture of opium to three of water may be used at first; and afterwards larger doses, if necessary, by injection into the rectum. Solid opium, in the dose of a grain; stramonium, two grains; hyoscyamus, ten, fifteen, or twenty grains,— are to be used as suppositories in the rectum.

The following cases will illustrate some of the phenomena of this complaint. In 1815, I was called to Watertown, in this vicinity, to see a gentleman who was seized with suppression of urine on his way from Lancaster to Boston. On arriving there, I found him in great distress, and constantly straining to pass urine. He was sixty-five years old, of thin, spare habit. He told me, that, for many years back, he had been compelled to pass his urine very often, day and night; that the trouble had increased gradually, but he never had had a complete suppression until now. I endeavored to pass a catheter, and found it could not be done. I then examined by the rectum, and discovered an enlargement of the prostate sufficient to fill the lower part of the pelvis. Then, taking a larger instrument than I had before employed, - the forefinger of the left hand being passed into the rectum, - after very long and careful effort, I succeeded in reaching the urine, which was discharged in very large quantity. He was removed to Boston, and I attended him regularly for a year. At first, he made no water without the catheter, which I was obliged to pass twice a day; but, notwithstanding I had found the route, the difficulty in introducing the instrument was so great, that I was compelled to establish an instrument in the bladder. By means of a wax bougie, I got a cast of the direction of the passage and of its curve. This was very large. Then a flexible metallic catheter was bent to the same curve, and I succeeded in introducing it without much difficulty. The instrument requiring to be confined in the bladder, which would have otherwise expelled it, I passed a strip of rag, an inch wide and four inches long, around the penis, behind the glans. This was secured by a thread. Then a silk thread, about half a yard long, was tied around the neck of the catheter; and the ends descending on each side of the penis were bound down by a second band, which was also secured by a thread. As this thread is apt to be drawn out, it was secured in its situation by turning the ends up on the outside bandage, and securing it again by a waxed thread passed around it. This apparatus required daily adjustment; but, by various little contrivances, I succeeded at length in managing it without much loss of time. The instrument was removed and cleaned once a week; taking especial care to change it often enough for a new one, to prevent the danger of breaking it, and to keep it clear of calculous concretions. After the expiration of nearly a year, I left him a few days without the catheter, and at length was able to omit the instrument altogether. He lived fifteen years after, and never had another retention of urine. When he died, I got permission to examine the body, and found that a regular permanent channel through the prostate had been formed by absorption of its hard substance, from the pressure of the instrument.

Case of ——. — This gentleman began, about 1830, to experience difficulty in the urinary organs. He was then fifty-four years old; of an ample frame; enjoyed fine health, except when he had a touch of dyspepsia from liv-

ing too freely; for, being of a hospitable disposition, he saw a great deal of company, and then drank much wine. His profession led him to sit and write a great deal, - sometimes twelve or fourteen hours a day. In 1838, I being absent, the symptoms becoming more urgent, he applied to Dr. James Jackson, who passed a catheter. This gave him so much pain, that he was unwilling to resort to it again; till, in 1840, he suffered very severely, and then made application to me. I found he had a prostate of considerable size, but remarkably hard, knotted, and tender. Leeches, baths, and all other remedies, were employed to relieve him, but without effect. He grew worse rapidly; was seized with a diarrhea, which shortened his sufferings; and died in August, 1841. No examination of the body was permitted. This was a case of peculiar severity and rapidity. This gentleman told me, he, for some years before his death, never went to a dinner-party without securing a bladder around the penis by a contrivance peculiar to himself.

Case of a Large Prostate in a Young Man. — This person was a mechanic, living in Sheafe Street, Boston. He had a suppression of urine, which led him to send for me; and I found him with a prostate as large as my fist. I treated him with leeches, rest, and injections: and, to my surprise, the tumor began to diminish, and, in the course of two years, was so far altered, that he suffered very little inconvenience from his urine; although no abscess ever formed, so far as I could discover.

Protracted Case of Enlarged Prostate, with Severe Symptoms, relieved by Treatment. — W. C., a gentleman of rather active habits, was attacked in 1825 with a slight strangury. He had occasional and increasing attacks from this period to 1839; when, from riding a long time in very hot weather, he was affected with a violent inclination to pass urine,

almost perpetual. He was confined to his bed; had leeches applied; frequent injections of cold water, and cold water to the perineum. The complaint continuing, I examined him, and found the gland about double the natural size, not tender to the touch, fæces flattened from its pressure. The catheter entered the bladder without much difficulty, but gave great pain and smarting at the middle lobe, so that he could not bear to have it repeated. He was now advised to use injections of cold water into the rectum, three times a day; to keep the bowels regular by food; to use the cold hip-bath, and the perineal douche. These applications put some check on the complaint; but, in 1843, the symptoms were aggravated. He was called to pass urine once in a couple of hours through the day, and often five or six times in the night. The urine was expelled with some difficulty; that is, he could not bring on a flow immediately: but, after a time, it began to flow without any straining. The urine was always turbid, never bloody. He was obliged to give up riding on horseback. Under these circumstances, I recommended a seton in the perineum; the use of water as before. The seton, after four or five weeks, became so very sore, that he was obliged to discontinue it; but a sensible amelioration of the disease followed. The frequency of passing water was diminished, and also the pricking sensation in the bladder on certain motions in the body. I endeavored to ascertain whether any particular articles of food affected him, but could not discover any thing excepting the use of wine, which immediately brought on a painful propensity to pass water.

In reviewing this case, I think it is pretty obvious that a share in the amelioration is to be attributed to the use of water, something to the seton, and the rest to general attention and care.

## CHAPTER XIII.

AUTOPLASTIC OPERATIONS. — DEFORMITIES. — EXCISIONS. —
SUPERIOR MAXILLA.

In the year 1830, a man came under my care at the Hospital for a severe urinary difficulty. He had, formerly, an obstruction of the urine from stricture. After many years of trouble, a total stoppage took place; the scrotum and testes became gangrenous; the skin sloughed off; and the urine was discharged, from that time, through the perineum. The patient suffered, of course, severe excoriation from the washing by the urine, which kept him in a state of misery. An operation was done in the following manner: He was placed in the same posture as for the operation of lithotomy. I succeeded in passing an instrument through the penis, down to the perineum, where it became bare, and exposed to view, for a space of two inches. But this instrument could not by any means be insinuated into the bladder. A probe was passed along the perineum, as near as could be in the direction of the urethra. But no remains of natural urethra existed. After a time, however, the probe was insinuated into the cavity of the bladder; a groove director was passed along the probe, and with some difficulty insinuated into the cavity of the bladder. This being done, a probepointed bistoury was passed along the groove of the director, into the bladder; and, being turned to the left, an incision was made, in the direction of the left tuberosity of the

ischium, sufficient to admit a good-sized catheter to be passed into the bladder. The catheter was then forced into this newly made opening. This being accomplished so as to ascertain that an instrument could be carried into the bladder, the catheter was partially withdrawn, in order fairly to expose the perineum. The hard and irregular cicatrix of the perineum was then dissected from the surface it covered, for more than an inch on each side, following the irregularities of the cicatrix, and so conducted as to maintain a correspondence between the two sides; and this dissection carried on until a sufficient quantity of skin was obtained to cover the instrument and restore the perineum. The catheter was now replaced in the bladder, and the skin nicely adjusted over it by pins and sutures so as completely to close the wound over the catheter. The instrument was now secured in its place by threads fastened around the extremity of the penis; the patient placed in bed on his back, with his knees raised and supported; and a vessel adapted to the extremity of the catheter, so as to receive the urine. Some difficulties occurred in the treatment, particularly in keeping the catheter free from mucus and from calculous deposits. For this purpose, sometimes a metallic instrument was employed, and sometimes one of gum-elastic. At last, however, the urine ceasing to flow through the wound, the instrument was withdrawn, and the urine took its natural course through the urethra. (For other details, see Hospital Records.)

A boy was admitted into the Hospital who had fallen on a fence, and contused the perineum, so that it had sloughed, and the urine was discharged altogether through the wound. The boy was about sixteen years old; and, of course, not very manageable. An operation was performed much in the manner described in the last case; and, although the wound healed very slowly, its small fistulous aperture was finally closed, and a perfect restoration of the urethra accomplished. This young man, who had lived in the country, afterwards came to reside in Boston, where he established himself in a useful business; and I have had the satisfaction of hearing from him occasionally from year to year, and knowing that he was perfectly well.

The great difficulty in these cases is to prevent the urine from insinuating itself along the side of the catheter from the bladder to the external wound; in consequence of which, the agglutinating lymph or cohering granulations are washed away as they are formed. In order to prevent this, the perineum, after being imbued with collodion, should be covered with scraped lint; which is to be so compressed by a bandage as to prevent the existence of any space, between the instrument and the skin, into which the urine might penetrate. In some similar cases, I have found advantage from a combination of quill suture and common suture. A lady who had an entire rupture of the perineum from her first parturition, in consequence of which the fæces were involuntarily evacuated, submitted to this difficulty for many years, without knowing that she could be relieved. After she had had a number of children, and had ceased to go through this process, I operated on her in the manner alluded to. The skin and a good portion of fat was dissected three-quarters of an inch on each side of the fissure. Three sutures were passed, at about half an inch distance from the edge of the wound; two portions of bougie were placed, one on each side, and tied down by the ligatures; then a fine needle was carried through the very edges of the skin, so as to produce a very nice union. I left this patient under the charge of her attending physician, and understood from him that she remained eleven days without any evacuation from the bowels; that the urinary evacuations were very slight, and excessively thick and dark-colored; but that, eventually, a perfect adhesion took place of the whole wound, so that the vulva was covered to a greater extent than was necessary. This was afterwards relieved by a slight incision.

In 1838, a patient applied to Dr. Mason Warren to perform an autoplastic operation for him. He undertook it, and with so much success that the individual has rather an aquiline nose than otherwise. Since then, he has done the same operation with great success in various cases; how many, I cannot exactly tell. In one case, he restored the nose by a portion of skin from the arm of the patient. The operation succeeded in a very satisfactory way; but the patient's distress from the posture she was obliged to retain was so very great, that he determined never to employ this mode again.

Other surgeons of this country have done some remarkable autoplastic operations, particularly Dr. Mütter of Philadelphia. Dieffenbach of Berlin must have the credit of having revived and brought them into notice. It is well known that they have been performed in distant countries and in other ages. The application of these procedures to burns, and to other cases of destruction of the skin, has been productive of great comfort to many patients, and great credit to the surgical art. There is some reason to believe also that it may be extended to cases of malignant disease, where, a large portion of diseased skin being removed, sound skin may be dissected up from the vicinity, and placed as a substitute. It must be taken into account, however, that, unless the operation is done with great skill and judgment, the skin which has been removed from its place is liable to slough, and leave great deformity.

Deformities. — The treatment of these cases was formerly committed to various mechanical applications; and a great deal of machinery, some of it very unwieldy, was employed for this purpose. The cutting operations were occasionally though rarely used, and we had the probe-razor for dividing the contracted sterno-mastoid muscle. But it was not till within the last seventeen years that the plan of subcutaneously dividing contracted parts was brought into view by Stromayer and Dieffenbach.

The subject was taken up in Paris by Guérin, Bouvier, and others; in London, by Dr. Little, and, when I reached there in 1837–8, was getting into great vogue. Returning home from Europe in 1838, I introduced these operations into the Massachusetts General Hospital; and here, as elsewhere, arose a passion for their performance, which is now greatly diminished.

The introduction into surgery of the plan of doing operations in such a manner as not to admit the atmospheric air, is one of the great improvements of modern times. It had been long known, that the admission of air into parts of the animal body, not naturally prepared for its contact, produced irritation, and brought on inflammation. A wound in the synovial membrane of the knee-joint, for example, though very small, frequently produces fatal inflammation. I have seen a body, not an inch long, and smaller in its other dimensions, when extracted from the outer edge of the synovial cavity of the knee, followed by inflammation in that joint, in the hip and shoulder of the same side, in the knee-joint of the other side, and a fatal termination in ten days.

Mr. Hunter applied his powerful genius to the investigation of this matter, and came to the conclusion that it was owing to the stimulus of imperfection. This idea, though ingenious and philosophical, is not well supported by facts. While a small wound in a large articulation often produces fatal results, the articulation may be laid open by a large wound, as in-an amputation, without any peculiar severity of inflammation. Amputation at the knee-joint is occasionally adopted; that of the shoulder is more common, and is generally successful.

The experiments and observations of M. Jules Guérin and others go to show, that the immunity from irritation which attends subcutaneous operations is attributable to the non-admission of air. Air admitted into a wound, says M. Guérin, produces chemical decomposition, putrefaction of the effused blood, consequent poisoning of the healthy textures, suppuration, gangrene. Very extensive internal cuts may be made, without any of these consequences, by the exclusion of air. A remarkable confirmation and illustration of these opinions is offered in the contrast of the phenomena in simple and compound fractures. In simple fracture, the patient ordinarily has very little trouble; at least, nothing serious. Compound fracture is likely to be attended with pain, inflammation, suppuration, exfoliation, and a long-protracted cure.

Most practitioners have discovered by this time that the cutting of tendons, muscles, &c., is a small part of a cure of distortions. They are, therefore, not quite so eager now to do these operations; knowing that when they are done, unless followed by a steady and scientific application of mechanical apparatus calculated to retain the distorted limb in a right position, their operation will have been worse than useless.

Some years ago, there was a great rage in Boston for curing distorted spine by mechanical extension produced by pulleys. Many young ladies, subjected to this application, had the spinal column, when bent by a lateral curvature into a sigmoid flexure, extended into a straight line in the course of an hour, to the great admiration of the bystanders. The operator was particularly careful, after this remarkable display, to place his patient in the horizontal posture, in order to prevent the collapse of the extended spine. After a time, however, it was discovered that the pulley extension did not give tone to the muscles, nor firmness to the bones; and that the process, carried to the severe extent which had been proposed, was followed by deterioration of the distortion. Thus many persons were swindled out of the amount of from two, to five hundred dollars.

This is a fair specimen of the temporary monomania which pervades great cities like an epidemic. From year to year, the moral atmosphere of a place is infected with a contagious delusion, sometimes in the form of a joint-rubber, distortion-curer, an eye-surgeon, a uterus-doctor. Each of these has his process of invasion, effusion, and extinction, quite regular; but, as soon as one disappears, another follows in interminable succession. Populus vult decipi. It is vain for highly educated and high-minded physicians to present obstacles to these influences. They are not of a nature to be touched by fact, by argument, nor by common sense. The more preposterous are their claims, the more attention they will be likely to attract; and the regular practitioner has the mortification to see, that all his painful labors in reading, dissecting, following hospitals, exposing his life to dangerous epidemics, - that all these considerations are in an instant obscured by the pretensions of an ignorant, unscrupulous, and perhaps immoral pretender. One of the most remarkable circumstances attending these delusions in our vicinity, for a number of years back, has been the disposition to pay, without hesitation, the most

exorbitant and unheard-of demands. One of these men has been known to ask many dollars for a small box of ointment; some preparation, perhaps, of diamonds or pearls ground into powder, and applied in the form of an ointment to smear the patient's eyelids.

Will knowledge, refinement, the progress of civilization, ever put an end to these fooleries? We answer, They will not. No change will take place till the constitution of the human mind changes. In the mean while, let the learned and conscientious physician be consoled with the observation, that, if he holds to his integrity and his science, society will ultimately fall back upon him as its last resource and hope; provided always that he preserves his purity, and never becomes contaminated with the poison which infects the surrounding community. (See Medical Quackery.)

Superior Maxilla. — M. Gensoul, of Lyons, distinguished himself in 1824 by proposing and executing this operation, apparently so very formidable. Our countryman, Dr. Mott, to whom the surgery of this country is indebted for some of its most brilliant operations, performed it in some very serious cases.

I was led to do this operation first by the application of Mr. Garland, of East Cambridge. He had for some time experienced an obstruction in the right nostril, attributed to polypus. A hemorrhage occurring, which debilitated him very much, he applied to me; and, on examination, I found the nostrils filled with a fungoid substance, which bled on being touched, and the bleeding was difficult to arrest. The right side of the nose was pushed out, and the right cheek elevated so as to give him a frightful appearance. Every one was of opinion that it had a malignant character, and that probably an operation would not save him. An opera-

tion was performed, however: the upper maxillary bone, part of the malar, and the palatine, were removed. The patient recovered, and remains well now at the end of seven years. This result, so unusual in regard to a tumor of such decided malignity, is quite encouraging.

Three years after the operation, he had considerable hemorrhage from the same nostril, which threatened to prove fatal; yet he recovered from this, and remains well.

The operation was done in the following manner: An incision was carried from the external angle of the eye to the external angle of the mouth. Two flaps were dissected; the left flap to the side of the nose, the cartilage of which was cut through at its attachment: the right flap was dissected from the malar bone, as far as the right branch of the lower jaw; the eye dissected from the floor of the orbit, elevated and protected; and an incision carried along the roof of the hard palate backwards, to and through the soft palate. A small oblong simple saw was applied to the edge of the orbit immediately above the body of the malar bone, then across the temporal process of the same bone, across the root of the nasal process of the superior maxillary bone, then through the alveolus of one of the incisor teeth and the solid anterior inferior part of the upper maxillary bone. The bony sections were completed by cutting-forceps: first, through the outside of the orbit to the spheno-maxillary fissure; then through the lower part of the orbit, behind the nasal process of the upper maxillary bone; and, finally, through the palatine plate of the upper maxillary and palate bones, and extricated from the pterygoid process by a chisel passed between this and the posterior part of the maxillary bone. The operation was finished by a few strokes of the knife. The bleeding was not great. The terminating branches of the internal maxillary were readily secured;

and nothing remained but to close the frightful chasm by bringing the soft parts over, and uniting them by two or three sutures.

He soon recovered, and then an artificial palate enabled him to speak with perfect distinctness. The man was naturally good-looking, and the change in his features was so slight as scarcely to be recognized.

In other cases, I have used the cutting-forceps almost exclusively. Before Gensoul proposed his operation, I had removed the alveolar portion of the upper jaw as far as the antrum, principally by cutting-forceps, when the forceps which I used were first made by my friend Dr. J. F. Flagg. A great variety of forms of these instruments have been made since; but none of them answer so well as the original.

In excision of the lower jaw for osteo-sarcoma, exostosis, cancer, and sero-cystic enlargement of the bone, the operations have been much shortened by the use of the cuttingforceps, after partial division by the small straight saw.

Excision of the os hyoides, or the greater part of it in a state of exostosis, was performed by my father, Dr. John Warren, in 1803. Excision of the clavicle was done by Dr. Mott in 1827, by myself in 1831, and in London in 1837 by my friend Benjamin Travers, Esq., the distinguished surgeon of St. Thomas's Hospital. In my case, the bone was sawn by the chain-saw, - a very beautiful and efficient. instrument where it can be employed, but apt to hitch and break when worked, as it usually is, in an angular direction.

In the year 1831, I excised the elbow-joint with much facility for a scrofulous disease, which produced a diarrheea. The patient recovered from the operation, but ultimately died of the diarrheea.

In 1832, I excised the middle metacarpal bone in a young 25

lady for a caries of eight or ten years' duration. The chainsaw was used in this case; broke; and the operation was completed by a small straight saw about two inches long and a third of an inch wide.

Soon after the last operation, I removed a very large osteo-sarcoma of a metacarpal bone by an incision on the back of the hand at the junction of the metacarpal and carpal bones, cleared the bone of the flesh near the carpus, cut it off by forceps, and dissected off the bone and tumor. The wound healed remarkably well.

An exostosis from one of the spinous processes of a dorsal vertebra was cut off by the small saw. Excision was made of portions of two of the ribs diseased, and enlarged by an effusion of osseo-cartilaginous matter. This operation was very complicated and difficult, from the irregular masses of cartilaginous and bony matter which everywhere connected itself with the surrounding textures. In this case, the straight and chain saw, cutting-forceps, and chisel were required. The ribs were strongly adherent to the pleura, and to the pleural covering of the diaphragm; and their separation could not have been accomplished with safety, nor without opening into the cavity of the thorax, had not these membranes been very much thickened by inflammation. The patient recovered without difficulty, and experienced great relief.

An exostosis of the rib, about the size of a large egg, with the rib from which it sprung, was removed in 1837. After the bone was cut on each side of the tumor, it was elevated by a strong spatula, and dissected from the pleura; an operation of great delicacy, in which the perforation of this membrane was constantly endangered. The patient had one or two smart pleuritic attacks during his recovery, but ultimately got quite well.

Exostosis of the tibia, and of the tarsal bones on the top of the foot, are easily removed. They are, however, very apt to return. In order to prevent this, it is necessary to take out a good portion of bony matter under the tumor.

The whole of the fibula was removed in the following case: A Portuguese sailor broke his leg at sea, as he said; had a bad union, followed by constant pain in the upper part of the fibula. He was kept on a very low regimen, confined to the bed in a horizontal posture for a number of months, and had many leeches applied; but all without avail: the pains increased rather than diminished. The upper part of the fibula was much enlarged, so as to fill the interosseal space; and the swelling constantly increased. Simple excision of the upper part of the fibula was thought of; but the tumor had so far involved the surrounding muscles, blood-vessels, and nerves, that it was judged injudicious to attempt this.

The limb, therefore, was amputated about the middle, and then the upper portion of the fibula removed as high as its head; which latter was perfectly sound. The patient had no return of the disease.

On inspection of the part, it presented nothing decidedly malignant; nor was there any mark of its having been fractured, as the patient had told us it was. The disease could not be syphilitic; for the patient had no symptoms of this disease during the whole time he was in the Hospital, which was nearly a year. I was never well satisfied with this operation. I think the upper portion of the fibula should have been excised without amputation. Perhaps, however, the patient would have had a troublesome limb afterwards.

The last operation I shall mention for excision of bone, I performed in the year 1820 on a young seaman, who had broken his leg at sea. The fracture was simple, and about

one-quarter of the length of the bone distant from the tibiotarsal articulation. From neglect, the patient was allowed to lie with his foot turned out, and the bones united in such a manner as to form the segment of a circle whose convexity was inwards. When he walked, therefore, the lower end of the tibia came to the ground, and kept his limb sore. I undertook to remedy this difficulty.

Having exposed the convexity of the tibia by an incision, and uncovered the face of the bone for the space of about three inches with a thin amputating saw, I cut out a wedge-like piece of the tibia about an inch square superficially, and a line thick at its deep part. By the application of a considerable degree of force, I fractured the fibula so as to enable me to bring the upper and lower portions of the tibia into contact. When this was accomplished, the limb was quite straight. The skin was brought together, and splints applied. In a month the wound had healed, the bone united, the patient was able to stand; and, in no long time, he recovered the perfect use of his limb.

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE POWER OF IMAGINATION. — COLD WATER. — INCU-RABLE DISEASE.

Case I. — Dr. — was one of the most remarkable physicians in Boston, from the Revolution to the time of his death. His practice was not very large, but consisted of the best families; and they were all strongly attached to him. He was tall, thin, imposing in manner, sagacious in aspect. In his practice he was remarkable for the decision of his directions, and the tenacity with which he insisted on their exact performance. No person ever disobeyed him more than once; for such a mistake was sure to bring down a storm of rebuke on the devoted offender. Occasionally he was abrupt; as, for example, when he had given permission to Governor G. to suck the juice of a piece of duck, and he

This story is illustrative not only of what it professes to be, but of the state of manners which prevailed forty or fifty years ago. When men were less busy, and the punch-bowl was an auxiliary at morning calls, practical jokes were the order of the day. It was the custom to give and take; and the victim of a joke was compelled to pocket the affront, and bear it good-naturedly until opportunity offered to repay it in kind. Many things of this kind were performed by and upon men in high places, which would now be considered in very bad taste.

The physician in question should not, however, be taken as a specimen of the profession in his day. Like Abernethy, he seems to have affected a rough exterior and bold speech; and the jokes recorded of him were seldom very refined. — Ed.

sent to the doctor to inquire whether it would hurt him to swallow a little of it, Dr. - replied, it would not hurt him to swallow the duck whole. One of the most singular occurrences which have come to my knowledge is the following, which I relate on the best authority. He was in the habit of meeting in the evening two or three gentlemen of the old school, among whom was the last of the Mathers, and a wellknown patriot-poet who was long a patient of mine, Mr. A. One evening, Dr. —, being somewhat fatigued, retired from the company earlier than common. When they afterwards broke up, a little excited by punch, Mr. A., to be revenged on Dr. — for retiring so early, went to his house, and, ringing the bell, called him up to his window; it being the habit of Dr. —, as well as physicians in Boston generally, to rise themselves on such occasions. It was a violent snow-storm, in the month of January; and A., speaking in a feigned voice, easily concealed himself, and requested the doctor to visit one of his patients, whom he knew to be in a very critical condition. Dr. — muttered an execration on the intruder; but, however, agreed to go. Proceeding on foot through the snow, when he reached the distant house of his patient, he found no preparation to receive him. The doorsteps were covered with snow; no light appeared in the entry, and the sleeping nurse was slow in answering the summons of the bell. When he obtained entrance, he at once perceived he had not been sent for; but, concealing his chagrin, he said, that, knowing the critical condition of his patient, and being unable to sleep, he had come to see what her situation was. On examination, he found the patient better; and took his leave with many apologies for his anxiety, and many expressions of gratitude from the family. His intercourse with the evening party went on as usual. He said nothing of the trick practised on him, and

the subject passed out of the memory of his friends. In the month of July following, the weather being quite warm, Dr. — was going homeward on foot, about the hour of dinner; and passing the open window of A., who was regaling himself with the fresh air, he was hailed by the latter, and invited to take a drink of cool punch. "No," he replied: "I am hungry, and must go home to get my dinner." But looking upwards to the window, and fixing his eyes on A., he exclaimed, "Jimmy! what's the matter with you?" "Matter?" said Jimmy. "Nothing: I never was better in my life."—" Oh!" said he, "then I am much mistaken; but I will come in and look at you." So he walked in, took a survey of his patient, felt of his pulse, and then, in his very decisive manner, told him, that, unless he attended to himself directly, he would be a dead man in twenty four hours. A. laughed, and said, "Doctor, you are trying to make a fool of me. I'm not sick: I'm as well as anybody." Dr. —, then rising, and taking his hat, turned to the door, and exclaimed, "Well, Jimmy, if you choose to die like a dog, you may die. I wash my hands of your death." Finding he was departing, A. begged him to stop a little, and explain to him what was going to kill him. But the doctor persisted in going, till A., in a beseeching voice, begged him to stop, and instruct him how to avoid his threatened fate. "Well," said Dr. -, "if you'll agree to put yourself into my hands, I will do the best I can for you. But there must be no hesitation: we must go straight on." A. murmured a reluctant assent.

Dr. —, then calling the servant, gave directions for Mr. A. to be put in bed; to take, first an emetic, then a purge; afterwards to put a blister on his chest; to be well covered in bed with two or three blankets, in the hope, that, the weather being hot, a salutary perspiration might be

induced. At evening, Dr. — made his second visit; and, inquiring kindly how his friend was, A. replied, "Doctor, I believe you was right. I think I am dying: I never felt so before." The doctor felt his pulse, and cheered him with the hope that he might be better; ordered a re-arrangement of the bed-clothes, a plentiful use of hot drinks; and left him for the night. Calling in the morning, he found his patient muffled up in bed-clothes, which the nurse had carefully replaced; and, when inquiry was made how he was, in a faint murmur he answered, "Ah! doctor, it's all over with me: I am physicked and sweated to death." The doctor felt of the patient's pulse, looked at his tongue, surveyed his countenance, felt of his skin, looked at his blister, and then, in tones of satisfaction, informed him he was better. "Jimmy," said he, fixing his stern countenance upon him, "do you remember calling me out in a cold snow-storm last winter?" "No, doctor," said the patient, trembling. "Well, I do," said the doctor; "and now I tell you this is to pay you for your amusement. There is nothing the matter with you. Get up, and go about your business; and, when you want more of my advice, call me up again in the middle of the night in a snow-storm." Saying this, the doctor strode out of the room, and left his patient to think on what was past, and indulge in his own reflections.

Case II. — In 1830, I had under my care a gentleman, a merchant of this town, affected with symptoms of hepatic disease. He was of a sluggish and rather sedentary habit, self-indulgent, had within a short time grown fat, of a sallow complexion, little appetite, costive state of the bowels, and urine of a bilious tinge. I put him on a course of regimen, and gave him blue pill, which was the fashion at that time.

He soon began to improve, and was going on, as I thought, very satisfactorily. One day, however, he told me that he was deaf in his left ear; and, on inquiring into the cause, he informed me that it was owing to a stick of wood which had accidentally got lodged there. I asked him to show me a similar piece, and he pointed out a large stick or fagot lying on the hearth. At first, I thought he was jesting; but, as he insisted upon his story, I attempted to show him the unreasonableness of his suspicion, and finally to ridicule it. He appeared to give up the matter, and nothing more was said at that time. In a few days, he again adverted to the subject, and told me he should not recover till the stick was removed from his ear. Perceiving he was quite in earnest about the matter, I examined his ear, and, finding nothing in it, determined to change my course.

I therefore asked him whether he thought himself able to submit to an operation for the removal of this stick of wood. He said he was, and would be most happy to go through with it. A day was accordingly fixed. Two or three assistants were invited to be present, one of whom held his head very firmly; another drew aside the cartilages of the ear; the third restrained his arms. I introduced into his ear a pair of small dressing-forceps, about half an inch; then, expanding the blades with moderate force, I made sufficient pressure to give him a little pain. The instrument was then slowly withdrawn; and at the same moment, a stick of wood prepared for the purpose, which had been concealed, was thrown upon the hearth. The patient sprang up, rubbed his ear, and expressed much relief.

The trouble in his ear never returned. He soon after recovered from his hepatic affection, and went into the country.

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This I consider to have been a case of monomania, brought on by the hepatic affection, and cured by the power of the imagination. Cases exactly similar to this are not common; but approximating instances, in which the patient may be relieved from imaginary and even real diseases, are not rare in the practice of experienced physicians.

Cold Water. - A great change has come over the practice of surgery, in my time, from the employment of cold water. I can remember the time when this was avoided as if it had been poisonous. When a wound was to be dressed, for example, the water was always to be warm. Warm baths were thought better than cold baths for every species of malady in which water was employed. A little dampness about the clothing or bedding was considered the source of a vast number of diseases, especially rheumatic affections. Now people go into the other extreme. They not only bathe, but duck, pump, and soak in cold water, till the skin is diseased, and then the hydropath triumphs over the humors and sores which he has drawn to the patient's skin. I am free to say, however, that while the ignorance and prejudice of the hydropaths have been productive, as in the homeopaths, of great mischief, hydropathy has broken the shackles of habit, and left us free to follow truth and nature.

Homeopathy, without any foundation in observation, experience, or reasoning, has brought us to see, that many diseases, supposed to be incurable but by medicine, are better cured without it; and now, when we are called to visit a patient, we feel free to leave him without medicine, provided we see no occasion for it.

I would not have it understood for a moment that I mean to vindicate the homeopathic doctrine as a science

or a practice. The writings of its founders, and the practice of its followers, forbid me to do either. Nor have I any intention to defend hydropathy as it has been introduced and applied. Some people have derived benefit from it, no doubt; and those who have been made the subjects of a new remedy are always eager to involve others, in order to lessen the impression on the public of their own folly; and this is especially true when they have been obliged to pay heavily. Any new remedy, the use of which has been luckily attended by some cures, is sure to find advocates, who are anxious to diffuse its blessings through the whole community with an untiring zeal and industry, which cannot fail to make many proselytes. Men naturally love life, and fly with eagerness to whatever promises the hope of arresting the advance of the messenger of death. In consequence, the new remedy is gradually handed from one family to another, and from one country to another, until it passes to the extremities of the civilized world. The current, at first feeble, acquires strength as it goes on, till it involves not only the uneducated, but the scientific; and eventually the profession, which should form barriers to its progress, are swept away by the torrent, and augment its impetuosity.

In the course of my life, I have seen many of these novelties brought forward, sometimes with the most imposing names and circumstances. They produce a harvest of fame and wealth to their supporters, impose on the credulous world for a while, and then pass into an obscurity, from which, after the lapse of years, they are again to be drawn from the pages of some musty volume, and once more blazoned forth. Where are now Mithridate and Theriaca? Where is Basilicon, the king of salves? Hiera Picra, the holy bitter? and Tinctura Sacra, the sacred tinc-

ture? Where is Phytolacca? and I had almost said, Where are calomel, and blue pill, and prussic acid? And, in ten years from this time, perhaps some one may say, "Where is cod-liver oil?" Shocking as such questions seem to be, they will be asked some time or other; and some one may answer, "They have gone down to the tomb, like the patients who have swallowed them."

Such views as these are not intended to draw into sight the credulity of the public or the weakness of our profession. They have a higher aim. They should prevent us from rashly receiving the novelties which daily present themselves to the profession. They should lead us to investigate the character of highly extolled remedies, to ascertain whether their supposed cures are real or fictitious, and to avoid using them in such a way as to implicate the safety of our fellow-beings. In illustration and enforcement of the last idea, let me invite the experienced and conscientious practitioner to turn his eyes back to the mercurial practice, and witness the sloughing gums, necrosed jaws, inveterate ulcers, and ruined constitutions, produced by mercury, and then say whether he can bring forward a wellobserved series of satisfactory cures to counterbalance these evils.

To resume the subject of cold water, I will say, without reserve, that it is one of the best applications, internal and external. Internally it may be employed with advantage for almost any internal inflammation, whether of the mouth, nostrils, throat, stomach, intestines, or kidneys. In typhoid fever, for example, it is worth, according to my experience, more than all other remedies. After the first evacuations are made by medicine, the patient will probably do better, with the use of water internally, without than with medicine. It must be administered judiciously in quantity and tempera-

ture, graduated to the habits and constitution of the patient and to the effects it produces. In a few cases, when the quantity taken is small, the temperature may be reduced to freezing; but ordinarily, and especially when taken freely, the temperature should be that of water fresh from the interior of the earth.

Not only through the upper part of the digestive tube should it be administered: it may also be used by injection into the rectum, to the amount of a pint, once or twice a day. In cystitis and cystorrhea, when the urethra is not too irritable, it may be employed with frequent relief. In severe cases, it is used in a double stream: that is, by a double canula, it may be made to wash and cool the bladder by a current entering on one side, and issuing on the other. In sensitive, painful, and inflamed states of the middle lobe of the prostate gland, the same mode may be adopted: but in the more common cases of this affection; that is, when the literal lobes are enlarged, - and these, it is well known, are among the most frequent and tormenting complaints that infest the male patient in the latter periods of life, - in these cases, I say, it is best to employ the cold injection of from a gill to a pint of cold water into the rectum many times a day, the temperature and frequency being graduated by the effect. Another mode of applying it, which I highly esteem and have much practised, is by the cold douche on the perineum. A small cask or a pail of water is to be placed about eight feet high, and higher if convenient. A stop-cock is to be fitted to the lower part of this pail, with which is connected an India-rubber tube at least ten feet long, with a stop-cock at the lower extremity, whose diameter at its outlet is equal to that of a writing-quill. The stream is to be directed against the perineum and anus, and continued as long as the patient can bear it. I am inclined

to think it is better calculated than any other remedy to give temporary comfort, and even retard the progress of the disease.

In prolapsus and other debilities of the uterus, the same application may be used, and with better effect than the mere injection of water into the vagina.

Externally applied, cold-water applications may with advantage be employed so extensively, that I cannot point out any large proportion of those cases in which I should advise it. Before this application is made to any great extent or for any long time, the sensibility of the patient should be tested and observed. If the effect produces agreeable sensations, the practice may be followed; if otherwise, warm applications may be substituted. There are two modes of application, the effect of which is quite different. If thin cloth, say of one or two thicknesses, is applied, and not covered, a rapid evaporation will take place from the heat of the skin, and the consequence will be the production of severe cold. This plan is therefore to be adopted in violent inflammation and violent pain. In such cases, for example, as strangulated hernia, before there is time for gangrene, this is a valuable and safe remedy, provided it is properly watched and occasionally intermitted. If allowed to remain long in an evaporating state without being removed, gangrene in the intestine will be apt to take place, as I have seen.

In the second mode of application, the cloth should be of four thicknesses; and, in cases of severe inflammation, this should be changed as soon as it gets warmed by the animal heat of the body. There is another way of applying cold water; which should be understood, to prevent its misapplication. If a compress of four or six thicknesses is covered with another cloth, in a few minutes it becomes warm, and is no longer to be considered a cold application,

but a warm one. In this way, the good effects of a warm poultice may be obtained, without its weight and other disadvantages. On this plan, the compress is to be covered by a piece of India-rubber cloth to prevent evaporation, and other covering can be used to retain heat.

Among the special complaints in which the external application of cold water is highly beneficial, I will mention ophthalmia, in which light compresses of cold water are more valuable than any of the numerous lotions which are applied in this affection. Instead of a compress, a soft, light sponge may be used to wipe over the eyelids very frequently. The cold-water douche, applied to the conjunctiva itself by insinuating the tube of a fistula-lachrymalis syringe, is indispensable in purulent ophthalmia. Where the lids are very much swelled, some patients prefer warm water, — at least occasionally. The eyes may be much preserved by the practice of opening the lids in a basin of water at a temperature of from forty to fifty.

Varicose veins in any part of the body are relieved by the local or general use of cold water. It may be very advantageously applied to varicose tumors of the face, and the upper and lower extremities, sometimes by compresses, sometimes by affusions, and sometimes by immersion. Immersion of the lower extremities for varicose veins I practised at first with much caution, on account of the common opinion of its dangerous effects; but experience proved to me that it might be done with perfect safety.

There is a peculiar affection of the lower extremities I have seen as a sequel of typhoid fever usually, in which I have employed immersion freely. This affection, which seems to be a varicose state of the capillary veins, has, I believe, not been noticed by any author. The patient, a few weeks after recovery from fever, finds the foot painful;

and, on examination, it is seen to be swelled, as well as the inferior part of the leg, and sometimes its whole length. On examination, the cutaneous veins are seen to exhibit their little ramifications all over the inferior part of the leg and foot. The limb is quite lame, and the patient is prevented from his usual occupations. The veins are not so much relieved by the horizontal position as the varicose saphena; and, in fact, this affection is comparatively intractable. The treatment consists in leeching, bandaging, dieting, and aqueous immersions. In some of these cases, the leg has been immersed for three-quarters of an hour, in water of the temperature of forty, without any ill consequences; but at times the pain is so severe, that the patient has to remove the foot from the water temporarily. The treatment requires a long time to produce a favorable effect.

Enlargement of the great saphena branches, also, sometimes follows typhus and typhoid fever; and even phlebitis is occasionally seen. The latter even assumes occasionally a chronic form, appearing with frequent repetitions; and, in this case, has not the formidable character common to phlebitis. This affection, however (phlebitis), is, I think, quite a common occurrence, and often escapes attention from being seated in the deep veins; while the superficial veins are not enlarged, and the co-existing pain and the constitutional affection are not remarkable. It is detected by the existence of a hard cord deep in the thigh, in the course of the femoral vein, and follows wounds, burns, and various injuries of the lower extremities.

How is it that these vascular enlargements are so frequent in consequence of typhoid fever? and how are they produced? It is easy to attribute it to the increase of vascular action in this disease; but why, if this is true, should

not the same consequence present itself in cases of inflammatory fever, in which the vascular action is more violent? Then we know that typhoid fever is followed by many other changes of organization; as abscess, rheumatism, diseased joints, deafness, weakness of sight, &c. In other instances, the same disease is followed by favorable changes, some chronic derangement is removed, and the constitutional state of the patient renovated. How are these phenomena to be explained, except on the supposition of a materies morbi, which is eliminated from the system in some cases, and retained in others?

Presuming the cold-water treatment, I should say there is no application better than this, in the form of immersion or affusion, in contusions, sprains, and local rheumatism.

Finally, without following this copious subject further, we shall conclude by saying, that cold affusion of the whole body, preceded and followed by thorough friction in a warm room, forms the best remedy for, as well as the best preventive of, rheumatism, both general and local; and the same may be said of a great number of other derangements.

Is it proper to inform a patient when you have discovered that he is affected by an incurable disease?

Scarcely any question has occurred to me more frequently than this. It has been asked of me by physicians, clergymen, friends of the sick, and near relations. It is the fiat next in importance, to the patient, to the great decree which has sealed his fate in this world.

A physician is called to a patient to cure him; and, in order to do this, he must make out, if he can, what is the matter with him. Suppose him able to ascertain this, and he finds the patient affected by an incurable complaint: what are the objections to letting him and his friends know his

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real condition? The following present themselves: First, The patient will be so agitated by the knowledge of the expected death as to make him very miserable, and thus deprive him of that hope which Providence has destined for his support.

Secondly, The friends will be so much agitated by his desperate condition as to give themselves up to grief, lose the disposition to make efforts in his favor, and overpower the patient with their sorrows, when he has enough of his own without them.

A lady once said to me after the death of her husband, "I give you a thousand thanks for not having informed me of his approaching death; for, had you done so, I should have been so entirely prostrated as to have been unable to administer to him those attentions, the recollection of which is now my greatest consolation."

The third objection to informing a patient that his disease may prove fatal, is the chance that another physician may be substituted who is likely to give a picture more pleasing to the patient and his friends; or, if this is not done, the physician may be troubled with consultations and other extra calls upon his time and labor.

To the first objection it may be answered, that experience shows that patients are not usually depressed by the statement, that their complaint is likely to prove fatal; provided especially it be qualified by that delicacy which a physician ought, and for the most part will, naturally exercise in giving this information.

There is scarcely any case so bad that recovery is impossible; and, if there is any ray of hope open to his eyes, he will direct his thoughts in that way, and not look to the gloomy path, which he thinks has been pointed out to him by the imagination of his physician.

If he is a pious man, so far from being agitated and disturbed by the fatal judgment of his medical adviser, he will turn to the consolations afforded by religious faith and inspired by a religious confidence. He will be relieved of the agitation which a state of doubt naturally maintains. His time, instead of being devoted to trifling occupations, will be spent in preparing himself for the change which cannot longer be averted. He will also have the satisfaction of giving a thorough attention and care to his worldly concerns, and of accomplishing in a thorough and satisfactory manner the arrangements on which the harmony and happiness of those he leaves behind may depend.

In reply to the second objection, it may be said, that although occasionally the efforts of friends are paralyzed by the sudden information that their hopes must be extinguished, and although there is always danger of such an occurrence, yet, if they are not apprised of this danger, the physician, after the fatal event has occurred, may be called to a serious account. He will probably be thought to have been ignorant of the alarming condition of his patient, and thus to have allowed the precious moments to elapse during which means might have been employed to prevent the fatal stroke.

At this moment there is a patient lying dead, within my knowledge, in regard to whom I was consulted some months since. His disease was of a fatal nature; but his attending physician had so much delicacy for the feelings of the family, that he was unwilling to give the information. What was the consequence? The friends of the patient, finding he got no better, employed another person to attend him. The latter, although not ignorant that his predecessor understood the true character of the disease, threw out the idea that he himself had first understood its true nature; by

a very unhandsome conduct, cast a stigma on the knowledge of the other, and gained to himself a miserable reputation.

It will also sometimes happen, that, on consultations being called, the physician consulted immediately and openly declares to the friends, and perhaps to the patient himself, what his true condition is; and thus brings the attendant physician into disgrace.

In regard to the third objection, I should say, that, wherever there is danger, the attending physician should not object to a consultation, but rather invite it. It is a duty to his patient, and a duty to himself. It is a duty to his patient, because it gives him the opportunity of obtaining the wisdom of two persons instead of one. This he is fairly entitled to; and, whatever confidence a medical man may have in his own opinion, he will find, when he comes to a consultation, that he receives new light from his auxiliary, and that, even in his own mind, new thoughts will be awakened, which may be beneficial to his patient and satisfactory to himself.

The result, then, of a large experience on this subject, is, that the arguments in favor of disclosing the true state of the case preponderate over the objections. That this is true will appear more distinctly when to the other considerations we add, that it is necessary for almost every man to have some time to arrange his affairs. There are a few, indeed, who keep their accounts arranged both as to the affairs of this world and of another; but most people have some concerns which they would desire to adjust with more accuracy than they have done before. The greater part of mankind, however, are so unwilling to look death in the face, that they do not make any arrangement in regard either to their worldly or their spiritual affairs. They

leave those to whom they have been much attached to suffer bitter regrets, and to experience an ever-burning resentment, as the consequence of their own weakness; and they plunge into an unseen and mysterious state, without taking a guide or a compass to conduct them safely.

A larger portion of men, when they have arrived at a certain period of life, do actually make some disposition of their affairs; but as every thing in this world is changing, and few things more rapidly than property, new arrangements are required frequently to meet a new state of things. Now, most men are quite aware of this; yet, having once, by a great effort, brought their minds to take up a hateful subject, they think they have done sufficient, and that their friends ought to be content with the result of their effort: and so they never meddle with the matter again, unless aroused and impelled by a new and sudden summons from the fatal messenger. To such persons, the warning voice of a physician may be of great importance, and may also be of great importance to the society in which he lives.

Some years ago, I had for my patient a young gentleman of fortune and excellent disposition, who met with a sudden injury, which, after a few days, presented a gangrenous aspect, showing that his life was in imminent danger. He had made no will. Had he died without one, his whole property would have gone to a very rich relation, who would scarcely have thanked him for increasing the burden of property under which he already labored. I had a conversation with his friend on this subject, and was thereon desired to inform the patient of the danger which threatened him, and suggest the propriety of making such an arrangement of his affairs as he thought judicious. He received the information with perfect tranquillity; expressed his entire willingness to make the necessary preparations; and desired

me to sit down by him, and aid him in dictating them. With much labor and effort, he disposed of many things; but still a very large sum remained to be distributed. "What else is there to be done?" he asked. I replied, "There is the Hospital." He directed ten thousand dollars to be given to the Hospital. "There is the —— Society." For this he gave five thousand; and so went on to make his various bequests as they occurred or were suggested to him. Having completed the whole matter, he fell into a profound sleep. In a few days he breathed his last, and left his name enrolled in characters which ages will not efface, as one of the benefactors of mankind.

I will repeat, that in few cases within my observation has there been any remarkable agitation produced by the knowledge of a near approach of death. On the contrary, most people display perfect tranquillity, and seem pleased even to enjoy that sympathy which the feelings of their friends naturally administer.

The above reflections lead me to add here a remark I have elsewhere made, but which I am glad to have an opportunity of again presenting,—on the degree of suffering which accompanies the final struggle. In many cases which I have witnessed, I have felt a deep interest in ascertaining whether the approach of death was accompanied, as commonly supposed, with a great degree of suffering. The laborious respiration, the frequent groans, the convulsive struggles, of the patient, lead his friends to believe that he is undergoing great distress. In such a state, the physician may generally arouse the patient from an apparent stupor, common in these cases, sufficiently to make him comprehend the question, "Are you in pain?" The answer is, "No."—"Have you any particular suffering?" "No."—"What do you feel?"—"I cannot tell." Such

are the answers which I have almost always received to my questions. If the patient is not in a condition to answer such questions, he cannot be in a state of suffering. Whatever may be the physical agitation of the chest, face, limbs, or of the whole frame, they are not recognized by the sentient principle.

I will notice two other states which occur in death. One, happily rare, is when the patient dies in a state of perfect consciousness, and with strong expressions of suffering. This will sometimes be seen in the last stage of consumption, and sometimes occurs in cancer. In this painful and awful condition, where an unknown world is open on one side, and a horrid state of suffering oppresses the patient on the other, the physician must interfere, and administer those alleviations which science furnishes and humanity calls for. The inhalation of ether is a valuable resource, and ought to be adopted; the patient and his friends having been, of course, previously consulted. If they take a right view of the matter, ether will be used freely until the patient sinks into a profound unconsciousness.

There is another state, which requires no application,—the state of resignation, of quiet, of hope, and of bright anticipations. These are generally the results of a useful life, of a sound morality, and, above all, of a constant cultivation of confidence in the Author of all good.

The following hints form a portion of the Biographical Notes. They serve to show Dr. Warren's general views of the treatment of certain diseases, and what he seems to have considered as the most useful remedies, expressed in the form of maxims.

### THOUGHTS ON THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

Consumption. — Prevented by air, exercise, frictions, temperance, non-constipation. Remedial treatment, counter-irritation, cutaneous excitation generally, moderate food.

Typhoid Fever. — Evacuations at first; afterwards cold water, within and without.

Dyspepsia. — A pound of food and a pint of liquid in twenty-four hours.

Common Catarrh. — No cure but by nature. Alleviation by uniform temperature.

Constipation. — Coarse wheat bread, cracked wheat, dandelion tea and extract, calcined magnesia.

Diarrhæa. - Abstinence, ipecac, and opium.

Organic Disease of the Heart. — Mercurial treatment, strong counter-irritation, little food.

Scrofula. — No cure. Mitigation, animal food, salt, salt bath, cutaneous frictions.

Neuralgia. — Emetics.

Pleurisy. — Blood-letting.

Rheumatism. — Shower-bath, horse-hair frictions, bicarbonate of potass internally.

## THOUGHTS ON THE PRACTICE OF SURGERY.

Fractures. — Position and rest.

Joint Diseases. - Rest and diet.

Sprains and Ruptured Tendons, or Muscles. — Rest.

Wounds. - Contact, exclusion of air.

## CHAPTER XV.

## DINOTHERIUM. — JOURNAL. — MASTODON.

AT a meeting of the American Academy, April 6, 1852, "Dr. J. C. Warren gave an account of his visit to Darmstadt, in the year 1851, to see the Eppelsheim fossils; and exhibited a number of casts of the fossil bones of the Dinotherium giganteum, together with an excellent drawing of the natural size of the head."

His attention, he says, "was first directed to the mastodon relics, and to the new species instituted by Dr. Kaup under the name of Mastodon longirostris, derived from the length of the jaw. An account of this is given in the work on the Mastodon."

The dinotherium is supposed to have been the largest of all terrestrial animals; and he derives his name from two Greek words, signifying terrible animal. It is remarkable for being an exception to Cuvier's rule, that from a single bone he could construct the animal, and describe his habits. The true character of this genus could not be made out until after many bones were discovered. The head of this creature is nearly four feet long, and about a foot and a half high. The body is represented as two

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feet longer than that of our largest mastodon, and two feet higher.

Dr. Buckland supposed that this animal was aquatic in its habitation, and modes of living; that it slept in the rivers, anchored by its hook-like trunk to a tree on the river bank. From its hook-like tusks, it probably lived partly on roots torn up by these instruments. Dr. Warren thinks, therefore, that "we must allow it the privilege of passing a part of the time on shore. In short, we should be much disposed to consider the animal as very analogous in habit and residence to the hippopotamus.

"How these vast collections of bones of various animals were formed in the London, Paris, Rhine, and other basins, is a matter of deep interest. The more common opinion has been, that this conglomeration was formed by some great deluge. In many cases, however, the bones lie in their natural position, as if the animal had died quietly on the spot, and their remains were gradually accumulated during a course of countless ages.

"How should so many species and families have been exterminated? The march of geology and paleontology will, no doubt, lead us to wonderful discoveries in these new sciences, and thus afford some answer to this question; but probably there will always remain many inexplicable phenomena to keep alive the curiosity of future generations."

#### JOURNAL.

April 29, 1852. — Club at Mr. Lyman's. Dr. Bacon showed, by the microscope, morbid and healthy structures. Dr. Hayes spoke on the means of preserving cotton cloth from decomposition. Professor Horsford spoke on the spontaneous combustion of burning-fluid.

May 1. — Mr. Pulsky having brought a letter of introduction, called on Governor Kossuth. Had some conversation with him. His appearance and manners are agreeable. He spoke English with difficulty, but writes it perfectly well, probably with the aid of Mr. Pulsky.

May 3. — Finished correction of the "Mastodon" manuscript. Made out a list of societies and individuals to whom the "Mastodon" should be sent; eighty for foreign societies, and one hundred for home societies and individuals.

June 15. — Do not find my taste for science and literature increasing.

Sept. 16. — Afternoon, met Dr. Hosmer at Newton. Visited the tomb of Judge Fuller, at Watertown.

About the year 1830, I was informed that the body of this gentleman had been preserved from decomposition for many years. Having obtained permission of the family, in company with the physician of the place, I paid a visit to the tomb about the period of midsummer. The tomb which contained the remains was situated on the south side of a small, pleasant eminence, exposed to the air and sunlight. We entered by a horizontal passage, and found in the sepulchre two coffins. One of them, very large, contained the remains we were in search of; which, on being uncovered, presented to view the skin in a dried and hardened state. There was no moisture about it, and no unpleasant odor,

but rather an aromatic smell. The skin was of a yellowish color, its texture firm; that of one of the arms and of one of the feet was decomposed. The features of the face were so well preserved, that those who knew him in life readily remembered the resemblance.

I learned that this gentleman died in the year 1788, at about the age of eighty. His death happened in the month of December. At that time he was very fat, and had an ulcer on one of the legs.

The other coffin in the same tomb contained the remains of his wife, who died twelve years after him; and her coffin presented no part of the body, excepting the bones.

Now, having a desire to ascertain whether the body still remained in a state of preservation, it being twenty-two years after, I asked permission once more to visit these remarkable relics. This request being granted, I went to the cemetery, accompanied by my son, the gentleman above named, his daughter, and the superintendent or guardian of the cemetery. On entering the tomb, I found the body had become decomposed, and fallen apart; the head was quite separated; bone of the spine and pelvis still adhered. It was in a double coffin; and there were many other bodies in the tomb, — I think, six: they were all decomposed. The moisture emanating from so many bodies had, I judged, penetrated the dried and hardened skin, and prepared it for decomposition.

No other bodies have, I believe, in that vicinity, been preserved for so long a period; and the preservation of this gentleman, I presume, may be thus explained: He died in the winter. Probably the body was immediately frozen, and this produced a desiccation of the remains. The fat might have been converted into adipocere, and aided in the preservation of the skin.

Oct. 22. — At half-past eight, went to prayers at St. Paul's Chapel. Lithotritized Mr. Jackson under chloric ether. Sent a basket of grapes, with a note, to Mrs. Webster at Marshfield.

Afternoon, went to Brookline; evening, to Sir C. Lyell's lecture.

Oct. 23. — Mr. Webster more ill to-day; occasional delirium. Dr. Mason Warren visited him this day at his request, and remained with him until his death.

Oct. 24. — This morning, at sunrise, the firing of minute guns announced the death of Daniel Webster. Soon after, the bells tolled an hour.

Oct. 25. — Dr. M. W. reports that Mr. Webster exhibited a diseased liver. By this disease, the vitality of the blood was destroyed; and it poured out freely from the vessels of the mucous membrane of the stomach and intestines. There was a great effusion of lymph on the surface of the brain. The brain weighed sixty-three and three-quarters ounces.

Oct. 26. — Went to prayers at St. Paul's Chapel from half-past eight to half-past nine. At half-past ten, met Dr. — at Mr. E. Jackson's. After examining him thoroughly, I requested — to do the same; when we found the stone was entirely gone. Thus, in a space short of four weeks, I broke up a stone nearly two inches in diameter, which had been forming for eight years, and rendered life undesirable. This has been effected without putting him in any danger, without any great restriction of food, and without any pain: The quantity of fragments nearly filled a large box, and as much more has been lost in the form of powder.

Oct. 27. — Mr. Jackson I found quite well to-day, preparing to go home. He gave me a note for one hundred dollars; saying, he expected it would have been more.

The work on the "Mastodon" was printed for private distribution, but not published, at this time. The author had qualified himself for his labor by a careful examination of all the bones in the different collections to be found in this country; and, during his recent visit to Europe, had gone to every place where remarkable specimens were to be found, and obtained all the information which scientific men could give him. He had also collected in his own house a vast quantity of fossil bones, not only of the mastodon, but of other extinct gigantic animals; filling nearly every room, and affording materials for comparison.

He commences this work with a description of the individual bones, beginning with the cranium; of each separate bone of which, he gives a minute account. From this he proceeds to the trunk and extremities.

He next goes into an examination of the teeth; a subject of the most importance, as these furnish the marks of distinction between this and other species, as well as between this animal and the elephant. The description of the Baltimore skeleton, the Cambridge mastodon, a comparison between the mastodon and elephant, are the next subjects; next, the hair and the food. It is a singular circumstance connected with the discovery of these gigantic remains, that even the food has been found in an undigested, or partially digested, state. It has been found to consist of fragments of woody substance; showing, on ex-

amination by the microscope, a resemblance to the wood of the hemlock, and of reeds, grass, and other similar substances. The animal is proved to have been herbivorous; living on the tender branches of trees, herbs, and aquatic plants.

Some portions of hair have also been found with mastodon bones, of a dun color, and from an inch and a half to three inches long.

The condition of the bones, the causes of their preservation, their geological condition and antiquity, are the concluding subjects.

There probably never has been a discovery in science which excited more interest than that of the great bones, which were at first supposed to belong to the skeleton of the mammoth, or Siberian elephant, and first received this name. Not only lovers of natural history, but every class of people, and every age from infancy upwards, have heard with astonishment of this enormous animal, and seen the skeleton with still greater wonder. The name became a proverbial expression for every thing of a size almost fabulously enormous. But, when it was settled that no such species of animals now existed, a new science took its origin, upon which multiplied discoveries have thrown light, and given rise to new theories and systems in regard to the formation of the world which we inhabit.

Quite an interesting account of the first discovery of the mastodon is given in Dr. Godman's "American Natural History;" showing the state of the knowledge upon this subject which existed at the time he wrote (about 1830). Peale's mastodon was, at that time, the greatest curiosity in natural history in America. To superficial observers, the specimen was as satisfying and wonderful as if none of the real bones had been wanting.

In 1845, a nearly perfect specimen of this immense animal was dug up, and subsequently came into the possession of Dr. Warren. Having obtained (as has been already said) all the knowledge accessible on the subject, both abroad and at home, he undertook the labor of a full description and comparative account of this skeleton and its individual parts.

True to his general rule of action, he indulges in no theory, and confines himself to description only; leaving it to others to strengthen such theories as they support, or to build up theories, as the case may be, upon facts furnished by him.

To show the manner in which this work was considered by those best able to appreciate it abroad, we give the following notice, taken from the "Gazette Médicale" of Paris, April 23, 1853:—

"In announcing the publication of the magnificent work of Dr. Warren, of Boston, upon the *Mastodon giganteus*, we are happy to republish a letter addressed to the author by the celebrated professor, — Richard Owen, of London. There is no one more competent to render justice to the celebrated Professor Warren."

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, Jan. 1, 1853.

DEAR DR. WARREN, — In the beautiful volume embodying your researches on the *Mastodon giganteus*, which I had the pleasure to find awaiting my return from a tour in Ireland, I find you have conferred upon me a twofold obligation.

I estimate both most highly, but more especially the valued indication of your esteem and opinion of my scientific works, which is given in the dedication of this noble example of your own, with which you have enriched the science of paleontology.

The study of the rich series of facts contributed by your personal and original observation to the natural history of the *Mastodon giganteus* has afforded me the highest satisfaction; and the profound learning on the subject, which the references to other writers manifest, places your monograph in the first rank of original treatises in paleontological science.

It is most gratifying to find your conclusion at page 137 as to the sexual nature and relation of the "tetracaulodon." But the limits of this note of thanks will not allow me to enter into critical disquisitions. In wishing you all the happiness that this life can afford, in the year to come, I feel that you have earned a new source in the retrospect of the completion of a work that does honor to your country and your enlightened city. Boston has henceforth to associate scientific renown as well as patriotic heroism with the honored name of Warren.

Believe me, my dear friend,
Most gratefully and truly yours,

RICHARD OWEN.

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#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In August, 1844, the weather being very dry during the summer, many small lakes and ponds were evaporated by the heat, and their contents laid bare. Among these, a small pond of water in the State of New Jersey having disappeared, the farmers determined to dig out the marl, a calcareous substance produced by the decomposition of small mollusca. On excavating a marl bed, they struck on some mastodon bones, and finally succeeded in obtaining a tolerably complete collection for the arrangement of a skeleton. There were, besides, two or three pretty perfect heads, and a number of other bones. This collection was brought to Boston, and exhibited without any great success. order to promote its reputation, the proprietor applied to me to lecture upon the relics; and I encouraged him to believe I would do so. In going over the study of these remains of former ages, I became so much interested in the subject as to wish to possess the collection. The proprietor agreed to sell it to me, provided it was not previously purchased by Professor Webster, who was endeavoring to get up a subscription to give it to the University. Professor Webster not having obtained the requisite sum at the time fixed on, I agreed to take it; but, on my sending him a note to that effect, he informed me that the professor had made up the sum, and obtained possession of the articles. In the winter succeeding, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences having a meeting at my house, I occupied between one and two hours in giving an account of the mastodon race, and exhibited one of the heads. The skeleton was soon after set up at Cambridge, though not in a correct manner; and to this time it remains in the same condition, the bones

of the articulations being separated from each other in order to give an exaggerated idea of its height. The summer following (that is, of 1845) was again very dry. A lady from New York (Mrs. Dr. Rhinelander) being at my house at Brookline, a conversation took place on mastodon relics; in which she informed me, that, three weeks previous (namely, in the month of August), another set of mastodon bones had been discovered, on the North River, at Newburg, N.Y., which were said to be very remarkable. They lay, at that time, in a barn near the place where they were discovered; and she advised me to go and see them. At the time, I did not think much of these bones, knowing how much such things are misunderstood and misrepresented; but, a few weeks after, I learnt that the bones had been articulated, and formed a very complete skeleton, consisting of bones of a single individual. From this time, I watched the course of this skeleton, and endeavored to obtain correct information of its magnitude, preservation, and perfectness. All the representations I could obtain were very unsatisfactory. At length, I heard it was exhibited in the city of New York, and presumed it would be there purchased; but found it did not attract much attention in that place. Soon after, it was brought into New England, shown in various towns, and ultimately in Worcester, in this State. There I sent Dr. Lane, who gave me an exact account of the skeleton, and made a bargain for its purchase. It was to be delivered to me on the Saturday evening following. But the proprietors seemed to wish to get rid of the bargain; for, soon after the arrival of the boxes here at the railway, Mr. Brewster informed Dr. Lane that one of the boxes had been broken open, and the thigh-bone stolen. They wished to return directly with the other parts of the skeleton to Worcester. I objected to this movement, and declared my

intention to take possession of the bones brought here, and that I should claim a proper deduction for the lost bone. I heard no more that night; and the next morning, which was Sunday, going to Corinthian Hall, where I had directed it to be set up, I found the whole skeleton set up in good order. The next morning (Monday), I paid the sum agreed on to Brewster and his brother-in-law. Immediately after, I had the skeleton taken apart, and, by the aid of Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, set up again in a posture more becoming the elephantoid character. The skeleton was then exposed to the people for three days, during which time great numbers visited it. It was, after remaining a month at Corinthian Hall, taken down, and removed to the Medical College in Mason Street. In the summer, the college being vacated, the skeleton was brought to my house, and remained there a considerable time. In the beginning of 1847, I hired rooms in Washington Street, corner of Winter Street; and it remained there till the beginning of 1849, when it was removed to a fire-proof building in Chestnut Street, and set up in company with an elephant and other objects. My reason for being at so much expense for its preservation and protection was, that this skeleton was unique, and likely to remain so for ever. Sir Charles Lyell, when he saw it, inti-· mated that it might be sold in England for seven thousand dollars or more. M. Vattemare, the agent for exchange of books between this and other countries, wished to purchase it from me by means of a general subscription, in order to present it to the National Museum in Paris. Moreover, there was the strongest reason to believe that the mastodon skeleton would have been immediately transferred to Europe, and sold there. There is now but one mastodon skeleton out of the United States; and this is in the British Museum, and is made up of different individuals. In this country

there are two, - one obtained by Mr. Peale, and long exposed in the Museum at Philadelphia, but which is now in New York, in a bad state, I believe: the other is that in Cambridge, already spoken of. There was another at Baltimore, obtained also by Peale; but, this having fallen in pieces, I purchased the bones in 1848, had them cleaned and preserved, and they are now in the Mastodon Hall, in Chestnut Street. In the year 1847, I obtained from Professor Emmons, of Albany, the finest and best-preserved mastodon head which, I suppose, there is in existence: it is just four feet long. I also purchased from the same gentleman a tolerably complete set of bones of the basilosaurus, or zeuglodon. Some mastodon bones were also procured of Mr. Peale, of Philadelphia; and some of Mr. Brewster, of Newburg, N.Y.; also a considerable number of teeth of the mastodon and of Elephas primigenius of Mr. Feuchkwanger, of New York.

Since the mastodon bones have been in my possession, I have lectured on them once at the Medical College, once at Cambridge, once at the Medical School (Mason Street), once at the Thursday-evening Club, once at the meeting of the American Scientific Association, and once in 1849.

A complete history of the mastodon race was written about two years since, and a number of plates engraved to accompany it. As new facts are constantly turning up, I have not yet thought proper to publish it. In the course of the last year, I have had reason to believe in the existence of a relic of the Mastodon angustidens in this country. Should this be confirmed, it would materially alter the views of paleontologists. The supposed relics of a tooth were discovered in Greensburg, Caroline County, Md., sixteen miles from Baltimore.

It is of great importance to place side by side the two mastodon skeletons in this vicinity; one of which is probably male, and the other female. But this was objected to by Professor Webster, who retained an influence in this matter, derived from his having procured a subscription for its purchase. On the other hand, Professor Agassiz has promised, that, as soon as there is an opportunity, he will do every thing in his power to aid me in accomplishing this object.

# CHAPTER XVI.

JOURNAL. — RESIGNATION AT HOSPITAL. — ATHENÆUM.

NORWALK ACCIDENT. — FRENCH ACADEMY.

January, 1853. — Now we have come to the New Year, not merrily, but cheerfully and thankfully. In the past year, I have, among other things, completed a labor which seemed to be imposed upon me, and put out a publication under rather difficult circumstances, and with a favorable reception, as far as I know, in this country and in England. No copy has been sold, but the greater part of the edition distributed gratuitously among learned men and societies, with the hope of doing some credit to the country and to Boston.

To-day was examined the body of Mr. Amos Lawrence. He was attacked with convulsions twenty years ago, and has had a series of them from that time to the present. . . .

Visited, last evening, Mr. Ferdinand White.

Jan. 5. — Heard of the death of Mr. F. W., an excellent man.

This day is Election Day. The Whigs come into power, after being displaced for two years.

Jan. 8.—Dined at the Agricultural Society,—Mr. Gray's. Sat there until half-past six; which I have not done before for years. Snow has gone. Had much conversation with President Walker. Recommended to make gymnastic exercises a part of the duty of the student; also recommended

not to notice the occasional explosions, when they were not malicious. A note from Prince Albert, and recommendation of my book from Dr. Mantell.

Jan. 20. — Called on Mr. Scott to see his "Battle of Lexington." It is taken at the spot where Lord Percy brought up his cannon. It appeared to me very good. Received a communication from the Trustees of the Hospital, with a very handsome preamble, and vote of a bust.

Jan. 21. — Visited the Hospital, and had a conference with the Superintendent (Captain Girdler), in which he professed great regret at my resignation, of which he had not known. He showed me the library purchased with the money that I had given to the Hospital, and said it was one of the best things in the institution, and used very strong language in favor of it. When convalescent patients go out, he gives them books to read; such as Mr. Sargent's "Temperance Tales," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Life of Newton," &c.; reading enough to last them for some months.

Feb. 8. — Met Dr. Cabot at the Hospital this morning at ten. Carried him round to visit my patients, and explained to him my views of general treatment; and then resigned to him my office, after thirty-one years of constant visiting. Then took leave of the Superintendent, of the house-pupils, and finally of the old nurses and ward-keepers; all of whom expressed sorrow at my departure.

With his parting visit, Feb. 8, 1853, terminated Dr. Warren's long connection with the Hospital; an institution which he had been so instrumental in getting up, and which owed its surgical reputation entirely to him. Such is the fact, and it cannot be denied.

Other able and distinguished surgeons were connected with the institution; but he held the first station, and he deserved it by the untiring zeal and industry with which he prosecuted its duties. It never was a sine-cure with him. He never fell into a routine practice. As he advanced in years, and gradually diminished his private practice, he bestowed greater pains in acquiring fresh knowledge; making himself familiar with all modern improvements, and, in his visits abroad, becoming intimate with most of the distinguished surgeons in England and France. These intimacies were kept up by constant correspondence. As he has said, he considered it his especial mission to introduce here the improvements of foreign surgery. To this mission he was always faithful.

If there are any to whom this praise may seem invidious, let them ask themselves if they have ever devoted themselves with the same unwearying industry, the same self-sacrificing spirit, through long years of exertion mental and physical. It may be said, Was the end worth all this sacrifice and labor, and even denial of the natural inclinations? Most certainly: so far as it alleviated human suffering, so far as it tended to advance the science of healing, it was. The end was noble; and a noble end confers an ample reward. As relates to the more prominent and general objects of human pursuit, — wealth and reputation, — could the palm of the first surgeon in the world have been unanimously bestowed, with wealth much greater than he or any other medical man has

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ever obtained, the reward would be small. At the time of life to which he had now arrived, the consciousness of having done all the good in his power could be the only true source of satisfaction.

The termination of Dr. Warren's connection with the Hospital may be regarded as the termination of his career as an active surgeon. Though he did not entirely give up private operations, he found more leisure for his other pursuits, and for the cultivation of social intercourse; which he also desired to find or make of an improving character. Although the amount of professional emoluments is always overrated, by fortunate and safe investments his means had become ample, and sufficient for him to live with elegance, and in the free gratification of some very expensive tastes in matters connected with natural history.

#### JOURNAL.

Feb. 17. — This morning, had a visit from Dr. Kane, of the Northern Expedition. Came to consult me about a naturalist for the Northern Expedition. I recommended Dr. Kneeland.

Feb. 19. — The Mayor sent two gentlemen to converse on the subject of a substitution for omnibuses; the railroad to go through a street prepared for the purpose, but not through Washington or Tremont Street. I signed one petition, and headed another, for this object.

March 3. — At the Natural-History Society, it was agreed to send Dr. Kneeland to Philadelphia to make the purchase of Dr. Morton's collection of Crania. Mr. Barnard, a mem-

ber, offered to take upon himself the responsibility of the two thousand dollars. Discussion on the fascination of the serpent. I maintained the affirmative, that a particular state of the nervous system was produced, which entirely absorbed the attention of the bird.

March 7. — A new edition of the work on Tumors called for.

March 9. — Discovered, in reading this morning, that General Heath was engaged in the battle of Lexington. He and Dr. Joseph Warren joined the militia soon after the re-enforcement by Lord Percy, and with them pursued the British force quite to Charlestown. Called on Mr Scott, and stated to him the fact, and requested him to introduce General Heath. He then came to the house to examine the pictures of Bunker Hill. He criticized the two pictures of Trumbull and Cooke.\* Gave the preference to the latter.

March 23.—Received a letter from Dr. Bigelow, of Paris, informing me of my election as Associate Member of the Imperial Society of Medicine.

There is a portrait of Sir Peter Warren in the Athenæum at Portsmouth.

March 25. — Read Kramer on the Ear, and became satisfied that the noise in the left ear is the result of incipient impairment of the organ, and that I need not expect to get rid of it. Hearing of the right ear still pretty good. Kramer recommends acetic ether injected into the Eustachian tube; which I approve, but not enough to have a catheter stuck through the nose into the throat, unless there were more hopes of doing good.

March 28. — Began to write an Introduction to the Genealogical Table.

<sup>\*</sup> Painted for Dr. Warren: the artist since deceased.

- May 2. Went to New York to attend the Convention.
- May 5. Returned by the way of Springfield; stopped there at night. Arrived at home on the 6th.
- May 7. Had many calls to-day to congratulate me on my family's escaping destruction from the railroad accident of yesterday; among them Abbott Lawrence, Esq., Hon. R. C. Winthrop, and Bishop Fitzpatrick.
- Dr. M. W. and family arrived from the scene of the railroad slaughter between one and two o'clock last night, some of them bruised, but not seriously injured: he aided the wounded and dying as far as he could. Dr. P. called on me to ascertain the fate of his father. Mrs. M. W. informed me that her husband had seen his dead body.
- May 8. Went to church service to-day. Put up a note in church for deliverance from a great calamity.
- May 11. Received from George Darracott, Esq., a musket used at the battle of Bunker Hill.

## Mr. Darracott to Dr. W.

Boston, May 2, 1853.

My Dear Sir, — You mentioned the other evening, that you were desirous of having among your Revolutionary relics, a musket which had been used in the battle on Bunker's Hill on the 17th June, 1775. I am happy, sir, that it is in my power to gratify your wishes. Joseph Lewis, Esq., of this city, is the son of Josiah Lewis, of Charlestown, who was at that time in the employment of the late Commissary Devens, and who went to the Hill early in the morning, and was engaged, during the whole of the battle, at the breastwork, and was among the last of those who left the Hill. This musket is a king's arm, so called; and has the Tower stamp on the lock, and the date (1743) on the brass plate on the stock. It has also a bayonet; which, in the battle, was a scarce thing in the Provincial ranks, and was the cause, probably, why Lewis was in the rearrank on the retreat. It did good service, both in the advance of

May 24. — Wrote to Mr. Colt, that I would take the Jersey cow for one hundred and fifty dollars. Sent for Dr. Jackson. Considerable pain last evening.

May 26. — A very ill turn last evening.

June 17. — Having various engagements in town, arose soon after five, and left for town at half-past seven; by which means I was able to fulfil all my engagements, and to be present at the annual meeting of the Bunker-Hill Association at ten o'clock.

Aug. 16. — Afternoon, went to the Roxbury Burying-ground. Afterwards made a visit to Walk-Hill Wood and Forest-Hills Cemetery; which latter struck me to be one of the most beautiful objects I had ever seen, and a contrast to the old Roxbury Burying-ground, which was in a state of neglect, decay, and filth, quite revolting, especially after climbing a wall six or seven feet high, at the risk of snapping my bones on jumping off, and being martyrized by mosquitos. Saw my new tomb; which is just completed.

the Regulars and retreat of the Provincials; for it was handled by one possessed of as true an aim and as steady nerve as any among that band of true patriots who freely offered up their lives in defence of the liberties of their country.

This musket has always been in the family of Mr. Lewis, and was treasured as an heirloom; but Mr. Lewis is willing to pass it into the hands of one whose family is so nearly interested in the events of that day, one of whom sealed with his blood his devotion to the cause he had so gloriously advocated.

Trusting your life may yet be spared for many years to add to the treasures of your collection of interesting relics of your country's history, as well as your contributions to science and art, permit me to subscribe myself

Your friend and servant,

GEO. W. DARRACOTT.

My family and myself have an area large enough for a house and garden.

Sept. 25. — Attended church twice to-day; heard two very good sermons. After service in the afternoon, visited the Brookline Burial-ground. Found the monument and the tomb of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston. The latter was in a decaying state, having fallen in. Proposed to address the authorities in Brookline on the subject.

Oct. 3. — Mr. F., of St. J., called on me. Informed me he was entirely recovered by the course I prescribed to him for a loss of mental power. Treatment was diet and exercise. By his recovery, he was able to preserve his place under the British Government; and he came to express his gratitude. A rare case.

Dec. 15. — Subscribed ten thousand dollars to the "Massachusetts Million Fund" for the promotion of temperance, with the condition that not more than one per cent should be demanded in one year, and that the subscription might be withdrawn any time on one year's notice.

From the selections given above from the journal, it is seen what were his course of life and employments during the year 1853.

He continued to visit some patients; to operate occasionally, especially in the operation of lithotrity; and to visit at the Hospital as Consulting Surgeon, keeping up his interest and his usefulness in that institution. His labors in natural history afforded him an agreeable relaxation.

In the month of March, the affairs of the Boston Athenæum being in an embarrassed state, it was proposed to sell, or transfer upon certain conditions, their building, the library, and other property, to the City Library of Boston. Dr. Warren, whose early interest and whose share in the origin of the Atheneum we have seen, very strongly opposed this movement. He was aided by President Quincy, who published an able letter upon the subject. The feelings of the proprietors were very strongly aroused; and, in a meeting larger than had ever before been known, the project was rejected by a very large majority.

The month of May of this year is marked in the annals of New England, and in that of the American medical world especially, by the terrible Norwalk disaster, which occurred on the 6th of May.

The American Medical Association met in New York, and the meeting was one of unusual festivity and magnificent display. Dr. Warren left Boston on the 2d of May. He attended the meetings of the association, and took part in the debate.

On the 5th, he set out on his return, and stopped for the night at Springfield. Owing to this circumstance, he avoided the danger of that accident, by which so many physicians returning from the convention were killed, and intense sorrow and consternation excited in the whole community; their friends remaining for hours in terrible suspense, uncertain who were safe, and who were injured or killed. Dr. Warren was ignorant of the accident until after he reached home. His son, with his family, were in the

unfortunate train; and, of course, great alarm was at first experienced. A telegraphic despatch, however, was received in one hour, giving assurance of their safety. They had a narrow escape. They were in the third car, which did not reach the water; the first half of it, in which they were seated, being suspended from the bridge, and the other half remaining on it.

On the first Monday in May, Dr. Warren was to have delivered the annual address before the Society of Natural History. He was prevented, by indisposition, from delivering it; but it was subsequently published in a small, neat volume, of the octavo form. He gives an interesting account of the first attempts at forming a Natural-History Society in Boston, of the Natural-Philosophy Society, the Linnæan Society, &c.

In the latter part of May, we find him preparing to resume his agricultural avocations, and writing to Mr. Colt, of New Jersey, for a valuable Alderney cow.

On the 23d of this month, he had an attack of illness, attended with feverish symptoms, which induced him to send for Dr. Jackson. His illness, however, did not continue many days. He moved out to his country residence about the middle of June; and, on the 17th, he attended the annual meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Society. On the 4th of July, he dined with the Society of the Cincinnati, and made a speech of some length; a copy of which was demanded, to be placed upon the records of the society.

During his last visit to Europe, his attention had become strongly attracted to matters of family history, and he became much interested in tracing the genealogy of his ancestors. Much of his time was also occupied in acts of hospitality towards strangers, and in visiting and receiving scientific men. He took pleasure in exhibiting and describing his skeleton of the mastodon, his collection of fossils, and other objects of natural history. In addition to the meetings above mentioned, he continued to attend those of the Temperance Society, the Agricultural Society, and the Thursday-evening Club; taking a strong interest in the objects of all.

Dr. Warren's nomination as member of the Academy of Medicine at Paris is noticed in the following manner in a French medical paper:—

"We all know the good, excellent, amiable, and respected Dr. Warren, of Boston. We have seen him, conversed with him, and read his works. He is one of the surgical lights of the United States. An American in art as well as in character, he is a seeker of truth, of positive result, of progress in every form. Although he has not attached his name to any one special great research, he has made clear and perfected a multitude of particular points. We are entirely of the opinion of the commission: 'He is one of those chosen spirits to whom nothing in science is entirely unknown. With his indefatigable industry, he has treated — if not in a superior manner, at least in a manner always instructive — upon a multitude of subjects in anatomy, physiology, natural history, surgery, and medical practice.

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His name is inseparable from the discovery of etherization, the anæsthetic effects of which he was the first to test in an important surgical operation.' We owe him, in quality of journalist, particular mention. He has founded several collections of medicine and surgery; and, during his long and active career, he has not ceased to enrich many of those which already existed with his contributions. precise writer, as well as an adroit surgeon, his pen may be said to have the suppleness and dexterity of his knife. In fine, on arriving nearly at the end of his career, he has given to the Cambridge Museum a collection worth fifty thousand francs. M. Warren was professor, at Cambridge, of anatomy, surgery, and comparative anatomy. He is still Chief-Surgeon of the Massachusetts Hospital, and President of the Natural-History Society, in Boston. M. Warren, who was previously a correspondent of the Academy, cannot fail to give it honor by this new distinction."

## CHAPTER XVII.

OCCUPATIONS. — THE CINCINNATI. — JOURNAL. — PUBLICATIONS.

DURING the early part of this year (1854), we find little of peculiar interest to note. He continued his labors upon genealogy, and was engaged in a revision of his work on the Mastodon, preparatory to a new edition intended for general circulation. He was also busied in preparing his sketch of the Great Tree upon Boston Common, and upon "Fossil Footprints." His professional labors were continued during the winter, in the same manner as the preceding year.

In the following May, he resigned his office of Surgeon to the Company of Cadets, and attended, by invitation, a dinner given by Colonel T. C. Amory on the 31st. At this dinner, Colonel Amory made a handsome speech complimentary to Dr. Warren, who answered in a short speech. Thus terminated the connection which he had held with this military company for upwards of fifty years. He was appointed surgeon in 1802.

In the latter part of the month of May, the enforcement of the Fugitive-slave Law produced great disturbance in Boston. On this occasion, Dr. Warren

went to the Mayor's office to offer his services, in case they should be in any way needed.

On the 15th of June, precisely on the same day as the year previous, he removed to Brookline.

On the 17th June, the Bunker-Hill Monument Society held their meeting at his house. On this day, he notices in his journal the reception of a note from Dr. Lewis, accepting the offer of a bust of his father for the Grand Lodge of Masons.

On the 4th of July, he attended a meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was introduced to the society by the Rev. Alfred Baury. The President (Mr. Davies) informed him that he was a regular member. He has written the following account of his connection with this very interesting fraternity:—

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

On the anniversary celebration of the Society of the Cincinnati (4th July, 1847), I was invited to dine with the society at the Revere House. Charles Davies, Esq., of Portland, Vice-President, and acting as President in the absence of General Burbeck, informed me that I had, with William H. Prescott, Esq., been elected an honorary member of the society; he as representative of Colonel Prescott, who was his grandfather; and myself as representative of the Warren Family. He then introduced me to all the gentlemen present, in number about thirty. Among them, I noticed only two or three veterans of the Revolution; the rest being sons or descendants. The meeting, on the whole, was very interesting. A number of toasts were given and speeches made. Wine was used, though not profusely. In

1848, not having received any written announcement of my election, and not having received any special invitation to attend, I did not go to the dinner. Some days after, on meeting Mr. Davies, the Vice-President, in the street, he expressed great disappointment at my not having attended; and, when I informed him that I had never been regularly notified of my admission, he expressed great surprise, and subsequently applied to the Secretary, Mr. Jackson, who gave me a regular notification.

In 1849, I of course attended. There were some invited guests, but no honorary members besides myself; Mr. Prescott not attending. After some other toasts, the memory of General Warren being mentioned, I was called on to respond, and made some remarks on the life and character of General Warren, tending to show that he took more enlarged views of the approaching Revolution than had been attributed to him. I exhibited also a small book of Psalms, which was said to have been taken from the pocket of General Warren, after the battle of Bunker Hill, and carried to England; there redeemed from a soldier, in whose hands it was, in the year 1778, by the Rev. Samuel Wilton; who, in March, 1778, sent it to Dr. Gordon, the historian, then living in Roxbury, with a request that it should be given to the nearest surviving relative. It was accordingly sent, by Dr. Gordon, to my father, and by him transmitted to me, nearly fifty years ago. It is quite an ancient edition; having been printed in 1559, at Geneva, from one of the earliest translations. I also exhibited to the society the original manuscript copy of the 5th of March oration, 1775. It is in the handwriting of General Warren, and with corrections such as show it was probably the only copy he ever made.

I then proceeded to advert to the very remarkable circum-

stances under which that oration was delivered, and showed that it was an accident that the Revolution did not begin at that very time. The following are the remarks alluded to:—

"He twice delivered the annual oration commemorative of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770; namely, in 1772 and 1775. About a month before the last, some of General Gage's officers declared they would assassinate any one who should dare to speak of the massacre on that day. As soon as these threats reached the ears of Dr. Warren, he expressed a desire to be again appointed; with some diffidence, however, of deserving the honor a second time. But, as there were not many equally willing to brave the indignation of the military, his desire was gratified, and he was rechosen. The day was a fine one, and the old South Meeting-house was so crowded, that the orator was obliged to make his entrance by a ladder at the pulpit window. He found the pulpit already occupied by British officers. Nevertheless, without any sign of trepidation, he delivered from the midst of them as warm an invective against British tyranny and cruelty as any ever pronounced on the occasion. To form an idea of its effect, we must consider the circumstances under which it was delivered. In 1770, two regiments had been arbitrarily stationed in Boston to support the authority of government. Their presence caused a disgust, that gave rise to those disturbances which terminated in the slaughter of several of the citizens. The commotion excited by this event had obliged the commanders, at that time, to withdraw the troops. But to keep alive the feelings of the occasion, and cherish the hatred to military interference, this annual celebration was instituted; and the inhabitants had, till now, regularly assembled to hear the story of their wrongs, and to conse-

crate the day by resolutions of a renewed and more determined spirit of freedom. The troops had now returned in greater force, for the express purpose of overawing the rebellious town; and the people were daily irritated by the insulting display of their power, by the contentions constantly taking place, and by the vexatious restraints necessarily arising from the presence of a hostile soldiery. The leaders of that soldiery, in the insolence of power, had declared that the usual celebration should not take place. But the people, upon whom threats had never any other effect than to excite to more vigorous opposition, had now assembled with the determination not to resign their privileges without a struggle. We may imagine the feelings with which they saw the sanctuary of their religion and liberty violated, and the excitement with which they listened as their orator recalled to their memories the bloody scene in State Street, while they saw before them the actors in that scene threatening a repetition. The British officers, warned by the animation which they saw in the assembly, prudently abstained from putting their threats into execution. Had they attempted it, the second 5th of March would probably have been distinguished for a deeper tragedy than the first."

The society were much excited by the history of the circumstances of the delivery of that oration, — some of them even to tears; and two or three very animated speeches followed, particularly from the Hon. Abbott Lawrence and General H. A. S. Dearborn. The latter especially was very eloquent. There was a general feeling, that more active measures should be taken by the society for the perpetuation of the sentiment of 1775; and I suggested the addition of a number of other honorary members, taken as much as possible from Revolutionary families. This suggestion was

well received; but whether it has been acted on, I know not. I have elsewhere mentioned, that I proposed to write a memoir of General Warren, but gave up the papers I had prepared to Mr. Bancroft. I did not mention that I had, on two occasions, prepared brief sketches of his life, - one for the American edition of Rees's Cyclopædia, the other for Dr. Thacher's American Medical Biography. Perhaps I may hereafter incorporate these in some following notes. A very animated account of the battle of Bunker Hill, and of the distress he experienced from the reported death of his brother, was written as the beginning of a journal, by my father, in the year 1775. He continued it for a few months only. Although written with great apparent haste, it shows what a profound interest would have been excited by a diurnal account of the Revolutionary operations from 1775. The manuscript alluded to was found by me among some of my father's old papers, when it was just going into irrecoverable decay. I had it copied, and bound up with the copy. I lent this to Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Frothingham, and Mr. Loring. Besides those mentioned above, I have the following Revolutionary relics: A sword said to have belonged to General Warren at the battle of Bunker Hill; a six-pound cannon-shot fired at the battle of Lexington, given me by Dr. Fiske of that town; a thirty-two-pound shot fired from the British ships at the battle of Bunker Hill; various bullets taken up at Bunker Hill.

- 1. Joseph Warren to Hayward.
- 2. Recipe for cancer. (Promissory note for cancer recipe.)
  - 3. Two receipted bills.
  - 4. General Washington on hospital in Boston.
  - 5. Letter from Dr. Eustis, December, 1777.

### JOURNAL.

Jan. 4, 1854. — Last night died my old patient, whom I have attended nearly fifty years, — Mrs. Child. She slipped on the floor, and broke the neck of the thigh-bone; lived a week after, and died suddenly.

Jan. 10. — In the afternoon, was called to Colonel T. H. Perkins; found him in a dying state. He arose this morning from bed, as usual; soon after, seized with a faintness. Dr. Cabot, his grandson, was sent for; and I staid there a couple of hours.

Jan. 11. — Sent to inquire after Colonel Perkins. Found he died at two this morning.

Feb. 10. — Went to the mastodon-room to meet the audience of President Hitchcock's lecture, to show the mastodon. Some one or two hundred came. They seemed very much interested; particularly the ladies, who predominated. I passed three-quarters of an hour in explaining: the audience were very attentive. The crowd being dense, they squeezed the mastodon badly; tumbled down one of the tusks, and compelled me to order out the other. They also trod down an ancient tusk, and broke it. Many of them made their way into the dissecting-room, and amused themselves with looking at the relics of subjects. After two hours, I succeeded in discharging the audience, who retired reluctantly, and with many thanks; some of them stealing little bits of the mastodon tusks.

March 14.—President Sparks wrote me a letter, inviting me to become a member of 1776, for the "Preservation of Revolutionary Documents."

March 31. — Afternoon, wrote a statement of the appearance of the sea-serpent on our coast in 1817; and proved,

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by these statements and by analogy, that the appearance of the sea-serpent was not a humbug.

July 3. — Detained by Mr. Haynes pretty late. Mr. H. put up the Indian weathercock, formerly on the top of the Province House, on my house; having been new gilt and repaired.

July 19. — Wrote an inscription for the "Great Tree" on the Common.

### THE OLD ELM.

THIS TREE HAS BEEN STANDING HERE FOR AN UNKNOWN PERIOD. IT IS BELIEVED TO HAVE EXISTED BEFORE THE SETTLEMENT OF BOSTON; BEING FULL GROWN IN 1722. EXHIBITED MARKS OF OLD AGE IN 1792, AND WAS NEARLY DESTROYED BY A STORM IN 1832. PROTECTED BY AN IRON ENCLOSURE IN 1854.

J. V. C. SMITH, Mayor.

July 22. — Examined the *dwarfs* said to be from Borneo. Their complexion is fair, light hair and eyes. Bumps on the head remarkable. The muscles developed in a wonderful manner, particularly those of the arms.

July 27. — Last evening, had a very agreeable visit from Judge White, of Salem, my old classmate: he came a quarter-past six, with his daughter, Mrs. Dwight. We visited my new lot (Tower Hill) and the farm, with both of which he was much pleased. Then went in to tea, and conversed until nine o'clock on our class, on the course of our lives and occupations. On the whole, it was a very pleasant visit. Within the last twenty or thirty years, I have been in the habit of communicating with only four of my class, — William Abbot, Binney, Richardson, and White. My old schoolmate and friend, Dr. Jenks, has lived in the same town, but have had very little communication. My other college intimates — Wood, Joy, Mellen — died fifty years ago, or



thereabout. Of my medical associates, the principal one survives, — Dr. James Jackson. He was not of my college-class.

Aug. 1. — This day the anniversary of my birth; having attained the seventy-sixth year of my life, and being, by the blessing of Providence, in tolerable health of mind and body, considering the natural frailness of my physical fabric; having accomplished, during the last year of my life, perhaps as much intellectual labor as in any former.

This day I determined not to do any professional business, and made a visit to my classmate Richardson, at Dedham, who is now eighty-four years old. Two hours I passed with him very agreeably. Returned to Brookline to dinner.

The family are invited to meet, the latter part of the day, at my house.

Aug. 2. — Attended meeting of the Boylston Prize Committee. Received a picture of the old Hancock House, wrought by the aunt of H. G. Otis one hundred years ago. Given by Hon. H. G. Otis.

Aug. 3. — Went to town early. Stopped at Mr. Hancock's; staid there a long time. Old Mr. John Hancock gave me various anecdotes of his uncle, Governor Hancock, and family. Mr. John Hancock particularly recollected the Great Tree as a very old tree when he was a boy: he has no knowledge or any faith in the statement that this tree was planted by Captain Henchman, though Henchman married the aunt of Governor Hancock.

\* "This tree is an object of interest, from the fact of its being placed in the centre of Boston Common, and thence having attracted the attention of every native Bostonian.

<sup>\*</sup> From account of the "Great Tree on Boston Common, by J. C. Warren."

It is also interesting for other reasons. It has not only escaped the blasts which have occasionally threatened to annihilate it, but the more alarming threats of destruction from a British army encamped around it suffering under the severity of a winter's exposure. Thanks are due from the present and succeeding generations to General Gage, the commander of that army, for having preserved this and other valuable trees in Boston from being employed in protecting his troops against the severity of the climate.

"It was the frequent scene, and in some measure the instrument, of inflicting vengeance on those whom popular indignation, whether justly or not, thought proper to stigmatize and terrify by hanging or burning in effigy. I was once a witness to a scene of this kind during the political riots of 1806. At a later period, for many months, it had to withstand the dangers from the little army encamped around it, destined to protect the town in the war of 1812.

... "This tree is an American elm, belonging to a species admired and cultivated abroad for its gracefully pendent branches. It is known by the most ancient surviving inhabitants of Boston as the 'Great Tree.' Citizens, who were of advanced age in the youth of those who are now the oldest inhabitants, knew it equally as the 'Great Tree.'

"Having always lived in the vicinity of the Common, where it is situated, and for half a century within sight of it, I have a distinct recollection of its appearance for about seventy years. When I first knew it, it bore strong marks of decrepitude and approaching dissolution. There was a large orifice in the bark of its trunk, through which a boy, eight or nine years old, could creep into its cavity: and in the picture alluded to above, wrought in 1755 by Miss

Hannah Otis, aunt of the late distinguished orator and statesman, Harrison G. Otis, the same orifice is also represented; thus adding thirty years to its known period of decrepitude. . . .

"Standing alone (as it has done), and unprotected by trees or houses, it has frequently been attacked by storms, and large branches torn off. In the month of June, 1831, a violent storm partially separated four large limbs, and so far detached them that they rested on the ground. . . .

"The branches, however, are greatly diminished in number, especially on the south-east side, which has suffered most from storms; and their beautifully pendent character is diminished, so that they no longer sweep the surface of the ground. But, although worn by the storms of ages, it is still a magnificent object. No doubt its peculiar situation has contributed to its growth, preservation, and renovation; for it stands in a rich hollow, near a permanent pond of water situated a little higher than its roots. . . . Mr. Chesbrough, City Engineer, having recently measured this tree at my request, gives the dimensions as it now stands, viz.: 'Height, 721 ft.; height of first branch from the ground, 16½ ft.; girth, one foot above the ground, 22½ ft.; girth, four feet above the ground, 17 ft.; average diameter of greatest extent of branches, 101 ft.' I have had made a drawing, to give an idea of its present appearance to a succeeding generation.

"The age and origin of this tree are matters of much interest to Bostonians. In a map in my possession, published during the administration of Governor Burnett, beautifully engraved, and having the date of 1729, the Great Tree stands, as now, insulated from other trees. Near it is the Pond, the ancient springs of which are now aided by a noble fountain of Cochituate water. At a short distance

westward is represented the Powder Magazine, placed on a small well-known eminence, which, during the siege of Boston, was the seat of a British fortification. In another plan of Boston still older (1722), it is again found in the same situation, an insulated tree, comparatively of great size. From its conspicuous appearance on the plans, we may infer that it might have been more than a hundred years old at that time; and, of course, that it took its origin previous to the establishment of Governor Winthrop in Boston in 1630, or of Mr. William Blackstone before that period."

Aug. 5. — Paid a second visit to the Hancock House. In one of the rooms is a closet artificially secreted by mouldings.

Aug. 12. — Received notes of the class from Hon. J. Richardson, and sent them to Judge White.

Aug. 18. — Returned this morning from a three-days' expedition to Greenfield and Amherst. Arrived at Greenfield on the 16th, at six, P.M. Was kindly received by Dr. Deane; who, the next morning, accompanied me to Turner's Falls, four miles from Greenfield: there brought me in contact with Mr. Roswell Field, the proprietor of the sandstone ledge of rocks from which Mr. Marsh obtained a greater part of his specimens of fossil impressions. Mr. Field had uncovered a ledge, about twenty feet long and ten feet wide, of sandstone rock, inclined on an angle of fortyfive degrees, and containing a great number of impressions of bird-tracks and others in their natural situation. This ledge lay in a hollow formed by descending rains from the mountain-side, and was of a reddish-gray color. Mr. Field is a farmer, who is now working the ledge for his profit. I purchased of him five or six specimens, very interesting, for five dollars. He asked thirty dollars for a slab containing remarkable vegetable impressions. These I put into the hands of the master of the Mansion House, Greenfield, to be sent by express. At Dr. Deane's house, saw a large slab about five by seven feet, for which he asked one hundred and fifty dollars; another specimen, containing a dozen pieces, for which he asked one hundred dollars. In the afternoon of the 17th, with Mr. and Mrs. Appleton, took a coach and four to Amherst, seventeen miles; paid twelve dollars. Amherst is magnificently situated on the spur of a mountain, formed apparently of sandstone, with a basis of trap, which has elevated the sandstone, and crops out in various places.

In the evening, visited President Hitchcock, who showed many valuable specimens, some of which he offered to sell, particularly a specimen of otozoum, two tracks, for forty dollars.

Aug. 18. — Visited the great collection of about four hundred specimens of fossil impressions; among which he showed one of otozoum, with a manifest web projecting beyond the points of the toes, like a frog. He is to send a list of those articles he will dispose of. Had an alarm of fire in the hotel at Amherst. At nine, A.M., left Amherst, and reached Palmer at ten. Arrived in Boston at half-past one; Brookline, a quarter-past two. Dined at Mrs. S. W.'s; and thus completed an expedition I had contemplated for many years. Promised Dr. Deane to see Mr. Whipple on the subject of bronze ruling. A solution of gum Arabic was found to increase the distinctness of fossil impressions; must be very thin.

Sept. 19. — Wrote a letter to Mr. Roswell Field, Greenfield, also to Mr. Andrew Collins, respecting the preservation of the monument of our common grandfather at Castle Hill.

- Oct. 11.—This day arrived the news of the loss of steamer "Arctic" and three hundred persons. Soon after, a telegraphic despatch announced the arrival of the "Europa" at Halifax.
- Oct. 15. Drove out this morning in the carriage. Afterwards went to church, morning and afternoon. Put up a note of thanks for the return of the travellers. Dr. Vinton preached an occasional sermon on account of the loss of the "Arctic," a steam-vessel.

This vessel went down with near four hundred souls on board. Short of a hundred were saved: some of them came in the "Europa."

- Oct. 20. Mr. Lyman undertook to get up an iron fence to protect the monuments of Governor Collins's family at Castle Hill.
- Nov. 2. Delivered an answer to the Committee of the Common Council, on their application. Met there the Mayor and Mr. S., who were discussing a plan for appropriating the land west of the Common. I warned the Mayor against adopting any of the miserable plans that had been suggested, and he took the warning favorably.
- Nov. 11. Fault found lately with the Cochituate water.
- Nov. 14. Mr. Luther Farnham came here on the part of Gleason newspaper. Wants to give an account of my library.
- Nov. 23. Called this morning on President Quincy, who informed me he planted trees in the little mall opposite my house, when Mayor, in 1824. The two American elms remaining in this street he knows nothing of.

Mr. John Hancock informs me that they were planted about 1786, in consequence of a subscription made by Governor Hancock, Governor Bowdoin, Thomas Russell, Esq.,

and others, to enlarge what is now Park Street. One of the two great trees at the head of Park Street, he says, was blown down in a gale of wind.

The trees in the great mall, on the borders of the eastern edge of the Common, were planted between the years 1722 and 1729, with a mixture of elms and buttonwoods (Platanus occidentalis). The English elms on the eastern side of the Granary Burying-ground, which was formerly designated by the name of "Little Mall," were planted by Colonel Adino Paddock in 1770. Mr. Paddock was a loyalist; left Boston in the year 1776, and settled in Nova Scotia, where his descendants still live.

Dec. 4. — Eyes better to-day. Walking up stairs too fast with a basket of apples, when I got to the top, felt a sense of coldness in the head; suspension of breathing. Sat down in a chair; and, in a few minutes, it passed off. Had it continued three or four minutes longer, would have been fatal. It arose, I think, from want of power in the heart, a flow of blood to the brain; natural consequence of old age.

Had a visit from Dr. Jackson this afternoon.

Dec. 16. — Last night died my nephew, Dr. Samuel Parkman, of typhoid fever. He was a student of mine, and afterwards was appointed by me demonstrator of anatomy in the Medical School; which office he retained up to the time of my resignation, and which led the way to his being chosen a surgeon in the Massachusetts General Hospital.

Dec. 17. — Went to church twice on foot. After church in the afternoon, paid a visit to Mrs. Parkman, on the death of her son. Had a conversation with her of an hour and a half on his delightful character, of a very satisfactory nature.

Dec. 24. — Went to church to-day. The new organ was played, which has been about a year and a half in making;

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is very magnificent in appearance, and very finely toned. Church was also dressed for Christmas very neatly.

Dec. 31. — With this day we close this book, — the close of the year. The year has been an eventful one to the public and to me. My son and his family left us for four or five months for Europe, and finally returned safe; so that our domestic circle is now larger than it has been for some years. During the past year, I have published a book on "Fossil Impressions;" completed and published the "Warren Genealogy;" reviewed the first edition of the "Mastodon," and prepared for the second. Also published on the "Preservation of Health;" which last is stereotyped, and many thousand copies have been distributed through the United States. These books have been praised by my friends; but what my enemies have said of them I know not, happily. My great object has been to make men wiser and better; to give them a taste for science and mental cultivation; and to inform them how to cultivate, preserve, and improve the bodily faculties. In supporting and diffusing religious principles, I have done something; but have principally consigned these duties to other men and other professions.

Of the three books alluded to in the closing entry in the journal of 1854, the first is "Fossil Impressions in the Sandstone Rocks in Connecticut River;" a small volume of octavo form, containing fifty-four pages.

It opens with an account of the epyornis, or great bird of Madagascar, whose enormous eggs may be seen in the Museum of the Garden of Plants, in Paris. Dr. Warren obtained casts of two of these eggs. One of them, he says, is "of enormous size, even when compared with the largest egg we are acquainted with. Its capacity is thought to be equal to eighteen liquid pints, or to be six times greater than that of the largest egg known to us (that of the ostrich). It is said to be equal to a hundred and forty-eight hen's eggs." It must be a matter of great interest to ascertain whether this bird still exists in the mountains of Madagascar, and to obtain its relics, if it does not.

Dr. Warren goes on to explain the new science of ichnology, and to give an account of the impressions in the rocks, which he has undertaken to describe.

However little some persons may see in a slab of stone covered with certain impressions or inequalities, yet when the attention is directed to the fact that these impressions show the footsteps of a race of birds or other beings which have long been extinct, and learn that science can construct the creature even from these prints, and almost, if not quite, describe his form and habits, and hence even draw conclusions as to the history of our globe, there are few things of greater interest. The science, unattractive at the outset, is pursued with continually increasing pleasure and devotion, and opens constantly new fields of research.

During Dr. Warren's last visit to Europe, his attention and interest had been strongly excited by a

circumstance that had produced much general interest in England a few years before.

In digging for the construction of the railroad at Lewes, in 1845, the workmen found, about two feet below the surface, an oblong leaden coffer, or chest, proved by the inscription to contain the bones of Gundreda, fourth daughter of William the Conqueror. Shortly after was found in its neighborhood another coffer, somewhat larger, containing the bones of William de Warrene, her husband. The height of William appears to have been six feet one or two inches; and that of the countess, five feet eight inches.

This discovery was one which excited much interest in England, not only as connected with the history of English sovereigns, but because many of the most noble families claimed descent from, or connection with, the family of William, through Gundreda.

By the assistance of Mr. Somerby and others in England, Dr. Warren was enabled to obtain a correct genealogy of the house of Warren in England. To trace it back upon this side of the water was matter of more difficulty. Aided, however, by the researches of Mr. Loring, Mr. Drake, Dr. Shurtleff, and others, who have of late interested themselves in genealogical researches, he was enabled eventually to form a perfect table, and to obtain much of family history. The result of his labors appeared in a very elegant quarto volume.

This volume opens with an inviting plate, which gives a view of the interior of the castle at Lewes, built by William, the first Earl of Warren and Surrey. There are also plates of the castle at Lewes; of the ruins of the abbey, where the remains were found; and of other residences of the family in different ages. Like the "Mastodon" volume, it may be considered a very beautiful and creditable specimen of American art in mechanical execution.

Many may affect to despise the subject of genealogy: few do so absolutely. It has been said, that Burke's "Peerage and Commoners" — in the Public Library of Congress — bears the marks of more use than any other volumes therein.

But whatever throws light upon private history, throws light also upon the history of the nation. It is useful to encourage the transmission of private history, in order to perpetuate that of public events. The stern republicanism and puritanism of our forefathers threw contempt upon records of family descent. It was just that it should be so. In the new Colony, sound policy required that all should be equal, and that the descendant of a duke should be entitled to no higher honor than the descendant of the meanest peasant. Patriotism, the general good of the community, next to God, was to be the sole object of worship.

In former ages, it was esteemed honorable and virtuous for the individual to devote himself to the welfare of his clan or his kinsmen, and support them against all others. The extended philanthropy of modern time has enlarged the bounds of this interest; and "our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country," has been made the watchword.

It is probable that a still further advance may, in progress of time, be made. As, in former days, each clan looked with jealousy upon their neighbor clan, and supposed that whatever tended to the aggrandizement of their neighbor would injure themselves; or as, in later times, each European nation watched with invidious eyes any increase of power in another: so now do large multitudes believe that the welfare of America requires many measures inconsistent with that of European nations; in a word, that what one gains, another must lose. A true and enlightened policy is far different. In the intercourse of nations, the good of one may be made the good of the whole; just as the prosperity of a nation will promote the welfare of the individual. This doctrine is, indeed, absolutely opposed to the maxims of Macchiavelli, his admirer Chesterfield, et hoc omne genus. It is adverse to what have been supposed to be the requisites of all diplomatists. Fortunately, however, powerful mercantile interests, every day gaining strength, come in aid of Christian and liberal opinions.

As enlarged views prevail, while an exclusive patriotism will sink in estimation, there will be less fear, on the other hand, of family aggrandizement. People will not affect to despise their ancestors, nor attempt to ridicule those who do not. Men may then

exult in the virtues of their progenitors as much as they do in their country, or in the country of their fathers.

The third volume referred to is a more extended treatise than his former one, upon "Physical Education and Health;" taking into consideration the best means of preventing constipation, the use of alcohol in medicines, the subject of old age, &c. The small size of the work rendered it readily accessible, and well adapted for general circulation.

This volume, entitled the "Preservation of Health," &c., it is not necessary to notice further in this place; as we have given a full account of the lecture upon Physical Education, which formed the foundation of the work. It was as favorably received as its predecessors.

In the commencement of the ensuing year, as we shall see by the journal, Dr. Warren was called to lament the death of his sister (Mrs. Brown), who died almost under his eye, after a sudden and short illness, from inflammation of the lungs.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

JOURNAL. — REMARKS. — LIBRARY. — MEDICAL PUPILS. — PROPERTY. — DOMESTIC CONCERNS.

JAN. 6, 1855. — Mrs. B. sent for me quite early this morning, being very ill of lung fever. Found her in a very critical situation.

Jan. 7. — Mrs. B. much worse to-day; congestion extending to right lung.

Jan. 8. — Went out at nine o'clock to visit Mrs. B. Found her nearly insensible. She replied, however, to a question of mine, and said she did not suffer. After this time, it was difficult to rouse her. She died in two hours.

Feb. 5. — Called on Mr. R., the poulterer, in regard to grouse. He says the species from the West are the same as at Martha's Vineyard; that the English grouse-partridge caught in the woods have been imported in good order; that, in this country, they are apt to leave the trail in, which often spoils the meat.

Feb. 7. — Thermometer fifteen and a half degrees below zero. In the evening, a meeting of the Natural-History Society. A very heavy snow-storm. There was, however, a pretty good attendance; and I occupied a greater part of the meeting in giving an account of a supernumerary mastodon tooth.

Feb. 9. — Went out this morning to see a mass of California gold, weighing one hundred and sixty and a half

pounds. It appears to be a mixture of quartz and gold. The principal proprietor (Perkins) cut off from it, and gave me, two pieces, — one weighing two or three grains, the other fifteen to twenty, of pure gold, — which I placed in the box containing the hair of General Washington.

March 8. — Received a letter from Professor Kaup, informing me that he had purchased and set up a mastodon skeleton; which I judge to be the ancient skeleton of Peele.

March 10. — Last evening, the Suffolk-District Medical Society met at my house; between fifty and sixty. I gave them a description of the ancient fossils; at which they seemed to be much gratified. Company left at half-past ten o'clock. Wrote off the case of John Scammel, with remarks, for publication in the "Boston Medical Journal."

March 12. — Rev. Frederick T. Gray was buried to-day.

March 13, P.M. — Completed Scammel's case. Appointed to see Mr. —— (author of a poem on the sea-serpent), Friday morning, nine o'clock.

March 17. — The news of the sudden death of the Emperor Nieholas arrived here the day before yesterday, and produced a great sensation.

March 22. — Gave sixty dollars to Mr. Loring to enable him to publish another edition of his "One Hundred Boston Orators."

Last evening, at the Natural-History Society, a dispute, which has been growing for some time between two distinguished members, broke out into severe personalities. As it went on increasing, I at length interposed, and showed to the society the inutility of personal recrimination, and of altercations on matters of science carried into personalities. The society loudly applauded my remarks; the only time I have known such an instance. They voted that I should

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nominate a committee of seven to take up the subject of the Cochituate water, and give it a thorough examination.

April 5. — Last evening, a meeting of the Natural-History Society. Professor —— displayed some interesting impressions on the old red sandstone of Pennsylvania, which he contended to be lower than any thing previously found. I contested this point with him and ——, and also two other points. One was the authenticity of raindrops, which they doubted; another, the gradual perfectioning of animal and vegetable organization, which they maintained, and I denied.

April 13.—At club at Mr. Phillips's, I exhibited the new slab from Mr. Field. Dr. Hayes told us how to expel rats from the house. It was to make a fumigation, in the garret, of muriatic acid and manganese.

April 16. — Afternoon, went to Brookline. Found not less than five cows and calves in my stable.

April 25. — Last evening, went to the Ethiopian concert, and was much amused for a couple of hours; with ten of the family, including three generations.

May 5. — Agreed to meet the General Court to see the mastodon, on Monday afternoon, at four o'clock.

May 10. — Received six copies of an address, the "Reception of the American Medical Association," by Dr. Hayes, in which he alludes very handsomely to my father and uncle.

May 18. — Went to South Boston this morning, and saw the various cannon cast there, which would throw a ball of three hundred pounds more than three miles. About the cannon at Sebastopol, Mr. —— said that they had old-fashioned cannon, in which they could not use over twelve pounds of powder; that, in this cannon, twenty pounds might be employed.

June 2. — Went to the dissecting-room, and shifted many of the wet preparations, so as to accommodate them with more spirit.

June 16. — Went into town by the way of Roxbury. Called on Mr. Lewis. Mrs. Lewis mentioned that my grand-mother's remains were deposited in her father's tomb, and that they had been removed to her tomb at Forest Hill.

Gave an order to the keeper of the Bunker-Hill Monument to admit the Amoskeag Indians without fee, on Monday, the 18th of June.

June 27. — Miss —— accepted an offer of eighty-five dollars for her picture of Washington, copied by her from her father's great picture. Examined the whale's bones at the mastodon-room. Directed Samuels to put them in order.

July 4. — Went to the United-States Hotel to a meeting of the Cincinnati. Chosen member of the Standing Committee. Proposed and attended the election of Messrs. Lawrence, Prescott, and Swett; succeeded in the election. They and all others admitted hereafter on the same ground, by paying three hundred and sixty-four dollars.\* The session of the society continued till dinner-time, — half-past three.

July 5. — At the dinner of the Cincinnati, I exploded some gunpowder from the powder-horn found sealed up in the walls of the old Warren House, Roxbury; which, of course, was eighty years old. Wrote a note to Mr. Charles Davies. Sent him two sketches, and two pictures of the massacre.

July 6. — Had an interview with the Hon. Mr. Davies,

<sup>\*</sup> This society has a fund accumulated which is computed to equal this amount, if divided among the members; so that each member is, in fact, a stock-holder.

President of the Cincinnati. He requested me to transmit to Mr. Lawrence a note, informing him of his admission to the Society of the Cincinnati. He said, among other things, his own health was precarious, and he had contemplated the probability of his having a successor; and mentioned, as his nominees, President Pierce and myself. I expressed my thanks to him for the honor he had paid in thinking of me, but that the probability was he would live longer than I.

I suggested, that, at the anniversary, some pains should be taken to ornament the rooms; in which he heartily agreed.

July 18. — Went to Cambridge to a meeting of the College (Commencement Day).

July 19. — Went to Cambridge to the Phi Beta Kappa. Passed some time at the business meeting. Then went with Mr. Lea to hear Mr. Beecher's address, which was about an hour long; subject, Mirth. Exhibited great talents, and amused the crowded audience for an hour; so that, notwithstanding the heat, they enjoyed it much.

July 26. — Passed a very bad night, owing to a fall and contusion on the left hip.

Aug. 1. — This is the seventy-seventh anniversary of my birth. Expect to see such of my children as are in this vicinity, and other friends, to the amount of eighteen or twenty, this afternoon. I have need to be thankful to Providence that my health and the state of my faculties have been as good, or better, than they were a year ago.

Aug. 18. — Hon. Abbott Lawrence died this morning, at eleven o'clock. The body being examined, there was found an enlargement of the liver, disease of the gall-bladder, abscess near the gall-bladder, thickening of the coats of the stomach.

- Aug. 22. This morning, attended the private ceremony of the funeral of Mr. Lawrence. Did not go to the church, on account of the crowd. The town was quiet today. The bells were tolled, and minute-guns fired.
- Sept. 18. This morning, at a quarter-past eight, set out for Mr. John Welles's, in Natick. Reached there at ten o'clock. Found Mr. Welles very feeble. He is ninety-one years old; suffers no pain; has no appetite; sleeps well; seems to know everybody.
- Sept. 26. Mr. Welles died last night, without suffering.
- Oct. 4. At the Natural-History Society last evening, the subject, "Fossil Raindrops," was fully discussed. A splendid donation of books of plates on natural history was given by the will of James Brown, Esq.
- Oct. 13. Last evening, attended a meeting of the graduates of Harvard University for forming a club. The meeting was composed of one hundred and fifty to two hundred. Being the oldest graduate present, I was requested to open the meeting; and subsequently made some remarks, which were well received. Hon. R. C. Winthrop was chosen Chairman, and arrangements made for the immediate organization of the club. The meeting was held at the Tremont House.
- Oct. 17. Mr. Field sent, as he promised, a number of specimens of fossil raindrops.
- Oct. 29. Carried Miss H. and Mrs. Goss grapes; both in a consumption. My visits to Mrs. Goss caused me an ascent of four consecutive flights of stairs, each of them very long.
- Nov. 1. A meeting of the Standing Committee of the Cincinnati to-day. Began at ten, and did not end until after dinner. The meetings of the Committee are three in a

year, — on the 4th of July, the first Thursday in November and March, at ten, A.M., — at the United-States Hotel. Colonel S. gave me a book of the laws, the only one obtainable. Mr. B. promised me a diploma in the name of Washington and Henry Knox.

Nov. 12. — Called on Dr. Jackson to-day to find out the reason of my being short-breathed. He could not find any water on the chest.

Nov. 30. — Our Thanksgiving party yesterday consisted of thirty individuals, young and old.

Dec. 7. — Club last night very full. Governor Everett gave an account of weapons of offence and defence from the earliest times, which was very interesting.

Dec. 18. — Subscribed fifty dollars, at the suggestion of Governor Everett, for the church at Boston, England.

Dec. 21. — Commissioned Messrs. Ross and Hatchman to repair two pictures. One of these was the seat of a singular phenomenon. About twenty years since, Mrs. Warren perceived a ticking, called the death-watch, in one of these pictures. After this continued a number of years, she opened the picture to seek the cause; but, not discovering it, closed the picture again, and the ticking went on as usual. How long it lasted altogether, I cannot tell. We always attributed it to some insect.

Afternoon, studied geology. Evening, went to a meeting of the proposed Harvard Club.

Dec. 30. — Afternoon, went to the Revere House to attend the funeral of Mrs. Goss, at her request, and in compliance with the promise I gave her. She died without suffering, and with the consciousness of her situation for some time before. The remains were deposited at Mount Auburn.

In January, 1855, we find him pursuing his usual objects of interest, — visiting the model of the statue of Franklin, visiting patients, and attending meetings of the Society of Natural History. He held a correspondence with his friends abroad, and wrote very pleasant, familiar letters.

He kept very particular accounts of the weather. The winter was one of unusual severity. On the 7th of February, he notes the thermometer in the morning as fifteen degrees below zero. Notwithstanding this excessive cold, and a severe snow-storm in the evening, he attended the usual meeting of the Natural-History Society. On the 9th of February, he received the Suffolk-District Medical Society at his house, — a meeting which had been postponed on account of the death of his sister.

We find him alive to all subjects of interest; now obtaining information on matters of natural history from his poultry-man, now going out to see a lump of California gold. The illness of his son, in the latter part of February, kept him busy in visiting patients; and, on the 18th (Sunday), he mentions his being employed the whole morning in this manner,—an unusual thing with him. We may here state, that in all his journals, at home or abroad, he never failed to notice Sunday. Unless prevented by absolute necessity, he attended church at least once, generally twice, in the day. Abroad, he attended the Episcopal service, when it was accessible: when it was not, such

services as were so, whether Congregational or Roman Catholic.

In the month of May, the last paper which he ever published appeared in the "Medical and Surgical Journal." It contains an account of the section of the os femoris in a case of remarkable interest,—that of John Scammel.

On the 4th of July, he attended, as usual, the annual meeting of the Cincinnati. On the 18th and 19th, he attended Commencement, and the Phi Beta Kappa performances, at Cambridge.

On the 1st of August (his birthday), he gathered his family around him in Brookline; a custom which he had adopted for several years past, and which gave him great pleasure.

Although he speaks gratefully, in his journal at this time, of his good health, he suffered much from shortness of breath, and other complaints; which he was disposed to attribute to disease of the heart, and which led him, at times, to suspect the existence of water upon the chest.

These symptoms, taken in connection with his advanced age, made him feel that his remaining time upon earth must be very short. This consciousness served only to urge him to increased activity in matters of duty and benevolence, and in the performance of friendly offices towards all within his reach.

Dr. Warren was now seventy-seven years of age. He still kept his usual hours for business and occupations of various kinds, visited a few patients, and occasionally performed operations. He devoted himself more than ever before to social enjoyments, and seemed to take much pleasure in collecting his family around him on such evenings as his other engagements did not interfere with. His daily record of passing events was never omitted. Among his patients, he paid particular attention to the few remaining members of families which his father had attended, and who still adhered to him. During the autumn, his greenhouse and garden at Brookline supplied him abundantly with fine fruit, particularly grapes, which he frequently carried to those patients for whom he considered them suitable. Among these was a lady who had been his father's patient, and who now resided in the upper story of the Revere House. Owing to his difficulty of breathing, it was no small effort for him to mount four flights of stairs; and he was compelled to rest by the way, and often pay a friendly visit to the occupants of less-elevated apartments. Nevertheless, he was constant in his visits - though their object could only be to cheer and alleviate, not to cure — until her death took place. He then, by her request; attended her funeral.

Dr. Warren's interest in natural history had, at this time, literally turned his house into a museum, principally of fossil specimens; and had increased his library with the addition of many valuable scientific works.

We have seen that Dr. Warren commenced, while abroad in 1799–1802, the collection of a valuable library. This was increased in 1815 by the addition

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of his father's medical library; and he continued to add freely to it, by purchases and importations, through life. The following account of it has been published:—

"The library-room of Dr. John C. Warren is a fine one, that was constructed for the purpose, overlooking a pleasant prospect. He counts up about six thousand volumes, which he has been busily gathering for more than half a century. The books are arranged by subjects, in small cases, as follows: Anatomy, surgery, medicine, natural history, theology, history, general science, classical literature, and miscellany. It will thus be seen to be a professional library; just such an one as an eminent physician and surgeon should possess. Several complete sets of medical journals, home and foreign, Cuvier complete, and De Blainville, look particularly inviting. The proprietor has spared no pains in securing the best books for his purposes, and in the best editions. He has a good collection of pamphlets, which he preserves effectually by having them bound.

"Dr. Warren himself is the author of several useful books and pamphlets, which he has published at intervals during a long and useful life. A late book of his is entitled the 'Genealogy of Warren;' and, for beauty of illustrations and execution, it excels any thing of this kind that has been published in this country.

"Several rooms of his house are filled with collections in the department of natural history, embracing portions of the mastodon, and the fossils of America and of Europe. No one can look at these without feeling that the President of the Boston Society of Natural History has a genuine taste in this direction."\*

<sup>\*</sup> From "A Glance at Private Libraries," by Luther Farnham, 1855.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

My father always had a great number of medical pupils. For their accommodation, he built an office on the side of his house, containing two rooms; one of which served for consultation, the other for his pupils and for an apothecary's shop. In this shop were kept all the required medicines; as, for example, the tinctures prepared by the students. They also prepared and put up all pills, powders, ointments, &c.; no prescriptions being sent to the apothecary. This gave them a fine opportunity of becoming acquainted with the physical properties of articles of the materia medica, and the mode of preparing and administering them.

The profit he derived from a dispensation of medicines was greater than that from visits. In fact, people in general, at that time, considered the medicines only as deserving of a pecuniary compensation. When, in 1806, Dr. Jackson and myself proposed to our senior physicians to give up this practice, my father readily consented, although it deprived him of a large part of his emolument. Many patients were extremely unwilling to relinquish what they considered an advantage, — the receiving of medicine directly from their physician; and some of these even insisted on continuing to pursue this course.

The students also visited a great number of patients, particularly accidents; went out in the night, posted the account-book, collected bills, and, in short, did every thing they were called on to do.

The fee for pupilage, established from time immemorial, was a hundred guineas. He reduced it to four hundred dollars, and gave the lecture-tickets of all the professors. In the small-pox time of 1792, he had seven pupils, and

inoculated fifteen hundred patients with their aid. Among them was Mr. William Sawyer, now still living in this town; \*Dr. Frederick May of Washington; and others. Among the last students were Dr. Paine (now of New York), the great author; Farnsworth, Chapman, Clapp, and Cheever. Among his earliest pupils whom I can recollect were Dr. St. Menard of Quebec, Dr. John Bartlett of Roxbury, and Dr. Thomas Babbit of Brookfield.

The two first years of my practice, I had no students. When I removed to Park Street, I had my study, and room for pupils, in the small basement, where I did my reading and studying in common with them. The first student I remember was Mr. C., son of L. C., a shopkeeper of this city; and he was, of all my students, the most remarkable. He studied day and night. He read all my books, and as many as I could furnish him besides. Among other books, I recollect his reading Halle's "Elementa Physiologiæ," in eight quarto volumes, in the Latin language. He read through the whole of Morgagni's "De Causis et Sedibus Morborum;" and all this he did thoroughly. When he got through his three years, I examined and found him perfectly qualified for his medical degree; but, before the day of examination took place, he was found in his father's house in Hancock Street, where Mrs. B-n now lives, hung up by the neck, and shot with a pistol through his head. No cause could be discovered for this act, unless it were a diffidence of his own powers in regard to the medical examination. He was of amiable disposition, small in stature, black eyes, wore spectacles, and had a very strong resemblance, on the whole, to Dr. ----.

Of the other pupils who studied in my house, I recollect

<sup>\*</sup> Died April 18, 1859.

Dr. Clapp of Dorchester, Drs. Reynolds, Storer, Flint, Lewis, Otis, Barrett, Greene of Groton, Bemis, Tilton, and Fisher. About the year 1830, Dr. George Hayward proposed to me to unite with him and Dr. Hale in forming a private school. We kept this up eight or ten years. We were all of us too much engaged in business to attend much to a private school; and considered, that, as they had the privilege of attending our operations and the public lectures, we did sufficient for our pupils by pointing out the necessary studies and supplying them with the books required. The number never being considerable, generally three or four among us three, with the subsequent addition of Dr. M. W., making about one apiece, was not sufficient inducement to carry it on; and, about the year 1840, we dissolved our connection. Soon after that time, we determined to open an infirmary for gratuitous advice to the poor, and hired a room in Tremont Street. A record was kept, which in time would have become valuable. We continued this a number of years; but, finding we wasted a good deal of time, we gave up the hired room, and allowed the patients to come to my house, between the hours of ten and eleven, two or three days in a week. This filled my house at times with a most dirty and offensive class of people; so that after its continuance three or four years, principally under the direction of Dr. M. W., we determined to give it up. In consequence of this infirmary, poor patients, particularly Irish, have continued to flock here ever since, and we give them the best advice we can; but the circumstances of these people render it of much less utility than we could desire.

My removal from Tremont Street to Park Street seemed to give an impulse to my professional business; for it then increased rapidly, and afforded me at that time an independent support. It was not, however, until some years after, that I laid up any thing; and the first considerable investment I made, under the advice of my friend William Paine, Esq., broker, of ten thousand dollars in the Southbridge Woollen Factory, turned out worse than a dead loss, as I had to pay seven thousand additional to clear the debts of the ten thousand. It was very remarkable that two of my best friends advised me to retain this, contrary to my own wish. The property was, in fact, afterwards purchased by Mr. Willard Sayles, and became, in his hands, a source of great wealth. I am surprised now to think, that, though this was nearly the whole of my property at that time, its loss did not disturb me in the least. I rather felt a sense of satisfaction on getting entirely rid of it.

The most important pecuniary negotiation which I ever made was a purchase of ten shares in the Waltham Manufactory. This I obtained through the agency of my friend Dr. James Jackson. The children of Francis C. Lowell, the first author of manufacturing prosperity at Waltham, and consequently Lowell; having been obliged to sell out a part of their property, he offered it to me, though not without much hesitation on his part, and many charges to examine for myself into the value of the property. Being satisfied, however, of its value, and having been long desirous of obtaining it, I did not hesitate, but took it at once. This led to receiving successively the offer of shares in the Lowell companies as they were formed: and I generally took the shares offered me, without hesitation, till within the last two or three years; during which, I rather wished to reduce than increase my property in manufactures. One consideration which influenced me was that there had been no advances in this property for some years back, in consequence of failure of dividends. On the whole, the manufacturing

stock has been rather profitable than otherwise; but, if I were to re-invest, it would be to a comparatively limited amount.

In regard to my professional income, it increased gradually for fifteen or twenty years, but was never as great as it was supposed to be. At the end of this period, I declined midwifery, and afterwards avoided getting up in the night. Soon after these changes, I went in 1837 to Europe with my family for a year and a quarter; during which, Dr. M. W. took care of such of my patients as would employ a young man. Next I took a place in the country, which protected me from extra calls. Afterwards I declined accidents, except under peculiar circumstances. By these various causes, my business has diminished as much as I could desire, excepting that I am necessarily involved sometimes in making visits out of the usual course to patients who have been operated upon; and, as my time is generally arranged beforehand, this is always an inconvenience. The labor of business has not yet become oppressive; so that, were it restricted to certain hours, I could increase it, but should be very unwilling to be more interfered with than at present; and am very thankful that I have got so far relieved as to be able to look about me, and attend to various matters of interest and importance at my time of life.

In regard to rising in the night, and also to midwifery practice, I had received a lesson from the case of my father. He, from an anxiety to continue his business, on account of his property having been diminished by being involved in Eastern lands, and also from his desire to leave a competence to a large family (who, nine in number, were, excepting myself, unprovided for), had continued the practice of midwifery, and of rising in the night. This gradually undermined his health; and, so far as I could judge, he took his

last illness, which was a pleuritic inflammation, from attending a bad case of midwifery at the North End, through the night. This patient, whom I attended for many years after under similar circumstances, herself attributed his illness to that cause. The abandonment of the practice of midwifery was attended with a good deal of anxiety and complaint; but, as I knew perfectly well that my constitution was not competent to the practice, I began early to diminish it, reduced it very much before going to Europe, and cut it off entirely afterwards. This department should be separated from that of medicine and surgery. Dr. Jackson and I proposed to give up our midwifery business more than twenty years ago; and, there being no exclusive male practitioner in that department, we determined to recommend Mrs. Alexander. She was a Scotch woman, regularly educated, and having Dr. Hamilton's diploma. But, although we intended to relinquish only what belonged to ourselves, a great objection arose to this plan; and we agreed to give her up. Dr. Jackson abandoned the practice at the time before mentioned, and went into the country; but I continued it some years longer.

The practice of medicine and surgery in this country requires a strong constitution. Mine was unfortunately, by nature, delicate; and I in vain tried, for a series of years, to harden it, but at length gave up the effort as hopeless, and contented myself with living along, by great care as to food, drink, exercise, cold bath, frictions, and subduing, as far as possible, the effect on the mind of the unpleasant occurrences which every one has to encounter. If I were to live my life over again, I should attempt less business, and do it more satisfactorily to myself. The affair of lecturing, added to a great practice, is too much for a constitution not strong. One advantage, however, which a physician

derives from a delicate constitution, is that it leads him to study, and enables him to appreciate, the influence of external agents on the human body,—such as food, exercise, and bathing,—which a man of good constitution and gross feeling can never so well understand.

The business of a physician, however, taken in all its branches, is to be preferred to any other, so far as regards the amount of good to be done to his fellow-creatures; for he not only endeavors to alleviate their physical sufferings, but to learn their moral derangements, and to aid in removing them. Hence physicians, taken as a whole, are better liked by society than any other class of men.

The following are among some of the maxims which I have learned, and, as far as I could, have adopted.

- 1. To apply a regular method and order to all my affairs, and never to be contented until my arrangements were completed, and carried into effect.
- 2. To lose as little time as possible about trifles, including therein all amusements not productive of practical benefit, such as any species of game of chance. I have therefore abandoned, for many years, cards, dice, theatres, novels, &c.
- 3. To do whatever was required at the earliest possible moment, and not to take another time because it might possibly be as convenient as the present.
- 4. Always to visit patients who requested my attention, as early as consistent with my general engagements.
- 5. To address a sick person cheerfully, and never leave any impression that I thought unfavorably of his case, unless it was necessary for good reasons to make it known to him.
  - 6. Never to find fault with patients for discontinuing to vol. II. 36

employ me, but rather to thank them for having thought proper to do so at all.

- 7. To attend as many poor people as consistent with my time and occupation.
- 8. To avoid imposing on a patient by affecting to know more than I really did.
- 9. Never to press a patient for money, unless he behaved ill.
- 10. Not to give an opinion of any case, however importunate the patient or his friends might be, till I had made up my mind as to the nature of the complaint in question.
- 11. To study every case carefully by books and by reflection.

# CHAPTER XIX.

JOURNAL. — OCCUPATIONS. — LAST ILLNESS. — DEATH. — FUNERAL. — WILL. — LETTERS.

JAN. 3, 1856. — Last night, at the Natural-History Society, I occupied the principal time of the meeting with an account of the labyrinthodon; showed a cast of the head, and a drawing of the whole person. A most extraordinary animal.

Jan. 4. — Last evening, at the Club, exhibited a painting of the cheirotherium.

Jan. 7. — At seven, A.M., thermometer twenty degrees below zero. Called at Mr. A.'s and Mrs. L.'s.

Jan. 9. — Thermometer nine degrees below zero. This morning, called by appointment on Governor Everett, and accompanied him to visit certain antique stones from Nineveh. There were ten or twelve of them, containing sculptures apparently of the heads of animals, and various mythological figures, very perfect, although some of the stones broken.

Arrived this day, Mr. Field's newly discovered stone; for which I am to pay one hundred and fifty dollars.

Jan. 12. — Went to the Hospital; was there nearly two hours. The class saluted me in a very complimentary manner. Two operations were done. Got home late, and found a large number of patients waiting.

Jan. 22. - Brought the heart of Governor S. from the

mastodon-room; also the brain. This, after being immersed in alcohol a number of years, being dried, has become of a stony hardness, much diminished in size.

Jan. 31. — Our party of last evening consisted of fifty; the number invited, ninety. I made some remarks on the labyrinthodon, the drawing of which was exhibited. At a quarter before nine, the curtain formed by the labyrinthodon was raised, and the supper, disposed on three or four tables, presented itself.

Feb. 2. — Went to Faneuil-Hall Market. Purchased the head, of a bear weighing three hundred pounds, for two dollars.

Feb. 7. — At twelve o'clock, by appointment, performed an operation of removing a tumor on the back.

Feb. 11. — Inflammation of the right eye, owing to the snow and cold. Visited Mr. Wilbur, at the United-States Hotel. Found him in the last stage of consumption, with delirium.

Bought of Mr. Emmons an argonaut with the animal, which was brought from Sicily ten years ago by Mr. Brown, who gave fifty dollars for it. He was obliged to sell it at auction. Mr. Emmons gave thirty for it. Mr. Emmons would not sell it to me under fifty dollars. It is the only one in New England, probably in the United States. It appears well preserved.

Feb. 13. — Had a bad night, owing to the inflammation of my eyes, irritation of the lungs, and a little cough.

Feb. 21. — Drove out to-day, in the morning, to see two or three patients.

Feb. 22. — Walked out to-day for the first time, — around the square.

Feb. 23. — Performed an operation of hydrocele this morning.

Feb. 25. — Professor Agassiz advised the Natural-History Society at Cambridge to buy the argonaut, and they sent an agent to town two days since for that object; but I had bought it previously.

Feb. 26. — Miss S. H——d died last night, aged twenty-six. She has been a patient of mine ever since her infancy. She lost an eye at an early period of her life, from an inflammation of a scrofulous nature. After growing up, she had typhus fever; about eight years since, a horrid dysentery, followed by years of dyspepsia; a year ago, the whooping-cough, which never left her, but terminated in phthisis. She died in full possession of her senses, with a perfect confidence of a better state, where she should immediately rejoin her friends. She expressed much gratitude to me.

Feb. 28. — Examined the animal of the argonaut, and found that he could be actually removed from his shell; which I never believed before. This evening, attended the Thursday-evening Club. Eyes a little troublesome from too much use.

Feb. 29. — Sat to Mr. Hughes three-quarters of an hour. That, together with many patients, most of them poor, kept me employed. Received one good fee yesterday of ten dollars.

March 4. — Had a case of bony tumor of the lower jaw. Read notes on the argonaut. This evening, there was a meeting of the vestry at my house, at half-past seven.

March 5. — Attended a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Cincinnati. I was there two hours and a half. Made some remarks, suggesting a more important celebration on the 4th of July; which was well received, and a committee appointed for the purpose.

March 6. — Last evening, the Natural-History Society

had a very good meeting. I took occasion to make remarks on the importance of the subject of the Cochituate water, and the necessity of the committee making a full report.

March 8. — Received from Mrs. S. H——d a present of a very handsome book from her late daughter, and a very impressive note from herself.

March 11. — Called at Mr. Emmons's, and purchased two shells of Argonauta Hyans. Dr. Jackson was here at nine o'clock, as usual.

March 12. — Last evening was the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Temperance Society. This is the thirtieth anniversary of my being chosen President. The government were all present, with one exception. They voted a letter of encouragement to the Young Men's Total-Abstinence Society. They also appointed the President and Secretary to make a report on the progress of temperance, and its present condition in this country and in Europe.

March 18. — Made a visit to Mr. W. last evening. Took a long walk. Got cold from the dampness of the air, being out so long.

March 23. — Visited one patient. Went to church, and staid to communion, without much inconvenience.

March 29. — Mr. Hughes finished his bust, and took away the articles.

April 1. — Visited Mr. P., who is recovering. Afternoon, read Paleontology.

April 2. - Saw Mr. P., in consultation, twice.

Last evening, attended the Natural-History Society. Agreed to memorialize the Legislature in favor of the cultivation of fish. Also passed a resolution for the encouragement of Dr. Deane.

April 4. — Signed a petition to the Legislature to aid in the process of propagating fish.

April 11. — Subscribed one hundred dollars for placing the Assyrian marbles in the new Boston City Library.

April 12. — Visited the Hospital this morning, at the request of  $\bar{Dr}$ . Cabot, to attend an operation for lithotomy.

April 13.—Eyes better to-day. Went out at ten o'clock. Visited Mrs. D. Was attacked with dizziness, followed by sickness and vomiting; partly from change in the eyes.

April 14. — Soon after getting up, was seized with dizziness. Took a little food at breakfast-time; which increased the dizziness until it became severe. Some vomiting.

Dr. Jackson came twice to-day.

April 15. — Had no return of dizziness. Rode out, and visited a number of patients.

April 16. — Evening, at the Natural-History Society.

April 18.— Meeting of the Club last evening. Made some remarks on the propagation of fish; its great usefulness; and also directed their attention to the many benefits which had arisen from this association.

Called suddenly to Mr. M—. Found him in a state of insensibility from narcotism, by one grain, I think, of morphine.

April 19. — Last evening, at eight o'clock, was called to consult on the case of Mr. M——, who had an obstruction of the bowels. Walked up there and back again. Visited him again this morning. Found him in a dying state. Afterwards, he revived sufficiently to attend to some matters of business.

April 21. — Eyes better to-day. Oppression continues. Gave fifty dollars for the Temperance Society. Received from Adams Bailey, Esq., from the Massachusetts Cincinnati Society, a certificate of my admission to that society in 1847.

"Boston, July 5, 1847.

"Voted, That, in token of the eminent virtue of Dr. John C. Warren, — the nearest representative of the name and blood of the martyred patriot who fell in the first great battle of American freedom, — and of his own kindred zeal and general benevolence for mankind, as well as that his worthy father was an officer who served faithfully in the army of the Revolution, he be admitted an honorary memof this society."

April 22. — Last evening, about half-past ten o'clock, had a very bad turn of dizziness, arising apparently from indigestion and an irregular state of the bowels. It was relieved by vomiting and camomile tea.

April 23. — Wrote a letter of invitation to the Cambridge Natural-History Society to come to my house on Friday evening, the 2d of May, with the Boston Society of Natural History, to see the footprints of the Gigantipous Caudanus.

April 26. — Visited Mr. T.'s child; with disease of the hip. Called on Mr. Slade.

April 28. — Two nights since (i.e., Saturday evening), had a sudden attack, — partly owing to cold, &c. Obliged to lie in bed all day yesterday. Sat up in the evening.

This morning, took a cup of coffee and a little toasted bread.

Drove to Brookline, and walked a little there. Ate the breast of a bird and a little piece of bread for dinner. Mr. Hughes came, and took away the bust to remove the drapery. He had to make two casts from it in a week.

In January, 1856, we find him visiting at the Hospital, enjoying his reception there by the students, and examining anatomical preparations made by himself fifty years before. Among these was the heart and brain of a chief-magistrate of this Commonwealth, whose case has been mentioned in the early part of our biography. The long submersion in liquid had completely petrified these parts.

The other extracts we have given show his continued mental activity, and continued interest in the subjects which had of late years engaged his attention. In addition to what is expressly mentioned, he had his regular hours for reading upon scientific, historical, and other subjects. When entirely confined to the house, some friend read to him in the morning, besides his regular reader. In this way, he continued the perusal of various works at different hours of the day; considering it better to vary the subject, than to confine himself too long to one. Thus his reading, at this time, consisted of Barry's "History of New England," which he was much interested in; chapters from Tacitus; Irving's "Washington;" Pictet's "Paleontology;" articles upon fossil bears, the nautilus, and the megalonyx; the "Comparative Anatomy" of Soligo; &c. We see, in the journal, the interest he displayed in investigating the curious history of the nautilus and the argonaut, of which he had obtained some beautiful specimens. He prepared a memoir upon this subject, which he intended to read to the Society of Natural History, at

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a meeting to be held at his house upon the 2d of May; to which he had invited also the Cambridge Society of Natural History. The last pages were corrected by him within a week of his death. It has since been published. He kept, as he had done for some years past, a regular account of the weather; and he noted his own symptoms as he would have done that of a patient. It may be seen, that although excessively susceptible of taking cold from exposure to a current of air whilst sitting, standing, or riding in a carriage, excessive cold did not deter him from venturing out, even upon those days when the thermometer indicated an unusual degree of cold. After each remission of his complaints, we find him visiting his patients, making calls, attending society meetings, and riding out to his estate in Brookline.

His health continued comparatively good until Feb. 12; when he began to suffer excessively from an attack of inflammation of the right eye, brought on by exposure to a cold wind and snow. It obliged him to keep his room darkened, and to avoid nearly all out-of-door exercise. This confinement was a serious matter to him. He, however, partially recovered, and continued to visit patients occasionally. On the 13th of April, he notes an attack of dizziness, followed by sickness and vomiting; which he attributed partly to a change in the weather, partly to a change in his eyes for the better. The next morning, he had another attack of dizziness soon after

getting up, which increased after taking a little food, and was attended with vomiting. On this day, we see that he was visited twice by Dr. Jackson; but on the 15th he rode out, and visited some patients. On the 16th, he passed the evening with the Natural-History Society; on the 18th, with his Club. On this evening, also, he walked to Harrison Avenue and back, to visit a patient in consultation with Dr. Flint. On the evening of the 21st, he had another very bad attack of dizziness, which was relieved by vomiting. He attributed this attack to indigestion, and an irregular state of the bowels. On the next day, however, he considered himself well enough to send the letter of invitation to the Cambridge Natural-History Society, to come to his house on the 2d of May; and he was able to visit patients up to the evening of April 26.

On this evening (Saturday) he had an attack, attended with less dizziness than before, but with more pain in the abdomen. Dr. Jackson visited him the next morning, and found him much prostrated, but free from any signs of disease then in progress. After keeping his bed that day, he arose the next morning (the 28th) comparatively well, and able to go abroad. He rode out to Brookline, where he walked for some time upon the damp ground. At eight in the evening of this day, he began to complain of pain in the bowels, accompanied with severe chills. To this succeeded pain in the head, and still greater pain in the abdomen, back, and limbs, with a sense of soreness all over the body, and general dis-

tress. These symptoms Dr. Jackson considered alarming. With the other attacks, there had been no chills. He passed a very bad night; and from this time he grew worse day by day. He kept his bed the most of the time, but passed part of each day on a couch. On Wednesday, the 30th, he felt better, and, with some assistance, came down stairs. Severe febrile symptoms and vomiting succeeded this exertion. On the next day, while getting out of bed, partially supported, he suddenly complained of faintness; fell forward, and sprained his left wrist, which afterwards swelled, and became painful.

On Saturday morning, he seemed comfortable, but more prostrated. He was moved in the morning to a sofa. He expressed a strong wish to be placed upon his feet, and could not easily be convinced that he could not walk. Never was his strength of will displayed more strongly than in his last sickness. His ride to Brookline, after the attack on Saturday; his persistence, subsequently, in going down stairs; again, in being carried to the window to see the grass, then becoming green upon the Common; and, even upon the last day of his life, insisting upon being placed upon his feet, - show to the last his determination to contend with disease and bodily debility. About one o'clock of this day, his mind began to wander for the first time. He continued to the last sitting upon the sofa, supported by different members of the family. He died at three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 4th of May.

Thus closed an existence sufficiently remarkable. It was not his fate to be distinguished by a few brilliant actions such as gain a place in history. His life — a period of nearly eighty years — was filled with incessant toil and activity. We have his own record of it, from his earliest infancy to within a few days of his death. At the period of life at which his father terminated a course of usefulness and benevolence in premature old age, we find him just entering upon a new career of exertion, applying himself with all the vigor of youth, and all the wisdom of experience, to the prosecution of researches in new fields of science; now giving full course to those tastes which he had always possessed, but which he had hitherto held in strict control. He is the most remarkable instance of a man who in early youth adopted fixed, and fortunately wise, rules of action, and rigidly adhered to them through a long life; never turned aside from his course by opposition and discouragement, by the attractions of pleasures, which he could fully appreciate, or by the attacks of disease; making, to his latest hour, the mind triumph over infirmities of body. By his resolution never to waste a moment in unprofitable employment, he was able to crowd into his long and busy life how vast an amount of work! The memory of the physician's or surgeon's labors passes away with those whose lives he has saved or whose pains he has alleviated. He who devotes himself to science or to literature, though not more

useful in his time, — perhaps less so, — leaves more traces of his labors behind him.

Through this long and active life, how many and how varied were the different characters he had seen, and associated with! From the venerable race of men, such as he describes the congregation in Brattle Street, or those of historical reputation, as the officers of Napoleon, his varied occupations had brought him into contact with every class and order of society. With the most distinguished members of every profession, with those of the highest standing in fame, learning, and wealth, he had associated intimately, at home and abroad. With the humblest in rank, the vilest in character, his professional pursuits had made him acquainted. How many individuals had he seen pass on and off the stage!

A detailed account of his last illness, carefully prepared by his excellent friend and medical adviser, Dr. James Jackson, — who had visited him constantly during the winter, and who had, in fact, prescribed for him, in every illness which required consultation, for more than forty years, — was read at a meeting of the Suffolk-District Medical Society.

On Wednesday morning, the funeral took place. The family and immediate friends, among whom were Dr. James Jackson and the Hon. William Appleton, assembled in the house.

The Massachusetts Medical Society, of the Suffolk District, met at their room in Temple Place, and went in procession to the church. Eight of the senior mem-

bers of the society, who were appointed pall-bearers, and eight taken from the society at large as hearsebearers, proceeded from the church to the house.

At eleven o'clock, the funeral party proceeded to the church, where the hearse-bearers received the body, and bore it to the chancel. The church was crowded to the utmost by members of the medical profession, delegates from the various bodies of which the deceased was a member; by his personal friends, associates, and patients. Among these were his surviving schoolmate and classmate at Harvard, the Rev. Dr. Jenks, and the patient Scammel, whose case has been above alluded to, supported on his crutches.

On entering the church, the procession was met in the usual manner by the Rev. Dr. Vinton, who pre-'ceded it to the chancel, and performed the services in a solemn and affecting manner.

At the conclusion of the services, the friends and the public were allowed to view for the last time the face of the deceased; and a long procession passed through the aisles for this purpose. The coffin was then raised by the hearse-bearers, and, followed by the immediate relatives, was placed in the family tomb beneath the church; the organ, in the mean time, playing a solemn dirge.

It may readily be imagined, that the distribution of his property and affairs was a matter of frequent and anxious thought with the subject of our Memoir. We find, indeed, in his private journal, a repeated mention of a revision of his will, when the changes, which must occur in the relations of a long life, rendered them necessary. The instrument finally executed by him, was dated three years before his death. It was long and minute.

In company with it were the following letters, written at a much earlier period, to be opened after his death:—

### To Mrs. Susan Powell Warren.

Boston, Nov. 10, 1833.

My DEAR WIFE, — When you open this letter, the writer whom Providence has ordained to be your friend and companion so long, will be so no more, but will have gone to render his account, for the deeds done in this world, to the great Power who placed him here.

May you and our dear children be duly impressed with the magnitude of this change, and prepare yourselves to follow me in the path whither, ere long, you must inevitably be called to walk.

In the dispensation of my property, I have endeavored to make such arrangements as will secure as much as possible a permanent and comfortable support to you, placed as much as possible beyond the reach of ordinary contingencies.

In the arrangements relating to my children, I have also considered your comfort and their security; and have

placed the property in such way, that there can be no contingent calls on you for pecuniary aid to them. Such of them as you and they, or either of them, may think proper, may, by living with you, while they are unmarried, give aid to your domestic establishment, and live more economically than elsewhere. But such an arrangement must be a mutual one.

As I have left you sole executrix, my expectations and intention are that you will employ some one to act for you in the sale and new investment of the property.

In this you can take the advice of our brother Mr. William P. Mason, of Mr. Charles Lyman, and of Mr. William Appleton; the latter of whom, you will see by the enclosed note, has most kindly offered to aid in so doing, and thus has added another to the innumerable acts of kindness I have received from him, and which have so much contributed to my happiness and to the increase of my property. The sale and investment should not be so hurried as to make an unnecessary sacrifice of property.

All my furniture, also my horses, carriages, and wines, I have left to you. The horses and carriages should be immediately sold, excepting such as you desire for your private use. Of the wines, I wish you to give two hundred bottles to Mr. Charles Lyman, one hundred to Mr. William Appleton, and one hundred to Mr. William P. Mason. The residue, if considerable, I would make sale of, excepting such as you may require for domestic use.

My daughters, if unmarried, will require guardians; and I recommend them most affectionately to the care of my friends named above, among whom I trust some one will be found to assume this office. My daughter, Susan Lyman, I sincerely thank for the uniform kindness and affection she has ever shown me; and I hope and believe that this

affection will lead her to watch over, and give aid to, her younger sisters.

Further, I wish that a suit of mourning, to the value of about fifty dollars, be presented to each of my brothers and sisters of natural blood who may survive me, as a mark of my affection and regard; and also that a mourning-dress be given to such of my domestics as may have lived in my family two years or more. All of these expenses, and those which shall hereafter be named, to be paid out of my estate.

Finally, my present wish and feeling is, that the usual funeral solemnities of the Episcopal Church should be performed over my mortal remains, in St. Paul's Church, where I have so long worshipped Him who placed me here, and whose loving-kindness and mercies I have so long and so undeservedly experienced.

For the services above mentioned, I wish that twenty dollars should be presented to the Rector of St. Paul's, and a proper gratuity to the sexton and organist of that church.

And now may God Almighty, in his infinite mercy, take you and my dear children in his holy keeping, and preserve you from the snares and dangers of this world! May he give you an awful and overpowering sense of the amazing change which you must soon be called on to pass through! and by this may he bring your hearts to feel the indescribable importance of a full preparation for this change, and a solemn conviction that you have no hope of salvation but by a perfect feeling of your own unworthiness, and of the absolute necessity of placing your whole trust and confidence in the atoning blood of our blessed Saviour and Mediator Jesus Christ, which alone is able to purify and justify you, and bring you to the mansions of everlasting happiness!

May God bless you all, is the prayer of your affectionate husband and father,

JOHN C. WARREN.

# To my Executors and Children.

Boston, July 20, 1842.

P.S. — By the remodelling of my will and the letters written to my children, some of the arrangements in the above letter are rendered unnecessary, while others remain unchanged.

My particular object in writing this postscript is to repeat the disposition made in regard to my friend Mr. William Appleton; to whom I wish to repeat my acknowledgment for all his kindness, and to request him to accept one hundred bottles of my best wine; recommending at the same time its use only as a medicine, and not during health.

J. C. WARREN.

## CHAPTER XX.

DR. HOLMES'S REMARKS. — OBITUARY NOTICES. — DR. VINTON'S REMARKS. — DR. ROOT'S LETTER. — MR. EVERETT'S LETTER AND ADDRESS. — RESOLUTIONS.

AT a special meeting of the Suffolk-District Medical Society, held in Boston, May 5, 1856, Dr. O. W. Holmes offered a series of resolutions, prefacing them with the following remarks:—

Mr. President, — Death has just removed from our earthly fellowship one long known to us as a leading member of our various local associations; to this community, as a most valued professional counsellor and honored citizen; to the profession itself, as a master in one of its leading departments, and a laborious teacher of more than a whole generation of practitioners; to the country, as one of its ornaments; and to men of learning everywhere, as a liberal and enlightened student of nature. The name of John Collins Warren is stricken from the roll of living men.

There is no man here, whatever his age or standing, that can hear this brief announcement unmoved. To the old it is a sudden breaking-up of associations which half a century of active life has been slowly knitting together; to the young it is one of those startling changes that shift the entire vista of the future. Life slides forward a whole stage, when those who stand in full relief upon its furthest confines drop beneath the horizon. We have all grown older in more than days since yesterday: we have lost a presence

that filled no small space in our habitual outlook, and passed it over to the ever-widening domain of memory.

There have been few men in the time of the oldest among us who have stamped their character more distinctly on their associates than he whom we must now speak of as belonging to the past. He entered life with singular advantages. His father was the leading surgeon of the leading town of New England; had served his country faithfully in the camp and on the field; had founded a school, and was known as an eloquent and enthusiastic teacher. His uncle had shed imperishable lustre upon the name he bore; his alliances gave him influence; his career was unimpeded by the embarrassments common to many who rise in spite of them to eminence.

It is not much only to inherit advantages, as every day shows us but too clearly. We see the new men carrying off the prizes in every calling, in the face of the hereditary occupants of power and position. But it is much to know how to bear the temptations of good fortune, or what is so called; to cast off indolence; to despise self-indulgence; to work from a high sense of duty, or even from a noble ambition, as others work from hard necessity.

Whatever place Dr. Warren acquired or maintained in life, no man can say that he did not earn it and keep it by his own fair labor. In this great centre of life, where an overworking race sends its strongest muscles and its busiest brains to be worn out, it would be hard to name the man who toiled more unremittingly than he, during the busier years of his life. In his vast practice; at the Hospital, of which he was one of the founders, and where he passed so large a share of his time; in the professor's chair, the offices of which he performed with signal fidelity and punctuality; everywhere he was unsparing of his time and labor. Those

of us who met him at that busy period of his life remember him as grave, concentrated, often stern; a man of few words, and those apt to be peremptory; one who went his way, bent on his own task, and not likely to be turned aside from it.

But neither all the advantages he inherited, nor all the toil he expended, could have given him the place he attained, without elements of personal superiority to lend vitality to both. Somewhere in the mind or in the character, or in both, must be found the source of that remarkable influence which Dr. Warren exerted, during a long series of years, amidst all the competition and changes of city professional life. If we should look only at his purely intellectual qualities, we should not have reached the secret of his mastery. The varied intellectual power, the wide range of knowledge, which belong to the scholar who lives in the world of thought, are not to be expected in the men whose lives are passed in the practical use of applied science. From them we can only demand accuracy instead of breadth of view, sagacity instead of erudition, readiness in the place of versatility. These are the qualities which must belong to the successful surgeon; and these, with a practised hand and unshaken nerves, were generally granted by the profession and the public to belong to Dr. Warren. But to these qualities, which fitted him for superiority in his peculiar department, were added two other traits, which lay underneath all the rest, and gave them their consummate effectiveness, - unswerving concentration of purpose, and unbending force of will. These gave him his unchallenged supremacy in the professional sphere he had chosen.

To understand his character, we must compare that busy period of life before referred to with its later years, after he had relinquished the most arduous portion of his daily duties. Then it was that the taste for natural science, held sternly in abeyance during a long period of professional toil, was allowed to assert itself; and all might see how resolute must have been the purpose which could have kept it subjugated and almost unsuspected. Then it was that the pleasant social qualities, overlaid for a time by the weight of severe occupation, found their spontaneous expression; and all could feel that the somewhat austere aspect of his overtasked middle age was only another proof that he had given his whole mind and heart and strength to cares that might well subdue his natural vivacity and sadden his cordial smile.

These last years of his life have softened all our recollections of his strenuous years of toil. He had got out of the brawling current; and, as he neared the further shore, a quiet eddy carried him far back towards the fountains of his youth. A kindly old man; full of pleasant anecdote; busy with ingenious speculations; loving Nature always, and studying her, not as once in the fearful shapes in which she used to challenge his skill, but under the branches of the "Great Elm," or beneath the buttressed ribs of his huge mastodon, or hanging over the sandstone tablets where the life of the eternity that is past has left its earliest autographs, — he pursued his cheerful labors to the last, bent, but not broken; and so walked softly from among us into the land of shadows.

If I have little to add to the remarks made when the subject of this Memoir had but just left us, it is because the privilege I have enjoyed of reading his life in its manuscript records has taught me how fully he has delineated his own character.

We should smile at the first thought of ranking Dr. Warren among self-made men. His professional lineage

would have seemed a higher distinction, but for the less immediate yet not remote alliance which made the name he bore a watchword, and flooded all lesser honors in the blaze of the martyr's glory. Yet Dr. Warren essentially made his own position, and carved his character out of the rough block of life, as much as if he had been born with a vulgar name and in a mean condition. If we compare the country as he found it at maturity with the same country as he left it in old age; if we look at the city which he knew at twenty, and at that which he saw at nearly eighty; and if we remember, not only the doubling and thrice doubling of its population, but the interstitial removal and renewal of all its social, scientific, educational, and professional elements, while his lengthened years still flowed on, - we shall see that no stock of wisdom or of character which could have been bequeathed him would have survived all these changes, and been sufficient to maintain his general eminence and his supremacy in his own special department. It was by making himself and remaking himself, as the new demands of the new generations about him required, that he kept his place. Perpetual vigilance is not only the price of freedom, but of every thing worth possessing; and, in these records of Dr. Warren's life, the reader cannot fail to have marked the sleepless eye and the iron nerve of a watchfulness that nothing could betray, and a determination that nothing could daunt.

He had reached the age when men have long ceased to be called on for military duty; when those who have labored during their days of strength are expected to repose; and when the mind is thought to have lost its aptitude for innovating knowledge, and to live on its accumulated stores. Yet nothing could surpass the eagerness with which he watched and assisted in the development of the newly dis-

covered powers of etherization. It is much for any name to be associated with the triumphs of that beneficent discovery; but when we remember the reproach cast upon Harvey's contemporaries, that none of them past middle age would accept his new doctrine of the circulation, we confess it to have been a noble sight when an old man was found among the foremost to proclaim the great fact,—strangely unwelcome, as well as improbable, to some who should have been foremost to accept it,—that pain was no longer the master, but the servant, of the body.

So long as sight and hand could perform their offices, he was as ready as the youngest operator to attempt the boldest surgical enterprises. Forced at last to confess to himself some loss of keenness in the faculties which give the superiority allowed by the French in their proverb, "Young surgeon, old physician," he changed his field of labor, but kept the failing eye and unsteady hand to those duties they could still perform. Infirmity and disease could not break his habits of industry; and nothing short of the paralysis of death could arrest his earthly labors.

The man is pictured in the book which has grown out of the materials he has left, and which have been wrought up with the zeal and fidelity hardly to be looked for except in one of the same blood and sharing many of the same recollections. But there is another point of interest in this Memoir,—that the times are pictured in the man. So conspicuous a person as Dr. Warren necessarily forms the centre of a group of characters and events, not always subordinate, as in the common range of professional life, but involving the social or political movements of the period in which he lives. The reader finds himself brought into relation with distinguished personages of this and other countries, and with many of the religious and benevolent

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enterprises of this and the preceding generation; so that parellel with the professional history of the individual runs the larger story of his time and of his co-evals.

Here is the record, then, of a busy and useful life, its springs of action exposed, its ends and means to reach them shown throughout the long series of its patient reminiscences. The man is before us; and all of worthy motive, of sagacious design, of strenuous action, of large success, which his story tells, is a legacy that survives even the good which his thoughtful brain and skilful hand have done for his race while he moved on earth among his fellow-men.

## Resolutions.

On the 5th of May, a special meeting of the Natural-History Society was called, to take "appropriate measures relative to the decease of the President of the Society, Dr. John C. Warren."

A committee was appointed to prepare a series of resolutions expressive of the deep regret which the Society experienced at its recent bereavement.

"It was voted to attend the funeral of the late President on Wednesday, May 7; and to meet at the rooms of the Society, for this object, at half-past ten o'clock, A.M."

On the annual meeting, May 7, Dr. Storer, on behalf of the committee above mentioned, read a brief report, expressing in strong and impressive terms the feelings of the Society upon the loss of their President, and their estimation of his worth and the value of his services; alluding to the even youthful enthusiasm "which would not allow the most inclement nights of the last most inclement season to prevent his attendance at your meetings, but who was ever here to encourage you by his presence to increased exertion."

In accordance with one of the resolutions to which this report was introductory, Professor Jeffries Wyman was chosen to prepare a Biographical Memoir of their late President.

Dr. Wyman performed his task promptly and ably. On the 17th of December following, he read to the Society a carefully prepared memoir; giving, in a concise form, an accurate and discriminating view of Dr. Warren's character and life, and of his labors, especially in connection with this Society.

# Dr. Vinton's Remarks.

The following remarks were made by the Rev. Dr. Vinton, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, at the administration of the communion, on Sunday, May 11, 1856:—

I cannot proceed in the holy services before us, without reminding you, as I am myself sadly reminded, that we miss from our number to-day, and almost for the first time, one who, from his constancy and position, is almost necessarily associated in our minds with the sacred rite itself. That venerable form which used to pass before your eyes for so many years, in receiving your communion-alms, is moveless, cold, and dead. His office, as warden of this church, is passed upon another. He is gone to a higher and purer communion than ours. His faith is turned to sight, his hope to enjoyment. I pronounce no general eulogium upon the character of our deceased friend and brother. This is neither the time nor the place to discourse of him thus. His rank as a citizen, and his eminent social position, will be duly remembered elsewhere. His scientific zeal and success will find other and cordial commemoration. Above all, his surpassing professional reputation is a legacy to both hemispheres, honorably valued by both, and will be forgotten by neither. Let me speak of him in those relations in which I knew him best, and can speak of him, - relations most proper to be considered on an occasion like this. Connected with this church almost from its commencement, and holding an important office for nearly the whole of that time, he gave to it so much of his wisest thought, and his lively though always calm zeal, that this church and himself became, in our minds, almost

identified. There have been times when its most important interests were balanced on his single judgment; and how thoroughly and well he acquitted himself of this responsibility, many of you can bear honorable witness. In his official relations with myself, his conduct was always marked by such a just and delicate sense of the proprieties of his position as often to excite my admiration, and sometimes my gratitude. Indeed, I have been accustomed to regard him as a perfect model of an official man.

But that which stirs my most affectionate and reverent interest for his memory, and which should make his memory revered by us all, was the style of his religious character.

Its predominant trait, no doubt, was his strict conscientiousness. When he entered upon his religious life, it seems to have been a matter of deliberate business, a manly and thoughtful consecration of himself to the service of God. He held with a firm hand, and watched with a scrupulous eye, the balances by which, with his conscience on one side and his life on the other, he estimated his own character before God; and while, from this type of his religious feeling, and from his habit of restraint, his piety might seem to want that expressiveness which is apt to belong to the higher modes of spiritual life, yet there is ample and beautiful evidence that he was no stranger to the exercises of that deep Christian experience in which the life is hid with Christ in God. In testimony of this, I am permitted to read from his private papers the following extract:—

"I never read this chapter (John xiv.) without experiencing a species of delight which scarcely any thing else has power to excite,—a holy fervor, combined with melting tenderness. I can almost realize the scene where the heavenly Comforter poured upon the hearts of his mourning and wondering disciples that unction from above which ren-

dered them superior to temptation, and patient amid scenes of tribulation. 'I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you. Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also.' These words have sometimes been to my heart what oil is to the commotion of the billow; and shall this heart, which is capable of immortal blessedness and expansion, resign its high privileges, and shrink from its exalted duties?

"I pray God to grant me strength to renounce, firmly, deliberately, and religiously, every earthly hope. I desire to preserve my heart from the danger of creating an idol in his own temple, and to be constant in my supplications to the Spirit, who is the sanctifier that will make of my heart a spotless sanctuary for his own abode. I desire to maintain the greatest tenderness of conscience; to shrink from a stain as from a wound; and to contemplate so habitually and so intensely the purity of the joys of heaven, that every retired meditation may resemble them, — be serious, serene, and spiritual. I desire to realize incessantly the omnipresence of God; to realize that he is the searcher of hearts; that all things are revealed to Him who is light, and who himself cannot be seen by reason of his pureness.

"Father! Redeemer! by those names of tenderness unequalled, let me supplicate thy gracious aid. Teach me to look upon affliction as the mark of adoption. Enable me to love thee solely, tenderly; constantly remembering that perseverance is the perfection of every good work."

So speaks our departed friend and brother to us, here and now. Being dead, he speaks, he unbosoms himself, to us as he did not and could not while living. He speaks from the Christian's grave and from the upper skies; showing us, by his own recorded experience, how in the one we may gain a victory, and in the other a rest with God.

Let us hear him and sacredly remember him to-day; and, though we are to see him at our communion here no more, let us so earnestly strive as he did in the upward walk of a saintly life, that, being accepted in the Beloved, we may meet him at the marriage-supper of the Lamb of God.

# Final Letter from Dr. Roots.

MY DEAR SIR, — Though our communication has been few, and far between, yet there is no one more perfectly fixed in my recollection than yourself; and I am only sorry for the immediate cause of its revival.

Alas poor Warren! "The great, the good Patroclus is no more!" Our professional studies, both in London and Edinburgh, were conjunct, and, during the whole of a lengthened period, were of the most friendly and amicable nature; and it was a mutual regret that we were so widely separated from each other from inevitable circumstances. But God's will must be done.

I thank you for your kindness in sending me the melancholy information; and beg you to believe me, my dear sir, much and most sincerely, your old friend,

WM. ROOTS.

SURBITON, KINGSTON, May 20, 1856.

ROBERT GRANT, Esq.

### Mr. Everett's Letter.

At the annual meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Society, June 17, 1856, the President communicated the following letter and accompanying resolution from the Hon. Edward Everett:—

Boston, 16th June, 1856.

DEAR SIR, - I much regret that it is not in my power to attend the meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association this morning. I was particularly desirous of being present, that I might join in giving utterance to that deep regret which we all feel at the loss, since our annual meeting, of one of the earliest, most persevering, and most efficient members and directors of the association. I allude, of course, sir, to the late Dr. John C. Warren; of whom I think it is but justice to say, that to him, more than to any other individual, the Bunker-Hill Monument owes its existence. He was one of the very first that engaged in the undertaking. Occupied as he was with the duties of a most laborious profession, he gave his time and unremitted attention to the work. No detail of business, however humble, was beneath him; and he shunned no responsibility. Many difficulties were overcome by his patience and judicious management. He never allowed the obstacles which retarded the progress of the work - and they were numerous and great - to discourage him; and he devoted his time and thoughts to it when it stood one-fourth part only built, burdened with a debt which there were no visible means to pay, - a premature ruin, rather than a structure hopefully advancing to its completion, - as cheerfully as he did in the freshness of its early popularity. Without underrating the

zeal of others, or the value of their services, it seemed to me on more than one occasion, that, but for the firmness and resolution of Dr. Warren, it would have remained for the next generation to carry on and finish the monument.

Undoubtedly he had an interest in the structure, which no one else could feel, in consequence of his relationship with the patriot-martyr of the day,—his uncle, General Joseph Warren. If this circumstance augmented the zeal with which he exerted himself for the promotion of this great work, no one will think it a matter of wonder or blame. If it increased his interest in the monument, it imposed no little restraint upon him. I can truly say, that, intimately as I was associated with him, in the early part of the undertaking, as a member of the Executive Committee, I never saw him in the slightest degree attempt to make the monument in any way minister to family feeling. I am sure that he was the member of the committee by whom the name of General Warren was least frequently mentioned.

He ever appeared to me, in this respect, to be influenced by the most scrupulous delicacy. He took a patriotic interest in the work, and was evidently desirous that it should be a memorial of all the honored names which history has associated with the 17th of June, 1775, and, as far as possible, of the brave men who fell in the ranks, and whose devotion to the country was not less meritorious, because they are not prominently recorded in our annals.

Dr. Warren had investigated the localities of Bunker Hill, and the vestiges of the battle, with greater care and pains than any other person; and it was owing to his attention that some of them have been identified, and marked by permanent memorials.

I feel, sir, a melancholy satisfaction in paying this last

tribute to the memory of one with whom, for a period of near fifty years, in the most confidential relations, — those of a "beloved physician" and constant friend, — I have, to my great happiness, been intimately associated. I regret only that the state of my health has not permitted me to be present at the meeting, and do better justice to the subject and to my feelings.

I remain, dear sir, with much regard, sincerely yours,

EDWARD EVERETT.

P.S. — Should no other member of the association be prepared to submit a resolution, the enclosed, if you think proper, can be offered to the meeting:—

Resolved, That the members of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association deeply lament the loss sustained by them, since their last annual meeting, in the decease of one of the earliest members and directors of the association, — the late Dr. John C. Warren; that they recognize him as one of the most efficient, judicious, and liberal promoters and benefactors of this undertaking; and that they desire to place on their records the most emphatic attestation to the value of his services, from the commencement to the completion of the monument.

This resolution was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the records.

#### Mr. Everett's Address.

At a meeting of the Thursday-evening Club on Dec. 4, 1856, the Hon. Edward Everett spoke as follows:—

GENTLEMEN OF THE THURSDAY-EVENING CLUB. — A wish has been felt, that, on coming together for the first time this winter, some notice should be taken of the heavy loss which we have suffered, since we last met, in the decease of our late associate and friend, Dr. Warren, to whom the society owes the first suggestion towards its formation, and much of its continued vitality; and the desire has been expressed, that I would pay this well-deserved tribute to his memory. There are other members of our circle who have had it in their power to attend its meetings more regularly than myself, and who are therefore better acquainted, from personal observation, with the extent of our obligations to him in founding and carrying on the association; but there is not one of our number who could more willingly or more cheerfully than myself utter the voice of honest eulogy over the tomb of Dr. Warren. My acquaintance with him, at the time of his decease, was within a year or two of fifty years' standing. Agreeably to the custom which then prevailed, I attended, as an undergraduate at Cambridge, the course of lectures on Anatomy delivered by his honored father and by himself; on which occasion I was drawn into personal relations with him. At different periods of my after-life, when I have lived in Boston, he has been my family physician. I was intimately associated with him as one of the Executive Committee of the Directors of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, in which capacity he rendered the most important services to that great and patriotic enterprise; and, from the commencement of our acquaintance to its close, our friendship existed without a moment's interruption or coldness. I feel, therefore, as if I did but discharge an obligation in acceding to the wish, that I would pay this brief and informal tribute of respect to his memory.

It would, of course, be out of place, on this occasion, to speak of Dr. Warren in that relation in which he is best known in this community; nor am I, under any circumstances, the person to do it: I mean, that of a physician and surgeon; in which he certainly stood in the first rank of his profession. I could, if this were the proper occasion, bear witness from my own experience and observation, not merely to his eminence in the leading qualifications of the successful practitioner, but also to those gentler personal attentions on his part, and bed-side assiduities (and that where no selfish considerations could have prompted them), which add the last grace to the professional character. I make a passing allusion to this trait, because I believe, that, in this respect, full justice was not done to our associate and friend by those who knew him but imperfectly. In forty years for which I knew him as a practising physician, in my own family or that of friends, I never heard an abrupt or hurried word, never witnessed an impatient movement. At a time when, under the overwhelming pressure of his various duties, he habitually allowed himself but five hours' sleep out of the twenty-four, and the anxieties of the heaviest and most responsible surgical practice in New England lay upon his nervous system, I never saw the slightest disposition to economize his time at the expense of the patient's welfare or comfort.

Dr. Warren, as you know, gentlemen, was the founder of the Thursday-evening Club; and in this character alone his memory invites our grateful recollection at this time.

From a paper written to his dictation about four years ago, it appears that he had, as long ago as the year 1844, been deeply impressed with the importance of bringing together persons of different professions and pursuits, to converse and communicate with each other on the scientific improvements of the day, and other topics connected with social culture and progress. Dr. Warren had been of opinion that there was a want of intercourse between the active and the professional, the scientific and business, classes of the community; and that, if they could be regularly brought together in a friendly circle, it would not only promote social enjoyment, but mutual improvement. He believed that there was no city on the Continent where ampler materials exist for an enlightened and intelligent society, and that they needed only to be brought statedly together. These views and feelings were communicated by Dr. Warren to his neighbor and friend, the late honored and lamented Mr. Abbott Lawrence, who fully concurred with him, and avowed his readiness to take part with him, in forming an association like that proposed. The plan was soon after mentioned to another neighbor and friend, Mr. Francis C. Gray, who cordially entered into it; but nothing definite was at this time accomplished.

About two years afterwards, the plan was resumed by Dr. Warren, and again became the subject of conference with Messrs. Lawrence and Gray; to whom, on the 17th of August, 1846, he addressed a letter, from which I will take the liberty to read a few sentences:—

"In order to bring the subject of our late conversation more distinctly and immediately before us, I think it will be best to make some written suggestions. The union we propose should be distinctly and radically social. The objects of this union should be to combine, without any formality, all matters belonging to the physical sciences, particularly natural history, geology, mining, &c.; all matters relating to manufactures, commerce, and their improvements; and all new plans which may be devised for ameliorations and advancements in the social condition of the country. Exhibitions of minerals, machinery, drawings, and new books, introduced without formality, would make an important auxiliary in our meetings.

. . . . . . . . . .

"The individuals selected should be as much as possible, and agreeably to your suggestion, of such materials as might be cemented into a permanent and homogeneous body. It would, I conceive, be requisite, for the attainment of this union, to select as much as possible those not already engaged in existing associations. You will be able to strike out other and brighter thoughts, which will enlighten and aid us in the accomplishment of an organization most beneficial to ourselves and to the public. I will, with your permission, write down some names which have occurred to me; and to these you will add as many as you think proper. When you are ready, we will make a selection from these names, and call a meeting of the gentlemen thus nominated."

After two or three additional conversations with Messrs. Lawrence and Gray, a meeting was called in concert with those gentlemen, at Dr. Warren's house, on the 27th of October, 1846. In the paper to which I have already referred, Dr. Warren alludes to this event in the following terms:—"In my journal, I find the following minutes of this meeting: 'In the evening, a meeting of gentlemen on the new social arrangement for scientific conversation. Present: Messrs. A. Lawrence, F. C. Gray, Theophilus Parsons, Martin Brimmer, George Darracott, Dr. Charles T. Jackson,

and Dr. Gould. I am to invite Bishop Fitzpatrick, Hon. Wiliam Appleton, Rev. Dr. Vinton, and Dr. Holmes. Every thing passed off agreeably. At this meeting, the application of ether, for the prevention of pain in surgical operations, was first made the subject of discussion between Dr. Gould, Dr. C. T. Jackson, and myself; and we then learned from Dr. Jackson, that he suggested to Dr. Morton the use of ether for the prevention of pain in a patient who was to undergo a severe dental operation.' The next meeting took place at Mr. Francis C. Gray's." Of this meeting the paper of Dr. Warren furnishes no memorandum. "The next meeting was at the house of Hon. Abbott Lawrence. Quite a large assemblage. Dr. Charles T. Jackson, Professor Rogers, Dr. A. A. Gould, Dr. Cabot, and Dr. Mason Warren, exhibited something for the information and gratification of the meeting. Mr. William Rotch was chosen secretary of the club." I had the pleasure of attending this meeting, and well recollect some of the interesting articles exhibited, a live chameleon from Smyrna; a very singular fish from the Ohio River; a papier-maché model, a foot and a half long, of a beetle; and specimens of gun-cotton, - an article then exciting much interest.

From this time forward, for two or three years, the meetings were continued weekly. It was then judged advisable to have them once a fortnight, which has been the practice ever since. At a meeting held at Dr. Cabot's, of which the date is not given, it was resolved that a record should be kept of the scientific proceedings of the club; but, owing to accidental circumstances, this plan has not been carried into execution.

Dr. Warren's paper closes with the following remarks: "During nearly six years, the club has been in steady and harmonious operation. Much scientific matter has been

communicated in a novel and agreeable way, and much pleasant intercourse has brightened the long evenings of autumn and winter, without any organization but the appointment of a secretary. The time seems to have arrived for the establishment of a regular mode of admitting members, of ascertaining the existing members, and of regulating the place of meeting. Whether these objects can be best attained through the medium of a standing committee, or in meetings of the club, remains to be decided."

Such, gentlemen, are the material portions of a paper drawn up by Dr. Warren, and perhaps read to the club, some four or five years ago. It gives an authentic account of the origin and progress of the association; and if, in the last paragraph, we substitute "ten" years for "six," it relates our history to the close of the last season. It may be doubted, whether there ever was an association, so large as ours, which has existed for so long a time, which has held so many meetings, and carried out the design of its formation so efficiently, with so little of the ordinary machinery of a society. This result is mainly to be ascribed to the vigilant and thoughtful attention of Dr. Warren, spontaneously bestowed upon the affairs of the club, and upon the simple arrangements necessary to secure a meeting once a fortnight, with some communication more or less formal, of a scientific or practical nature, for the instruction and entertainment of the members.

It is, then, just ten years, this season, since the Thursday-evening Club was founded; and one cannot reflect without emotion, that, of the three gentlemen who took the lead in its formation, two have already passed away, while the third (there is too much reason to fear) will never be able again to give us the pleasure of his company, — Dr. John C. Warren, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, Mr. Francis C. Gray. It is no

ordinary distinction, my friends, for any association to count as its founders three such men; no ordinary bereavement, within so short a period to lose them.

I think, however, gentlemen, we shall do better justice to the memory of our friends, not by ineffectual sorrow at their loss, but by a grateful recollection of the pleasant hours we have passed in their company as members of the Thursday-evening Club. Dr. Warren's agency in its formation was but the first step taken by him to promote its objects. In the latter portion of his life, and after he had begun to withdraw himself from the more arduous labors of his profession, he gave much of his attention to some branches of natural science. He expended large sums of money in the increase of his collection, and possessed himself of several articles of extreme rarity and importance. Whenever the club met at his house, it was sure to be gratified and instructed by his spirited exposition of some of the most interesting phenomena in paleontology, illustrated by specimens of unsurpassed beauty and great cost. I think you will bear me out in saying, that no meetings of the club exceeded in interest those which took place at his house, or elsewhere under his lead. His interest remained unabated to the close of his life; and I believe one of the very last occasions on which he passed an evening abroad was at a meeting of the Thursday-evening Club, from which, if in health, and not prevented by some insuperable obstacle, he was never absent. Let us hope that the impulse he gave to it will continue to animate it, now that he is taken from us; and that the Thursday-evening Club will long continue to be what he left it, - the means of promoting, in an eminent degree, the intellectual improvement and social enjoyment of its members.

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# Society of the Cincinnati.

The following Report and Resolution, on the decease of Dr. John C. Warren, were made at the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, at their meeting on anniversary of the Fourth of July, 1856:—

While it is not for this Society to pay the principal tribute to the worth of their late respected brother, Dr. John C. Warren, it may claim its share in a loss so justly felt by the whole community, — a share belonging to us by so many privileged associations.

To us this may be claimed to belong, in the first place, in virtue of the right bequeathed to us from our forefathers to enroll among the number those, as we deem, of the same Revolutionary stock, who might become distinguished by their kindred sentiments and sympathies with the original founders of the institution.

This claim has its date to us, in the present instance, even beyond that of the institution itself; going back to the very eve of those remarkable events in which this institution had its birth, and beholding in the eminent object of our esteem the acknowledged representative, as he was the eldest male relative by collateral descent, of "him, the great first martyr in the great cause," in whose veins ran the rich blood in which it was baptized.

To this we may well add the title acquired by the good service of a meritorious and honored sire, in the tented field, and among the sick and wounded, during the larger part of the Revolutionary conflict. To these deserts, thus meeting and recognized in himself, was accorded the distinction of being the first chosen upon our records an honorary member of this time-honored association; one, it is always to be remembered, formed by our fathers, at their last farewell on the banks of the Hudson, upon the principles of patriotic friendship and brotherly benevolence and affection, to cherish and preserve the ties created by sharing in common hardship, danger, and suffering, and to give force to the example of laying down in peace arms assumed only for public defence.

This twofold tribute to ancestral and individual worth was, upon his responsive acknowledgment, followed by admission to the equal privilege of bearing part in the objects and offices of the Society; and it may be said with just pride and satisfaction, no one indeed of its members, old or new, evinced a more lively concern and zeal in promoting the welfare and carrying out the purposes of the institution.

The preparations for the present occasion on which we are thus assembled, the decorations of this scene by which we are so fittingly surrounded, — arrayed with the drapery and ensigns of our national independence, — the noble and commanding figure of the Father of his Country in such admirable and striking relief, — all bear expressive evidence of his graceful taste and patriotic attachment. They witness, too, our own mingled regrets at being deprived of his grateful presence and participation.

Leaving, then, to others, so much better entitled, to speak of his endowments in that province in which he was most distinguished,—an office already so appropriately performed,—there still remain lineaments for us to trace that may seem to have come down to us from a former day, and a reflected type, no less than that active force of character,

which marked his eminence in the sphere wherein he shone conspicuous among the men of his own time,—no degenerate offspring of the race that had gone before him.

Among these traits we may recognize that constancy to the high standard of truth, order, and obligation; that loyalty to the sacred principles of social virtue; that despotic sense of duty, and unswerving fidelity to its behests, whatever its determination; that steady and earnest devotion to the advancement of measures for the physical and moral welfare of mankind, which marked the course of a long life of active usefulness and enlightened benevolence, not always, it may be, finding its first response in universal sympathy, and sometimes, perhaps, extending to the utmost verge of attainable good.

To these high purposes and those important ends were all his powers applied and resources devoted, with a single eye and steadfast aim to their best accomplishment. All these varied pursuits and studies, from the earliest period of his professional course, through the active vigor of manhood, were carried on, with an ardor belonging to the enthusiasm of youth, into the maturity of age, of which they became the solace and recreation, — and even new fields and extended provinces entered with unabated eagerness and delight.

Never more than then, indeed, when the evening shadows began to descend and to rest upon the face of nature, did his mind love to linger among the original indications of Divine Wisdom and Goodness revealing themselves in the gradual processes of creative energy, and to trace the hand of an almighty Agent and invisible Intelligence in the minutest as well as in the grandest and most massive operations of its Author.

These vestiges of whatever was extraordinary or significant among the original remains of organic existence,

developed in the most obscure regions and the remotest ages of Earth's history, throughout the vast and interminable domain of natural science, he sought to follow out and decipher in their marvellous gradation, from the mysterious footprints in the primeval sandstones of Connecticut, along to the unfolding scroll of our own olden time,—even down to finding the record of an almost immemorial antiquity in the venerable and majestic elm upon the graceful slope of Boston Common.

In this strain of congenial reverence and admiration he was led to group around him the classic images also of the great and good of other days, the benefactors of their kind in ancient and modern times. In the same spirit, he loved to explore the annals and to gather the relics of the Revolutionary past, of which he prized the heroic symbols and cherished the lively portraitures, as he loved also to listen and to contribute to its animated recitals.

Under the thoughtful influence of these associations, we saw him again with kindred taste and attachment restoring the decaying structure, the former rural dwelling-place of his renowned relative, the seat of his worthy ancestry, in the picturesque vicinity of Roxbury, in a similar style of our earlier architecture, of a more solid and durable material.

In like manner he is acknowledged to have been one of the foremost in laying the foundation, and most assiduous and efficient in causing the erection, of that splendid monument which crowns the neighboring summit, and overlooks the surrounding prospect of land and sea, with a zeal and purity free from all but the most patriotic impulse.

And one of his latest cares, concerned in collecting the long memorials of the ancestral line, was to inurn the ashes of his illustrious kinsman, to be deposited with the gathered remains of his progenitors in the sequestered recesses of Forest Hills.

In pious and grateful offices of this faithful and expressive character his hand was never weary, and his liberal aid and example were never wanting.

The dignity of a profession alike important in seasons of peace and war, adorned and elevated by the virtues of two such long-departed brothers, was not diminished in the succeeding generation.

It is not too much to say of him we thus mark by our distinguished and deserved remembrance, that he has thrown a new lustre around the deathless name of Warren.

Among the attachments which he cherished to his latest moments was that which bound him to this Society; the more, perhaps, as other ties relaxed, and more active interests receded, and as his mind became toned by the experience and discipline of advancing life into profounder reverence, and attuned by its gentle influence to increasing kindliness.

It was ours to meet and see him in the congenial light in which he presented himself to us, — recalling that of other days, — and in the warmth with which he entered into our annually returning re-unions. We would find a fresh incentive in the example he afforded, and the force to which it witnessed, of those enduring ties by which all the members of this fraternity are bound together; and we would fain add, at least, this leaf from its hand to the chaplet which is already wreathed to his memory.

With these sentiments, therefore, your committee would beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following resolution.

CHARLES S. DAVEIS.
ALFRED T. BAURY.
JOHN HOMANS.

Resolved, That in the recent departure of our late respected brother, Dr. John C. Warren, from this life, in a ripe age, at the height of a well-earned and wide-spread reputation, we are called to regret the removal of a distinguished associate; one who cherished the principles and supported the honor of the institution, amid the earnest concerns and to the lengthened close of a life of useful service to the kindred interests of virtue, science, and humanity; exhibiting an example of eminent moral worth, and reflecting the character at once of the patriot citizen and the accomplished physician.

And a copy of this report and accompanying resolution be communicated to the near surviving relatives of the family of the deceased, as an expression of our sincere and respectful sympathy.

## CHAPTER XXI.

#### CHARACTER.

It is customary, at the conclusion of a biographical work, to devote some pages to an examination of the character of the subject. Yet it would seem as if the writer had but imperfectly discharged his duty, if the portrait he has drawn has not already impressed that character more fully upon the mind of his reader than a few closing words can possibly do.

The attentive reader, who has followed Dr. Warren from the time he was seen rolling marbles upon a parlor floor with Dr. Eustis; or listening to marvellous stories of *raisins* growing on vines which climbed upon the walls of houses; through his school and college life, his early residence abroad, his active career as physician, surgeon, lecturer, writer, and politician, above all, as the ardent cultivator of science, through a period of nearly eighty years; — may be supposed qualified to form his own estimate.

We have seen him in public life, in the operating theatre, in the sick-chamber, in the political arena. We have entered even into the inner recesses of his mind, and witnessed his private thoughts and feelings, as displayed in his biographical notes, his journal, his devotional exercises, and his private letters on religious subjects. The biographer has failed in his duty, if the subject of his Memoir has not become to the reader as an intimate acquaintance; it is to be hoped, an intimate friend.

Yet it is a common saying, that we are utterly ignorant of ourselves; and we may be naturally equally ignorant of the character of those with whom we most associate. As a man does not always study the character of his friends, so the reader of a biography may not pause to draw his conclusions. He may wish them ready drawn, or he may wish to compare his own with those of the writer. In compliance with custom, therefore, we proceed to gather, from what has gone before, the striking features which form the characteristics of the subject of our Memoir, as a member of society and a man.

The Germans have divided all men into two classes,—the subjective and the objective. The one class are naturally, or by education, inclined towards the abstract, the contemplative, the theoretical: the other class naturally, or by education, are inclined towards the physical, the tangible, the real. We leave the reader to decide to which of these two classes belonged Dr. Warren.

We would divide men, in a different point of view, into two classes; the first class born, it would seem, for this world. Sound in health of body and of mind, the world appears to them one scene of joy and happiness; men, animals, and things, all created for en-

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joyment,—all illustrative only of the kindness of their Creator. To them it is easy to do good and be good. They enjoy the present, they look back with pleasure on the past, and they look forward with bright hope. They are grateful to the Author of all that is beautiful, they are satisfied with the world, and they do their best to discharge their own duty and make others happy. They are satisfied with themselves in the constant doing of what they consider right.

The Rev. Mr. Buckminster, who sometimes amused himself in Pythagorean theories, used to say, that he must have been very good in his former existence, whatever it might have been, that God had granted him so much happiness in this.

In this class there are, to be sure, others of a different stamp, — the thoughtless, the ignorant, or the misled, — equally believing that life is made for enjoyment; but, not pausing to consider in what enjoyment consists, they bear no fruit.

The other class is widely different. The individual would seem to have dropped accidentally from another world, or to be placed in this, either for his sins in a former state of existence, or in probation for a higher one. Like Byron's Lara, he stands—

"A stranger in this breathing world; An erring spirit from another hurled."

To him it does not seem that the world, that man, was formed for pleasure, for happiness, but for probation, suffering, trial, and struggling, — for warfare

with himself. He looks not upon the beauty of creation, but upon its imperfections. Among this class are the heroes of history; those who effect changes in the world; those who give impulse to revolutions, who produce reformations, or excite conspiracies. Among this class, also, are those who never escape from the spirits of the threshold,—the Giants Doubt, Distrust. They either hide their talent in a napkin, or, like Cowper or Chatterton, sink under their mental burden. Others of this class give themselves up to evil and to a warfare with mankind, and have their type in the Satan of Milton, or the Moor of Schiller.

To the man of this class, the things which are "pall on the temper like a twice-told tale." He is never satisfied with himself; he is never perfectly satisfied with others. He has an ideal of perfection always in his mind, which renders him dissatisfied with his best efforts. His life is a constant struggle.

We need not stop here to consider whether the difference of these two classes lies in mental or physical organization. Doubtless much is owing to the latter. He who has never known lingering illness; whose lungs naturally have full play, and inhale, as it were, a pure ether; whose digestive powers are never oppressed; and whose pulse beats with a calm and steady motion, — is more disposed to happiness; while the other, through mental energy or excitement, may be capable of far greater physical exertion and endurance. Belonging to this species of character is the

disposition to see every thing through a magnified medium. By a keen sensibility and quick feeling, all sensations are exaggerated. This gives to this class their power over others: what they strongly feel they powerfully enforce.

Sufficient has been said in the previous pages to show that Dr. Warren was naturally of a highly excitable temperament, keen sensibility to impressions of pain or joy, prompt to impulsive action, but yet controlled by habits of reserve.

It may be said, that while an ardent, impulsive, enthusiastic temperament was inherited from his father and paternal ancestors, strong habits of reserve and self-control were imbibed or acquired from his mother, who, with equally keen sensibility and strong feelings, was the extreme of retenue and undemonstrativeness. As the eldest son, also, of a rapidly increasing family not in easy circumstances, he was more naturally led to thoughtfulness. It is difficult at the present day, when no vital interests are at stake, and politics may be regarded as children's play, — at best, the attempt to catch bubbles,\* — to realize how soon the almost infant became the thinking politician, sharing the anxieties and feelings of his parent: I may say, of both parents; for the ladies of the Revolution, and the time immediately subsequent, exercised powerful influence, as is well known, in public affairs.

<sup>\*</sup> The "bubble reputation."

As early as the time when he was a student of medicine, his father, in addition to his previous anxieties from the res angustæ domi, became involved by indorsing for a friend, to a large amount, in the possession of lands in Maine and Virginia, taken as security for what he was eventually compelled to pay. The debt, and subsequently the lands, became the incubus of Dr. John Warren's life and his children's. That John C. Warren shared these anxieties with his father, is proved by the fact that he was employed to make a desperate effort in England to sell the lands; and his earliest letters, in 1799-1800, give accounts of his ineffectual efforts to do so. They were met much in the same manner that they would have been in 1838, when, if a man wished to borrow money, he was obliged to conceal the fact that he owned Eastern land, if he had that misfortune. From these circumstances, Dr. Warren imbibed so great a horror of indorsing, that he has been known to refuse to indorse a check payable to himself.

In college-life, at that time, political events were discussed with the earnestness with which they were by mature statesmen; and the students took a public part in politics. In 1798, we find a committee of students presenting an address to John Adams, President of the United States, written by William Ellery Channing, and published in the "Boston Centinel." This address was signed by one hundred and seventy students. We have seen his early interest in military affairs at a time when to be a soldier was not to

add magnificence to a celebration or to perform escort duty, but to be ready to quell a mob, to resist invasion, or to repel an attack at sea.

His disposition was naturally that which leads a man to rush into danger, or impels him to take the lead from love of excitement. Notwithstanding the facts we have given to show the habits of thoughtfulness early acquired, we find him in London, in 1799, 1800, giving way to his natural impulsiveness, and almost becoming the leader of a bread-riot; yet he was ready to listen to the first words of calm reason. We find him, in Paris, ready to take up the cause of his country; and, though resolved to avoid a quarrel as far as possible, equally resolved to carry it through when involved in it, and, though unaided by the presence of a countryman, to make himself and his country respected.

He at one time was the member of a Fire Club; and on the occasion of a fire at the rope-walks near Charles Street, as late as 1820–1830, finding a proper authority absent, he took the lead, and issued orders which were obeyed, and attended with success.

From the time that he arrived in Europe, to the moment of his death, his great characteristic was unwearied industry; not, as has been shown, the industry produced by habits of application, but by stern mental resolve, in which each exertion was the result of a separate mental effort. We have seen, that, on his early arrival in England, he made the resolution, adhered to through life, of never losing a moment in

occupation he deemed frivolous. During his active professional career, he had the appearance of a man walking upwards upon slippery ground, who is ever afraid to pause, lest he shall slip backwards.

As a young man, to a good figure he must have added a pleasing address. He readily acquired the esteem and confidence of the patients he visited, as well as of others with whom he was thrown in contact. In his practice, he adopted certain rules of action. to avoid a hasty opinion, but always, when given, that it should be decided, - that it should admit of no question or appeal. Accustomed to value his moments, he never, while visiting a patient, undertook to answer a frivolous question, or to risk an erroneous expression, by attempting to explain symptoms, or to give reasons for his decision. He probably bore in mind the advice given by Lord Mansfield to a new-made Judge of Chancery: "Trust to your own good sense in forming your opinions; but beware of attempting to state the grounds of your judgments. The judgment will probably be right: the argument will infallibly be wrong." Especially in medicine, a man of experience, or even of sufficient education, forms his judgments almost intuitively; and every physician will feel, not only how annoying, but how almost impossible, it is to explain to the by-standers medical facts or reasons. It is said, the questions of children are always more puzzling to answer than those of grown people: so are those of non-medical persons, however simple in appearance, to the physician. Dr.

Warren never noticed such questions; and yet those who knew him never supposed them unheard, or ventured to repeat them. When troubled by an absurd one with regard to diet or regimen, he seldom found it necessary to reply as did the physician mentioned on page 193, who, when sent to by a patient, to whom he had given implicit directions of diet, to ask if he might eat a piece of duck, replied that he might eat one whole. An expressive look or gesture was generally sufficient answer; and these looks were doubtless not a little feared by his patients. those who were in suffering, however, his manner was very kind; and he never forgot an old patient of his own, or of his father's who had descended to him. His manner to students was reserved, and he often regretted the hasty escape of an impetuous word which wounded the feelings or excited the anger of an assistant. With all his watchfulness and self-control, he would complain that he could not entirely avoid these outbreaks. Perhaps Dr. Gamage was the only one of these assistants who ventured to remonstrate; and Dr. Warren did not like him the less on this account.

Although he seldom seemed to notice things or words foreign to his subject, his eye or his ear never failed to take in every thing around. "Dr. Warren never appears to look at any thing but his patient," said a hospital-nurse. "But there is nothing he does not see: if there is any thing wrong in the ward, it never escapes him." He had those habits of observation, which, "spying all, seemed nought to spy."

In his medical practice and treatment of surgical diseases, he was inclined to English principles and modes of practice, rather than to the French. His treatment, early adopted, was bold and decided, as might be inferred from his first notice of William and Astley Cooper. While William preferred to trust to the powers of nature,—to leave an abscess to open itself, as the safest and mildest course; Sir Astley, he says, conceived that time, strength, and suffering were saved by a bold plunge of the lancet. Sir Astley, he was at all times fond of quoting, as his master and exemplar.

This bold course was always marked, however, with caution and judgment; and, it cannot be denied, it was very successful. In acute diseases, Dr. Warren's treatment was eminently successful; and so, also, was his medical treatment of surgical cases.

Of his persevering and devoted interest in his favorite science of anatomy, the strongest evidence is afforded by the disposition which he requested to be made of his body after death.

His wishes upon this subject were expressed to one of his children, in a private letter to be opened after his death; which was dated July 14, 1842. The portion containing this request will be found in the Appendix to these volumes. It was about this period that he publicly expressed the same intention with regard to his remains.

We have seen, also, his extreme tenacity of purpose. A pursuit which was an object of interest in early vol. II.

life, though it might be laid aside during his active medical career, was in every case resumed when he relaxed in that career. An old friend was never forgotten. Although the pressure of business, and his dislike to frivolous conversation or amusement, led him to indulge little in social intercourse; in his afterlife he took great pains to seek out former friends, classmates, or acquaintances. A maxim adopted in youth, he adhered to strictly through life. An opinion was seldom rashly formed; but, once formed, was never altered, except for the strongest reasons. Nothing is more common than to mistake obstinacy for tenacity of purpose. Dr. Warren was not an obstinate man. No man could yield more gracefully, when convinced that opposition was ineffectual, or that compliance was wise.

On one Thanksgiving evening, in 1825 or thereabouts, he entered a social circle, where he found a brother professor deeply employed in a game of chess. Dr. — was a proficient in the game, but seldom played, because he could not endure defeat. He was now playing a losing game with an inferior opponent. Dr. Warren, after watching a few moves, expressed his astonishment, that a man of the professor's standing and engagements could waste so much time in so useless an occupation. It hardly need be said, that the professor did not win the game; and, although he played two succeeding ones, he did not recover from his ill fortune.

It was owing to this determination never to lose a

moment in useless amusement, that, on his return from Europe in 1838, he labored so strenuously to form social circles for scientific and other improving conversation, that he and others might indulge with freedom in social meetings, without feeling that time was wasted. From this period, he devoted himself not only to the cultivation of new friendships and acquaintances, but to the renewal of former ones, and this with increased ardor as life advanced, and he withdrew more and more from professional labors.

From the time of his commencing housekeeping, for thirty years and upwards, he practised rigid economy. It was one of his maxims, that a man who is always careful in his trifling expenses will be prosperous in his affairs; and, when occasion requires, he may indulge in an expense of magnitude; that, on the other hand, a man will never acquire property, however much he may avoid extravagant expenditure, while he is regardless of the minute yet constant drain upon his resources, which he deems beneath his attention. He never, therefore, considered the most trifling household or other expenses as unworthy of his care. He avoided with horror a loan of money. When occasion demanded, he gave it.

We have seen, too, the extreme care with which he always prepared himself for a surgical operation; never trusting to chance, never feeling satisfied that he was fully prepared until he had taken every possible means to render himself so. We have seen the caution with which he studied the cases of his patients,

not only by the bedside, but in his study; and his careful resort to authorities, when the importance of the case required. We have seen, also, the labor with which he revised and re-revised his lectures or his publications.

A large space has been devoted to his views of religion. In childhood, he had been educated in a firm and reverent belief in the Scriptures, and in their full inspiration; in a rigid observance of the sabbath, and in a regular attendance upon its ordinances. Principles and habits thus firmly inculcated, with a natural abhorrence to the low and the disorderly, were sufficient to preserve him, at Cambridge, from the contagion of atheistical opinions, or from any admiration of the doctrines of Tom Paine. The society at Brattle-street Church, where Dr. Warren regularly attended up to the time of his entering college in 1793, was not composed of elements likely to be anywise affected by such sentiments, except in hostility towards them. But, as in the other churches, Puritan intolerance and bigotry had gradually given place to milder principles; and, by a natural re-action, it is probable the preaching sunk into apathetic dogmatism, and was not adapted to rouse or to fix the attention of the hearers, during the last years of Dr. Thacher. The ministry of the Rev. Mr. Buckminster did not commence until January, 1805; at the time when, we have seen Dr. Warren plunged into the labors of his father's business, and in the very highest ardor of the commencement of his career. Up to

the time of his connection with St. Paul's Society in 1820, therefore, he informs us that he did not think deeply upon religious subjects. Like the multitude of men, probably, he had contented himself with acting upon the principles in which he was educated, without much reflection upon the subject. But, from this time forward, we have seen him active in the cause of religion, and promoting it by every means which a layman could judiciously adopt. We have seen too much of his secret meditation and communion in his closet to doubt the strength of his religious sensibilities.

In the political controversies of late years, Dr. Warren, without blind adherence to party-leaders, generally adhered to the sentiments of which Mr. Webster was the exponent and champion. We find, however, that he did not hesitate to argue in defence of the administration of General Jackson, though the latter was the avowed champion and defender of the Democratical party.

We have seen Dr. Warren, up to the last year of his life, earnest to perform every duty of a good citizen; ever ready to come forward, when required, in support of law and order, and to give to measures he approved the weight of his opinion and his personal presence.

We have seen him, as soon as the relaxation of his professional toils admitted, unwearied in his labors for exciting an interest in general science. We have seen, also, his earnestness in the cultivation of the friendly, social, and family affections.

A strongly marked feature of his disposition should not be passed over without notice; though it has not been, in this country, a common or a popular one. He loved to dwell upon pictures, upon memories of the past. His love and desire of progress never interfered with his reverence for the men and things of the olden time. He was proud of his English origin: he delighted to trace it to illustrious ancestors. This trait constantly impelled him to originate or to stimulate every attempt to commemorate the names of the distinguished dead, and to establish lasting memorials of their lives and works.

The interest which he took in the preservation of all ancestral monuments has been shown in many places. He hunted out the burial-places of his family, in Roxbury; he had the monument of his maternal grandfather, upon Castle-Hill Farm, at Newport, repaired, and guarded by a suitable fence; and he left a legacy of a thousand dollars to St. Paul's Church, for the care and preservation of the monument to the memory of his father.

We must now conclude. If, in this summary of his character, we have omitted any important feature, or have given any erroneous impression, the reader has ample means to add or to correct, and to form his own conclusions from what has gone before.





IN the Forest-Hills Cemetery, at the foot of the large bowlder on the summit of Mount Warren, is a tablet which bears the following inscription:—

### JOHANNES COLLINS WARREN,

NATUS AUG. I. MDCCLXXVIII.
OBIIT MAII IV. MDCCCLVI.

Animæ vestis carnea Hoc tumulo conditur.



# APPENDIX.

## CATALOGUE OF DR. WARREN'S WORKS.

#### PREPARED BY DR. J. F. W. LANE.

- 1. Cases of Organic Diseases of the Heart, 1809; pl. 2, pp. 109.
- 2. Description of an Egyptian Mummy, 1821; pl. 2, pp. 36.
- 3. Description of the Siamese Twins; pl. 1, 1829.
- 4. A Comparative View of the Sensorial and Nervous System in Men and Animals, 1822; pl. 8, pp. 159.
- A Letter to the Hon. Isaac Parker, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts, containing Remarks on the Dislocation of the Hip-Joint, &c., &c., 1826; pl. 5, pp. 142.
- Surgical Observations on Tumors, with Cases and Operations, 1837; pl. 16, pp. 607.
- 7. Physical Education and the Preservation of Health, 1846; pp. 90, 12mo.
- 8. Etherization, with Surgical Remarks, 1848; 8vo, pp. 100.
- 9. Effects of Chloroform and of Strong Chloric Ether as Narcotic Agents, 1849; 8vo, pp. 66.
- 10. Remarks on the Use of Alcohol in the Preparation of Medicines, 1849; 8vo, pp. 8.
- 11. On the Prevention of Constipation, 1850; 8vo, pp. 16.
- 12. Address before the Medical Association at Cincinnati, 1850; 8vo, pp. 65.
- 13. The Mastodon Giganteus of North America, 1852; 4to, pl. 27, pp. 219.

- 14. Address to the Boston Society of Natural History, 1853; 8vo, pp. 48.
- 15. The Preservation of Health, with Remarks on Constipation, Old Age, Use of Alcohol in the Preparation of Medicines, 1854; 12mo, pp. 140.
- Remarks on some Fossil Impressions in the Sandstone Rocks of Connecticut River, 1854; 8vo, pl. 3, pp. 54.
- 17. The Mastodon Giganteus, second edition, with Additions, 1855; 4to, pl. 29, pp. 260.
- 18. The Great Tree on Boston Common, 1855; 8vo, pl. 1, pp. 20.
- Some Account of the Medical School in Boston, and of the Massachusetts General Hospital, 1824 and 1846; 8vo.

## Non-Scientific.

- 1804. The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review; co-editor.
- 1821 and 1822. The Gospel Advocate, conducted by a Society of Gentlemen.
- 1854. Genealogy of Warren; 4to, pp. 113.

## Medical Papers communicated to Massachusetts Medical Society.

- 1806. History of a Wound of the Femoral Artery. No. 2, part 1, pp. 40-48.
- 1807. Case of Strangulated Crural Hernia; part 3, pp. 44-51.
- 1808. Report on Vaccination, in concert with Drs. Warren, Dexter, and Jackson. No. 2, part 2, Appendix, pp. 89, 138.
- 1810. Report respecting a Disease commonly called Spotted or Petechial Fever, &c., &c., with Cases, in concert with Dr. Thomas Welsh and James Jackson; vol. ii. art. xi. pp. 111-234.
- 1810. Letter to a Republican Member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, on the Establishment of a New College of Physicians in Boston.

## The New-England Medical Journal.

- Vol. I., A.D. 1812. Cases of Apoplexy, with Dissections; pp. 34-41, and pp. 154-159. Cases of Organic Diseases of the Heart and Lungs; pl. 1, pp. 120-130.
- Vol. II., A.D. 1813. Observations on some Diseased Eyes; pp. 271-277. Collections of Morbid Anatomy; pp. 153-161.
- Vol. III., A.D. 1814. Account of the Appearances, on the Examination of Ancient Dislocations, of the Two Ossa Humeri in the same Subject; pp. 145-151.
- Vol. V., A.D. 1816. Observations on some Disorders of the Eyes; pp. 148-155.
- Vol. XII., A.D. 1823. A Case of Aneurism cured by Ligature of the External Iliac Artery; pl. 1, pp. 225-229.

## Boston Medical and Surgical Journal.

- Vol. I., A.D. 1828. Cases of Neuralgia, or Painful Affections of Nerves; pl. 1, pp. 16.
  - Some Observations on Ulceration of the Kidneys, with Cases; pp. 465-472, 481-489.
- Vol. II., A.D. 1829. Facts relating to the Influence of Decomposing Animal Matter in producing Fevers; pp. 1-7, 17-24, 33-39.
  - Cases of Neuralgia, or Painful Affections of Nerves; pp. 97-102, 113-118, 129-135, 145-151, 177-185.
  - Nosological Place of Neuralgia; pp. 209.
- Vol. III., A.D. 1830. Influence of the Climate of St. Augustine, Fla., on Pulmonary Affections; pp. 713-718.
- Vol. XV., A.D. 1836. Aneurism of the External Iliac Artery; pp. 309-313, 331-334.
- Vol. XVII., A.D. 1837. Medical Memoranda; a Letter from Europe; pp. 229-231.
  - American Crania; pp. 249-253.
- Vol. XVIII., A.D. 1838. Letter from Europe; pp. 42-46.

- Vol. XXVI., A.D. 1842. Removal of the Maxillare Superius, for a Cephalomatous Disease; pp. 9-15.
  - Massachusetts General Hospital: Surgical Cases treated; pp. 171-173, 205-207, 220-221.
- Vol. XXXV., A.D. 1846. Inhalation of Ethereal Vapor, for the Prevention of Pain in Surgical Operations; pp. 375-379.
- Vol. XXXVI., A.D. 1847. Valedictory to the Medical School; pp. 138-142.
- Vol. XLII., A.D. 1850. More Deaths from Chloroform; pp. 49-52. Address to American Medical Association; pp. 406.
- Vol. LII. Section of the Os Femoris; pp. 289-292.

## American Journal of the Medical Sciences.

- Vol. III., A.D. 1828. On an Operation for the Cure of Natural Fissure of the Soft Palate; pp. 1-3.
- Vol. V., A.D. 1829. An Account of the Siamese Twins, Brothers united together from their Birth; pl. 1, pp. 253-256.
- Vol. X., A.D. 1832. Two Cases of Accidents from Admission of Air into the Veins during Surgical Operations; pp. 545-548.
- Vol. XIII., A.D. 1833. Removal of the Clavicle in a State of Osteo-Sarcoma; pp. 17-20. Non-existence of Vagina remedied by an Operation; pp. 79, 80.
- Vol. XIX., A.D. 1836. Aneurism of the External Iliac Artery; Ligature to this Artery; Death; pp. 541-546.

#### NEW SERIES.

- Vol. III., A.D. 1842. Removal of the Os Maxillare Superius, for a Cephalomatous Disease; pp. 506-510.
- Vol. VIII., A.D. 1844. On the Bilateral Operation of Lithotomy, and on Lithotrity in the Female; pp. 293-308.
- Vol. IX., A.D. 1845. Cases of Strangulated Hernia, with some Remarks, principally intended to show the Necessity of an Early Resort to the Operation; pp. 13-29.

- Vol. X., A.D. 1845. Peculiar Case of Gelatiniform Cancer, in which nearly all the Organs of the Body contained Colloid Tumors, with the Appearances on Dissection; pp. 527-531.
- Vol. XIII., A.D. 1847. Inhalation of Ethereal Vapor for the Prevention of Pain in Surgical Operations; pp. 260-262.
- Vol. XVII., A.D. 1849. Effects of Chloroform as a Narcotic Agent; pp. 379-401.
- Vol. XIX., A.D. 1850. On the Prevention of Constipation; pp. 291-298.

## Proceedings of Boston Society of Natural History.

#### VERBAL.

Vol. II., A.D. 1847. Dinornis Gigas, Nov. 3. Mastodon Elephantoides, Nov. 17.

Vol. III., A.D. 1848. Entering New Building, Jan. 5.

Comparison of Dinornis Gigas with the Ostrich and Dodo, Jan. 5.

Ether as an Excitant, Feb. 15.

On the Collection made by the United-States Exploring Expedition, and Mastodon Remains, June 7.

Species of Mastodons, Jan. 3, 1849.

Geological Position of Mastodon, Feb. 7.

The Zeuglodon. — Three Peruvian Skulls, May 16.

Tradition of the Delaware Indians, June 6.

The American Manatus, Nov. 21.

The Plesiosaurus Dolichodeirus and Fossil Saurians, Dec. 5.

Comparative Value of American Sandstones, Feb. 20, 1850.

Donation from Honorable East-India Company, Nov. 6.

Additional Casts from do. do. do. Nov. 20.

Vol. IV., A.D. 1852. Mastodon Angustidens (a tooth), Nov. 17, 1851.

Importance of introducing Foreign Fish into our Waters, Dec. 15.

Ornithichnites, Fossil Footmarks ("American Traveller," Dec. 1, 1853).

#### WRITTEN.

On First Vol. of Transactions of the Royal Society, April 5, 1848. Vol. IV., A.D. 1852. Felis Smilodon, Oct. 6, 1852.

Great Bird of Madagascar, Oct. 20, 1852 ("American Traveller," Oct. 23).

Nautilus, April, 1856.

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Vol. II., April 6, 1852. Visit to the Eppelsheim Fossils, and Dinotherium Giganteum; pp. 305-310.

## Medico-Chirurgical Transactions,

PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL MEDICAL AND CHIRURGICAL SOCIETY.

- Vol. XXVII., 1844. Peculiar Case of Gelatiniform Cancer, in which nearly all the Organs of the Body contained Colloid Tumors, with the Appearances on Dissection; pp. 385-398.
- Vol. XXIX., 1846. 11. History of a Case of Ligature of the Left Subclavian Artery, between the Scaleni Muscles, attended with some Peculiar Circumstances; pp. 25-36.

# LIST

OF

# THE LARGER SURGICAL OPERATIONS

By Dr. J. C. WARREN.

Performed at the Massachusetts General Hospital, from 1821 to 1840.

#### AMPUTATIONS.

1822.	
Feb. 5. Francis Vanvacton . Amputation of leg	Died.
	Recovd.
Dec. 20. John F. Manco , , , both legs .	"
1824.	,,
Mar. 27. William C. Stone , ,, thigh	";·
The 4 William Tittlefold	Died.
Dec. 4. William Littlefield . ,, ,, ,,	71
	Recovd.
Aug. 22.   Moses Cheney   ,, ,, arm	,,
Dec. 17. Luther Haskell , ,, leg	"
Dec. 9. Levi Stearns , , , thigh	,,
1827.	"
May 9. John Currier , , , ,	,,
1828.	
Mar. 20. Margaret Swiss , , , arm May 9. John Cleverly , , , thigh	7), 1
May 9. John Cleverly , , , thigh   1829.	Died.
Mar. 5. Abigail Day , , , , F	Recovd.
May 30. Henry Mills , , , , ,	Died.
	Recovd.
1830. Feb. 26. Elias Hine	
Nov 27 Moses Chase	Died.
7) // // // // // // // // // // // // //	Recovd.
VOL. II. 45	ecco i di

## AMPUTATIONS (continued).

1832.	I						i
Jan. 7.	Robert Caswell	Amputation	of	thigh			Recovd.
Oct. 20.	Joseph Bragdon	,,	,,	,,			,,
,, 26.	Charles West	"		"			,,
Nov.	Mary C. White	"	,,	,,			,,
1833.	•						
Jan. 11.	Eliza Law	,,	,,	,,			,,
,, 18.	Benjamin Nourse	,,	,,	leg .			,,
Dec. 28.	Hannah W. Andrews	"	22	thigh			,,
1834.				Ü			
Jan.	Hosea Sargent	,,	,,	22 -			Died.
,, 29.	Patrick Donnahoe .	,,	,,	leg .			,,
Nov. 8.	Hannah Bray	"	,,	arm.			Recovd.
1836.							
Feb. 26.	Daniel Fuller	,,	,,	leg .			Died.
April 8.	James Neal	,,	,,	arm.			,,
June 2.	Jenny Ryan	,,	,,	leg &	thig	gh	,,,
Dec. 17.	Mary Tyrrell	22	,,	thigh			Recovd.

## SECTION OF NERVES.

1823. Feb. 26.	Simeon Searle.	• •	Division of facial nerve at stylo-mastoid foramen for facial neuralgia	Cured.
1824. Apr. 29. 1834.	Polly Sucker .		Div. of infra-orbitar nerve.	**
Oct. 24. 1839.			Div. of facial nerve (Operation performed 3 times.)	Relieved,
Mar. 24.	Peggy Andrews		Div. of infra-orbitar nerve.	Cured,

# Removal of Tumors of the Neck requiring Deep Dissection.

4000		-1						
1826. Oct. 19. 1829.	Joseph Blanchard		Tumor of neck					Recovd.
Nov. 21.	Mary Boswell		,, ,,					"
	Abigail Durant		" "	٠				22
1831. Oct. 22.	Ephraim Jones							Died.
1832.	Ephraim Jones		" "	•	•	•	٠	Died.
Dec. 23.	Joshua King		,, ,,					Recovd.
1833.	~ ~	1						
Sept. 16.	Caroline L. Stone		" "	٠	٠	٠	۰	"
Nov. 16.	Mary Wilson		,, ,,	٠		•	•	"

## REMOVAL OF TUMORS OF THE NECK (continued).

1835. May 30. June 13. 1836. Sept. 23. 1839.	Nicholas Colby Oliver Howard Eunice Young.	٠		Tumor	behind j of neck		:	:		Recovd.
Nov. 16. 1840.	Hannah Foster	٠	٠	"	**	٠	٠	•	•	,,
Jan. 11. Dec. 5.	Isaac Bartlett . Asa Cole			"	"			:		Mch. rel. Recovd.

# REMOVAL OF TUMORS ATTACHED TO SUPERIOR OR INFERIOR MAXILLA, . WITH PORTIONS OF BONE.

1825. Feb. 15.	James Cook	Removal of greater part of inferior maxilla	Recovd.
June 8?	Mary Very	Rem. tumor from antrum .	
Dec. 6.	James Leavit		"
1831.	James Leavit	" half lower jaw	"
May 26.	Mary I. Pomeroy	,, superior maxilla	,,
1832.		· ·	,,
Nov. 17.	Humphrey Whittier .	Rem. large portion superior maxilla	
Nov. 28.	Adonijah Ball	Rem. ditto ditto	"
1838.	Audinjan Dan	item. ditto ditto	"
Sept. 21.	Charlotte Daniels	Rem. large portion inferior	
-		maxilla	"
1839.			
May 25.	Nancy Farrington .	Rem. ditto ditto	,,
1840.	7		//
Apr. 18.	Lucy Dane	Rem. ditto ditto	,,

## LITHOTOMY.

									-		
1821. Oct. 18. 1824.	Elisha Goodnow		•	Lithotomy					•		Recovd.
Dec. 10.	Michael Myron	٠	•	"		•.				•	,,
June 4.	Stephen Henry	•	•	, , , ,	•			•	•		,,
Jan. 9. 1833.	John Ingersol .	•	•	,,	•		•	٠	٠	•	"
Nov. 16. 1834.	John Hastings .	•	•	,,	•	•	٠		٠	٠	,,
Dec. 3.	Hugh Wallace.			**					٠	•	,,

## OPERATIONS FOR ANEURISM.

1821. Oct. 24.	Hannah Norris	Poplitæal, lig. of femoral .	Cured.
1823. Feb. 10.	William Chase	Crural, ",",	"
Dec. 29.	Elizabeth Jones	Ulnar artery, lig. of ulnar.	"
Nov. 16. 1826.	Mathew Mentor	Of femoral, lig. of ext. iliac	,,
Dec. 23.	John Benson	Of trachial, lig. of trachial	"
Oct. 20.	Dorcas Caskin	Ophthalmic, section of temporal	_99
1833. Dec. 14.	William H. Prince .	Of poplitæal, lig. of fem'ral	,,
1834. Dec. 11.	Peter Brainard	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	,,
1836. Nov. 5.	Samuel Brown	,, ,, ,, ext. iliac	Died.

## Excision of Tumors of Breast.

1824.						D 1
Sept.28.	Emma Darbey	Excision of	brea	ast		Recovd.
1825.						,,
June 8.	Hannah Felton	99 99	,,,		•	"
1827.	77 1 77 7 1					
Nov. 5.	Phæbe Bradstreet .	", "	,,,		•	"
Dec. 10.	Mary Whitney	", "	99		•	"
1828.	3/f To:11-11					
May 17.	Mary Riddell	19 99	"	• •		"
June 4.	Chloe Chamberlain .	19 99	99		•	"
Sept. 3.	Jerusha Carlisle	" "	,,,	• •	•	"
1830.	Elina Esmanus					
Dec. 18.	Eliza Farnsworth	" "	"	• •	•	"
Dec. 18.	Rebecca Eames	19 99	"		•	"
1831.						(Died from air
Dec. 24.	Nancy Bunker	,, ,,	,,,	• •	•	entering axilla-
Dec. 31.	Jemima Howard	,, ,,	,,			Recovd.
· 1832.						
Nov. 3.	Mary O. Dobbin	,, ,,	99			,,
1835.						
Mar. 14.	Sarah Coggswell	,, ,,	,,			,,
1836.						
July 28.	Mary Ann Hemans .	,, ,,	,,,			,,
1837.	7 4 6 11			, .	1 \	D: 1
Apr. 13.	Ruth Colby	11 11	,,,	(erysip	elas)	
Oct. 2.	Louisa Lewis	,, ,,	,,			Recovd.
					-	

### APPENDIX.

### STAPHYLORAPHY.

1824. May 12. 1839.	Fidelia Jacobs .	 Staphyloraphy		 Cured.
	Eliza Ripley .	 ,,		 Mch. rel.

# MISCELLANEOUS OPERATIONS.

1822.			
Nov. 29.	Caroline Church	Removal of carious edges	
		of 7th and 8th ribs	Recovd.
1823.		-	
Jan. 6.	Abigail Hounslow .	Large fatty tumor of back	,,,
May 5.	James Whittemore .	Necrosis of tibia. Two se-	- 1
		questra (one 6 in., one	Mah mal
1824.		7 in., in length) removed	Mch. rel.
Sept.27.	Eliza Burbank	Paracentesis thoracis (re-	
Sep. 211	21110 2 01 001111	cord incomplete)	
June 17.	Harriet Smith	Schirrous tumor removed	
		from abdominal muscles	Recovd.
1827.			
Jan. 2.	William Kerr	Strangulated hernia	,,
Mar. 19.	Daniel Robins	Cancer of tongue removed	,,
June 12.	Betsy Dyer	Removal of cicatrix of burn from neck	
1828.		from neck	,,
Oct. 8.	David Walker	Rem. of tumor from groin	Died.
1829.	20114 () 444161	The state of the s	Dicu.
May 8.	Asa Dearborn	Rem. of tumor from axilla	,,
May 27.	Hanson Hinds	Rem. of anomalous bones	
T 0		from elbow-joint	Recovd.
June 9.		Rem. of tumor of conjunc-	
1831.		tiva	"
Jan. 31.	Bridget McKenny .	Vesico-vagina fistula	Mch. rel.
May 26.	Joseph Snow	Rem. of tumor of back at-	MICH. 161.
	o coopii iolio ii	tached to scapula	Recovd.
1832.		1	
Feb. 6.	Cath. Larking	Trephining for epilepsy .	Cured.
Nov. 11.	Daniel Smith	Extirpation of clavicle	Died.
1833.	T T 3		
Feb. 16.	Lucy Lund	Operation for occlusion of	
		vagina: no external open- ing	Cured.
Sept.11.	Peter Loring	Removal of eye	Recovd.
Nov. 16.	John Horner	Amputation of tongue	,,
Nov. 16.	Simeon D. Sanburn .	Removal of eye	"
		*	, ,,

## MISCELLANEOUS OPERATIONS (continued).

1834.			1
Aug. 29.	Simeon J. Sargent .	Operation for necrosis of lower jaw	Recovd.
Oct. 16. 1835.	John Rugg	Excision of elbow-joint .	"
Sept. 22. 1838.	Abigail M. Jernigan .	Tumor removed from thigh	"
Mar. 30.	Abijah Penneman .	Large tumor of back removed	Well.
May 11.	Roger Gleason	Amputation of tongue	
Oct. 9.	Rufus Stowe		Died.
Oct. 24. 1839.	William Wilson	Q. 1	noted.
Jan. 4.	Mary McGowan	Operation for prolapsus	
0 00220	11202 9 1120 00 11 012 0		Relieved.
May 18.	Cordelia Curtis	Large encephaloid tumor	zeciio i cu.
1842.			Mch. rel.
Oct. 9.	Samuel Chandler	Reduc. of dislocated thigh	
		up and backwards (six	
		weeks)	Well.

## EARLY OPERATIONS FOR CATARACT.

									-	
1822. Nov. 19. 1823.	Mary Kenny .			Double	cataract				•	Cured.
Feb. 10. Apr. 23.	Lydia Estes Lewis Cook	•	•	Single	,,	•		•		Mch. rel.
1824.										
Feb. 14. Mar. 2.	Edward Richards Ann Stowe			Double	"	٠	•	٠	٠	Cured.
Mar. 15.	John Reed			"	"		:		:	Cured. Mch. rel.
July 20.	Benjamin L. Fay				"					Cured.

## NUMBER OF OPERATIONS TO 1840, IN ADDITION TO ABOVE.

Cured				11
Much relieved	à			5
Relieved				2
Not relieved.				1
Total				10

# LIST

OF

## THE LARGER SURGICAL OPERATIONS

BY DR. J. C. WARREN.

Performed at the Massachusetts General Hospital since 1840.

1840.		
Jan. 11.	Dolly Bannister	Removal of tumor from arm.
Mar. 14.	Susan Kingsbury	", ", part of lower jaw. Amputation at metatarsal joint.
April 3.	Nahum Kingsbury .	Amputation at metatarsal joint.
",	Persis Johnson	Tumor removed from thigh.
June 27.	Hannah Merrill	", ", breast.
Oct. 28.	Hugh Garvin	Trephining.
Dec. 5.	Asa Cole	Removal of tumor from neck.
Dec. 19.	Harriet D. Clarke .	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
1841.		
Jan. 16.	John Polson	Necrosis of clavicle.
Mar. 10.	Stillman Hubbard .	Amputation of arm.
Mar. 17.	Anstice Ray	Division of plantar aponeurosis, twice.
Apr. 21.	Ellen Shum	Dislocation of hip; old, reduced.
May 25.	A. C. Mercer	Trephining.
Aug. 21.	Deborah Soule	Removal of breast.
Oct. 10.	J. P. Fenno	Puncture of bladder by rectum.
Dec. 4.	John Garland	Removal of left upper jaw.
1842.		
Feb. 5.	George Thompson .	Lithotomy.
Mar. 5.	Charlotte Watkins .	Removal of tumor from upper jaw.
Apr. 10.	Samuel Hoyt	Strangulated hernia.
May 21.	James Brown	Reduction of dislocation of right hip.
Aug. 12.	W. R. Stoddard	, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Aug. 19.	Rebecca H. Eaton .	Amputation of breast.
Sept. 24.	Franklin Johnson	
Nov. 5.	William B. Lamprey.	Necrosis of tibia.
Dec. 17.	Patrick Sullivan	Amputation of foot.
1843.	27 d D 1	D 1 0.
Jan. 14.	Nathan Burnham	0 3
Mar. 11.		" " " from neck.
97 99	Absalom Miller	,, ,, ,, ,,

1843.		
Apr. 1.	Eliza Mawley	Amputation of breast.
June 9.	W. P. Barnes	Strangulated hernia.
July 21.	Henry Malone	Closing of fistula in trachea.
Sept.24.	Lydia Vaughan	Amputation of breast.
22 22	Nathaniel Pratt (?) .	Left half of lower jaw removed.
Oct. 14.	Elizabeth Picket	Amputation of thigh.
Nov. 18.	Mathew Ryan	Lithotomy.
1844.	2.20020 // 2.5/022 0	
Feb. 8.	James Avery	Ligature of left subclavian.
Mar. 30.	Esther F. Hayward .	Osteo-sarcoma of antrum removed.
Apr. 21.	Samuel Avery	Strangulated crural hernia.
May 24.	Mathew Stearns	Tumor of lower jaw removed.
June 22.	Mehitable H. Wilson.	Removal of eye.
Sept. 4.	George F. Coffin	Ligature of left carotid.
Dec. 14.	Granville L. Bragdon	Amputation of thigh.
Dec. 29.		Ligature of femoral artery.
1845.	11 11 11	
Jan. 5.		
Feb. 8.	Paul Owen (?) . "	Metatarsal bones amputated.
Feb. 15.		Disarticulation of toes, right foot.
Feb. 22.	William N. Shaw	Removal of left upper jaw.
Mar. 6.	Thomas Smith	Amputation of left thigh.
Apr. 15.	Lewis C. Blaisdell .	Trephining.
~		Amputation of left arm.
June 21.	Thomas G. Pillsbury.	Removal of left lower jaw.
Aug. 16.	Hector Holmes	Amputation of left thigh.
Oct. 10.	Sarah Condon	Amputation of breast.
Nov. 8.	John E. Barnes	,, ,, thigh.
Dec. 27.	E. C. Johnston	" " "
1846.		" "
Mar. 29.	Mary Fleming	Amputation of breast.
May 23.	John Hooper	, thigh.
Nov. 6.	Betsey M'Goon	Removal of part of lower jaw.
Dec. 12.	Mary Mulgrave	", ", tumor of upper jaw.
1847.		
Jan. 16.	Aug. Tyler	Dislocation of femur reduced.
Apr. 19.	Hannah Hill	Removal of tumor from thigh.
Apr. 29.	Abigail Merriam	", " " above patella.
July 3.	Francis Manuel	Exarticulation of fibula, and amputa-
	E =	tion of tibia.
Aug. 3.	Cornelius Sullivan .	Operation for ununited fracture of ra-
		dius (pins).
Sept. 4.	S. H. Jones	Amputation of thigh.
Oct. 2.	Francis Manuel	,, ,, leg.
Oct. 29.	Henry Minns	Incision into abdomen for infiltration
		of urine. Patient died.
1848.		
Mar. 11.	Michael McSally	Amputation of thigh.
April 1.	James Neary	" " both feet.
April 8.	Patrick Hartigan	Removal of condyle of humerus.
May 31.	Peter Sewey	,, encephaloid tumor.
Mar. 22.	Francis Conant	Dislocated hip.

## APPENDIX.

1849.					
Apr. 13.	Ann Kennedy	Removal of osteo-sarcoma of jaw.			
Mar. 5.	Patrick Jones	Trephining.			
Mar. 14.	Joshua Armitage	Operation for closure of artificial anus.			
Mar. 17.	John Scammel	Operation for artificial joint for anchy-			
mar. II.	John Scammer	losis of femur.			
Oct. 27.	Joshua Armitage	Operation for closure of artificial anus.			
Oct. 17.	Till 1 (I T) (I	Amputation of breast.			
	James Brady	Amputation of breast.			
May 12.	John Scammel	,, ,, hand.			
Oct. 10.	John Scammer	Breaking down anchylosis.			
1850.	d 1 D	D 1 01			
Mar. 23.	Sarah Page	Removal of breast.			
Apr. 13.	Patrick Fall	Exsection of head of humerus.			
Apr. 20.	Thomas Macon	Necrosis of rib.			
Apr. 29.	Terence Clancey	,, ,, tibia. Section of infra-orbital nerve.			
Oct. 26.	Maria Miller	Section of infra-orbital nerve.			
Nov. 21.	,, ,,	Section of zygomatici, and orbicularis			
		oculi.			
Dec. 4.	,, ,,	Section of supra-orbital nerve.			
1851.		•			
April 5.	John Williams.	Removal of tumor from cheek.			
May 10.	Margaret O'Neil	" ,, exastosis from hand.			
May 14.	Austin Stockwell	Seton through thigh for ununited frac-			
		ture of femur.			
May 24.	Rosanna Murphy	Removal of tumor from back.			
	Wisner Cragin	Exploratory incisions into tumor of			
" "	Wisher Cragin:	thigh.			
		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			
Number of Certain Operations not included in					
74					
	FOREG	oing List.			
Testicles	removed	24			
1 CSUCIOS					
(Of these patients, one died.)  Hydrocele; incision					
Hydrocel	e; incision	12			
,,	seton	4			
,,	injection	10			
"	11,000.01	_ 26			
Various minor operations: such as varicocele; varicose veins; re-					
moval of small tumors; amputations of fingers and toes, hare-					
lips, club-feet, polipi, fistula, &c. Whole number					
Tips, C	and recei, possips, instituta, ce				
	•	278			
0	. in famousin - 1:-4	210			
Operation	as in foregoing list	, 243			
		Total			
		Total			

# OPERATIONS BY DR. WARREN AT THE HOSPITAL,

From May 24, 1851, to the Date of his Resignation in 1853.

1851.		
May 24.	Rosanna Murphy	Tumor of the back.
" "	Wisner Cragin	Encephaloid of the thigh; exploration.
Nov. 5.	C. D. Bradley	Hemorrhoids; ligature.
Dec. 20.	Christian Peterson .	Hydrocele.
1852.	Christian I Cocison .	Trydroccic.
Jan. 3.	James J. Watson	Removal of "cancer of rectum."
Jan. 10.	Margaret M'Guire .	Removal of carious bone.
Jan. 24.	Frank Williams	Tumor of the rectum.
" "	James Lynch	Fistula in ano.
Feb. 1.	Francis Williams	Removal of testis.
Feb. 18.	Charles G. Coggeshall	Fistula in perineo.
Feb. 21.		Exploring the shoulder-joint.
Feb. 28.		Hemorrhoids, by ligature.
" "	George W. Crosby .	Necrosis of femur.
Mar. 10.		
Mar. 10.	Levi Younger	Hemorrhoids.

### LETTER TO HIS SON.

To be opened after my Death, and before the Funeral.

The final and principal object of writing this letter is this, which regards the disposition of my mortal remains after the spirit has quitted them. The arrangement I wish is the following, subject to any peculiar circumstances of season, &c.:—

- 1. Let the body be injected with arsenic after death, soon.
- 2. The funeral solemnities to take place in St. Paul's Church, in the full and proper form of the church-service.
- 3. The body afterwards to be removed to the Medical College; examined or dissected, according to circumstances. Any morbid parts to be carefully preserved; and particular attention is to be paid to the heart, spleen, and prostate gland.
- 4. The bones to be carefully preserved, whitened, articulated, and placed in the lecture-room of the Medical College, near my bust; affording, as I hope, a lesson useful, at the same time, to morality and science.

I earnestly request that you and my family will lay aside any natural feeling of opposition to this my last request; considering that it is for the interest of humanity, and for mine and their honor.

Finally, I take leave of you in the hope of our meeting again, and enjoying the society of our blessed friends who have gone before.

Affectionately,

JOHN C. WARREN.

### DR. J. B. S. JACKSON'S REPORT

OF

### THE POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION.

The body was examined on Thursday, May 8, at half-past ten, A.M., by Dr. J. B. S. Jackson, assisted by Dr. Ellis, and in presence of Drs. James Jackson, Jacob and H. J. Bigelow, J. Homans, Edward Reynolds, S. D. Townsend, D. H. Storer, W. Lewis, O. W. Holmes, J. and M. Wyman, E. H. Clarke, Parsons, Hodges, Cabot, Kneeland, B. Brown, and Gay.

The thorax had previously been opened by Dr. Hodges, for the purpose of injecting the arteries through the aorta with a solution of arsenic; and, in so doing, he discovered important morbid appearances, of which he has given the following report:—

"Upon opening the pericardium, a considerable amount of recent lymph was found, especially in the furrows between the auricles and ventricles and upon the surface of the heart. The fluid of the pericardium contained so much of this lymph as to give it almost a puriform appearance. There were about two ounces of this fluid. These appearances were also observed by Dr. C. D. Homans, who assisted me; and so marked were they, that it was questioned whether any one else should be called to see them, as it was evident, that owing to the opening in the pericardium, and to the arsenic that would unavoidably be spilt into the cavity, but little traces of them would be found at the autopsy." There were not any traces, in fact, of the inflammation observed at the autopsy; but, on the contrary, it was remarked that the serous membrane retained a perfectly natural polish.

The heart was healthy. In the right cavities was a considerable quantity of coagulated blood and fibrine; and, in the left auricle,

some soft, dark coagula. In the aorta there was a pretty extensive atheromatous deposit, with some ossification at the arch and near the iliac arteries.

Extensive soft, old, pleural adhesions were found upon the left side, with a much less amount of the same upon the right. Also an adhesion at each apex posteriorly, to a small extent; closer, firmer, and, without doubt, directly connected with the diseased lungs. At each apex, these organs showed the remains of former tubercular disease. Upon the right side were several masses, more or less cretaceous, dry, white, surrounded by a dark-gray, firm tissue, and, on an average, half as large as a pea. Just beneath the surface, and corresponding to the adhesion above referred to, was a cavity, half an inch or more in diameter, and filled with a white, old, putty-like, tubercular matter; and in the interior of the apex was found a second, smaller, but similar cavity. The left apex also contained some old cretaceous and curdy deposit, though much less than the right. The surface at each apex, and to the extent of perhaps two inches, had a wilted, puckered look, and felt stiff. Upon incision of the right, the structure was coarse and cellular, and the color dark-gray to the depth of a line or more; an appearance which, being frequently seen at this part of the lungs, and not elsewhere, may be regarded as evidence of some former tubercular affection, even though there may not be, as there often is, the characteristic deposit. At the left apex, this wilted appearance was quite superficial; otherwise, the lungs were healthy. Cartilages of the larynx much ossified; though those of the ribs were as readily cut as they would have been in the case of a young adult.

Peritoneum healthy.

The alimentary canal was opened throughout; but nothing unusual was found, except in the stomach. This organ was of moderate size, and the mucous surface was smeared over thickly with a whitish, pasty mucus. In the small curvature was a well-defined, morbid growth, measuring one and a half inches to one inch in extent, about three-fourths of an inch in height, extending to within two-thirds of an inch of the pylorus. It was fleshy to the feel, though the consistence seemed to vary in different parts, and the surface

was somewhat vascular. Having been cut through lengthwise, this growth was seen to have originated in, if it was not still confined to, the mucous membrane; the muscular coat beneath it, which was also cut through, being quite healthy, and the submucous-cellular very nearly if not quite so. The cut surface was not remarkably vascular; in regard to consistence, it felt more flabby than before incision, though not readily broken down; and, as to its general appearance, it more nearly resembled some forms of encephaloid than any other structure. The stomach, otherwise, was quite healthy, and as much so immediately about the diseased mass as elsewhere.

The liver was quite firm, and rather small. Gall-bladder well filled with bile of a syrupy consistence.

The spleen had almost a grumous softness, and upon the surface were extensive, old, peritoneal adhesions. Pancreas healthy.

The kidneys were firm, and somewhat congested; and the investing membrane was, in some parts, more adherent than usual. No structural change, except in the left; where, upon and just beneath the surface, a defined portion of the organ had an ochrey discoloration to the extent of perhaps two lines, and without any other obvious change. No calculi. Ureters small.

The bladder contained a large quantity of urine, and, though it rose four inches above the pubes, was not distended. The muscular coat, as seen upon the inner surface, was generally strongly marked, but without thickening of the organ. Upon the left side, and towards the base, were two sacs, or rather protrusions, lying side by side: one would have held, perhaps, two ounces or more; and the other, one-third as much. There was nothing like a contracted orifice, as in the common sacculated bladder; but they communicated largely with the general cavity, and strongly suggested the idea of the interior of a camel's stomach. The outline of the largest of these two sacs was quite visible externally; the parietes were rather thinner; and the appearance of muscular fibres, internally, was decidedly less marked than elsewhere. In the cavity of the organ were found four calculi; of which the following is a description, with the chemical analysis by Dr. John Bacon:—

"The four calculi are of a brownish color externally, of irregular, cuboidal forms, and each about half an inch in diameter. Though covered by a network of imperfect crystals, they are tolerably smooth, with polished facets from mutual attrition. One, which has been sawed open, presents several concentric layers, surrounding a dark-colored nucleus. The whole mass is more or less crystalline and friable.

"On analysis, it is composed of oxalate of lime, with a small proportion of phosphate of lime, and the usual trace of organic matter. The dark-colored central portion and the outer layer contain only traces of phosphate of lime. This is found in larger amount in the intermediate flesh-colored laminæ. The interlacing crystals with which the exterior is covered consist of oxalate of lime.

"John Bacon."

The prostate gland was one-third or one-half as large again as natural, and the "middle lobe" formed quite a prominent little tumor. The structure of the gland was not remarkable.

Three phlebolites were found in the vesical veins; and one of these must have been comparatively of recent formation, being quite free, coated over the surface with fibrine, and closely connected with one extremity of a slender coagulum.

Very marked appearances of acute inflammation were found about the left wrist. The integuments were infiltrated with serum in the palm of the hand and in the fore-arm; the light cellular tissue about some of the flexor tendons was ecchymozed; the whole articulated surface of the wrist-joint was smeared over with pus, though without redness or ulceration; a small quantity of thick pus was also found in the fibro-cellular tissue beneath the annular ligament, and between the flexor tendons and the carpal bones; and a trace of the same was found in the palm of the hand towards the fingers. Several other joints were examined; but this was the only one that was found inflamed.

Very near to where the subclavian vessels upon the right side pass over the first rib, one or two drops of thick recent pus were found, and it appeared to have been effused into the cellular tissue; this last showing no other appearance of inflammation, but looking quite healthy after the pus was removed, as did the tissues into which the pus was effused in the hand. The neighboring veins were cut open, and found healthy; and one or two lymphatic ganglions were red, but without any other marked change.

The head was not examined.

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