

HISTORY
of the
MEDICAL SOCIETY
of the
STATE OF CALIFORNIA
By
J. ROY JONES, M.D.

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PUBLISHED BY
THE HISTORICAL COMMITTEE OF THE
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DEDICATED TO
THE HISTORICAL COMMITTEE OF THE
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Foreword

IT IS WITH GREAT PRIDE and pleasure that the Historical Committee of the Sacramento County Medical Society, historically known as the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement, presents this first edition of the History of the California Medical Association by our own Dr. J. Roy Jones. Through his MEMORIES, MEN AND MEDICINE and his SADDLE BAGS IN SISKIYOU, and other publications, Doctor Jones is known to students of western history and, in particular, medical western history, as a devoted student, a relentless researcher and a pillar of accuracy and authority in his avocation as a medical historian. This volume represents years of painstaking study and research in the California State Library and the various medical libraries and historical sources in California. Our committee deemed it of the greatest importance that the manuscript be put to print and this heroic story be preserved for all those interested to read and enjoy, and the tale preserved for future generations. In time, we are sure, it will become the outstanding source book in its field.

The committee wishes to acknowledge with sincere gratitude the contributions of numerous groups and organizations whose generosity and support have made this book possible.

Again, with real pride, great pleasure and deep gratitude to the author and to our contributors.

Historical Committee
Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement

DAVE F. DOZIER, M. D.

Preface

FROM ITS BEGINNING, the first half century of life history of the Medical Society of the State of California disclosed a real, living and forceful personality; an association that had emanated from the loins of the kind of men from which a new empire was hewed; and wherein antipathy, controversy, polemics and insurgency had produced primary multiple failures, yet because of, out of, those very adversities there ultimately resulted a well-merited, enduring success.

The characters parading across that era came from over the world, and furnished for study American medical life as it existed in, and reflected upon, a loosely woven, irresponsible and undeveloped western hemisphere.

The author's abridged story is an attempt to depict and evaluate the formation and progress of a state medical society throughout a period of approximately fifty years, and written five decades after the beginning of such an era.

How did those doctors differ one from the other? How did they differ from other men? What was the something that seemingly set them all apart? There has been an effort to depict their striving . . . struggling . . . race for life; to report it as vividly and realistically—simply, too, for there is a laymen interest in such—as has been the chronicler's ability to independently and factually follow the footsteps of such men and events, often hopelessly imperceptible through a time that was long past.

The pilgrimage sought to expose the great whole and leave minutiae-tangents to others with a greater specialty interest; tangents, too, that take up more space than is warranted. There are, there must be, limitations . . . however difficult. Every tempting character and event, naturally, could not be included because of this space limitation.

The evaluation of characters is so often difficult. Time makes it more so. Some individuals are latent, deep, solitary . . . others are effusive, show great motive force, and leave for scrutiny

Preface

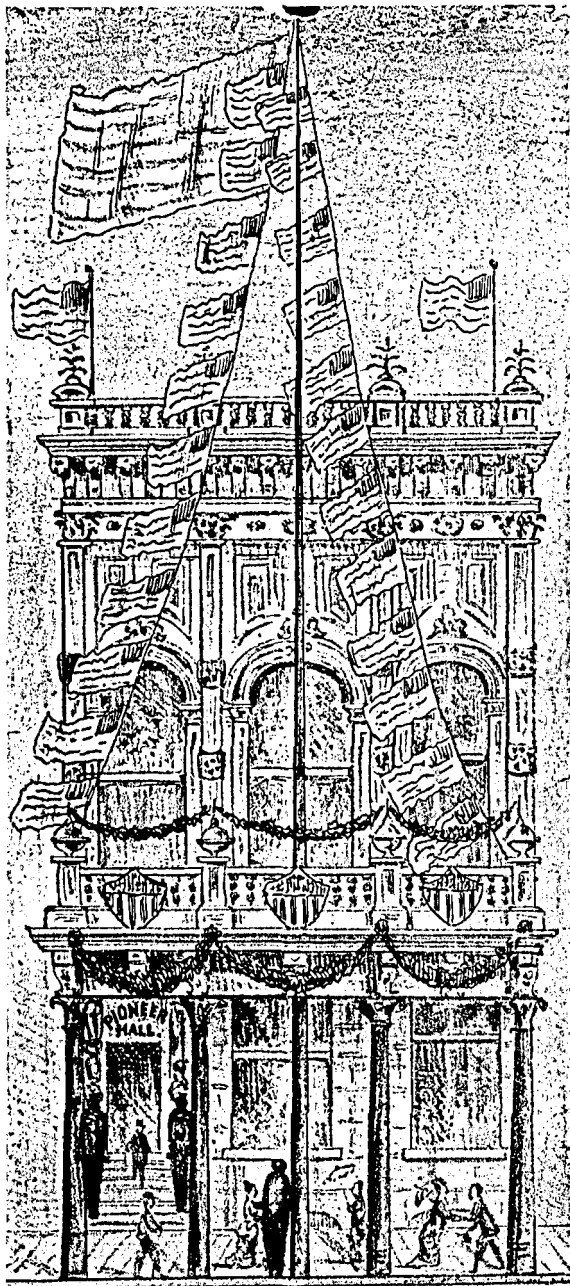
many essays on medicine and other subjects, whereby and wherein a character estimate was granted; age must be considered also: for greater tolerance and more caution are accredited to the more mature, while greater courage, aspiration, confidence and innovation are innate assets granted those of more tender years. Are the larger traits of character—as some contend—fixed, and remain so, from cradle to the grave? It is asked if the broad and essential traits become established at a very early age and later vary but little? The philosophers seem not in accord on "What is character?"; therefore, this writer hopes the reader will suffer with him in his characterizations. Research, and evaluation secondary to that study, have permitted the assessments given.

Biographical material, with a few biographies, have been scattered here and there. To have included a sketch of each president of the State Society would have afforded an impractical semblance, and presented, I fear, tiresome reading.

The author gratefully acknowledges the kindly encouragement, and the considerate suggestions and corrections of the Manuscript by the Chairman—Dr. J. Marion Read—of the Committee on History and Obituaries of the California Medical Society; the willing, attentive and positive aid received from all at the Stanford-Lane Medical Library, San Francisco, California, and the California Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California; to Robert A. Peers, M. D., Palo Alto, California, past president of the California State Medical Society, for character reflections; to John W. Green, M. D., Vallejo, California, past president of the California State Medical Society, for his aid in procuring information on an earlier past president, Dr. John Mills Browne; to Dewey R. Powell, M. D., Stockton, California, for his prompt and willing aid in coordinating information regarding past president George A. Shurtleff, M. D.; to M. Charlson for reading and correcting manuscript; and to those bibliographic accreditings of libraries, newspapers, medical magazines, et cetera, an especial mention is intended because they, in essence, are the supply and demand of any historical research: the bases of an era's historical concepts—its men and women and their affairs and interests.

J. ROY JONES

Fairfax, California
July, 1957.



HALL BELONGING TO THE SACRAMENTO SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS, ON 7TH ST.
BET. J. & N., DECORATED OCT. 22^D 1879, IN HONOR OF GEN. GRANT.

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Chapter I

Early Organization, 1848-1855

WHENEVER and wherever civilized man has migrated, his institutions have accompanied him, and the pattern of life in any new locale comes to resemble, with time, the man's former residence. During the Nineteenth Century there was a great western movement in the United States. Migration to this western territory is not a story of one nation, for scarcely any country throughout the world was unrepresented. *All the kingdoms and all the tongues of the earth were represented*, said Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr. It was an area and in an era of unrecognizable boundary lines, and in to the West poured a *potpourri* of cosmopolite elements. It was a peculiar and unrelated assemblage of nationalities; an assemblage wherein was found a strange blending of habits, customs and peculiarities—a diversified, detached and picturesque grouping which formed a heterogeneous total, never before seen, anywhere, anyplace; *a civilization touching barbarity; christianity, paganism; the remote, the present.*

To understand, to know, to appreciate the West of that Golden Era and subsequent thereto, it became essential that neighbor know neighbor, to know something of one another's past, the country from whence they came and the conditions under which they had previously lived. To understand themselves, these men had need to grasp and comprehend the philosophy of those around them. Rather dexterously did these migrants come to be an integral part of California's commonwealth, the realm wherein resided a cross section of the world.

Pioneers to California, in the main, were of a singularly tough fibre. Weaklings fell by the wayside, and as the fragile and wasted individuals knew but one fatal illness, they came to be

survived by robust, irresistible, seemingly inexhaustible fellow creatures. Pain, pleasure, and exertion of the will were uppermost in the life of a pioneer, and, by the same token, such influences created advancement and a steady, constant progress. Many of the mushroom cities of California's gold rush era came to know fires, floods and epidemics—each, too often, effecting severe virulence. Nonetheless, adversity forbade fancied security and neglect but rather created an attention and resolve and brought forth wise counsellors and astute leaders. *Need* does not remain a vacuum forever; always, ultimately, a restorative medium seems to partially or completely fill the void. A Guiding Hand purposefully replaced forgetfulness to these adventurers, calmed their fears, nursed their physical and mental pangs, and drew a veil over past lurid scenes and experiences. Thereby, incentive was granted opportunity to face probabilities and accomplish possibilities.

Among the vast hordes pouring into California were many physicians with social and professional backgrounds as varied as were the places from whence they came. Some were but ephemeral characters, flitting sprightly over the sands of Western progress, so transient they scarce left an imprint. Others, many others, became valued constituents of their communities, not as medical practitioners alone but politically and culturally too, and several were later to receive national and international acclaim.

As Sacramento City became the mining center during California's gold rush era, so, too, it became the medical center. Early practitioners of the medical art came West mostly to mine for gold wealth, and confidently anticipated a prompt return to the States. Doctors and traveling associates came westward both by the overland and by the sea routes. Those sailing farther northward entered San Francisco's port, and nine-tenths of these took passage to Sacramento City. By 1851, Sacramento's City Directory listed eighty-eight doctors. Many, however, remained too short a time to have even a listing, while others merely passed through a *City* which, in 1848, was no more than an *unclaimed wilderness*. Some of these physicians hurried excitedly through Sacramento City to outlying river beds and mountainous ravines. Mostly, doctors found mining a disillusionment and before or by 1856 returned to Sacramento to see the *unclaimed wilderness* of 1848, which through the impetus of

a steadily increasing population and pioneer ingenuity, had become a city with *many substantial buildings*, a completed and functioning railroad, an established telegraph system, and stage line and steam navigating companies. Sacramento City's three-story Golden Eagle Hotel enjoyed a nice reputation as a luxurious, centrally located, hospitable refuge. The hotel lobby husbanded arrivals, new and old, and listened to confessions of men from over the world, men speaking in many languages. Some were suffering disappointment and confusion. It was not unusual to note an occasional dreamer mirroring his thoughts while standing in a secluded corner, or a frustrated one leaning against a hitching post outside, gazing into space—seeking, searching what might be his possibilities in this western universe, or conjuring a romance that might have been had he remained in the States. Disciplined to privations, these seekers of metal wealth placed their arms around existing circumstances and began the fight for self. There was realization California was factual, materialistic, ephemeral and transient; and these immigrants were transformed to a land of mystery, not a land of romance. Sympathizers were scarce; life was brutally practical. However, progressive and productive forces everywhere might be seen. Faith, hope, labor . . . spermatic men . . . congregated—a congregation knowing no class—in ravine and mountain cabins, hotel lobbies, mining-shack stores, barrooms and professional offices, to plan, to program, to develop a commonwealth in the West. There were men, too,—many of these western pioneers—who, like Emerson, enjoyed seeing *a fine barn as well as a good tragedy*. The pioneers included thinkers, the venerable with optimistic inspirations; those refusing to back away from life, rather meeting it *head-on*. From this great coterie, professional and other, came the builders of the West.

In 1850, California's medical profession was in a deplorable state. Graduate physicians were held in low repute, to an extent that many deliberately concealed their titles. Some—yes, many—worked at menial tasks by preference; others, by compulsion. It was not because of servile labor that doctors were held in disrepute—honest, productive and faithful labor was, and is, praiseworthy,—but rather owing to imposters and pretenders who, without moral or legal reason, took the title of doctor. These *Doctors*, with avaricious cupidity, deprived

sick and dependent fellow citizens of their last bit of gold dust, and that for but a few professional visits. Many patients were able to pay the *doctor* a reasonable fee but would go without rather than lose all. *In the whole history of the immigration into this vast continent*, said Dr. Thomas M. Logan, *from the first landing of our forefathers on the Atlantic border, down to our last halting-place on the Pacific Ocean, there has never occurred such an amount of suffering and calamity as has accrued since the discovery of gold in California.*

So attractive was news from the Golden West a number of Sacramento's earliest physicians left established practices in the States, and several of them had been past officers of medical societies in their eastern homes. This coterie of physicians were graduates of established medical schools, held strong sentiments toward equity and responsibility, gave more than lip service to their Hippocratic oath, continued to improve an orderly mind even under the disadvantages, met and carried with honor their civic obligations, and worshipped their God as a strictly private matter. Around such a group of Sacramento physicians, under leadership of Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, was formed, on May 2, 1850, the Medico-Chirurgical Association of Sacramento, an association organized for the purpose of *the cultivation of science; the promotion of honor, dignity and interest of the profession, and the separation of the regular from the irregular practitioners.*

When formed, the Sacramento Medico-Chirurgical Association listed thirty-two members, but Dr. Stillman expected, once it was fully organized, there would be a membership of nearly fifty. Dr. John W. Bay, of Albany, New York, was chosen president; Doctors John F. Morse and T. J. White, vice-presidents; Dr. J. H. Briggs, of Patterson, New Jersey, recording secretary; Dr. Wakeman Byerly, treasurer; and Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, corresponding secretary. Stillman, highly elated at organizing Sacramento's most reputable medical practitioners, stated: *Many are men of high standing at home and advanced in years. Three of our officers have been presidents of county societies at home.* The Society had been moulded after the plan of medical societies in the States, utilizing as officers those physicians with past office-holding experience. Care was used in membership selection, to gather in the more stable and better trained doctors. There was feeling this coterie would convey to a meeting local threads of scientific speculation, filaments of indi-

vidual therapeutic observations, become builders of faith in self and other self, and through social communion bring their science to bear on industry, politics, religion, domestic life, and—most important at that moment—on human relations in general.

Dr. Morse, a signally talented and heartening talker, was speaker at the next assembly of the group, 22nd of May. The public was invited to this meeting, and Dr. Morse had the honor of giving the first public address ever delivered in Sacramento on a scientific subject.

Good resolves and high intentions often are transient, and too readily become no more than a flitting state. This was true with the Medico-Chirurgical Association. Ultimately, unfortunately, frictions from within became harder and harder to resolve. That "bug-a-boo," of separating "regulars" from "irregulars" revealed its fretful self—it was to return and reexhibit itself for many years—creating enmities and forming immeasurable chasms and voids impossible to intersect. Efforts at conciliation were fruitless, and the Association disbanded sometime in 1854 or 1855.

Withal, Sacramento's medical practitioners did disclose more elements of harmony and accomplishments than were to be found elsewhere. Some of their numbers envisioned those distinct, tangible assets that organization granted. Sacramento's Medico-Chirurgical Association, though disbanded, had produced wholesome, fruitful lessons too impressionable to ignore. Sacramento was fortunate also in having as citizens and medical practitioners a progressive and productive triad of organizers—Drs. Thomas M. Logan, John F. Morse and Frederick W. Hatch. San Francisco, in 1850, with Sacramento, Marysville and Stockton, was a warehouse of supplies for the mines. All had become nervous, bustling trading centers; San Francisco, metropolitan bound, was attracting shrewd, speculator money. In San Francisco, characteristics of the old California life were to be seen, though a new California now predominated. In such a limited time San Francisco's progress was miraculous, inconceivable. Just a short four years before, on July 8, 1846, Captain Montgomery first raised the American Flag in the Plaza of Yerba Buena, a village with scarcely more than two hundred inhabitants of native Californians, English, Scotch and Irish, and a sprinkling of Swedes, Danes, Swiss, Kanakas, and Indians.

Now, money had become reckless. Improvements everywhere were to be seen. *Wine, women and song* seemed to hold sway; gambling dens were general and *everybody gambled*. The old adobe City Hotel gracefully acceded to her youthful Parker House, the St. Francis and the Union. Famous clippers that had braved Cape Horn passed through the Golden Gate and were 'tying up' at the wharves. This *City of Gold*, this *closest outpost of hell*¹, now enjoyed an estimated population of twenty-five to thirty thousand people, an admixture of *adventurers congregated out of all the winds of heaven*.²

As population increased in certain centers so did the number of physicians multiply. Especially was the increase noted in San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville and Stockton. Among this coterie of physicians were to be found well trained medical school graduates and carefully preceptor-trained doctors—honest, liberal, cultured and seasoned physicians; but, too, as was true with her admixture of lay inhabitants, there existed the well-trained medical school graduate miscreants, the illy trained doctors, those with no organized medical training, the quacks, charlatans, literate and illiterate imposters, all hanging out their *shingles* and, for pecuniary emolument alone, forming a group who immorally and corruptly imposed upon unfortunate sick and injured.

Physicians of today scarcely can conceive medical conditions and practice customs and usages in San Francisco during the Golden Era as compared with traditional medicine in the States. In San Francisco were congregated doctors complete strangers in routines, customs, tastes, as well as countries; a group suddenly brought together in a strange, fruitful, virginal land, wherein and within, under exotic, bizarre circumstances, there had to be formed a companionable social body among the odd admixtures of the medical profession. In a short period of three or four years were assembled as many physicians as it took fifteen to twenty years to realize in an eastern city of comparable size.

California's men of medicine had come West with a sole thought in mind: that of returning in wealth to the States. They had been disillusioned. High costs of meager essentials at the *diggings* dissipated funds, and when, after great travail, their

1 Henry Harris, M. D., *California's Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932. The Grabhorn Press), 12.

2 Robert Louis Stevenson.

golden dreams miscarried, some, through compulsion, returned as doctors to San Francisco. But, withal, these San Francisco physicians came together, June 22, 1850, to organize their first medical society.

They found rentals costly, and sustenance kept towering. General circumstances counteracted their fond hopes, dreams and assumptions, and substituted instead strong and violent sentiments—reflections releasing compelling passions. It is not difficult to understand why their previously stable and rational life might be forgotten! Nor does it seem too unnatural that when their medical society was formed and officers elected their first order of business should be the appointment of a committee to formulate a fee schedule and bring it before the group for adoption. This was done, and the report was accepted at a later meeting. Fees on the schedule were high, exorbitantly so. Some doctors defended the schedule, stating the fees were in line with the general cost of living, and, when all was considered it was their opinion the charges were in ratio to medical fees in the States. Of the original twenty-eight members several repudiated the schedule, though a majority gave it their support for passage. Newspaper criticisms of the schedule were pointed, harsh, and added fuel to a controversy already brimful of tension. Laying the issue over a few months and devoting the Society's time to scientific inquiries and social events might—probably would—have been a remedy. Humble laughter seemed lacking; moralists, for the moment, were not needed; all should have kept their pipes in their mouths! Adjustment and conformity nowhere were to be found. So, doctors began dropping away from the organization, even some who had voted for the Committee's report. Unburied hope was unable to predominate. The few dynamic, durable characters so needed to direct this group's welfare through such a crisis were not present. In consequence, after four months, San Francisco's first medical society surrendered to envy, rivalry, covetousness, and the material.

In 1851 the San Francisco Pathological Society met for the scientific improvement of an active, progressive and aspiring group. Little information can be unearthed regarding the activities of this group, though they carried their title in city directories up to 1863. There seems no doubt that the organization was an office and parlor coterie, small in number though congenial in likes and dislikes, meeting regularly for self-improve-

ment, and through individualistic reports kept abreast of national and international advancement in medicine.

These pioneer doctors' innate individualism—a realism as rugged, insurmountable and invaluable as the Mother Lode itself—indoctrinated a love for their profession and its obligations, a traditional desire of the more intelligent members toward associated effort, interchange of ideas and social improvement resulting therefrom, a condition that always has been and always will be basic for medical body groupings. Too, forever among them will there race a competitive and a combative spirit, as well as a harmonizing fraternization. Medical advancement never will reach an end; to travel a pathway of progress divergence of opinions must be anticipated, and cross-opinions readily act as abrasives. A medical group contact or close association of any scientific body resulting in a trading of ideas has shown itself to be desirable, essential to scientific advancement and a producer of medical progress. In unity there is strength, 'tis true, and if Santayana is correct that *War is but a resisted change*, his statement, in part, somewhat explains portions of early medical society predicaments. By and through individual and group resistances has evolved medicine's enlightened state.

In November, 1853, the San Francisco Medical Society was reorganized. *Officially, at least, it was quack free and highly representative*, stated Henry Harris. A county society, the San Francisco County Medico-Chirurgical Association was *instituted* October 26, 1855. The reorganized San Francisco Medical Society had been a struggling body for two years when was formed this other, the San Francisco County Medico-Chirurgical Association. No particular reason for an added medical group seemed evident unless it was secondary to that era's chronic ailment, disharmony. The faculty of the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific had been credited by some, in essence at least, with birth of the latter society; yet there was no medical faculty until 1858, and the organizer of that first medical faculty had but returned from Europe to the States, not California, in May, 1855, and probably did not reach California before August or September of that year.

The tempo in every walk of life in this Western land was, as yet, not attuned to moderation and tolerance. Those medical men, grouped for unity of purpose, revealed too many eccentric, incalculable, even if intensely illuminating, attributes. It was

well, nonetheless, for from such pristine organizations, composed of the true, just and noble, and the inflated, immoderate and ignoble, were to develop formal organizations with stability and permanence.

Chapter II

First Medical Faculty State Medical Society . . . 1855-1857

THE ORGANIZER of California's first medical faculty, Dr. Elias S. Cooper, returned, as stated, from Europe to the States in May, 1855, and his nephew, Dr. Levi Cooper Lane, wrote that *the State* [California] *Medical Society was organized soon after his arrival*,—organized March 12, 1856. Dr. Cooper, however, was Recording Secretary of the San Francisco County Medico-Chirurgical Association; was he, or was he not, elected at the time of its founding, October 26, 1856? It seems likely he was. Considering all, there is reason to believe his residence in California was not then beyond two months. He arrived a stranger; already an earnest, painstaking and indefatigable student of medicine; a former medical instructor; a co-founder of the Illinois State Medical Society; and a dauntless surgeon from Peoria, with an effective background in the treatment of deformities of the extremities and eye muscle malfunctions.

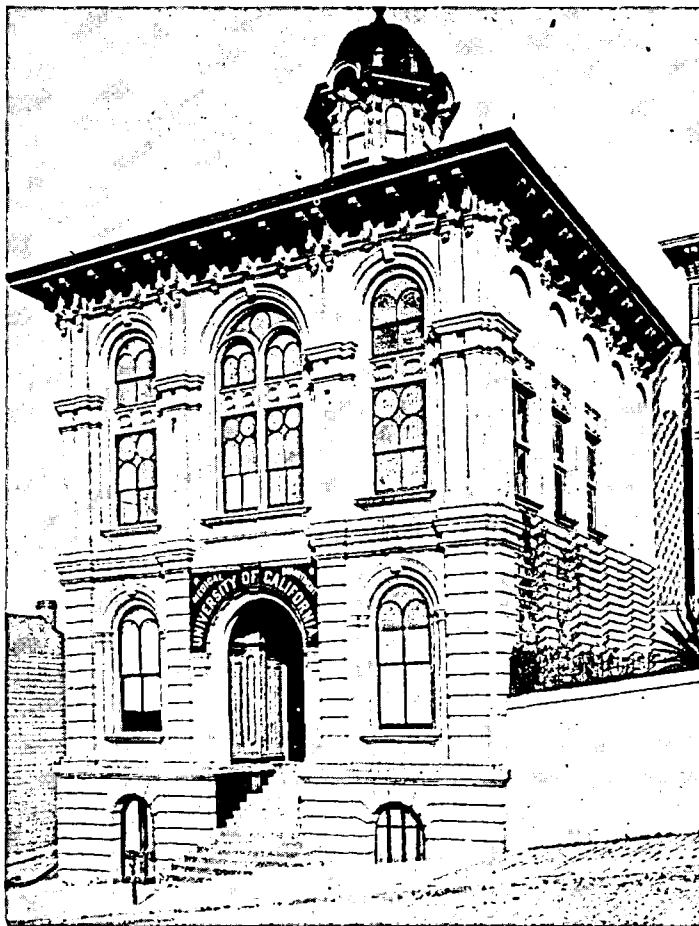
Dr. Cooper was a leader, a gentleman of self-reliance and great courage, and a person with full appreciation of a need for medical association and organization; the assembling of physicians in fellowship for advancement of medical science, for learning through others, for stimulating enthusiasm, and, above all, for improving and further developing human amenities. What was the urge in Cooper that his spirit called him to the West? Surely he came not for the want of the material things of life; already he and they were companions. The Doctor rather envisioned a future Republic on the Pacific, with San Francisco its metropoli-

tan center, envisioned a railroad connecting eastern States with the Pacific west³, and foresaw great possibilities for his ambitions, personal and other. So, to San Francisco he repaired. He came to fulfill a private dream. His restless, forceful, aspiring, confident inner self, unfortunately, was apparently not in harmony—or its very forcefulness would not allow it to be—with Dr. Holmes' philosophy that *The great end of being is to harmonize man with the order of things*. Cooper seemed to lack ability to smooth his way by use of fineries, or to keep step with conformity. Rather, he lived for and within an ambition, stepped out forcefully, and husbanded every moment—and could, because he lived and remained the bachelor.

Cooper violated that article and section of the Code of Ethics which forbade advertising, but, weighing the man's professional and human assets against unwarranted erring, this proverb, though not excusing, solicits tolerance for his and others' frailties: *Find earth where grows no weed and you may find a heart where no error grows*. In later years, Henry Gibbons, Sr., answering a printed attack on the character of a number of medical gentlemen, including the faculty and graduates of the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific, among other things said: *The worst feature of the case is, that Cooper, the special subject of vilification, has been in his grave many years. By common consent, his foibles have been forgotten, and his sterling merits alone remembered. There are few men with so much venom in their hearts as to violate the sanctity of the tomb in such a case for the sake of gratifying a vindictive spirit.*

Dr. Cooper crossed swords with a few of San Francisco's earlier day physicians, who, according to Cooper, *obtained influential positions through political favors and other fortuitous circumstances*. Nonetheless, all was not friction, for Cooper stated that *a more gentlemanly, well educated class of medical men, than the mass of the profession in California, we are convinced cannot be found in any quarter*. Singular and contrasting ideas, however, seemed a natural part of the middle of the nineteenth century, for the confused, fanciful, yet fashionable, movements of spiritualists, phrenologists, mesmerists and other quacks created a stir within youthful San Francisco, not to mention the medical profession. More and more the doctors recognized

3 *San Francisco Medical Press*, January, 1862, 35.



*Toland Medical College, Mid '60s
(later University of California Medical School)*

how necessary that they should meet these many, fast developing State and national problems, as well as elevating the profession, through State organization.

Logan forwarded the following letter to Cooper, Corresponding Secretary for the San Francisco Medico-Chirurgical Association:⁴

⁴ Courtesy Dr. Ludwig A. Emge, San Francisco. Dr. Emge owns the original, presently in Stanford-Lane Medical Library, San Francisco.

Sacramento Feby 3/56

E. S. Cooper, M. D.
Corr. Secy San Francisco County
Med. Chirg. Society -

Dear Sir:

At a stated meeting of the Sacramento Medl. Society held on the 30th ult., I was instructed to communicate to you the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted. - "Resolved - That We the members of the Sac. Medl Society & the San Francisco County Med. Chirg. Society respectfully invite you (the Physician addressed) to meet us in Convention at Sacramento on the 2nd Wednesday of March 1856 for the purpose of an interchange of opinion respecting the expediency of organizing a State Medl. Society." If this resolution meets the approbation of your Society, it can be addressed as a circular signed by the respective Corr. Secretaries (in printed form) through the members of the Legislature now in Session, to every medl man in the State, & a State Society can be organized & a charter obtained before the adjournment of the Legislature.

Prompt concurrent action is therefore respectfully solicited on the part of the Society you represent.

Your Obdt Servt
THOS. M. LOGAN M. D.
Corr. Secy. Sac.
Med Society

There is wonderment Logan did not, too, send this letter to Dr. W. P. Gibbons, Corresponding Secretary of the San Francisco Medical Society. Courtesy would expect as much. In all previous activities, both personal and general, Logan had practiced an unwounding realism, and because of his endowed finesse there is astonishment the San Francisco Medical Society was overlooked. Logan knew of the existing friction between San Francisco's two medical societies; it was general knowledge to California doctors. Did Logan feel one or other Society must be given leadership . . . that together never would there be a useful harmonious functioning? Would, however, the selection of one and slighting another lessen differences and aid a State-wide medical union? Cooper, at a later date, contended the San Francisco Medical Society was impotent, existed in name only, and gave that as reason for the formation of the Medico-Chirurgical Society. The latter hypothesis, plus a knowledge of Cooper's organizational desires and hopes, as well as Cooper's eminent and dynamic qualifications, appears a logical deduction for

Logan's approach to his problem. In 1870, at reorganization of the California State Medical Society, Dr. Logan commented: "Fourteen years ago, in association with the lamented Cooper, *who was the leading spirit of the occasion*⁵, I officially signed the call, as Corresponding Secretary of the Medical Society of Sacramento, for a Convention in that city, to inaugurate the scheme which we are now assembled to resuscitate . . ." However, in 1891, Dr. G.L. Simmons, giving the Address of Welcome at the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Medical Society of the State of California, made his preliminary remarks a resume of early California medical history—few, if any, could surpass him authoritatively—, and speaking of Logan he stated: *Although our state society has reached the age of manhood, it seems to me but yesterday I saw its organization perfected and its labors in the cause of medical science and philanthropy first entered upon. At that period the work devolved upon a few earnest men, and it may not be inappropriate, and I may be pardoned from referring on this occasion to the fact, that to a member of our local society more than to any other one man is due its reorganization. This Sacramentan was also largely instrumental in forming the first State Medical Society in the city in 1856. He spent years of his life not only in keeping alive the sacred fire of pure medical science, but in maintaining meteorological and sanitary records of the greatest value to California, all without pecuniary reward, and at a time in the history of our State when the rush for wealth was the absorbing passion, and when 'time was truly money.'*

Logan, in the statement made in 1870, said Cooper *was the leading spirit of the occasion*. Herein, Logan becomes his true self, reverts to form—a kindly gentleman, thoughtful and considerate of all, making a gracious gesture toward that associate of Yesteryear, who, then, in 1870, had already enjoyed eight years of Silent Rest. There is no doubt that Logan conceived formation of the State Medical Society and wrote the primary resolution his Sacramento Medical Society passed. Logan originated, and Logan and Cooper, either by personal contact or through correspondence, probably both, set in motion the formation of a State Society. After Logan launched the resolution, Cooper cordially, vigorously and skillfully assisted. Dr. Logan recognized Cooper's medical organizational inclinations, abili-

5 Italics of the author.

ties and capabilities, and the impact with which he would, and did, meet up to the resolution. Counsel and coordinated efforts were essential if the project was to be concluded, and though the guidance and careful workmanship possibly rested upon Logan's and Cooper's shoulders, Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., gave a stronger assisting hand than has generally been historically noted.

Beginning around February 24 and extending through March 11, 1856, this General Notice daily appeared in the San Francisco and Sacramento newspapers:

Preamble and Resolutions of the Sacramento Medical Society and the San Francisco County Medico-Chirurgical Society—

WHEREAS, The time has come for medical men of the Pacific Coast to turn their attention to the elevation of the profession, and whereas an efficient State Medical Society would do much towards accomplishing the result, therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Sacramento Medical Society and of the San Francisco County Medico-Chirurgical Society, consider it not presuming too much to take the initiatory steps by inviting the medical men of California generally to meet in convention for the purpose of organizing a State Medical Society, and that the Secretaries of our respective Societies be instructed to proceed at once to that duty.

In accordance with the foregoing resolutions the undersigned so hereby call a Convention to meet in Sacramento, on the 2d Wednesday of March, 1856.

It is desirable to place all respectable medical men upon an equal footing in the Convention, whether they came as Delegates from local societies or not. For the purpose of facilitating this, and securing the Convention against the admission of improper persons, the following gentlemen, known personally to members of the two Societies, are authorized to grant letters of introduction to medical men of their acquaintance throughout the State, who shall be received the same as Delegates:

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Drs. Carey and Spencer | San Jose |
| Dr. Bell | San Jose |
| Dr. J. Crane | San Jose |
| Dr. A. W. Lox | Santa Clara |
| Dr. A. B. Caldwell | Santa Clara |
| Dr. W. Warberton | Santa Clara |
| Dr. B. B. Mitchell | Vallejo |
| Dr. J. W. Rice | Marysville |
| Dr. Jno. J. McLain | Marysville |
| Dr. R. McDaniels | Marysville |
| Dr. J. Tresson | Marysville |
| Dr. J. J. Finch | Marysville |
| Dr. R. C. Hyatte | Cherokee |

Dr. Thos. Kendall	Sonora
Dr. Jno. Walker	Sonora
Dr. McKee	Monterey
Dr. Baldwin	Shasta
Dr. F. J. Hammond	San Diego
Dr. J. S. Griffin	Los Angeles
Dr. Wallace	Santa Barbara
Dr. Ryer	Stockton
Dr. Kerr	Stockton
Dr. Scrivens	Mariposa
Dr. Carman	Nevada
Dr. Danl. Dustin	Nevada

Medical men on arriving in the city for the purpose of attending the Convention, will please present their letters of introduction or credentials to the Committee of Arrangements, who will act as Committee on Credentials until the Convention is organized, and it is deemed best to make other arrangements.

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

H. HOUGHTON J. F. MONTGOMERY
 B. B. BROWN G. TAYLOR
 THOS. M. LOGAN

(Signed) A. ATKINSON, M. D.,	Recording Secretary
E. S. COOPER, M. D.,	Cor. Sec. San Francisco Co. Medico-Chirurgical Society
G. TAYLOR, M. D.,	Record. Sec.
THOS. M. LOGAN, M. D.,	Cor. Sec. Sacramento Med. Society

Eight years had passed since James Marshall discovered gold in a millrace at Coloma, though, by 1850, ambitious Anglo-Saxons had replaced the *caballero* and a complete change in California's social order resulted. In 1849 there was the birth of a new state, the Golden State. Gold, migrants and wealth had produced a complete, if sudden, transformation throughout the western hemisphere. Commerce and industry took on an excessive development; transportation and communication were accelerated and improved; agriculture, horticulture and husbandry were making fast progress; and manufacturing, though tardy owing to distance from the eastern centers, had had its Union Iron Works in San Francisco since 1849, and, by 1855, flour was being exported. San Francisco, in 1856, was described by Needham as *mostly fog in the morning, dust and wind in the afternoon, and Vigilance Committee the remainder of the time.*

Comparable transition within the family of doctors in Cali-

ifornia, too, was observed, and need for organization—already postponed too long a time—was discussed in metropolitan and rural areas. If the doctor's title was to retain decency and dignity and be respected as such, and if the sick public was to escape the chicanery then rampant, something had to be done about it. The faith in medical organization of some of these doctors in the State was omnipotent, others had a hesitant warmness, while a few, enthusiastic outwardly were inwardly antagonistic. An empire was in process of formation and transformation in the West, and her physicians felt medical progress should keep apace.

Problems were general, however; but not those for the medical fraternity alone. San Francisco was dealing with *Vigilanteism*; squads of armed men at night used her streets as drill grounds; and *Fort Gunnybags*, with her port holes, adamantly *held her ground* in the city's commercial center. Manners and customs still retained much of the old '49 flavor, and the Sacramento River boats carried many miners in gray shirts from the *up country* and back. California's population was, as yet, not settled; everybody, seemingly, was straying afar: restless . . . searching . . . striving for his El Dorado.

In response to the call to organize, doctors began arriving in Sacramento on December 11. They came on a historic medical mission, to assemble the following day at Pioneer Hall, 20-22 "J" Street, and form the first State Medical Society in the West. How appropriate, too, they should meet in Pioneer Hall, as many of the doctors present were harbingers of even an earlier day, were members of the Pioneer Society and felt quite at home in the Pioneer Hall club rooms on the second floor—splendidly furnished, and supplied with a well-selected library and current newspapers of the day.

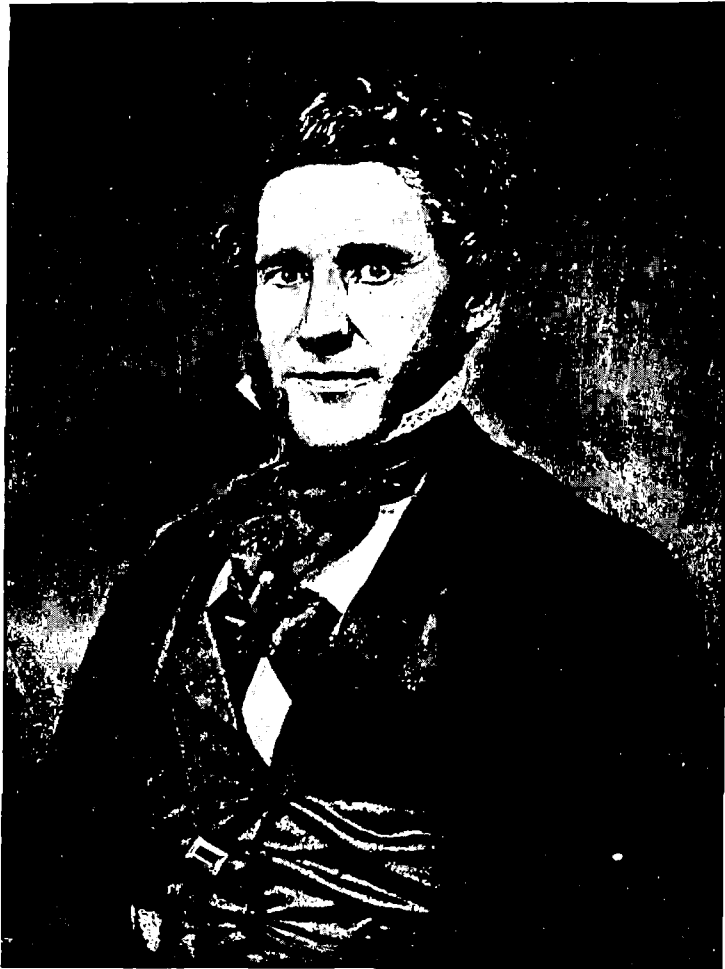
The assemblage was called to order by Dr. H. Houghton, President of the Sacramento Medical Society, the Society which acted as host. Dr. John F. Morse was chosen temporary Chairman of the Convention and opened with remarks that the Society was being founded to activate a fraternal feeling and develop in the highest possible degree those scientific truths embodied in the profession. Too, Morse emphatically denied press notices that the organization of a society was needed to combine for the purpose of overriding empiricism. This meeting was the birth of organized state medical health history in California,

and thereat began a will to improve, to bring into being and to constantly press for higher standards—norms for the benefit of medicine and humanity. Dr. Morse felt *he had never seen an assemblage more honorable and distinguished in all the graces of manhood*, and the Doctor was an impartial, attentive observer. Since the meeting centered on, and was thoroughly intertwined with, qualifications for membership, every precaution was needed to bring together and retain in one body individuals diametrically opposed in scientific philosophies, in theories and doctrines so varied that a close organizational binding caused counsel and gave concern.

At a second meeting—7:30 P.M., March 12—this infant Society selected Dr. B. F. Keene, of El Dorado County, its first President. They chose well. Dr. Keene, cultured, learned and pioneer gentleman from the *Old South*, by adoption, held the respect of everyone present and was given recognition for his scrupulous equity, for power of speech, and for the sage counsel he would bring the organization. Too, the members felt there was wisdom in not selecting their leader from one of the larger centers wherein might be hidden jealousies and past frictions. Absorbed, engulfed by lessons gained through past failures of local elemental medical structures, they determined to advantageously make use of the experiences gained, to profit by the weaker elements not originally detected, to forbid the entrance of shadows of disharmony, and, if humanly possible, overcome a sufficiency of human frailties to mold to permanency a fruitful, virile society. Would the hopes and the wishes of the wise and the tolerant among them be able to overlook the too common perfidy of a few refusing to obey their finer instincts?

President Keene apprehended that *the principal object of the Convention was the organization of a State Medical Society, embracing all of those details in its structure, which, when executed, would tend to advance the true and legitimate interests of the profession . . .* Dr. Keene stated there was no doubt of the necessity for such a Society but *that the profession had been driven to it from a necessity to combine to override empiricism* (as had been stated by portions of the press) *was a position, he for one, could not admit. The object of the movement was to cultivate a fraternal feeling, and develop, in the highest possible degree, those scientific truths embodied in the profession. If, by so doing, they would bring up empiricism in unfortunate*

contrast, the fault was not that of the profession . . . Up to this period the profession in this State has been indebted to individual effort for all it had attained. He then spoke of the mighty influence of causes which operate on the frame, presenting effects truly strange and astonishing, and particularly of the suddenness with which young men in California are visited with indications of old age, possibly through the occult causes of



Dr. John F. Morse
First Editor of the Journal

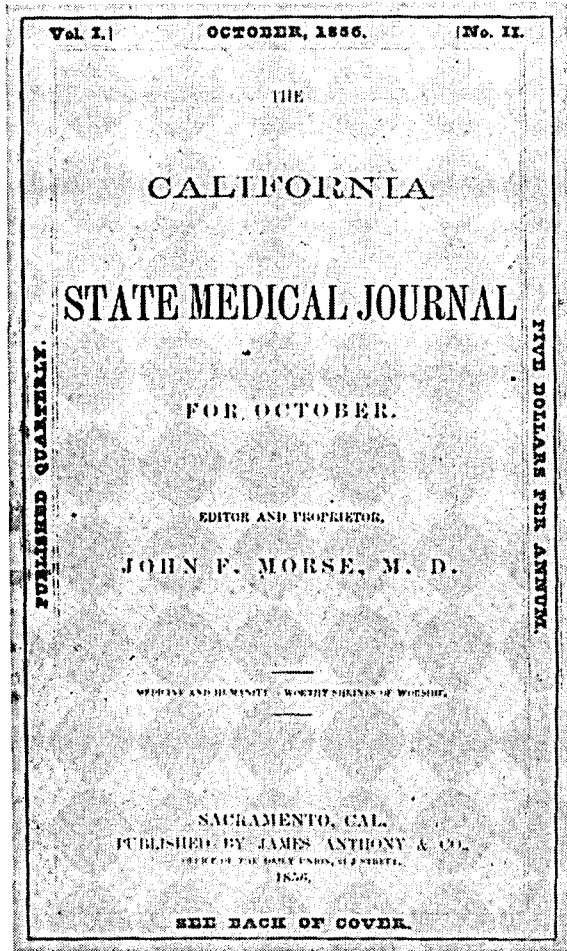
the atmosphere around us. In concluding his remarks Dr. Keene stated he had never before met anybody with a more earnest desire to cooperate in the advancement of the interests and the elevation of the tone of the medical profession.

The forum elected the following officers to assist Dr. Keene to promote the Society's welfare:

E. S. Cooper, San Francisco	Vice-President
S. Langdon, San Joaquin	" "
D. W. C. Rice, Yuba	" "
R. K. Reid, San Joaquin	" "
F. W. Hatch, Sacramento	" "
Thos. M. Logan, Sacramento	Corresp. Sec'y
G. Taylor, Sacramento	Rec'd "
W. P. Tilden, Shasta	" "
B. B. Brown, Sacramento	Treasurer
J. M. Williamson, San Francisco	Censor
J. P. Whitney, San Francisco	"
J. F. Morse, Sacramento	"
A. B. Stout, San Francisco	"
H. M. Gray, San Francisco	"
H. W. Harkness, Sacramento	"
I. E. Oatman, Sacramento	"

The body politic having been formed, Dr. Thos. M. Logan presented a preamble and resolutions recommending a periodical medical publication to be set up *on the shores of the Pacific on whose pages may be spread the progressive achievements of a science, rich in the new material of a new country, eminently instructive and highly useful—curious to the man of literature and taste—instructive to the philosopher, and useful to the patriot and philanthropist; a volume of whose leaves shall cover a field whereon the loyal disciples of medicine may rally and deploy their dormant energies to the extermination of pseudo-science, by the revelation of modern discoveries and observations, with their legitimate inductions—such a volume, we believe, will not only give an impetus to the medical men from Oregon to Mexico, that must conduce to the advancement of the cause we are here assembled to promote—and create a public opinion, more powerful, by its enlightenment, than the most stringent legislation in our favor.*

Dr. Logan wished the medical journal to maintain *a firm and independent stand against the malpractices and delinquencies of diplomatized as well as all unqualified practitioners, and prayed the Association would support such a publication, that a committee of three be appointed to canvass the whole subject*



California State Medical Journal
Born during organization of the State Society. Vol. 1, No. 1, appeared in July, 1856, and the last number was printed in April, 1857.

in the premises, and report, before the final adjournment of this Association, some practical plan for the accomplishment of the end in view.

Dr. Logan, of Sacramento, Dr. Stout, of San Francisco, and Dr. McLane, of Yuba, were appointed a medical journal committee, and Dr. Logan as Chairman brought in the Committee Report. Little imagination is needed to understand that much preconvention preparation had been performed. Here was but one of so many instances wherein the planned labor of a few kept the meeting on a stable balance and held it to a sense of proportion. The Committee required but a short time to make their selection and present a report. Dr. J. F. Morse's *preliminary arrangements for the publication of an independent medical journal on his own responsibility* was a Morse-Logan accord. Dr. Logan appealed to Society members to give pecuniary aid by taking a subscription, or subscriptions. Dr. Morse's hesitancy was because of finances. He was willing to carry the objective, provided the publication *per se* be his own responsibility and the Society members would pledge their subscription support. No doubt Morse had thought over the need for and advantages of a medical publication, though he was in no financial position to bear losses—the economics of such a project alone was his deterrent. His hope was for the fullest freedom of journalistic action and policy, and exemption from financial worries. There was no doubt Morse was superior to any other selection of those at the Convention, or, in fact, over the State, and Logan recommended him as *one of the pioneers of our noble profession who has identified himself with every work of progress in this community, moral, social, or medical—a gentleman thoroughly drilled, by long experience, in the tactics of editorial discipline, and whose devotion to his science has been manifested by the active part he has taken in the formation and development of the present auspicious phases in medical affairs.*

The membership accepted Chairman Logan's recommendations, gave their promise of subscription and sustaining support of a medical periodical, and made John F. Morse editor and proprietor of the CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL. Thereat, began California's medical journalism. In his bold, free, and strong style of thought, and always having revealed an imaginative richness and color, the astute, erudite Editor Morse gave to posterity a medical literature and medical history su-

perior in character and of incalculable importance. The JOURNAL was short-lived; therein lies the tragedy.

With the formation of a State Society it was realized sectional medical societies would complement and materially aid the parent body. So, at the solicitation of Dr. O. Harvey of Placerville it was agreed to recommend that members of the medical profession over the State organize county medical societies for their own scientific aid and enjoyment and as a supplement to the State organization. Too, it was resolved and adopted that State Medical Society Board of Censors be *the proper body to examine the fitness of medical men to practice their profession in the State*, that they be considered a State Board of Medical Examiners to grant certificates, and that *only such be appointed to official positions in our State and County Medical Institutions, and they alone be allowed to testify on medical subjects in the various courts of law in the State of California*. They asked that these recommendations be embodied in any bill which might be framed and presented to the Legislature.

The President appointed a committee of nine—Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., Chairman—to draft a constitution and by-laws for governing the State Medical Society. The adopted constitution and by-laws were based upon those recommended by the National Medical Association, and the few alterations made were minor and changed merely to adapt them to this locality. There were nine Standing Committees:

1. On Practical Medicine, Medical Literature and Hygiene;
2. On Surgery;
3. On Obstetrics;
4. On Medical Topography, Meteorology, Endemics and Epidemics;
5. On Indigenous Botany and the Domestic Adulteration of Drugs;
6. On Medical Education;
7. On Publication;
8. On Arrangements; and
9. On Prize Essays.

Dr. E. S. Cooper's resolution seeking legislation of dissections under all proper restrictions, and providing source of dissecting material, was referred to the committee on Legislation. Dr. Cooper was invited, on motion of Dr. Dustin of Nevada County, to address the Society regarding his experimental work on liga-

ting the abdominal aorta in animals. This was the first address on a scientific subject ever presented to the Medical Society of the State of California. Dr. Montgomery, of Sacramento, connoisseur and rigid disciple of the Code of Ethics, sought a book of records for the Recording Secretaries—to record the proceedings—and asked that the book be so arranged that each signer of the Constitution of the Society would state from which institution he received his medical degree and the date of graduation. Assuredly such a request would have been justifiable, and perfectly innocent, too, had it not been a forerunner of—had it not presaged—events to come.

Dr. Morse had in mind issuing a circular and prospectus of THE CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL; and stated that if two hundred subscribers came forward he would issue the first number of the JOURNAL in one month. He arranged that his Journal be published by James Anthony & Company, office of the DAILY UNION, 21 "J" Street, Sacramento, California. On Second, between "J" and "K" Streets, in Sacramento, with his medical volumes, surgical instruments, and decoctions, tinctures, syrups and powders as companions, Dr. Morse began preparation of the No. 1, Volume 1, issue of the CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL. For the past few years he had been pondering over and struggling with those very problems of which he was now asked to write. This medical gentleman, through a natural endowment, by inclination and by hard work, had *thoroughly drilled and disciplined himself* in the art of productive and editorial writing, and had ever been devoted to the science of medicine and to the progress, deportment and concord of confreres. Withal, writing is a task, and no one knew it better than Morse, and, too, no one knew better than he the serious effort and reserve nervous energy his editing a medical journal would call for. To fulfill that obligation exhausted much of his reserve energy, a reserve that had never granted him a rugged nor healthy physique. However, he began a labor destined to produce and mirror his personality and life—in the writings was Morse—and recorded the most valuable and attractive volume in historical medicine on the Pacific Coast, a deduction generally drawn. *Aside from the moral and individual satisfaction of doing this much to benefit a profession of the most exalted and important character*, wrote Morse, *all we ask is to be sustained to an extent that will free us from the necessity*

of doing more than an appropriation of our time and labor.

Four quarterly volumes were published. With the April number of 1857 the publication expired—perished because too many had neglected paying the five-dollar-per-annum subscription price. Morse asked little; he received less. Society members and medical posterity were tragically denied the valuable and scholarly Morse historical treatises which would have followed. Except for his disappointment, chagrin and embarrassment at the action of confreres, Morse found himself freed from endless vexation and intolerable weariness of spirit.

Morse took up his duties as Editor of the CALIFORNIA MEDICAL JOURNAL in characteristic animation and with a confident hope. Even prior to the formation of California's first State Medical Society, Morse had realized the need for, and given thought toward, issuing a medical magazine. Now that that moment confronted him he believed his mind was in order and well organized to meet the issue. For frontispiece he used *MEDICINE AND HUMANITY—WORTHY SHRINES OF WORSHIP*. This frontispiece was Morse-like: an artisan to medical science and an active participant in the formation and development of medical affairs. Morse dedicated the CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL to the Society membership, promised untiring effort to give it representation at home and abroad, and sought no exactions from the members other than honoring him with their patronage. The physicians were expected to contribute moral, mental and pecuniary help so that the JOURNAL'S objective of elevating and supporting the Medical profession could be attained and the publication could become standard bearer for the profession on the Pacific Coast. The very vastness of California—189,000 square miles in all, near 900 miles in length and about 250 miles in average breadth; located between the extremes of richness of the tropics and the forested mountains on which there might be eternal snow; and its healthful, life-prolonging, gracious climate, with mountain breezes and desert heat—, gave anticipation of ambitious advancements.

In the small office on Second, between "J" and "K" Streets, Morse put to words his years of experiences and reflections on *MEDICINE and HUMANITY*; words that were to him, and to many of his stalwart confreres, *WORTHY SHRINES of WORSHIP*. How youthful in tenure was the medical profession on

the Pacific Coast! It had been but seven years since a large number among them began treating the sick and injured immigrants to California, and but for the extreme cost and insurmountable difficulties there would previously have been opened *a professional medium of communication with the public*. Morse felt those attributes of humanity within the rank of the respected and educated portion of the profession should be exalted, and, now, the pages of the CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL granted that a general correspondence should be maintained, *circumstances of thrilling and startling interests* exhibited, along with the *unscrupulous and murderous pretenders to be unmasked and driven from their unholy and reckless tampering with human life*. The JOURNAL editorially sought formation of local societies to promote constructive mental contacts and encourage the production of publishing media, giving its opinion that *the regularly educated physicians and the conscientious practitioners have nothing to fear from the most complete organizations of State and County medical societies, or the freest professional publications*.

The Sacramento County Medical Society, a local society, which for the moment at least was the best coordinated and most harmonious of all societies over the State, gave a helping hand in effecting the CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL, a JOURNAL throughout its existence printed in Sacramento. Of necessity, the first number of the State JOURNAL was effected on short notice, thereby causing Dr. Morse to depend heavily for material on the Sacramento Society. Morse sought the aid of other medical societies over the State and the aid of the profession generally and individually to assist the JOURNAL, looked toward not only the literary and scientific interests of the JOURNAL and the extension of its circulation and revenue, but also the elevation of the profession through the results of *a search after great and important practical truths in medicine in their respective counties*.

When the California Medical Society was initiated in 1856, Dr. John Frederick Morse had been a resident of the State nearly seven years. Health problems probably played a larger part in Morse's life, and that of California medicine, than has been given recognition. Little has been written on the subject other than mention that always had Morse been confronted with, and held in abeyance by, a delicate, infirm health problem. A handi-

cap can, however, be turned, consciously or unconsciously, into an asset, which Morse did. His physical frailties, therefore, created forced opportunities; opportunities Morse used to improve an innate, penetrating philosophy. When called upon by his medical associates that formal culture was not stagnant; culture and science were prepared to guide frontier medicine into a higher sense of value, into a greater consequence of intellectual progress.

Morse called attention particularly to the standard of qualification for membership to the State Society, which was adopted by an almost unanimous vote. *We know that this, in itself, he said, is no complete guaranty against the abuse, by ignorance, of an almost Divine science of benevolence, but is the best and most rigid test authorized by medical universities, or by any conventional legislation by which we are acquainted in the United States.* Morse, too, either from past experience, or realization, contemplation, or premonition of future possibilities and probabilities, added, that *the Society did not lose sight of the fact that there were men honorably and successfully engaged in the practice of medicine in California who never had received diplomas, but whose claims had been so amply demonstrated as to make their affiliation desirable. To these, a door will be open through examination by the Board of Censors, which we presume will prove a better guaranty to the Society than is afforded by the simple possession of a diploma.*

The first number of the JOURNAL gave precedence to the proceedings of the State Medical Convention and Society, as Morse considered *these the most vitalizing matter that could occupy the first pages of this number, and because, without the direct authority and pledged support of that body of medical men to which those proceedings refer, we would not have undertaken the task of publishing such a Journal.*

Morse published a very well written editorial on Turkey's Sultan honoring American citizens—physicians, engineers, inventors. The article revealed Morse's characteristic versatility. He wrote of the quack and the ignorant doctor; of quackery entering politics, *seizing politics with a frenzied grasp, wherein ignorance supersedes wisdom, and experience is exchanged for immaturity and impudence.* At the moment, Morse went on to state, *when we are receiving notices from abroad for great scientific and literary achievements—at the very juncture of foreign*

recognition of the most gratifying and encouraging character—we are obliged to acknowledge a state of things, politically, which it is sad and sickening to contemplate. Discords, divisions, disaffections and distrust sweep over the land and gather strength from every State that has sworn fealty to the Constitution and pledged fidelity to the original maxims and purposes of the Federal Republic. There's little veneration of ancestral purity, less reverence for the ancient laws and usages, and little, if any, of the loyal fraternity of feeling that characterized the intercourse of our political fathers, and nothing to justify the continuance of the expressive and sacred motto of the nation, E PLURIBUS UNUM.

In this, Morse revealed his strong character, the utility of truthfulness, the polity of public candor . . . the vigor of his pen. Editor Morse merely put to words a song and hope that long had lodged in his heart. There is tragedy he was not permitted an economic freedom, for the difficulties he continually faced in an economic freedom, for the difficulties he continually faced in an endeavor to sustain the JOURNAL gave Morse great travail. He besought, reasoned, interceded, that subscribers remit—even in the very first issue of the magazine—and *hoped to have at least four hundred paying subscribers by the next issue.* There were 134 at the moment; of the number but seven had taken more than one subscription. To *pay the freight* he used up spare moments and overtime seeking advertisements from druggists, dentists, book merchants, surgical instrument makers, and others . . . at the rate of five dollars for eight lines, one insertion, to produce a journal of 144 pages. Delivery was made to subscribers; beginning with 150, which increased to about 250 by the end of the year. Morse planned articles of limited length pertaining to the profession, which he would title CRUDE REFLECTIONS.

Dr. F. P. Wierzbicki, the Pole—devoted supporter of medical societies, County and State—, had an ESSAY on the HISTORY of MEDICINE, in the second, October, 1856, issue of the California State Medical Journal. This article has an immense fascination. And why? One line alone—*History is a handmaid to science and daylight to reason*—would be sufficient compensation for a reader, but beyond that the essay gives a smooth chronological transition of the phases through which medicine passed from its dawn to 1856. The history of medicine, thought

Wierzbicki, teaches an important lesson—humility and hopefulness.

Morse, editorially, turned his thoughts toward PHYSICIANS AND MEDICAL AUTHORS, stating the subject held vast and important consequences for the public, and the essay appealed for the studious doctor individual, whom he considered all important, all essential. Morse besought the practitioner take counsel with those surgical and medical book references on his shelves, all of which charitably granted *a disposition to conciliate and accept of their kindness . . .* and asked they be made *daily counsellors, daily defenders of a medical man's honor, conscience and prosperity*. He found that few would search; too many wished guidance. *Indolence is a principle that will accommodate itself in the easiest manner possible*. The doctors' library, said Morse, is *the physician's great reliance, his constant, abiding and disinterested friend, his ever present help, his most faithful guide, defender and companion, . . .* and in the library *good samaritans of medicine, the founders and perfecters of the noble science, are placed in the most convenient communication with his mind and welfare*. He expressed the hope that each day of practice would be *a day of professional consultations, not with the practitioners of medicine, under the restraints of an ethical pack-harness, but with the great patriarchs and sages*. Morse petitioned the profession *to become familiar with all the advantages of a well-stored and well-studied library*.

Indolence in making acquaintanceship with medical authors, and doing no more than practicing medicine *on the hoof*, was a frailty commonly discussed among the more erudite. However, we are indebted to, and might readily excuse, that country practitioner—and there were many of them—who, veritably, lived and slept in the saddle night and day, rode the dark trail and crossed the swollen stream in both good and extreme weather, delivered the anxious and suffering primipara at her prospector husband's log-cabin *on t'other divide, at the forks, six miles down stream*, or hewed out a pine sappling to splint leg fractures incident to mine shaft, tunnel or bank cave-in's . . . Yes, too many days carried too few hours to allot opportunity for many of our pioneer practitioners to commune with patriarchs and sages. The family doctor in 1856, and many years thereafter, was doctor, nurse, housewife, grandma, lawyer, minister . . . but,

to that great courage and tenacity of his, today's community health, vigor and usefulness are largely indebted.

Dr. Logan wrote a series of articles, in 1856 and 1857, which he titled *Contributions to the History of Medicine in California*. In these articles the Doctor adopted the great Father of Medicine, Hippocrates, as a guide, to an extent a similarity of thought might at times be noted in the History. The third installment of CONTRIBUTIONS appeared in the January, 1857, issue of Morse's California State Medical Journal. Logan's article reviewed the season of 1849-50 in Sacramento—the great amount of rain, with the long-continued high water of the Sacramento River, and its overflowed lands secondary to this one river's effort to support drainage from 15,000 square miles, more or less, of country; and the inundation of Sacramento City, plus a dreadful cholera pestilence which scourged the city. Logan told of the city's old levee, erected in 1850, and the abandoning of this *for a better and less extensive plan adopted in the summer of 1853, and since improved, strengthened and perfected.*

It was Logan's viewpoint that diseases peculiar to the Pacific Coast were imperfectly understood, because physicians in California, as in the rest of the world, had directed their attention to money and pleasure—their profession being but a means to an end—and had no inclination to advance the art of medicine. Unsettled conditions of the Western society could possibly have been the basis, though Logan observed a lack of system and a wish to speculate, a *desire to amass a fortune more rapidly than could be done by strict attention to the legitimate duties of the profession.* The impulse was a delinquency, thought Logan.

Few families were living in the State the first three years following the acquisition of this western land and, in consequence, there was but little disease beyond what resulted from exposure or accident. Now, 1857, however, with a population of four hundred thousand, some of whom were late arrivals and not acclimated, many of whom, too, were living under adverse circumstances and conditions and careless in their personal habits, created a situation that made California vulnerable to indigenous diseases. This was the case. Logan appealed to his confreres to cease being idle spectators of the ravages of diseases in their new land, and bluntly stated *the time had arrived, even in California, when ignorance and empiricism*

must yield to the light of science. He exhorted that the consciousness of the correct pathology of disease alone was productive of a successful system of treatment; hence it was imperative that predisposing and proximate causes of disease be looked into. There were no panaceas to the fore. Epidemics were terrifying to these physicians, who were conscientiously searching for an understanding and a means of halting epidemic tragedies such as all had experienced and still faced. Generally, the patients got well because most illnesses are self-limited, and the cautious, observing, a-will-to-nurse doctor noted his end results were a bit better for such an approach. Bacteria, as yet, were an unknown entity, though their person and deleterious presence were close afield of scientific acquaintanceship. Thereafter would come a new era in the etiology, pathology and treatment of diseases.

Morse became a salaried editor—refusing a partnership—of the Sacramento UNION at its first appearance, March 19, 1851. His ability as a writer was given commendation by the UNION, though in a letter to his mother at the time he told her of having received this unmerited praise but refused to accept such flattering compliments. Bundles of the UNION, with editorials containing Morse's philosophy, were placed aboard paddle boats for distribution to other Sacramento River towns as far north as Colusi (as Colusa was then called), from whence they were staged or freighted or packed into California's northernmost *diggings*, and, too, were sent down River, and beyond to the central and southern portions of the State, as well as to eastern states. Morse's knowledge of the Golden West and her people, his power of expression, ability to organize and construct his impressions, and his capacity for offering either a bromide or stimulant, as the instance warranted, are to be noted in his Journal. An editorial on COUNTY HOSPITAL'S, October issue, shows Morse at his best: wherein can be seen that the man observed and considered carefully the subject, until his principles revolted at the callous approach peoples of the counties and State gave to their sick poor and their physically and mentally handicapped. Morse then struck with every power words could offer. *No* state, he felt, had a right to call itself humane, liberal and respectable without meeting such issues face to face, with benignity, and mercifully. The California Legislature had voted against State institutions—excepting the insane re-

ceived State patronage—in favor of county hospitals. The counties were responsible for *the deaf and dumb, the blind, the indigent sick, the poor, the destitute and unprotected*. Morse challenged the usual location of county hospitals—*why will supervisors place them in the center of a city?*—, and their characteristics,—*burlesques in architecture*; or purchased not for their qualifications but to meet a political obligation; and the medical contracts were made not for efficiency or proficiency or humane responsibility, *not to the highest bidder but to the lowest bidder, as a system that sold the poor and friendless sick at auction. From cheap supervisors and physicians to cheap houses, furniture, medicines and provisions, the very eyes of humanity should turn with loathing and disgust*, thought Morse. He asked if it was not a *picture for the really philanthropic to gaze upon! What a commentary*, he continued, *upon the charity, the elevated and republicanized charity of the nineteenth century!*

Morse expressed himself in harsh words and strong expressions against repugnant practices. A leader in social reform receives both plaudits and brick-bats from his public, and Morse heard both; accepted the one with humility and the other in tolerance. His CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL had a limited circulation: the medical profession, eastern medical journals, California's legislators, plus a modest few merchants and their immediate friends. Nonetheless, Morse's philosophical editorials left deep imprint—because of their wise counsel, forcible wisdom, and liberal and outspoken sentiment. The Journal had a real impact for general good, even though observed by a restricted field, and short-lived. Its medical history is incomparable and its efforts were directed toward decency and the promotion of the Golden Rule. The Journal shows a longevity in toil but produced an unrivalled short history, principally medical, of the Mother Lode and tributaries thereto; reveals the personalized discoveries of human truth, and grants satisfaction in that every detail counts.

Chapter III

1857-1861

THE SECOND ANNUAL SESSION of the California State Medical Society was again held in Sacramento, Wednesday, February 11, 1857, and, as at their first conclave, Pioneer Hall became the place of assembly. As the President, Dr. Benj. F. Keene, had expired September 5, 1856, the Senior Vice-President, Dr. E. S. Cooper, occupied the Chair. Dr. J. F. Montgomery, Sacramento, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, greeted the assemblage and expressed appreciation of the Sacramento Society for having been granted privilege of being host to the State Society, reiterated the *why, what and when* for a general communion, and stated that if the objectives were attained, even in a measure, the profession would thereby *command more of the public confidence*.

Delegates from the following organizations were represented:

San Francisco Pathological Society,
Sacramento Medical Society,
El Dorado County Medical Society,
San Francisco County Medical Society,
San Francisco County Medico-Chirurgical Association,
Yuba County Medical Society, and the
Sacramento Pathological Society.

After delegates' credentials had been acted upon, the rules were suspended and the following officers were elected:

PRESIDENT. — Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., San Francisco
VICE-PRESIDENTS. — Dr. H. McDaniels, Marysville; Dr. O. Harvey, El Dorado; Dr. A. J. Spencer, Santa Clara; Dr. R. B. Ellis, Sacramento; Dr. A. B. Stout, San Francisco.
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY. — Dr. T. M. Logan, Sacramento.
RECORDING SECRETARIES. — Dr. Gustavus Taylor, Sacramento; Dr. W. P. Tilden, Tehama.
TREASURER. — Dr. B. B. Brown, Sacramento.

CENSORS. — Drs. J. P. Whitney, J. M. Williamson, C. A. Bertody, M. W. Fifer, San Francisco; Drs. H. W. Harkness, J. E. Oatman, J. F. Montgomery, Sacramento.

Tributes to the memory of the Association's late President, Dr.



Dr. Benjamin Franklin Keene

Benjamin Franklin Keene, were given by Drs. Titus and O. Harvey. Dr. Keene had retired for the night in the apparent enjoyment of his usual health — though he had previously suffered from an attack of paralysis — and passed away in sleep. This first president of the Medical Society of the State of California, had he have been granted that privilege, probably would have written his obituary by the use of Thomas Hood's lines ON LIVING TOO LONG:

Is it not better at an early hour
 In its calm cell to rest the weary head,
 While birds are singing and while blooms the bower,
 Than to sit the fire out and go starv'd to bed?

Dr. Harvey knew Dr. Keene intimately — they had been associated from the time of Dr. Keene's arrival in California until his death —, and from his high professional attainments, according to Harvey, he soon succeeded to an enviable practice and reputation in the profession which he ever maintained.

Keene took an active interest in politics, and represented the county of El Dorado in the State Senate for four years — with *ability, honesty, and fidelity known to but few*. Had his life been spared one day longer, Harvey stated, he would again have been chosen to represent a confiding constituency in the councils of the State.

Dr. Keene was an amiable, sociable character, of whom it was said that *to know him, was to love and admire him*. His leadership was recognized, and as he was not attached to medical groups residing in any of the few then larger city centers his selection to lead the State Association came without opposition. Keene presided over the first deliberations with dignity and ability, and returned home after conducting the California Medical Society sessions to organize the El Dorado County Medical Society.

Benjamin Franklin Keene was born at Lynn, Massachusetts, September 1, 1809, the son of Josiah and Aphis (Swift) Keene, both descendents of the Plymouth Colony. Young Keene attended the Lynn High School, and then, in 1827-1828, the Friends School — now the Moses Brown School — at Providence, Rhode Island. He read medicine under his uncle, Dr. Paul Swift, in Nantucket, Massachusetts, 1828 to 1830, and was admitted to

practice medicine in Georgia, 1832, on his Thesis, CHOLERA INFANTUM. Keene registered from Talbotton, Georgia, and practiced at Hillsboro, Georgia. A degree of Doctor of Medicine from the Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, was conferred upon him in 1847.⁶

Keene enlisted for the Mexican War — as a private in the ranks — June 7, 1847, and was mustered in at Austin, July 30. He was attached to Capt. Kinsey's Co. K, 1st Reg., Texas Mounted Volunteers, and was discharged a corporal, April 30, 1848, at Camp Washington, Vera Cruz, Mexico. On January 12, 1849, for military services rendered, he received 160 acres land grant in the Natchilocha, Louisiana District. Keene sold the land, May 11, 1849, to Elizabeth P. Rives, though the patent to the land was not received until March 10, 1851.⁷

Dr. Keene was first married, May 12, 1831, to Harriet Bell of Jones County, Georgia. To this union was born two daughters: Lucinda and Virginia. His second marriage, December 5, 1841, was to Ann Eliza Frances Reese, of Hillsboro, Jasper County, Georgia, to whom, September 1, 1842, was born a daughter. On September 29, 1844, the Doctor took his third marriage vows, with Mrs. Ann T. Price, of Jasper County, Georgia. There were no children by this marriage.⁸

Dr. Keene served as a member of the Georgia Board of Medical Examiners from December 7, 1847 to 1849, when he resigned and began his overland journey to the *Great West*, to California's gold fields.

Death came as a rider in the night — September 5, 1856 — to inform Dr. Keene his days were told, to enfold and perpetuate the esteemed gentleman, that they might together ride toward the eternal awakening.

At its Fifty-second Annual Session, June, 1923, the House of Delegates of the California Medical Association authorized the appointment of a committee to repair the last resting-place — at Placerville, California — of the first President of the Medical

6 Courtesy Mrs. J. E. Hays, granddaughter of Dr. Keene, to the Georgia State Library, Atlanta, Georgia, and to the Georgia Dep't. of Archives of History, Atlanta, Georgia.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

Society of the State of California. Dr. James H. Parkinson, Chairman of the Council, appointed to this committee W. A. Reckers, M. D., chairman, S. H. Rantz, M. D., and Mr. Louis Reeg. The Council authorized and executed the committee's recommendation that *the entire grave be covered with concrete and that the old broken headstone be placed flatly upon the concrete tomb. Also that the State Society erect a new headstone and place upon it an appropriate inscription.*⁹

It was decided the next annual session would be held in San Francisco. The early session of the Society published its Transactions — a small pamphlet of 43 pages, containing the President's address and eight papers. Of the nine standing committees but three reports were made, two being very brief.

Dr. Morse reported to the Society his financial inability to continue publication of the CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL beyond completion of the year, urged the Society to take some action to assure its continuance, and recommended: 1. Transferring the Journal to the Society; 2. That the editorship and place of publication be annually determined by the Society; and 3. That a Journal Fund be raised by subscription among the members. The Committee appointed by the Chair to confer with Dr. Morse reported that Dr. Morse had agreed to continue guiding the Journal *for the ensuing year and the year following, for three hundred dollars, and a guarantee of three hundred subscribers for the second year, in which he will also embrace the publication of all the proceedings of the State Medical Society, and all papers that said Society shall order to be published, as a part of its transactions.* Dr. Hubbard proposed that the report be adopted. However, a discussion followed as to the practicability of entertaining such a proposition, and, thereat, Dr. Morse withdrew his proposition. Dr. Hubbard then moved that the Society pay Dr. Morse three hundred dollars for publishing the proceedings and transactions for the past and present year, and that members use their efforts to increase the subscription list of the Journal. If the Society adopted Dr. Hubbard's resolution, stated Dr. Morse, he would probably be able to continue publishing the Journal, and, too, would issue 250 copies of the proceedings and transactions in an independent form for the Society use. Dr.

⁹ California and Western Medicine, v XXIII, No. 5, May 1925, 608.

Tilden wished to amend the resolution. He felt the Journal essential to the Society, yet realized the Society in its present organized form — a numerical weakness, and containing malcontents — would refuse to accept such a meagre responsibility, but resolved, as gentlemen, *to bind ourselves to pay the sums, and supply the number of subscribers severally annexed to our names.*

The question on the adoption of the Committee's Report was decided negatively; the question on Dr. Tilden's amendment was lost; and the question on Dr. Hubbard's resolution carried. Out of the shadows of that Past might still be seen the cynical, critical, selfish smile of those few errant individuals essential to have granted the Journal, for so little, a sound economy and given it leave to continue publishing Morse's medical and medico-educational philosophy, a philosophy wrapped in intelligent and understanding humanism.

It was asked if Morse would continue to give so much to a group in whose membership there was a segment so pale, so scant, so inefficient, so ruinous. The indulgent, affable and gentle Dr. Hatch of Sacramento offered *that the Treasurer be authorized to appropriate the money now in the treasury, as part payment of the indebtedness to Dr. Morse,* and that the President and Secretaries issue circulars soliciting payment from delinquents. Dr. Gibbons, Sr., was well aware of the labor and money Morse had given the JOURNAL. He had Dr. Spencer relieve him in the Chair, took the floor and sought a division of Dr. Hatch's motion, to read *that an order for \$50 be drawn in favor of Dr. Morse,* and secondly *that the Secretaries be instructed to erase from the roll all delinquents at the expiration of three months from date.* Both motions carried.

Dr. Tilden introduced a Preamble and Resolution — which was adopted — that revealed the vital importance of the State Medical Journal to California's medical profession, the need for both individual and associate action in order to extend its circulation, and presented a petition which bound those signing to purchase the number of copies designated or to furnish the names of an equal number of new subscribers. Sixty-two copies were subscribed for.

Dr. James Blake, pioneer English scholar, desired and resolved that the Society's Secretary inform the President of the Committee on Publication, at the end of three months, the needed

amount to liquidate Dr. Morse's indebtedness. The resolution was adopted.

The Vice-President, Dr. E. S. Cooper, became President at Dr. Keene's death and gave the ANNUAL ADDRESS, February 12, 1857. His subject was *Deformities of the Locomotive Apparatus*. Reports from the Corresponding Secretary of the Medical Society, the Committee on Public Education, and Committee on Obstetrics were read.

The Committee on Education deplored the fact there was, in California, no school in which medical science might be taught, and they thought any immediate indications impracticable. None present, perhaps, realized that Dr. Cooper was that very moment giving thought and making plans to bring a medical school to San Francisco. The Committee suggested the requirement of modern languages be made a feature of medical education: *In no country in the world is there such a national admixture of languages as in this State, and consequently none in which the necessity is so forcibly suggested*. Particularly in the area was a slight knowledge of German, French and Spanish almost indispensable to practitioners, *almost an essential qualification of a man in medical practice* in California. Too, these languages were becoming so intertwined in the western social fabric that interest, convenience, humanity, and neighborliness demanded some proficiency in each.

Dr. Morse editorialized the need for county hospital regard and watchfulness. *As long as municipal governments regard hospitals as institutions in which the principal object seems to show the extent to which a bone-gnawing and washing-saving economy can be inflicted upon the impoverished sick, without any broad demonstrations of murder; so long as popular sentiment requires the managers of these asylums of benevolence to reduce compensation for medical attendance to a parsimonious pittance; so long as the soul-crushing and heart-withering maxim of 'buy cheap and dispense sparingly' is written upon every feature of these institutions, cheap buildings and cheap furniture, cheap bedding and cheap food, cheap physicians and cheap nurses, cheap medicine and cheap instruments, no books and cheap coffins; so long, we say, as these are the characteristics that distinguish the popular spirit of American, or perhaps, more properly speaking, of California philanthropy, so long will it be a useless thing to attempt the establishment of clinical schools of*

medicine, which are the natural and proper nurseries of a complete medical education.

A report by the Committee on Obstetrics holds interest because the immigration, like war, materially altered a traditionally restricted freedom in relation of the sexes. Herding together of the sexes in crowded ships, the diligent considerations to women, few in number, by that increased ratio of male over female population, plus a relaxation of those moral restraints observed in the older settlements, produced excessive excitement of the organs of reproduction, with all its resulting consequences — results, which were, according to the doctors, mostly of a pathological nature.

Abortion was a common practice the doctor had to confront; prevailing, as they wrote, to a disgraceful extent, and seemingly regarded *as a trivial affair, involving no moral wrong . . . the motives of which were simply those of convenience and pleasure; and married women appeared much more alarmed to find themselves pregnant than maidens, even among women who acknowledged in the general tenor of their conduct the restraints of morality and religion.* Abortion was a troublesome, pernicious practice, and was mostly performed, as ever has been usual, by incompetents, whose ill results exceeded comprehension. Death rate from abortion was high, and those individuals withstanding the crude, ingenious and insanitary approaches resorted to were generally washed ashore by the tides of ill health.

Dr. Morse's fourth number of the CALIFORNIA STATE MEDICAL JOURNAL was *delayed and delayed*, it being hoped that his proposition of a possible continuance of the Journal made in the third issue would be met. *We had an idea that we were offering the profession a good opportunity for the establishment of a respectable Medical Journal, wrote Morse, but we have not the slightest disposition to defend the idea against any positive or apathetic conviction of the general profession to the contrary . . . Having no apology to make and none to ask, we feel at liberty to terminate our journal labors with a series of professional recommendations.* He besought each doctor immediately subscribe for a variety of eastern Medical Journals — *indispensable against the pretensions of ignorance* — and commented that nothing could *be more usefully mutual and satisfactory to subscribers and publishers than the music-making coincidence of SUBSCRIPTION AND PAYMENT!* Morse stated the

science of medicine was *the fountain of all that is morally and socially lofty, generous and disinterested*, though a publisher can produce and maintain a better journal through the prompt agency of accumulation of dirty dimes and smooth faced dollars than by all the contributions of sublimity and apostrophy that can be written upon the samaritanism of the profession.

Morse asked that the profession give especial attention in their respective counties to county hospitals; see that these hospitals were well organized and in the hands of energetic practitioners, and by proper care and constant sympathetic pressure, alter the popular ideas regarding disposition of impoverished sick. A hospital well-organized — physically, professionally, warmheartedly, and with a judicious generosity — would meet one of their sinister problems, and, thereby, too, such hospitals could be converted into professional clinical schools.

Another recommendation needed, stated Morse, was that of promoting harmony within the membership of the profession. He hesitated — in fact, he refused —, through being suspected of insincerity, considering *the present state of medicine in this State. It may be right and even commendable to keep up the public affectation of professional disinterestedness and gallantry*, continued Morse, *for by this means much greater private license can be exercised in scandal without suspicion*. Morse was sorry he even touched upon the subject, owing to the difficulties which beset it, and felt there was no man competent of defining the ethical extent the profession must go to establish itself into a sympathizing UNIT! To interrupt such pleasant reflections he recommended *as much harmony as kindness can ever flow from the too great predisposition to discord*. He earnestly hoped for a *useful and glorious* State Medical Society wherein doctors might come together as workers; that each successive meeting would remedy *errata* of the preceding one; that appointments not be made by guess or accident, giving caution, too, in selecting those men upon whom falls the duty of *elaborating the reports from the general work of committees*. As a finality Morse counseled those medical men borrowing books or instruments always to return them promptly, and informed the SEVENTY-FOUR who, as yet, had not paid for their subscriptions to the Journal, that their remitting would receive his *becoming grace*.



Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr.

His pen, his medical journal, and candid expressions for right and uprightness, afford him an exalted position in that early organization of California medicine.

With those final words the good Doctor sang his Journal's requiem, completed the annual volume, and pledged support to any successor. The Journal's abandonment was a pity, not alone because of a great literary loss but the deep hurt created in an individual so human; one who had given unselfishly of his labor and intellect, expected nothing, and received almost that. Much already has been written of Morse's positive accomplishments, but more to advantage could be said of his life's passions, his husbanding and promoting others' personal pleasures, yet not expecting them to carry his own preoccupations.

When the State Medical Society met in San Francisco in February, 1858, formidable difficulties were intuitively perceived as Dr. Henry Gibbons called his group to order. There was debt; a lack of harmony had grown rather than lessened; some among the profession excelled others and made enemies — some did not object to others excelling them and made friends; too many, however, were living within their own cosmic bubble and refused to comprehend or see or help remedy a critical situation; and the rule of contraries predominated.

The program was not unusual. Dr. Logan read a voluminous report on *Meteorological observations in California for several years*, which was well received, revealed a vast amount of work, and a vote of thanks was recorded. Dr. Blake gave a paper on *Diseases of the Throat*, and Dr. Mouser presented an essay on *Medical Education*.

Dr. Henry Gibbons, retiring president, thought the time propitious to *clean his desk* ere leaving the rostrum; to avow openly those thoughts his mind was harboring, in the hope open exposure and frankness might be stabilizers at this time of incompatibilities and taut nerves. Having had charge of the patient (Society) he said he was *supposed to be acquainted with the case and able to prescribe; for I presume we shall all agree there is a patient in hand, and that our Society is in a pathological condition.*

We are a heterogeneous mass — an array of incompatibles. No country in the world is supplied with physicians so diverse in character. The physicians of California know less of each other than the physicians of any other land; and they care less for each other. There is no fraternity. Every man is for himself, and he thinks the best way to raise himself is by treading down others. We live in continual war with each other — an internecine war,

murderous and suicidal. It is elsewhere, but more so in California.

I believe this hateful practice of fault-finding and abusing is much more prevalent among physicians than they are aware of. It is the result of habit rather than malice. It is often done thoughtlessly and unconsciously. Sometimes a wise look conveys the poison — or a French shrug — or a gentle whisper, with the affectation of kindness.

As critics we have as much feeling for our fellows as for the subject of an autopsy.

Surgeons are worse in these respects than physicians proper. Young surgeons are especially quarrelsome; as they grow older they grow wiser, unless they were fools from birth.

One thing, however, is palpable; that no available remedy can be so effectual as the organizing and cherishing medical associations in every possible locality. This is one of the main purposes of the State Society.

London has been styled the paradise of quacks, and California merits the same epithet; and a paradise of quacks is also a paradise of fools. The history of charlatanism in California would reveal some remarkable facts.

California's medical fraternity was in a flitting state. Seemingly, no one trusted the other. Restlessness, agitation, suspicions, jealousies, even physical differences, appeared in the forum. Dr. Gibbons tried hard to *whip into line* the recalcitrant members, especially that most disturbing element from the metropolitan center. Dr. A. B. Stout, newly elected president, *read a portion of the code of ethics adopted by the Society, deprecating the practice of gaining notoriety by newspaper notices, and closed by reading an anonymous communication which had been laid upon the table, requesting that the Committee on Surgery and Obstetrics not be received for the time being, and virtually charging Drs. Cooper and Cole, of this city, with violating the code of ethics by getting newspaper notoriety. The communication was signed, Many members.*^{9a}

Balance . . . calm . . . were lacking. An unsigned written accusation never should have been presented by the president; a signed one should have been referred to committee. The action

9-a Sacramento Daily Union, February 16, 1858, p.3, col.6.

exposed prejudice, or ineptness—; and in the tumult and murmurs some wise counsel, a half hour recess, and a pipe full of tobacco still might have saved the day. The rank and file, in the main, being outside this caviling, became disgusted with all of those endeavoring to direct the parade.

A report from the Committee on Legislative Action aggravated the tensity, and *a good deal of unprofitable discussion and heated remarks* followed.^{9-b} Again, among all present, Dr. Henry Gibbons spoke out for sanity; tried to harmonize his confreres with the order of things—to meet their differences foursquare and in earnest humility. Frank expression, when truisms are spoken, usually calms souls. It did, even if but superficially. Some of the participants, including the President, made apologies; the damaging tempest abated, passions sought some freedom, personal and social amenities were somewhat restored, and Dr. Gibbons, to stay the dilemma over the legislative action, offered the following, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, That a committee be appointed to report to the next annual meeting, on the first of its session, what legislative action, if any, is desirable, in relation to the practice of medicine and kindred subjects, and that said committee be composed of one member from each locality represented here.

The Transactions for 1858 were discontinued.

A few years later, January, 1861, Cooper wrote of the California State Medical Society under title of IMPEDIMENTS TO ITS FORMER PROSPERITY. This article reviewed the private man, and expressed Cooper's more thoughtful, more tender—we must grant *every* being does have moments of compassionate—and more tolerant personal feelings toward predominate characters in that hectic State Medical meeting of 1858. The essay unveils Cooper's inner thoughts, and it would seem fair to credit him with an honest—insofar as any participant can recite an event so vital to himself and still hold his sense of equity—and not a spontaneous nor emotional recital.

Cooper criticized certain actions wherein he, too, was one of the leading participants and thereby helped others steer the Society to chaos. He reviewed the beginnings of California's first Medical Society; its first meeting attendance of nearly one hundred talented medical men; the fervent hopes held by those friends of medical improvement; the too sudden realization a

9-b Ibid.

large number sought to turn the Society into a *medico-political engine* to further their own selfish aims, and who held no interest in reading scientific papers or discussing medical subjects; and, failing of their intention they quietly withdrew, so that attendance the following year was cut by one-half. This residuum, said Cooper, was divided into three groups; the first, and by far the most numerous, were earlier California residents—the *old established practitioners*—and their friends, *who were willing to have medical discussions provided certain ones alone were permitted to participate*^{9-c}; the second group, few in number, was composed of both old and newcomers who sought justice to all and whose ambition was a society strictly for medical improvement; and the third group for the most part were made up of newcomers, at the time, who stood ready to grant just and honorable concessions for the sake of Society harmony and the promotion of its ends and aims.

A conflict arose between this last group—to which Cooper felt he belonged—and the first group; the latter, too imbued, too intoxicated by now with the old established Californian *indolence and ease*, preferred amusement to study and refused to go to work in earnest for the advancement of medicine on this coast in order to hold *their claimed prestige*. This group was unwilling, according to Cooper, to accede to *the activity and system of the others*. From such a cauldron of boiling dissensions, incompatibilities and contrasts arose the stormy session of 1858, *resulting in personal collisions, which will be a lasting disgrace to the medical profession of this coast—and which, even those who were applauded for a just defense of their own rights, are, to this day, heartily ashamed of—and the result was, that many of the best members of each party, discouraged at the little prospect of harmony, withdrew*.

Friction continued; *the second and third (groups) generally uniting on matters touching individual rights*. Censuring the Chairman of the Committee of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women, plus *an immense debt*, practically tore asunder all remaining fibres of unity at the 1858 conclave and *brought the Society to the verge of ruin*. Cooper reasoned the bitter feeling

^{9-c} Cooper, the dynamic, also enjoyed participating; too, though, because of his vigilant research and surgical experiences and discoveries he was performing excellent scientific service.

probably resulted more from *a want of acquaintance with each other, by which each underrated the merits of the others, than from any intention to be unjust.* In concluding he said: *no one will deny, at present, that gentlemen compose all those parties,* and again, *It is not quackery but jealousy, envy and suspicion that is the bane of the medical profession.*

Through the winter and spring months of 1860 National tension was clearly felt in the Congress. Some of its members went armed; some supporters of each party sitting in the galleries too carried weapons; any proposed legislation was given suspicious looks, and sectional voting was the rule. It was a period of distortion and distrust; members of the Congress were unconventional, and there was instability. None seemed willing to till his own soil but felt they must first look after that of a neighbor.

A comparable condition was apparent in members of the California Medical Society. When President R. B. Ellis rapped for order as the Society met at Sacramento, February 8, 1860, there were but fourteen doctors answering the roll call—Cooper, Ellis, Harvey, Kirkpatrick, Nixon, Oatman, Phelan, Titus, Taylor, Brown, Rowell, Pierson, Sheldon and G. L. Simmons. Drs. Morse and Mouser had their letters of resignation accepted; Logan, Whitney, Stout, Bertody, Gerry, Fourgeaud, Gray and Sharkey had walked out in 1858 when Cole made his sensational report on Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women. Dr. Oatman presented his resignation, which was obligingly accepted. Five names, however, were proposed for membership and accepted.

The Society was shocked to find an indebtedness of five hundred dollars owing Messrs. Anthony & Company for printing the 1858 Transactions! Raising money in new medical societies is ever difficult, wrote Cooper, especially when many members consider the debt unnecessarily contracted, and, too, when there were so few left to shoulder the obligation. However, that minority group recognized the indebtedness and immediately raised and paid the amount. *Even some of those who had withdrawn from the Society in consequence of unfortunate occurrences during the previous year, subscribed largely in order to redeem the Society,* continued Cooper. Cooper reasoned that members considered it their privilege to make pecuniary sacrifice, especially on learning the professional character was at stake.

These officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President	Isaac Rowell, M. D.
Vice-Presidents	I. S. Titus, El Dorado; R. Kirkpatrick, Solano; R. B. Cole, San Francisco; I. E. Oatman, Sacramento.
Corresponding Secretary	E. S. Cooper, San Francisco.
Recording Secretaries	G. Taylor and G. L. Simmons, Sacramento.
Treasurer	H. W. Harkness, Sacramento.
Censors	O. Harvey, Eldorado; A. Clarke, El Dorado; B. A. Sheldon and H. Gibbons, San Fran- cisco; R. B. Ellis, Sacramento; J. T. McLane, Yuba; W. P. Tilden, Butte.

The retiring President's address resounded a rather tragic, premonitory ring; proffered a hope there would not be a grim, dark hopelessness, referring, of course, to National tension. He congratulated the Society upon its harmonious and prompt action in wiping out the Society's debt *which it had been sneeringly surmised would prove the ruin of the association*, and petitioned and hoped for *future usefulness and prosperity*.

The following day, Feb. 9, Cooper read a synopsis of his Report on Surgery, wherein he advised treatment of suppurating bones and joints by free incisions, and contended air admitted to bones and joints was not an irritant. For the first time these surgical truths were made known. Some mention *he could not quite claim priority*; however, there is thoughtful strength in his contention of being first. At that particular meeting, no more than approximately a dozen loyal disciples of a disintegrating, crumbling State Medical Society heard Cooper's presentation. In reality, the Society *was* at that interim a negative partnership.

Dr. Cooper presented this resolution:

RESOLVED, That the members pledge themselves to fidelity in carrying out the objects for which the Society was formed, viz: promoting unanimity of feeling and concurrence of action among medical men of the State, in their efforts to advance our noble profession.

The resolution was passed.

The years 1858 to 1861, both before and after, were in fact rather hectic periods for California's medical fraternity. However, organizationally and otherwise, assets transcended liabilities. There had been many changes in medicine the past

twenty years. The clinical thermometer made its appearance; its use was gradual in England and America but universal among the Germans. Gibbons had rather jestingly remarked in 1866 that *every doctor in California would soon be found running the thermometer into the armpits of his patients*. In 1867, however, he repeated the remark in earnest. These men were at that particular time discerning what might be the value of this thermometer in typhoid fever, pneumonias and tuberculosis, and the relationships between body temperatures and the amount of urea eliminated via the kidneys. As in other countries the thermometer was very slowly adopted. During war between the States, Doctor Joseph Jones, noted Southern surgeon, was said to be the only physician in Southern service that employed a clinical thermometer.¹⁰

Diseases of the arterial coats and of the heart itself were showing a prevalence of extraordinary frequency, and fatality. The Sphygmograph, for pulse tracing, was talked of in foreign journals, and the laryngoscope and rhinoscope were in use. In 1855, Henry Gibbons had lectured to the Pioneer Society of Sacramento on the *Revelation of the Microscope*. There was progress on the surgical side too. During California's early mining years surgery usually was secondary to accidents and violence. Now, ligations of the larger arteries was being accomplished, at times successfully, even in this preaseptic and preantiseptic era. Toland and Cooper and Cole and others were showing courage and judgment in surgical achievements.

Cooper, in 1857, with Wooster as counselor and assistant, performed California's first successful Caesarian section. It is strange this notable and outstanding accomplishment—one of the few successful cases in the world at the time—, should have resulted in a law suit, with the patient, of all persons, suing Cooper. Doctor Wooster had seemingly objected to Cooper's words on reporting the case to the State Medical Society. Too, might there have been restiveness at Cooper's whipping up a complacency through a material and competent accomplishment plus his seemingly unfortunate overtone of bravado and expression? Nonetheless, in the third issue of the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL Wooster published his viewpoints

¹⁰ Medicine In The Confederacy, by Mary Louise Marshall, Bulletin of the Medical Library Association. v 30, No. 4, July, 1942.

on the case. The report was an aggrieved, abusive and unwarranted attack from the consultant and assistant surgeon. Wooster became the chief witness against Cooper at the trial, and, as it turned out, a good one for Cooper because it was evident the case was not patient versus Cooper but, rather, Wooster versus Cooper. From that moment until Cooper's death, approximately five years, there was a constant abusive and virulent antipathy one toward the other. A Wooster doctor friend offered his services as a second that Wooster might meet Cooper on the field of honor and correct the insults proclaimed. When Wooster refused—to his credit—the *friend* traded camps, to become Cooper's adherent from that day forward. The related trivia carries interest only to the extent there is revealed how frustrated, under emotion, might become the minds of individuals and how strong were professional feelings in rugged, carefree, unfledged San Francisco.

At the annual meeting, 1859, Dr. R. Beverly Cole, Chairman of the Committee on Obstetrics, in part said: *Now let us inquire into the general character of the female immigration to this country: we find them for the most part young, inexperienced women, or more properly girls, who at the most critical period of their lives, and danger to their chastity and virtue—when the bud is about bursting into the rose—when is just developed and released from the thralldom of girlhood, the woman, with her passions, alike to the smothered ember, requiring but a breath to fan it into a consuming flame. At this period they are removed from the guardianship and healthful advice of their mothers, their minds being not yet fully matured and consequently prepared to resist temptation, they yield to the solicitations of the opposite sex and seductive allurements of dissipation, and find themselves in a short time the prey of disease. This applies equally to the married and the unmarried—and so general is it that I believe I am correct when I estimate two in every three females, who have reached the age of fifteen, to be victims of this dissipation and fashionable life.*

Dr. Cole antedated Dr. Kinsey's research by many years, though, unfortunately, classified his observations as almost general rather than related to a minimal group which California, or any locality under like circumstances, would unquestionably experience. Too, in the Nineteenth Century the consideration and interpretation of feminine behavior had to be tread upon

more lightly and cautiously than today, for in this era modern mind has taken over and there is lessening of the old standards—probably the backwash of two world wars, prohibition, womens' entrance into the business world, and her feeling of emancipation. Some eight or ten doctors walked out on the speaker; others, after a reflection period, became uneasy, overwrought and spoke out. The public press took up what they designated an insult to western womanhood! Dr. Cole's statement primarily was accepted by the Society as an authoritative report, was incorporated in the proceedings and ordered placed on file for publication, though now there was denial of responsibility, and a refusal to accept either the sentiment or diction of the article. Dr. David Wooster, an editor of the PACIFIC MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL, editorially stated *the 'sentiment' was infamously, notoriously untrue. One more word, said he, and we are done with California Medical Societies, and their stupid and nauseous reports. If applied to the immigrated Irish girls where are the illegitimate children, or if they cause them to be destroyed in embryo where are the shattered constitutions, the deaths from uterine hemorrhages? Again, if so many married women are diseased where are the signs of the children? More healthy children were never born.*

However, for Wooster this was but a warm-up. He was an excellent and astute writer, a champion editorialist, a healthful hater, and his constructive and destructive editorials *stand out*; so does his folly, which was one of his burdens . . . but being editor of a journal he was sustained by his power with words. Those inclined to self-assertion seem to frequently exercise it at others' expense, and this fault appears to be, in part, explanatory of factional differences in San Francisco's medical fraternity.

Chapter IV

Failures In Group Medicine— Reorganization 1861-1871

STATE MEDICAL meetings were being concluded on a false skein of amity. Dr. R. B. Ellis, president for the year 1859-60, presided over a Society that was impotent—really was nonexistent. Dr. Isaac Rowell, an expressed abolitionist, replaced Ellis, and Rowell, in turn, was superseded by Dr. Samuel F. Hamm. Dissension was too general to encompass; interest among the rank and file had been strangled; generally, there was intolerance of such ineptitude and credulousness, and practitioners beyond the metropolis could no longer countenance the jealousy and groveling. Misdirected personal ambition was *front and center* as an antagonist, and rugged individualists placed *self* over *otherself*, to give a barrier impossible of lowering or encircling. Slavery and an approaching war between the States more and more, too, helped separate doctors; those steadfast Northern Abolitionists from those Southern descendants of a Cavalier ruling class of aristocracy. The State Medical Society died; it died *in fact*, though, in 1858.

In observing California's medical history from the years 1855 to and including 1862, the name of Dr. Elias S. Cooper is probably mentioned more than that of any other medical individual. Who was this unusual medical gentleman who accomplished so much surgically within a shortened life span, and who received during the period of his industry, and still receives, both unstinted and deserved praise, and bitter invective? One hated so well and loved so much needs be unveiled—if that were possible; but many, too many, of unknown details, a needed

minutiae that would support suppositions, remain, still, in that Yesterday. The discovery of human truths is not easy, and interpretation of what is known is scarcely ever written in a parallel course by any two writers, so, generally, there are as many versions as there are penmen. That seems to be the predicament in the case of Doctor Cooper.

Most assuredly Doctor Cooper had his drawbacks. There is no doubt he devoted little time to self-analysis or personal dissection. Cooper never married, so extra hours, ordinarily allotted to family life, were granted him for study and animal and human dissections, in *the attic of the old building on Mission Street and the little room in the old iron building at the northeast corner of Sansome and Pine Streets where he burned the first midnight oil over the cadaver in San Francisco, and where was heralded his future success.*¹¹ For the most part Cooper worked until early morning hours, granted himself but four to five hours sleep, for, as he told his nephew, Dr. Lane, *Going to bed seemed like going to the grave.* A full day of practice and devoting most of the night to study gave Cooper a life in close communion with self. He appears to have been a rather petulant type, having his moments—moments when his path of progress, as it seemed to him, was crossed—of uncontrolled passion when he was perhaps only slightly addicted to the rights of others. Invective he would use, and abusive language in some of those moments of anger, an anger that seemingly never could be submerged. There was self-confidence, and self-appreciation—a failing, or an asset?, so commonly seen at any medical or other meeting one might attend—and a real capacity in resenting the amount of mediocrity observed. In this particular time of life his health must have been good, else he would have been unable to withstand his drive, his arduous practice, his self-discipline in long hours of study, research and writing. Solitude did not seem to terrify him, yet Washington Ayer stated that *while he (Cooper) could not be found convivial, he enjoyed a wholesome repartee and found no pleasure in seclusion, was always social without being familiar.*¹²

Cooper was expelled from the San Francisco Medico-Chirur-

11 Reminiscences of the Life and Labors of Elias Samuel Cooper, by Washington Ayer. Occidental Medical Times, v VII, 1893, P. 599.

12 Ibid.

gical Association, October 1857. From records observed, the real charge appears a bit uncertain but seems to have been the result of Cooper's flexible tongue. The Association committee chosen to wait upon him gave their report in open forum, and thereat Cooper made explanation he had no intention of insulting the Association, rather were his remarks directed *toward a member who was absent*. Doctor Fifer then stated he understood Cooper had printed four to five thousand copies of his report on removing a foreign body from beneath the heart, instead of five hundred as the Association ordered. Fifer's accusation appears to have been a *throw in* charge to the one, or ones, upon which the committee had a few moments previously reported. Cooper resented the members' action—apparently all of it—and Cooper-like, told them so in no uncertain terms, and in emotion said *They might all go to H'll*.¹³

However, as they seemed unable to get along with Cooper, so, too, they were unable to get along without him. *During the next two months five meetings were held, with three to six members attending*,¹⁴ and ere long the Society went the way of its predecessors. Cooper seemed the driving force the Association leaned upon, and needed, and so, surprising as it may seem, he returned to rejuvenate the ailing organization, was its president in 1859—the year following his expulsion—, and returned *with the same group as in 1858 acting as officers and censors, except that Doctor Grover was now secretary in place of Doctor Toomy, and Doctor Angle had replaced Doctor Webster on the Board of Censors*.¹⁵

It must be left to the biographers of the future to give such a man and his work a proper place. Washington Ayer, friendly contemporary of Cooper, stated he was *a great and good man, whose human nature was above the approaches of designing men, and in whose soul there was no lack of harmony for all that was noble and good in his fellow men*.¹⁶ Ayer felt, too, his eulogy did not *express fitly the sentiments of lofty nobility of character, energy, moral excellence, and sturdy manhood of the man*

13 The History of the San Francisco Medical Society, 1850-1868, By J. Marion Read, M.D. The BULLETIN S.F. Med. Society, December 1952, p. 41.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Reminiscences of the Life and Labors of Elias Samuel Cooper, By Washington Ayer. Occidental Medical Times, v VII, 1893, p. 599.

upon whom we bestow our feeble praise.¹⁷ Cooper had been resting in his silent grave for more than twenty years when Ayer, then aged, told of his former companion's goodness.

Development of the Mississippi basin and the Pacific slope have been designated areas that exemplified mankind's swiftest, easiest and most complete of achievements. Some assert the West is the most American part of America; that it reveals features, when distinguishing America from Europe, that come out in strongest relief. The heat and pressure and hurry of life were at their uppermost in the 1850's, and for some time thereafter there were no quiet spots; all was astir, in a pother and engrossed in struggle—particularly was this true among native Americans, though foreign immigrants soon were caught in the maelstrom. All resolved on wealth and success; most of them worked from early morn with endurance and sufferance, and this group afforded themselves few pleasures and few opportunities for relaxation. It was a reckless, heedless West, and the venturesome and changing life was creator of peoples' hasty, inconsiderate and grasping habits. There was carelessness, both public and private, which in the main was general. Her people seemed to be following the slogan that *Every man's life lies all within the present*.

Cooper lived his part of this era with confreres who, too, revealed human carelessness, both public and private. Some practitioners worked in a no whit different but a calmer vein than Cooper, wrote little or not at all, and were silent, or if they did speak, spoke more quietly and less effusively and with less leadership. Many left accomplishments; others, none at all. The silent are never heard; the effervesive are, though they need give care. Cooper gave no care, and granted himself no quiet spots wherein he might have taken a self-analysis, steered his ship to port through a less tempestuous sea, and then debarked without further ado.

A few years later Doctor Henry Gibbons, Sr., speaking of medical societies, said: . . . *The societies formerly existing did not die in a quarrel as is sometimes stated, but of inanition and neglect. What quarreling did occur in them only served to keep them alive . . .*¹⁸ The overzealous ambition, jealousy, envy

17 Reminiscences of the Life and Labors of Elias Samuel Cooper, By Washington Ayer. Occidental Medical Times, v VII, 1893, p. 599.

18 Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, v X, 1867-8; February 1868.

and covetousness that stealthily continued to emerge from each of California's early medical schools astounds and rather shocks a peruser of that history, and, really, is basic for much of the medico-political friction that for so long kept California physicians away from an organized grouping. However, science and rudeness in the West seemed conspicuous in the minds of the people and their surroundings, and so, mostly, the people gave no heed to other than their own private dreams.

Cooper, nonetheless, in his scientific efforts was able to carry the principle of action and reaction to favorable consequences, and Medicine pays her respects to this original thinker and courageous surgeon. *His claims for a permanent place in the annals of surgery, wrote Doctor L. C. Lane, are his alcoholic dressing of wounds, the treatment of diseased joints by free incisions, the popularizing of the metallic suture for ununited fracture, including the patella, olecranon, and other pseudoarthrosis hitherto not treated, free incisions in neuralgic or diseased structures, and the excision of ribs and free exploration of the thoracic cavity; and of these, he remarked his free incision of joints as the most valuable contribution he had made to surgery.*¹⁹ At another time Doctor Lane, speaking of Doctor Cooper's surgical ability, stated: *In operating his daring celerity could only be founded upon that accuracy of anatomical knowledge, which rendered the tissues, as it were, transparent under his eye . . .*²⁰ Doctor Lane might have mentioned a Cooper principle that *division of entire ligaments about the joints is NO impediment to their ultimate strength and mobility*; and that to Dr. Cooper goes the credit and honor of founding, at close of the year 1858, the Medical College of the Pacific, first in the West, which was officially opened May 5, 1859.

Failures in group medicine created a schism of several years, from 1858 to 1870 in fact, wherein doctors were as individualistic as any scared bevy of quail, and not until 1868 was there a semblance even of unified local medical groupings. The yen, the desirability, the penchant was ever present, though a time, that propitious moment, still was premature. It was necessary the objective should stew a bit longer ere it would jell.

During this interval, medical journals were the only scien-

19 Occidental Medical Times, v VII, 1893, p. 608.

20 San Francisco Medical Press, October, 1862, p. 226.

tific media—local, national and those from the European centers—whereby information came to the offices of the more astute and bookish practitioners. Trading their experiences, the impulse to write on personal observations, thoughtful inquiries regarding improved therapeutic trends, and inability of enjoying the repartee of *bons vivants* because of group medicine failure, were, unfortunately, irreparably forfeited.

The PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL began a brilliant and notable career in 1858, under editorship of John B. Trask and David Wooster of San Francisco, and was destined to enjoy the longest life of any of California's medical periodicals—from 1858 to 1917. An editorship was invested with few assets; mostly was there no more than hard work, confinement, criticisms, discords, and accounts owing. In consequence there was a great turnover in editors—nine the first ten years of this Journal. Drs. Trask, Wooster, Blake, Fourgeaud, Morse, H. Gibbons, Sr., and Jr., McNutt, Winslow Anderson, Southard, Hodghead and others, displayed an astonishing creative power and ability of expression—some more than others. The joy of allowing their pen to speak through them appeared the magnet holding these doctors to their literary workbenches. Ofttimes there is conjecture some might have used their capabilities more productively; though right or wrong, constructive or destructive, most editorials written embodied an ability, a counsel and a philosophic wisdom which carried—still carry—great impact on any man of sentiment.

In 1865 the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL was absorbed by the SAN FRANCISCO MEDICAL PRESS—Henry Gibbons, Sr., then editor of the latter—though it retained the title of Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal. All that was felt, imagined, said and done in medical proceedings covering the decades over which they functioned was carried in the several medical journals on the Pacific Coast. Along the route the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal one time or another was under first one or the other of the medical schools—Medical School of the Pacific (afterwards the Cooper Medical School, and later, Stanford Medical School), Toland Medical School (later, University of California Medical School), and the College of Physicians and Surgeons—, and pendulum-like swung back and forth. So long as the WESTERN LANCET represented Toland School there was a healthful rivalry between the two

journals, even if, at times, discourtesy prevailed. After 1897 the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal was edited by Dr. Winslow Anderson, founder of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and associated with him were co-editors Southard and Hodghead, excellent essayists in their own right.

When the PACIFIC MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL was founded, Doctor Cooper, possibly Toland, Morrison, Rowell and others, too, put in some money to help Wooster launch the Journal. It would appear from Cooper's statement²⁰ that the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal *owes its origin to our bounty*, that Cooper was a major donator in founding that Journal. Cooper further commented the *Journal has been converted into an engine designed to injure us*. Nowhere have we found this statement denied.

In the second issue Dr. J. D. B. Stillman criticized some scientific articles in the Journal, more particularly the article of Dr. Toland, wherein plagiarism was charged, and, to prove his point, produced parallel statements from Toland's source book. Toland replied—*plausibly, but with argument ad hominem*, stated Emmet Rixford.²¹ These articles, however, revealed little of a practical value beyond a scornful spleen, one for the other, and that a particular belief easily influences behavior. The editor of the magazine came to the rescue, adding: *If our friends wish to quarrel or fight, we recommend gunpowder and lead, not types and printer's ink.*

Editor Wooster and Cooper's differences over California's first Caeserian section separated the two, ending suddenly and quickly Cooper's literary participation in the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal. Because of Wooster's *type and printer's ink* attacks upon Cooper over the Caeserian case, and Cooper's formation of the Medical College of the Pacific, and general dislike of one for the other, Cooper began editing, January, 1860, the SAN FRANCISCO MEDICAL PRESS. Cooper's objectives, given in the first issue, are most commendable and would have been even more so if those had been his sole points in mind. There is no doubt his four major objectives were well intentioned, but behind all was his unforgivingness over the

20a San Francisco Medical Press, April, 1860, p. 126.

21 Early California Medical Journals, California and Western Medicine, v XXIII, No. 5, May, 1925, p. 604.

the malpractice suit, his need of a medium to meet the attacks of Wooster, and to furnish subscribers original articles—his own included—, and not those that had already been published in some other medical magazine.

The SAN FRANCISCO MEDICAL PRESS was in being at a most opportune period. Apparently Cooper had not intended to commence its publication for another year, but circumstances caused sudden changes, so sudden, in fact, that his decision was made within two weeks of the time his material went to press. This premature decision was a fortunate coincidence, for his journal carried much historical and other medical happenstances not contained in pages of its rival, the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal. There would have been an almost vacuous medical historical interval except for the MEDICAL PRESS, and, too, those articles on the experimentations on animals possibly never would have been printed. The storm and tempests of Drs. Wooster and Cooper were beneath their statures; neither, when aggrieved, appeared capable of accepting prudent counsel; and their unfriendliness aggravated the general medical harmony. Nonetheless, their refractory nature, their at times self-willed and wayward philosophy seemed unworthy of belief, but, fortunately, they fought their quarrel with quills rather than with swords. Posterity was, in consequence, enriched thereby, for, though unconscious of such action, they discussed theirs and others' parts in the economic, social, educational and research phases of medical events and left word pictures from which a patch quilt of history has been assembled.

Following Dr. Cooper's premature death in 1862, at the age of forty, his nephew, Dr. L. C. Lane, edited the PRESS a short time, and the last volume was edited by Drs. Henry Gibbons, Sr., and R. Beverly Cole.

When John F. Morse, M. D., discontinued publishing the California State Medical Journal in 1857, and V. J. Fourgeaud, M. D., ceased editorship of the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal in 1864, their discontinuance was a distressing casualty to medicine and medical history, then, and has been ever since. Writings of each were erudite, carefully assembled, and conveyed a charm, forcefulness and reasonable exploitation that was undeniable and irresistible. They gave an intellectual pride to everything written, both were able to extract human life and expose its delicate threads for reader consumption; to detail

human weaknesses in a graceful, sensitive manner, and, for the most part, were able to cast aside ill-natured and malicious tones. On assuming editorial duties in 1862, Fourgeaud felt *the most unpleasant . . . deplorable want of professional cordiality and friendly intercourse amongst physicians of respectable standing in California.*

Fourgeaud, as did Morse, endeavored to encompass, to engulf, the apparent discontentment and by essay transmit humility and a desire to be right with life. Both were interested medical historiographers and chronicled much that was relevant of the period, and before; both, too, realized their hopes had not been fulfilled, and considered their tasks too laborious *without the harmonious support and cooperation of the profession generally,*²² which they did not receive. Morse's editorials on *County Hospitals* and his *History of Sacramento*, and Fourgeaud's interest in and writings on the *History of Medicine and History of California*, —not to mention many other articles for which both deserve tribute—, are as fresh and strength-laden today as when written, and afford pleasant leisure and enlightenment to any with sufficient interest to read the originals. Morse and Fourgeaud, through the written word and personal action, did much in adding their bit to that durable and enduring foundation upon which was finally to be built the California State Medical Society.

From 1858 to 1870 the State Medical Society lay in lingering death. During that interim California's first medical schools were instituted: the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific, May 5, 1859, and the Toland Medical School, November 5, 1864. The story of their formation, the trials both underwent, the antipathies, feuds, cliques, sects and reverses each encountered and had to surmount, was but a continuance of the local tragedies of human life. Both schools retained their independence, and cared not if they tread in someone's path, endangered someone's hope, trifled with someone's desperation. Both divined their needs must depend upon help from human fingers; neither could be solely independent. The fact they succeeded revealed perseverance and indomitable willpower. Over the State a medical profession was interested and was in accord with both Cooper's and Toland's medical institu-

22 Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, v VII, 1864, p. 267.

tions. Their interest was an assurance that students would receive training comparable to that in eastern schools; that they would be so attractive to those desiring to study medicine, it would become unnecessary for California's sons to travel so far for medical training. All recognized San Francisco as the commercial center of California—California the mighty: a tract of territory nearly nine hundred miles in length and two hundred in breadth, and with practically all great cities of the old States within her latitude. Organized medicine in California, however, lay lifeless because of human limitations. A meeting of the State Medical Society was held in February, 1861; called to order by its president, Dr. Isaac Rowell. Dr. Rowell was an avowed and rostrum-exclaiming Abolitionist, who not at all tried to stay sectional feeling within or without the medical ranks, yet who is there to say his actions and reactions to this internecine struggle were not laudatory? California housed many Southerners ready and anxious to secede from the Union, doctors among them.

President Rowell's Annual Address recommended the Society memorialize the Legislature adjust State laws: (a) in prosecuting for criminal abortion the law be readjusted so that the subject of the abortion would be held equally guilty with the one performing the act; and (b) in prosecutions for mal-practice grant the defendant the same privileges as the plaintiff in procuring testimony. A committee was appointed, the memorial was presented to the Legislature and the amendments were adopted, signed by the Governor, and became law. Socially and morally the PRESS avowed this action was a legal advancement over other new States.

Beginning the year 1862 there seemed a levelling off of medical society frictions. Secession activities commanded attention and were generally spirited throughout the Northern mining counties, and the Sacramento, San Francisco, Salinas valley and Los Angeles areas. There was need for uneasiness and real alarm. Without doubt national interests drew attention from medical organizations and medical professional differences.

An editorial in the San Francisco MEDICAL PRESS, January, 1862, spoke of medical matters in San Francisco, comparing that city and elsewhere. Earlier difficulties and medical characters were discussed. The editorialist stated a few medical characters *now stood in the profession nearly where they deserve to be, and now there is but little for a medical journalist in California to*

do but perform the more agreeable duty of developing medical subjects. The editorial was a mitigating action and seemingly paralleled the announcement of an editorial writer change, from Dr. Wooster to Prof. F. Blake, by the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL. The MEDICAL PRESS was *pleased to learn* of this change, for *though personally almost a stranger his (Blake's) reputation in the medical world has been well known to us for many years.*

Primary political differences between San Francisco's Board of Supervisors and the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific regarding the medical school's use of the City and County Hospital were finally amended, and now the Hospital was opened to them, as, too, had been the St. Mary's Hospital.

France's medical profession had begun to encourage adoption of Specialities, but in the United States practitioners *pursue all the departments, and there is a clause in the code of ethics which many medical men have construed into a positive condemnation of the practice of Specialities . . . Nothing could be more destructive to the progress of practical medicine and surgery than to throw impedimenta in the way of medical men cultivating and practicing the departments of the profession for which nature has designed them . . . Half depends on one's fondness for his pursuit.*²³

At beginning of the year 1865 Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., editorially²³⁻¹ sought an inventory of the medical profession on the Pacific coast, lamented there was not one medical society in California, nor, as far as he knew, in any of the States on the Pacific. It made his *ears tingle to record the shameful fact.* In San Francisco there were two hundred regularly educated physicians. Was there no interest in advancement of the profession and of science? Did the old organizations die from want of interest, or had there been attempts to make of them *courts of inquiry and condemnation for the purpose of punishing certain individuals who may have given offense to others?* Gibbons reasoned cliques and coteries were an invariable result of absence of general association, while others considered *too many Ishmaelites* prevented maintaining a society. As always, Gibbons considered *social intercourse the great need of the profession*

23 Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, v VII, 1864, p. 16.
23-1 Medical Press, P. 188.

in California; their absence foments exclusiveness, envy, snarling and irregularities of all kinds. Through society contact, mutual respect and confidence would return. It is positively impossible, stated Gibbons, to cultivate the field of medicine profitably and thoroughly, without the aid of association. This is especially the case in the newly settled regions on the Pacific coast. Our medical practitioners have gathered up much valuable knowledge by observation and experience—valuable to the world, if brought to light and thrown together by combined action, but as private property almost worthless to humanity. Is it not time to move in this matter? Ought not medical societies to exist in all the chief centers of population on this coast? We beseech our brethren everywhere to take the subject in hand.

Dr. Fourageaud, as previously stated, retired as Editor of the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal in October, 1864, and by April, 1865, the Medical Press and Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal had united, with Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., Editor, and was issued under the older title, PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL, appearing every second month. The JOURNAL, then, became the only medical magazine on the Pacific Coast, and its editor besought *aid and cooperation of his professional brethren, all and several, without distinction or exclusion . . . if members of our profession in California had done for science all that they from time to time had intended and promised to do, the world could scarcely exhibit a better cultivated field than ours. In one respect Californian's are apt to excel most other people—namely, in promises and intentions. There seems in the moral atmosphere an influence hostile to accomplishment . . .*²⁴

When Toland Medical College was instituted, the winter of 1864, several Professors—Lane, Gibbons and Morse—of the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific accepted chairs in this new school, and the Medical College of the Pacific was suspended in a feeling there was neither necessity nor material for two medical colleges in California. More than one medical school, so it was considered, *might lead to such rivalry and contention as would be injurious to the profession and to the interests of medical science.*²⁵

²⁴ Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, April, 1865, p. 32.

²⁵ Ibid.

There was ever a closer friendship, with mutual likes and dislikes, between Gibbons and Logan; both followed a somewhat parallel course in work participation, and both shared happiness and a feeling of joy in their mental efforts—research, writing, organizing—extracurricular to their practice of medicine. At that time the two medical schools were becoming one, and even before the uniting Logan and Gibbons were without doubt in conference planning and programming a reorganization of California's State Medical Society and the formation of a State Board of Health. It sounds reasonable this was true, for their activities very definitely support such a supposition.

In April, 1866, Gibbons printed a letter from a physician in Freeport, California, urging the organization of medical societies in all counties throughout the State. *You, as a journalist, said the letter²⁶, can do a great deal to effect a medical reform on our Pacific Coast, and enable the profession to sweep away the errors of empiricism, and clear the ground for the erection of a more simple and solid temple of knowledge, based on anatomy and philosophy.* The expressions contained in the letter are Gibbon's without doubt, and with California's medical press centralized, this journalist carefully began pointing medical thinking toward organizing medicine on a State level.

Logan became a collaborator with the Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal in 1867, and the June issue of that year informed its readers Logan designed attending the Annual Meeting of the American Medical Association at Cincinnati. He was accredited a delegate as a representative of Toland Medical College. When Logan returned from Europe, to where he extended his visit, he left Sacramento to practice in San Francisco.

Doctor Gibbons was particularly delighted at the formation of San Francisco's Medical Society, of which he had a major part, February 4, 1868; a need, he reflected, that had been sorely missed for a number of years. Personalities, cliques and coteries were cast aside in its formation, Gibbons said, and he asked for a cultivation of medical science and social intercourse. Gibbons admitted that discipline and restraint, and sometimes an amputation, became a necessity; for the present, however, he felt there was need of conservative therapy only. *Let us see how many things we can agree on, rather than seek occasions for*

²⁶ Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, April, 1866, p. 105.

differing,²⁷ was a Gibbon's common sense statement.

The Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement was organized March 17, 1868, and the senior Editor of the Journal, February, 1869, remarked that *the successful establishment of the medical association in each of the principal cities of California, and the lively interest exhibited by both organizations in the cultivation of medical science, mark an era in the history of the profession on the Pacific Coast.* Gibbons was, so far, pleased with results; organized medicine was showing progress. He urged San Jose, Marysville, Stockton, and Nevada City, California and Portland, Oregon, to follow the example being set.

Constantly, continuously, Gibbons, Sr., gave diligent attention, by both the spoken and written word, toward coordinating California's regular medical practitioners. In April, 1869, he printed, in full, Dr. F. W. Hatch's Annual Address to the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement; printed, for the interesting and instructive and kindly sentiments it embodied, but, too, anticipating that Hatch's charming and appraising expressions would enfranchise his readers to an appreciation of the value of organized medicine.

The San Francisco Medical Society, January, 1870, made Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., its President, thereby presenting Gibbons opportunity to throw that organization's strength and favor, so far as he was able to mold and lead it, toward reorganization of the State Society, as well as hosting the National Association. In March, 1869, the Journal spoke of the American Medical Association's meeting in the Far South (New Orleans) for the first time since the war. Personalities were set aside; sectional differences were restrained, confined; science was the only banner recognized. Medical education, a Medical Library — to be located in Washington, D. C. —, and the training of nurses received much attention among the many interesting items on the National Society's program. Too, the March issue mentioned formation of an association of San Francisco's German physicians, an organization that Gibbons felt might well have *cast away a little of their conservatism and mounted the Yankee locomotive.*²⁸

²⁷ Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, June, 1867-May, 1868, p. 417.

²⁸ Gibbons' Annual Oration to the San Francisco Medical Society, THE BULLETIN, San Francisco Medical Society, December 1954, Mary E. Mathes, M.D. 54.

As the decade neared an end, four medical societies existed: the San Francisco Medical Society, San Francisco German Medical Society, Oakland Medical Society, and the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement. All were young societies; none more than two years old. There seemed no challenge as the year 1870 dawned that the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement—by its local strength, harmony, more nearly general representative of regular practitioners, regularity of attendance at meetings, membership participation, and general standard of scientific essays offered—, was the one truly active medical society throughout the Pacific Coast area. Dr. F. W. Hatch, President of that Society, had been chosen because he was recognized as a kindly and gentle, affable and agreeable and beloved gentleman of medicine, a man of scientific ability and one who wrote and spoke with a power and grace commanding reverent attention. For five successive terms he was to be reelected president of the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement. Dr. Hatch's superior qualities, combined with his sense of equity, were the reasons for the one harmonious and well-functioning medical society in California as the year 1870 began.

For ten to twelve years the Medical Society of the State of California had been inactive and inert, lying dormant. Many reasons have been given; motives extending from disaffections of the protagonists and antagonists of slavery, to those more common sources: medical cliques, jealousies and unyielding selfish aspirations. California's medical men, nonetheless, realized they dealt with human history: that man is a nerve body, filled with sentiments, and dreams, and hopes. Sentiments, dreams and hopes are potent stimuli, and are history's basic forces. In and around those forces man lives; without them he becomes lifeless. Passion, too, must ultimately and finally give ground to judgment, to vision, to ardent, sensitive anticipation.

Time for reorganization of California's State Medical Society was opportune. Fortunately, a prevailing force in the person of Dr. Thomas Muldrup Logan was at hand. Dr. Logan had, in 1847, participated in formation of the American Medical Association, and his interest in that organization never diminished; never lessened even after he became an adopted son of California, which, at that early day, because of travel obstacles, was far removed from her eastern sister states. In spite of handicaps Dr. Logan held contact with the American Medical Association:

through personal correspondence, by his many essays submitted and the occasional attendance at national meetings, as well as through a coterie of friendships—friendships active and forceful in the nation's highest medical tribunal. Since 1865 Dr. Logan had been a permanent member of the National Association, and in 1867 attended their meeting at Cincinnati. Is there any doubt but that Dr. Logan's sentiments, dreams and hopes led him to Cincinnati? While there, he began spade work for a national conclave to be held on the Pacific Coast; and received their promise—as soon as the Transcontinental Railroad, then under construction, was completed.

In the great republic of science, all geographical lines should be abolished, was a significant expression of Dr. D. W. Yandell of Kentucky, and those words forced upon Logan's mind the farsightedness of holding a session of the national body in California. He felt, too, a meeting of so august a body on the Pacific Coast would re-invigorate the low morale of the profession throughout his adopted State. Logan set to work to accomplish that aim. He spoke to delegates from other states. Three of the delegates spoken to—Drs. Davis, Storer and Toner—had attended the last meeting held by the California State Medical Society, were close friends of Logan, gave his ideas their active support, and assured him of its feasibility if and when the transcontinental railroad was finished.

For twenty years eastern physicians had been reading much on California: the tempting and fascinating Dana's TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST; of *gold*, and *The Golden State*, the *El Dorado of the World*, the *El Dorado of the Western Hemisphere*, emblazoned as headlines in Eastern newspapers; and with exclamations and in superlatives to a reading public this land of wealth and climate and perpetual enchantment was presented. As a consequence there was allurements to visit such a land, to look out over San Francisco Bay and, with a like enthusiasm, survey the Golden Gate and Marin hills as had Gaspar de Portola in 1769.

Logan added greater curiosity through his writings and speeches, for he was an able speaker and one of the most productive writers of medical and other literature in the nation. The seed was planted. His acquaintances gave promises of help, especially those with whom he held a confidential and communicative contact, and expressed their will to persuade dele-

gates. The short period of depression of 1866-7 was an aid through an immigration drift to the West—from near 250,000 in 1865 to 460,000 in 1873. It seemed, now, there was scarcely a family throughout the East but had, directly or indirectly, a relative or friend residing in, or expecting to emigrate to, California. More than ever a nation began to look westward, and this was helpful in the National Medical Association's final decision.

At conclusion of the American Medical Association meeting in Cincinnati, as mentioned, Dr. Logan sailed for Europe to attend the International Medical Congress, carrying credentials from Toland Medical College and the American Medical Association. Logan was an apt observer; he took mental notes of those assets and liabilities and the strong and the weak points of handling a medical meeting on a National scale. Later, Logan was to put this experience to good stead. When he returned, December, 1867, he removed to San Francisco for a time. But because of poor health in the Bay area he practiced there a short year only, and then returned to Sacramento, where climatic conditions seemed more wholesome and profitable for him. At the 1869-70 session of California's Legislature, Logan prepared the Act or the Act was written under his direction establishing California's State Board of Health, which became law March 18, 1870. Logan was appointed its first Secretary, and Gibbons, Sr., became its first President.

Dr. Logan's efforts, plans, program, with considerable cost to him of time and money, were fruitful. The nation celebrated completion of the Pacific Railroad, May 10, 1869, and when the American Medical Association met in 1870, they voted to adjourn to meet again in San Francisco in 1871. Therefore, the time had come to reorganize the California State Medical Society; a State Society that could meet, greet, entertain and become host to the National Association. The California State Board of Health was the only organization above a local status at all representing the medical profession throughout California. So it was that this body, through its Secretary, Dr. Thos. M. Logan, steadfastly and ably supported by its President, Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., sought a Convention, to meet at San Francisco, October 19, 1870, for the purpose of reorganizing the State Medical Society.

Physicians from over the State answered the call and met in a hall of the Young Men's Christian Association building in



Dr. Thomas M. Logan

The First in So Much during California's early Medical History.

San Francisco, October 19, 1870. Dr. Thos. M. Logan called the meeting to order and on his motion, Dr. Jas. L. Ord, of Santa Barbara, was chosen Chairman, and Dr. George Hewston, of San Francisco, appointed Secretary. At request of Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., Dr. Logan, through whom, as Secretary and Executive Officer of the State Board of Health, the meeting had been called, delivered an address of welcome. Logan's talk befits him—it was cautious, complimentary and appealing; organized medical life in California was at stake, and Logan was quite aware of his position at the moment and conscious the weight

each spoken word might carry. All the dreams and hopes for permanent organization had, time after time, permanently been shattered. Logan began his speech in a complimentary vein, and then proceeded to realistically recite medical conditions in California's Golden Era, before and after formation of the first State Medical Society. He concluded by stating the American Medical Association *is coming to kneel side by side with us at a common altar* which, therefore, invokes *by all the stirring claims of duty, of hospitality, and of professional pride by which as a society we have been bound and are now being rebound together, so to conduct our proceedings . . . that they may subserve the noble ends for which we are now assembled.* Logan's welcoming address was not long; its thoughts and suggestions were so assembled it urged forward the loyal, and gave no opportunity for recalcitrants toward the old State Society or the American Medical Association, or both, to do other than react harmoniously—on the surface at least.

Credentials of those present were processed by a committee, and the names of forty-six physicians, with residence, school, and date of graduation, were reported to the assemblage. Thirty-six more names had been processed and added to the roll ere the session terminated. Drs. Logan of Sacramento, Gibbons, Sr., of San Francisco, and Shurtleff of Stockton were appointed a committee to draft a constitution. Dr. Logan, as Chairman, presented the Constitution and Order of Business of the old State Medical Society and recommended its adoption, with one exception: that the time of next meeting be changed to the second Wednesday of October. The report was unanimously adopted. A Nominating Committee made its recommendation at the evening session, which was adopted, and the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot for the Association for the following named officers:

President	Thos. M. Logan, of Sacramento
Vice Presidents	S. R. Harris, of San Francisco; T. H. Pinkerton, of Oakland; J. L. Ord, of Santa Barbara; C. A. Shurtleff, of Stockton; and D. B. Hoffman, of San Diego
Corresponding Secretary	Geo. Hewston, of San Francisco
Recording Secretaries	A. B. Nixon, of Sacramento, and Henry Gibbons, Jr., of San Francisco
Treasurer	A. B. Stout, of San Francisco

Sacramento was chosen the meeting place in October; Presi-

dent Logan announced his Standing Committees; and a preamble and resolutions were sent each senator and representative from the State, requesting equity in rank and position for brethren in the United States Service, and petitioning, too, that indignities imposed by the self-constituted and newly born *Aristocracy of the Line* cease.

The State Society expressed its aversion to the prescribing of *Patent Medicine* or secret nostrums; the wish to support only qualified pharmacists; the clarification of the relation the profession sustained with regard to trials by jury, in which medical testimony was required; legislation regarding post mortem examinations; and sustained a hope California's Legislature would appropriate land for the cultivation of cinchona trees. Committees were appointed by the President to study each of these problems, with the intention of petitioning the legislature at its next session.

Throughout this meeting there can be noted Logan's attentive regard for Dr. Hatch's Valedictory Address, May, 1870, before the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement, whereat, in part, Hatch stated:

This Society imposes no arbitrary rules, and countenances no formality, beyond what is necessary for the perfection of an organization . . . We meet as equals in the profession and in the respect due to gentlemen—as individuals needing no restrictions, and imposing none on others.

If, in this retrospective view, the facts have not been exaggerated—if, as has been assumed, we have laid the foundation of an association calculated to promote the interests of medicine; to improve us all in the practical duties of our calling; to bring us nearer together as coworkers in the cause of science and humanity; to widen the sphere of our usefulness, and strengthen our hands for the varied and uncertain conflicts with disease with which many have to engage—if, in a word, the organization of this Society has been successful in breaking up the exclusiveness of a cold and soulless isolation, and cementing closer than before the bonds which should ever unite the fellow-laborers in a high and responsible vocation we owe it to the profession, at whose altar the services of our lives has been devoted, to maintain and perpetuate it.

Success in any enterprise is the reward of exertion, of persevering effort. The field of medicine is yet rich in undeveloped

treasures. The old treatment by venesection and antimony gave place, for a time, to veratrum viride, and other more moderate depressants; these, in turn, to beef-tea and alcohol; and now, of late, some of the best observers in the profession are once more leaning toward the long-discarded practice of former days.

The meeting for reorganization was very definitely a success. More than eighty members enrolled and many others signified a desire to become members, though unable to attend. During the year 1870, organized public health was established and, of course, there was reestablishment of organized^{28-a} medicine. On November 1, 1870, the State Medical Society was incorporated.

28-a The term *organized* suggested then, in 1870, a meaning entirely foreign to that used today.

Chapter V

Medical Associations *Medical Schools* *California State Board of Health* *1870-1872*

AFTER FOUNDING of the American Medical Association in 1847, it had become traditional to hold every other National conclave at Washington, D. C., but a change was made in 1870 because of *the excitable and undignified controversy of the conflicting medical societies of the District.*²⁹ San Francisco was chosen over Philadelphia, the meeting to be held May, 1871. When this announcement was made, California's practitioners of medicine immediately realized how all important to western medicine and medical society solidarity this visit of the American Medical Association might become; how much it could, and should, mean to the reorganized State Medical Society. Coming of the American Medical Association and the medical interest resulting therefrom would stimulate the formation of many county medical societies, or, so it was conjectured. There now came that moment of happy respite for these California medical organizers; delighted in knowing the spade work earlier begun was slowly, gradually producing a restful, productive verdure, whereon, before now, there had been nothing more than an unnutritious, stunted growth.

Preparing to host the National Association was a tremendous

²⁹ Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, v XIII, June, 1870, p. 38.

undertaking. Great preparation was needed. Dr. Thos. M. Logan, President of the State Medical Society, accepted his executive responsibility, and, with his San Francisco, Sacramento and Oakland confreres, set the project in motion. Logan had been critical of the hospitality afforded members at the International Medical Congress at Paris in 1867, and determined that organizational and hospitality obligations would be assiduously handled. Through attendance at national meetings, he had become thoroughly familiar with the requirements of larger Associations, particularly the American Medical Association, and, as was later stated, *left nothing to be desired*. Logan and Gibbons, Sr., and a few other close and loyal cohorts, worked *hand in hand*, and hard, to advance organized medicine throughout California. As they were men with broad understanding, they assented to the subjective, accepted the imperfect human life around them, edged aside unreasonable men with clashing ideas, and held aloft their objective while cautiously advancing toward the brighter rays of accomplishment. These discreet and resourceful physicians brought members of the profession together, for their fond hope was harmonious unity of action. Questionnaire cards were dispersed by Logan, from the data of which he anticipated working out the problems of climate influences on man's physical condition. Through a combination of group thought, and by coalescing the individual study, experience and research of Society members, there was anticipation the nature and causes of endemics and epidemics might be ferreted out. There was wish, too, to determine better methods of making life and health more wholesome, and how to attack the existing evils. Organizing and exploiting medical minds seemed to them the solution.

Infractions of social relations, nonetheless, gave restless moments. A few days prior to the National Assembly the Doctors Gibbons, Sr., and Jr., through the pages of their Journal, appealed to the profession *not* to introduce distracting questions before the Convention—questions which would not settle but rather would produce moments of misgivings and unhappiness and disturb the human mind. For several years a certain element of San Francisco confreres had spewed their venom over their local medical society and, too, on the American Medical Association. Gibbons, as well as Logan, knew that even if this group presently lay dormant, their philosophy had not changed and that they were but *marking time*. Gibbons, as always, stood

up to them, and considered their actions, past and present, but *part of human nature—that is all; the experience of universal brotherhood.* It was Gibbons' opinion *physicians are made of no better clay than other men; there is nothing in a diploma to prohibit tricks of trade. If any of us, he said, grow in grace so as to rise above such weakness, let us thank God for the blessing, and pity the poor devils that are groveling in the lower sphere of envy and slander.*

The State Medical Society urged formation of county medical society units and the election of delegates by each local society, and too, by the faculty of every regularly constituted medical college, by the professional staff of every chartered and municipal hospital (of over one hundred patients), and by every other permanently organized medical institution. Butte, Sacramento, Santa Clara, San Diego and San Francisco counties, in 1871, had county medical organizations, the only ones in the State. Logan was urging San Joaquin, Los Angeles and Nevada counties to do likewise. He felt these counties were small commercial commonwealths supporting a representative group of regular physicians and hoped they would be represented in both State and National Society activities. Every endeavor was made to have medicine on the Pacific Coast get its house in order, and receive its proper recognition when time came to greet the American Medical Association the year ahead. The State Board of Health corresponded with public institutions and professional men, seeking their knowledge and services. The professional majority proudly hoped for successful results. Many wondered if a renaissance was possible. Time would tell.

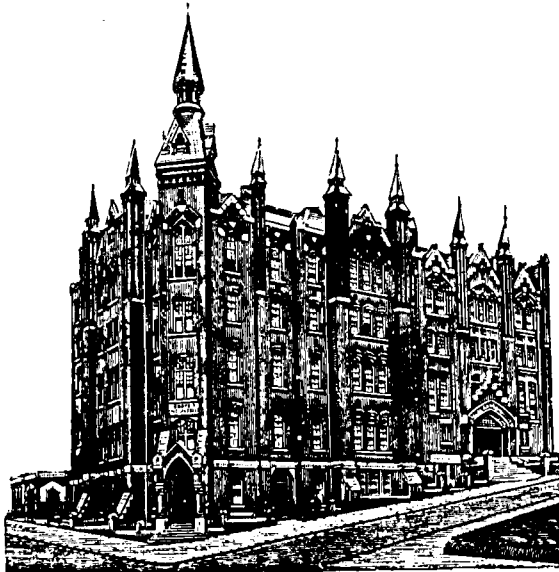
Drought and severe north winds, in 1871, brought havoc to farmers throughout the San Joaquin River Valley. Some emergency action, and soon, became a necessity, or destruction of the grain crops was inevitable. Neither the farmers nor California could afford an economic loss as would result through such an accident to the Valley.

To save themselves, some farmers hurriedly made irrigation ditches from King's River and flooded their wheat land, and thereby produced a yield of thirty to fifty-five bushels an acre. Land previously hard to sell at \$2.50 an acre now rose to \$25 to \$30 an acre. From that time forward an organized system of regularly managed irrigation steadily grew, with an estimated irrigation capacity of six hundred fifty square miles and a proba-



Dr. E. S. Cooper

*A man of spirit and accomplishment, with five or six first's in the surgical world,
though an irascible bachelor with vigorous antagonists.*



Cooper Medical College in the 80's

bility of being able to exceed even this. The farmers purchased their water rights from companies at \$10 an acre: to take as much as the land demanded, and draw at any time. The farmer, however, was required to install his own laterals. With irrigation, thousands of acres of previously almost barren land were brought under cultivation and made richly productive—especially valuable for the raising of grapes and other fruit.

Systematized irrigation in California had a beginning in 1871, the result of Nature's drastic commands. This transformation took man from a slave bread-earner and gave him economic freedom in the Valley's pleasure gardens. Western progress through irrigable lands brought new responsibilities, however, to the medical profession and Boards of Health. Irrigable acres—many poorly drained—added to the then so-called *miasmatic effluvial* diseases, malaria and typhoid fever, though medicine gave needed attention to the prevention of health damage at the hands of this new innovation.

Because of a peculiar course of circumstances, California started the year 1871 possessor of three medical schools, all in San Francisco, though but a year before Toland Medical College was its only institution. The reorganized State Medical Society in 1871 was an infant, striving mightily to walk *on its own*; yet medical education was a foremost project in the Society's program. Nonetheless, the State's Medical Society stature was so diminutive that it had insufficient power to be an abiding influence in what the metropolis considered a local affair, which in fact it was not, since the profession as a whole *was* affected.

The first medical college on the Pacific Coast was the University of the Pacific, founded in 1858, and followed by Toland Medical College in 1864. When the latter was organized, the former suspended operation, and several of its Professors accepted chairs in the Toland Medical College. However, those former Professors from the Medical College of the University of the Pacific later withdrew and began reorganizing the original school. By 1872, through alignment with University (City) College, of San Francisco, the Medical College of the University of the Pacific became THE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF THE PACIFIC.

Acceptance of Toland Medical College by the Regents of the University of California included transfer, too, of the medical building, property of Dr. Toland. The transfer was perfected;

both Faculty and supposedly the college building came under the University's control, and the summer and fall of 1870 the medical school operated under title of the Medical Department of the University of California. The Regents were of the opinion the Faculty of medical schools should not be judges of their own students as graduates to the Doctorate, and appointed a Board of Examiners, six of whom were from the Toland Faculty, none from the other school. A number of the nine appointed outside the Faculty refused to serve, as they considered the manner of selection manifest injustice. Following graduation of the first class it was discovered the deed for the Medical College building still was in the hands of Doctor Toland, and Toland refused its being recorded unless the agreement—Doctor Toland's understanding certainly—the College continue to bear his name be recognized, whereupon the Regents annulled the original resolution upon which the transfer was based.

Doctor Toland and his Professors resigned, leaving the Medical College of the University of California with few Professors and no medical school building. Toland then set about to reorganize Toland Medical College. Drs. Cole and Smith, Professors of the University of the Pacific, left that school to become a part of Doctor Toland's reconstructed Faculty. Toland Medical School functioned until early in 1873, when the Faculty and Trustees deeded the property of the College to the University of California. The Regents accepted the property and organized a medical department consisting of a Faculty of Teachers and a Board of Examiners; the Faculty consisted mostly of professors from the two rival schools, with the view, according to Henry Gibbons, Sr., to their union under one government. A proposal for annexation was made; the Professors of the University of the Pacific were approached and declined coalition, though unfortunately news of the design that such appointments had been made and coalition consummated was given newspaper publicity. Accusations and denials were a natural consequence; tense confusion and chilly suspicion, the ultimate result.

Coincident with the disturbance centering around and over and under San Francisco's medical schools, Doctor Montgomery of Sacramento, presented to his local Society, April, 1871, a classic: *The Ethics of the Medical Profession*. *The Ethics of the Medical Profession* was presented, the author stated, to

show the indispensable need of the profession to the human race . . . to insure general good feeling . . . , and because of the proposed reform to be commenced. Doctor Tyrrell had a feeling Dr. Montgomery timed his Essay for its effect on the San Francisco Medical Society. Montgomery was ever the champion of Ethics, so generally known for this interest that Edward R. Taylor, M. D., composed these few lines to exemplify Montgomery when he wrote his Stanzas honoring Logan:

*When outraged Ethics' sweet attractions
Were by MONTGOMERY lingered over,
Till all grew more and more to love her.*

During May, 1871, the sanguine Gibbons, Sr., wrote of a bountiful supply of essay material furnished his journal, so great it prevented printing some papers until the following month; of how such interest revealed an activity of the professional mind not previously noted, which was due, he felt, to the organization of county medical societies and resuscitation of the State Society. Coming of the National Association too *warmed the torpid blood of many of that large class of physicians who retire from study as they grow old in practice.* Gibbons hoped the Profession would grant us *as journalists . . . some degree of credit for this revival of medicine on the Pacific coast.* He stated he felt honored at his part in elevating the standard of medical qualifications, in promoting the culture of medical science and general medical interest throughout the Brotherhood. *This is our only reward for many years of toil, not without vexation, in the two-fold capacity of editor and proprietor of a medical journal,* he said. Most assuredly medical posterity never could refuse posthumous recognition to one whose background accomplishments over a period of thirty-four years—critical, maturing years—glisten with so much luster and teamwork. Gibbons was one of a few to be permitted another fourteen years to continue his race of life: for medicine, for friendships, for achievements, failures and gratifying, enduring successes.

An adjourned meeting of the California State Medical Society was held in Pacific Hall, San Francisco, May 1, 1871. One hundred and one enrolled, of which seventy-three presented the requisite vouchers and were accepted; the remainder of the list was laid over for future action. The permanent members being one hundred fifty-six in number, the Society was entitled

to sixteen delegates to the National Association.³⁰ At the Society's evening session, the President delivered, before a large audience of physicians and others, an instructive and interesting address on the *Reciprocal Relations of the Medical Profession, its Press, and the Community*.

Paralleling the adjourned State Medical Meeting, the Association of Medical Editors met in San Francisco, with Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., of the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL, Secretary *pro tem*, and resolved to continue their attention toward social, educational and scientific interests of the Profession . . . ; to give special regard to those topics until a professional sentiment was created. In the medium of medical journals was centered a molding influence incomparable; a distributor of scientific thought and progress; a conveyor of mental joy and happiness, particularly in the isolated West, to those needing messages from medical savants; and, too, those journals became the medical readers' treasures, to be handled and watched and filed and reread and brooded over as time gave moments in the office, or as those doctors traveled the sick route, on horseback or in buggy. The journals gave refuge and escape and information; and became basic support for the artificer.

California doctors and their eastern confreres for three years, and more, had been seeking a meeting of the National Association on the west coast. The importance of such a visit was many fold, as previously enumerated. Too, it would lend attention and dignity to the profession if given proper newspaper publicity; it would be the deluxe medical organization, twenty-four years after its formation, displaying its wares for the first time on the Pacific Coast. Preparatory to the National Association's coming, Doctor Logan, President of the State Society, continued to urge formation of local societies in the many counties still unorganized; instructed the election of delegates from the local societies, from the professional staff of every chartered or municipal hospital (of over one hundred patients), and from every permanently organized medical institution.

Now, May 2, 1871—that decisive moment sought after so hard and so long—made its appearance, and the American Medical Association came to order, at Pacific Hall, San Francisco,

30 Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, v XIV, 1871-1872, p. 13.

with Dr. Alfred Stille, of Pennsylvania, in the Chair. Oregon was represented, Nevada too; and the following California county medical societies had their delegations: Butte, Sacramento, Alameda, Santa Clara, San Diego and San Francisco. San Francisco, besides the San Francisco Medical Society, was entitled to representation from the German Medical Society, Medical Department University of the Pacific, Toland Medical College, City and County Hospital, U. S. Marine Hospital, St. Mary's Hospital, German Hospital, French Hospital, Italian Hospital, San Francisco Female Hospital, California State Women's Hospital, and Foundling and Lying-in Hospital; outside the city, the Insane Asylum and the various county hospitals.

Dr. Stille's Presidential Address canvassed well the matter of *Women Doctors*. He very strongly lined up on the negative side, seemingly not comprehending that, as with the other man's dog, religion or wife, it would have better been left alone. Woman of that day still lacked full freedom of Self, and was not living in the sphere she today occupies. Many of the physicians present at the meeting, especially those fearing that women would rob his hearth, gave pleasant acquiescence in Dr. Stille's remarks, while a like number defended their mother's sex and, even granting, so they stated, woman was more difficult of appraisal, the effacement of her rights was, in this case, brought into the forum merely for man's own protection. Was woman forever to pay homage to the matronly virtue and dignity of their June, or were the walls of reserve to be broken down? . . . was a constant theme for many years. In the end, femininity won!

Those evenings free for social intercourse were particularly enjoyed, for a large number of physicians from over California were present and had opportunity of renewing acquaintance with former preceptors and friends from the East. Reminiscence and retrospection walked side by side, and if there was regret in this race of life it was not to be noted; most seemed willing to adjust their cadence with the universal rhythm. The East shared the West's experiences, and westerners, in pleasant reverie, returned to their old home town, walked its main street, and held converse with the postmaster, merchant and *Smithy*. These were moments of sentiment; there was no apology for living.

Dr. Logan's interest in, and knowledge of, the science of hygiene and its corollary, Preventive and State Medicine, were the basis for his resolution placed before the National Association which sought that a Chair of Hygiene, a Chair independent of Physiology, be established in all medical schools, and that there be formed a *National Health Council*.

Doctor Logan felt that *the inauguration of the enlarged philanthropic policy of State medicine in Massachusetts and California is worthy of our special approbation, and commands itself to other States for imitation*. He requested the President of the American Medical Association *be authorized to nominate, at this session, a committee, consisting of one physician from each State in the Union, to memorialize the Legislatures of all the other States to follow the example of one of the oldest,³¹ most enlightened and conservative, as well as one of the youngest, most progressive, and enterprising members of our glorious confederacy . . .* He moved that the objects of the *National Health Council* should be the prosecution of the comparative study of international hygienic statistics, and the diffusing and utilizing of sanitary knowledge . . . Logan's resolutions were accepted and adopted.

It was an excellent meeting, with the usual number and quality of medical papers presented, twenty-one committee reports, and with the innumerable administrative and social requisites, responsibility of the West, handled in an orderly and competent manner. Much praise was forthcoming. However, several intriguing, designing, so-called refined medical minnows, though not deigning risk of being devoured by venturing into deep water, did cause considerable disturbance and commotion near the shore line. It was local; it was embarrassing. Of such, Gibbons in part stated: *a few professional eunuchs refused the hand of fellowship to their brethren from abroad, but their opposition was silent and negative.*³² In a letter to Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., Dr. Stille remarked: *I sincerely trust that the late meeting may have some influence in promoting union among the members of the Profession in your city, and at the same time showing those of them who kept aloof that their conduct has*

31 Louisiana claims title to the first State Health Department—THE BULLETIN of the Tulane University Medical Faculty, v 15, No. 1, Nov., 1955, by Benjamin Freedman, M. D.

32 Pacific Medical Journal, v XIV, July 1871, p. 75-6.

done more to lower them in the opinion of their visitors than they can readily estimate. The people of San Francisco have lived so isolated a life until the railroad was opened, that some of them seem to have forgotten that they belong to the family of civilized man, and are expected to conform to the usages and courtesies of old communities. However, the *hoi polloi* of the profession, east and west, understood and gave no heed to the rudeness shown.

The first annual session of California's revived State Medical Society met October 11, 1871, in the Senate Chambers, State Capitol, Sacramento, California. President Logan occupied the chair. Dr. A. B. Nixon, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, greeted the membership. Nixon's welcoming address made an entreaty for constancy to duty and honor. It was concise and carefully dictioned, for, with others, Nixon realized—had experienced—the past difficulties in State medical unification and used every caution to create no imbalance in the organizational rhythm.

Dr. F. W. Hatch, Chairman of the Board of Censors, asked the election of ten new members, and they were accordingly made members.

At roll call thirty-seven members were present. Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., was elected President for the ensuing year; Drs. Montgomery, Shurtleff, Hatch and Todd were made Vice-Presidents; Dr. W. T. Wythe chosen Corresponding Secretary; and Drs. Cushing and Grover, First and Second Recording Secretaries.

Dr. Gibbons accepted the honor bestowed and stated the trust shown was *appreciated the more highly because it is your voluntary offer*. It was, however, extended because of a confidence held, and for recognition of capabilities, but, too, an honorable recompense for past constructive labor and accomplishments in promoting California's progress in organized medicine.

Drs. Logan and Gibbons were at that moment participating in an accomplishment for which they had worked so hard, for many years. Through their efforts more than to any others' they had led California's medical fraternity forward toward a stable organization, thereby influencing physician character. These two doctors were of the same age, graduated from medical school the same year, both came to California in 1850, and each served on California's first State Board of Health—one,

Gibbons, as its President; the other, Logan, as Executive Secretary. Their characters were dissimilar, however, but the dissimilarity gave added strength to their combined influence. It seemed fitting to have Dr. Gibbons, newly elected President, introduce his retiring compatriot for the Anniversary Address, the evening of October 11, 1871.

Dr. Thos. M. Logan, consummate writer and speaker, opened his address reciting those past events which vitally affected reformation of the Medical Society of the State of California. Descriptively, Logan gathered his audience to him and carried them successively from one scene to another in the reorganization of the Society. Succinctly he revealed how *votaries of medicine regard no impediments in their way—recognize no North nor South, no East nor West*. While on this crescendo, Logan recited the words of Samuel D. Gross, M. D., of Philadelphia, President of the American Medical Association in 1868 —*a sentiment, said Logan, to which all will with one accord assent—, that There is not in this house one soul so selfish, so narrow minded, so sectional in its feelings and its purposes, that would not if called upon, pray with all the fervor of a Christian saint that this American Medical Association might be cemented with an adamantine chain reaching from one extreme of this vast continent to the other, and binding us all in one common whole, indivisible now and forever, for the honor and glory not only of the medical profession, but of America—of that America which the world hails as the land of Columbus and of Washington; the land of great men and noble women; the asylum of the oppressed and the friendless; the home of the arts and sciences, and of all that can adorne and ennoble human nature.*³³

Logan told his audience that if there were any within the meeting not in agreement with Dr. Gross' pronouncement *there are some outside of us—several, I am sorry to say, in San Francisco—*. He held aloft the cudgel, and, in open forum, spoke freely and candidly. Logan's reaction was not his usual character; seldom did he openly reveal such impulses and understandingly accuse. Mostly, Logan gave counsel cautiously, indirectly rather than in a direct manner, and always held himself to a kindly, respectful equity; endeavored the while to filtrate opposing elements with moral worth, and then lead, not command.

³³ California Medical Gazette, p. 78.

He was grievously offended, however, by the querulous criticism, more especially at that criticism directed toward the American Medical Association, and gave considerable time to explain the National Association's worth. His audience consisted of physicians and lay guests, and thereat he sought the fidelity and devotion by doctors to so fine an influence for medical progress as was the National Medical body. Only because the impetus imparted by the American Medical Association was it possible, one year before, to resolve California's conflicting medical interests into *elements of a new and beautiful combination, constituting an integral part of the great whole.*

Logan recommended that the Society publish annually, in the Transactions and in some other form that would be accessible to the public, the names of all regular physicians in the State. Too, he recommended: 1. The incorporation into the Society a mutual aid for widows and orphans of deceased members; 2. A clarification of the relation the profession sustains with regard to trials by jury, in which medical testimony is required; 3. Clarify the question of exacting fees for a family physician's certificate for life insurance; and, 4. Educate the public so that they might the better judge a true physician and/or the mere pretender, and in furtherance of this end he believed the State Medical Society could and would exert a powerful influence.

Dr. Logan closed his address in words unafraid to admit his accomplishments toward advancement and organization of medical science, proud of his participation in succoring and revitalizing communal virtues within the ranks of western medicine, and, too, retained a latent faith and hope that posterity might recognize his counsel, ardent zeal, punctual attendance and interest in medical welfare and award him a niche in its historical archives.

The State Society and State Board of Health sought the interest of confreres and more articles on the subject of meteorology and disease. Logan and Gibbons, Sr., were preparing, discussing and writing papers based on their individual observations, were constantly seeking to clarify, refine, and extend this field of inquiry, and hoped to stimulate others to do likewise. Gibbons felt *the thermometer, the hygrometer, the currents of wind and cloud, should be as familiar to him as the stethoscope, the microscope and the speculum. Only in this way can*

*the medical philosopher come into being:*³⁴ Meteorology and disease attracted attention and were exceedingly interesting; the endeavor was to draw scientific conclusions . . . Was disease attributable to changes or conditions of climate? The subject still was a mere chimera.

There was no indolence within medical ranks; search and inquiry had been challenging, investigatorial, troublesome, disappointing. Erudite inquiries were unable to encompass causes of disease, of death, of life even. Theories were indeterminate of questions in the investigative field of causes of disease. In consequence, maladies could not be prevented; all that might be done was palliative or cure. Death, nonetheless, should be revelatory if autopsies were performed—through the unveiling of morbid conditions and, then, by inductively reasoning the cause.

A report of the State Board of Health—the First Biennial Report—to the Legislature was well received, and was given favorable periodical notice. Public health over the State was favorable, though when the Report was submitted smallpox had begun making its appearance, though localized. The Board lamented needing those sanitary provisions—the proper quarantine statutes—at that very moment lingering in the Legislature. Had they have had them the disease never would have gotten a foothold. *Let the Legislature grant these powers*, stated the Board,³⁵ *and there will be no danger of a repetition of the dreadful scene caused by the introduction of the Asiatic cholera in 1850, and the smallpox in 1868.* Editorials from eastern journals gave favorable comment on the Report, and the positive action taken by the National Association to form Boards of Health in other States, as proposed by Dr. Logan at the last meeting in San Francisco.

For a number of years the Profession had spoken out against the plan of securing evidence of experts before Courts. They sought experts truly competent and desired making them officers of the State, not agents of the parties litigant.

A recent conviction for murder of a German physician of Philadelphia, mainly on testimony of a chemical expert after analysis of the stomach contents of the deceased, and the near convic-

34 Journal, February 1872, p. 421.

35 Ibid, p. 434.

tion—by testimony of the same expert and ere that *expert* had been shown to be incompetent—of a woman of Baltimore, forcefully publicized a need for careful selection of scientific witnesses. Too often the public was faced with two parties in a trial wherein both brought their *experts* to contradict each other. Justice was thereby obstructed, juries bewildered, and discredit and dishonor resulted to the Profession.

It was recommended that experts should be officers of the State or of the Court, whereby competence would serve Justice. The same would apply to insanity, for trials involving that complaint were increasing, and, at times, there was property involvement of great value, and life—still more important.

Year after year this subject had been before the Profession, and the Profession had continued to seek medical expert reform. Through public and Court assistance there had been material accomplishment; effort toward even greater improvement was in order, for, with Emerson, *Truth is the summit of being: justice is the application of it to affairs.*

Enactment of a law providing that no suits should be instituted against medical men for malpractice unless the prosecutor give bonds to indemnify the defendant in case of a failure to convict, failed of passage. There had been an epidemic of suits, and practitioners were refusing to undertake cases that might involve them in suits. Gibbons, Sr., stated that most of these cases were by those unable and unwilling to pay, and *there are nearly always, we blush to say it, professional men villainous enough to instigate the prosecution.*³⁶ *Without pretending to a knowledge of that incomprehensible profundity called law,* stated Gibbons,³⁷ *it seems to us that the term witness might readily be restricted to individuals who know something of the facts of the case in hand; whilst expert applies to individuals who are called on to determine the value or the bearing of such facts, or state the principles applicable to them.* Unfortunately, this 20th Century has prototypes of those *professional men villainous enough . . .*, and the majority membership of that eminent calling should *clean house* of a carion-like encircling minority group whose actions give distress to beholders and weaken the whole structure. They aspire to perform

36 Journal, v XIV, April, 1872, p. 512.

37 Journal, February 1873, p. 443.

before the Bar, to see their name given to the public through the medium of newspapers, and to go halves with their client in the speculation.

A Senate Bill to license and regulate prostitution gave the Profession some concern lest strategy might carry it through: to enhance rental property in baneful areas, and through a monopolized trade, increase their revenue. Too, a European-like freedom was sought by some, while others aimed toward obtaining legal sanction for gambling—one to mother the other. Recurrently the Profession continued to openly attack organized prostitution even if the age-old institution had been accepted throughout history and over most parts of the world.

In March, 1872, the new medical monthly, WESTERN LANCET, sent out its first issue. The Journal was published in San Francisco and edited by Drs. Babcock and Treanor, of Oakland, the latter a Professor in Toland Medical College.

Solano, Napa, Sonoma and Contra Costa counties formed a District Medical Society, March 1, 1872, with Dr. Frisbie, of Vallejo, chosen President. Earlier efforts of *stout hearts and united hands* were not in vain; they revealed *the profession is being aroused from its protracted lethargy . . . realizes the value of associated action.*³⁸

³⁸ Address to the San Francisco Medical Society, by Benjamin F. Dean, M. D., January 23, 1872. Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, v 14, 1871-72, p. 447.

Chapter VI

Evaluation—"Onward March" 1870-1873

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL Association's twenty-third Annual Meeting, May, 1872, in Philadelphia, held especial importance to the West Coast because of the Association's selection of Dr. Thos. M. Logan as its President. The choice was a grateful compliment to the Doctor, as well as the Profession in California. Distinction of being raised to the highest executive post within the National Association gives insight into Logan's many personal and professional acquirements; the power of his presence before that august body began, really, not before 1869, and to be elevated in such a minimal time seemed incredible. Nonetheless, Logan became California's first President of the American Medical Association, and first ever selected from the Far West.

Logan, Chairman of the Committee on Public Hygiene, and hygiene's foremost proponent, made a comprehensive report to the Association, reviewed how important was the subject, and recommended the continuance of the Committee as a permanent section on State Medicine and Public Hygiene, which was agreed to. Two months later there was being organized out of New York a *Public Health Association, for advancement of Sanitary Science and the promotion of organizations and measures for the practical application of public hygiene.*

In the September, 1872, issue of Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal, Dr. Gibbons, Sr., Editor, and President of the California State Medical Society, called attention to the coming meeting—in Oakland, October 9,—of that Society: how important was the

occasion, and the great value of the Association to physicians throughout California. The Association had been reorganized so short a time back as October, 1870, had held its first annual meeting October, 1871, and was then preparing for a second annual meeting the following month. The plant was still so tender, even if this newest implantation had been given a carefully selected, sunny abode, and cultivated and harbored with more tenderness and caution than any other of the genus had previously received. Nonetheless, the slip still was without sufficient color and vigor, and some wondered, because of so many trial failures, if the plant was indigenous.

Dr. Gibbons, however, considered there was much illumined progress in the short period—namely: a meeting of the American Medical Association on the west coast had strengthened acquaintanceship, East with West—so important to Atlantic brethren they commemorated the occasion by forming the *Rocky Mountain Medical Association*; the selection of Dr. Logan, late President of the State Society, President of the American Medical Association; a State Board of Health formed; closer relations with the Governor and Legislature created; a recognition of the regular school of medicine as the legitimate guardian of public health; enactment of a Registry Law; a progress in population increase, and healthfulness of the climate; the passage of a law to pay physicians called upon to make post mortem examinations and chemical analyses for judicial purposes; changes in the Anatomical Law which granted broader governed authority for providing materials for the study of anatomy; a contribution to medical literature of two important volumes: the Biennial Report of the State Board of Health, and the Proceedings of the State Medical Society; the formation of a number of local societies, wherein the science of medicine would be cultivated and the humanities bettered; and, collateral with medicine, yet associated with the profession's revival, came the State Pharmaceutical and Dental Societies. Organized medicine assisted the former pass a law requiring all druggists in San Francisco undergo an examination in pharmacy and materia medica. Principally through the agency of Dr. Logan, the Proceedings of the Society would subsequently be printed at the expense of the State. None could disagree that the accomplishments were multiple, worthy and progressive, and that *they should inspire physicians with resolution to keep step*

*with the onward march.*³⁹

The Medical Society of the State of California met in Broadway Hall, Oakland, October 9, 1872; called to order by President Henry Gibbons, Sr. Early in the session, a committee was appointed, by general agreement, to revise the constitution and by-laws that officers retain their positions until the close of the session, and that officers elected be installed at that time and hold office until close of the next year's session. Such a change would facilitate the transaction of business.

Dr. F. W. Todd, of Stockton, made the committee report promoting ways and means of affording relief to indigent members and their families. The report *was accepted, and placed on file*. Next morning the Society constituted itself a committee of the whole, by Dr. Todd's motion, to organize a Mutual Aid Society, to meet during the noon intercession. This had agreement, but was later deferred. The proposal was noble . . . needed, as worldly accumulation—except in a few metropolitan centers—was meager, and insurance against *that day* became most attractive. The words *indigent members and their families* and *aid society* apparently gave an unattractive ring, and caused most to take up their saddle bags and resolve to be masters of their own lives, to follow the trails and roadways of labor and service, hoping for more sunshine than shadows as they passed through the valley into the hands of Trust.

The previous year Dr. Wm. Fitch Cheney, of Chico, had moved that no physician be elected a member of the State Society from a county having a local society unless he be a member of the same, or unless there be special reasons for his election. Cheney now moved its adoption, which was carried.

Dr. Ira Oatman, of Sacramento, State Society representative before the Legislature, asked for and received the members' sanction of his article on *The Doctorate*, which proposed it be a punishable offense to assume the title of Doctor without authority. He asked that his recommendations be inserted in the Transactions to enhance legislative attention.

In 1871 a proposition to change, from October to April, the Society's meeting time had been offered, and was now given approval.

Dr. G. A. Shurtleff, of Stockton, became President of the As-

³⁹ Gibbons, Pacific Medical Journal, Sept. 1872, p. 192.

sociation for the term 1872-1873, and Sacramento was selected the next meeting place.

Dr. Henry Gibbons' address to the California State Medical Society should be measured among the *Firsts* of Presidential Addresses: because of its bold and dignified diction, healthful philosophy, and wise counsel. From the able pen of a penetrating, analytical mind is to be observed in this address one man's philosophy; the function, gradation, procedure, stimulus and technique of a science and its household troops. The address is palatable and digestible—needs be digested because of its savoury flavor; reveals a Reformer and Friend, a human Spirit leavened with character and heroism, an individualist endeavoring to evade truckling to convention. It imparts and unfolds many principles that are apt and fresh today, need no refurbishing . . . and an occasional return visitation to many of Gibbons' editorial pastures would afford leisure, contentment and inspiration.

Gibbons compared new countries with old in improvements and novelties of medical practice; paid homage to the country doctor; discussed quackery and revealed that *so far, law is a kind mother*. He felt the position occupied by the medical profession in relation to legal tribunals—as witnesses and experts, and suits of malpractice—needed attention. A minority element's objections and criticisms toward the National body gave him displeasure, though it was his conclusion *medical associations are very generally blest with such critics and counsellors, who exhibit great zeal in pointing out the way, and still greater in not walking in it*. How natural it became Gibbons to defend against metropolitan journals contending periodical literature of their country cousins called for censure, and expressed wonderment why subscribers did not concentrate their patronage on a few central periodicals. He admitted that some journals published in remote quarters *have no great literary merit, and not much originality*, but he argued they did good: supplied a local want, aroused professional spirit, stimulated reading, promoted association and general progress. He stated provincial journals were more strictly professional than metropolitan, involved greater sacrifices and were inspired by higher motives.

Gibbons gave *his* ideas on what a journal should contain. Advice from one *enjoying* so much experience as an editor compels attention, and some of his ideas will forever be pertinent.

It is a great mistake, he said, to suppose that there is nothing gained to the profession by a periodical literature unless it be original and in advance of general science. While a few individuals in the foremost ranks are benefited by such profound researches, the masses need rather to be instructed in what is already known. Our ordinary textbooks contain a great amount of knowledge which most of us have forgotten, if indeed we ever learned it, and which is of incomparably more value than the novelties of the day. That instructor does the best service, who by word or pen distributes to the masses of the profession these forgotten treasures.

Dr. Gibbons' remarks on medical education were granted consideration, for he probably was the West's most outstanding student of the subject, through his capacity as a Professor in one of the medical schools and as editor of a medical journal. The editorship called upon him to write a great deal on the standard of medical education in both America and in Europe. He deplored such *cant and snobbery which find nothing good at home and nothing bad abroad*. He disliked some of the criticism of the generation passing away, stated that some of the champions of an older system unfortunately did not live *to see his bones exhumed by another generation and honored with a niche in the modern temple of Aesculapius—the bones, without the name*.

The Doctor lamented *needless multiplication of textbooks, differing one from another mainly in arrangement, not in substance*, and spent four paragraphs discussing *The Devil's right bower*, whiskey; with verity contending *there is nothing which concerns the interests of humanity, whether physical, moral or religious, that can be ignored by the true medical philosopher*.

Retiring President Gibbons thought the two days' session had revealed little time wasted *in idle or useless discussion . . . the papers presented were so generally substantial and valuable; some will find a place in the permanent literature of medicine . . . not a word occurred to ruffle the feelings*.

Off and on the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL had mentioned establishment of a School of Pharmacy. In December, 1872, the project took definite form and in a short time lectures were to begin. The medical profession afforded this worthy project every support and its goodwill.

The Registry Law went into effect January, 1873, and even

if at first there might be some difficulty in enforcement, the end result, so they thought, ought to be an object of great importance and value to the State. It appeared the establishment of a National Bureau of Sanitary Science was on the eve of accomplishment. A bill was about in order to be presented in Congress making the Bureau a branch of the Department of the Interior and providing for the appointment of a Commissioner and assistants. Dr. Logan had lately fully detailed his views to the National Medical Association and, too, went to Washington for the purpose of having the matter brought before Congress.

At retirement as President of the San Francisco Medical Society, the capable and erudite Dr. John F. Morse *especially acknowledged the extraordinary claims of our Secretary, Dr. Gibbons, Jr., and our Pathologist, Dr. (Edwin) Bentley.* Dr. Bentley's reports to his Society of post mortem examinations and treatises on Pathology were publicized through the Pacific Coast medical journals to the great advantage of physicians over the State. As Bentley was *recorded in (Morse's) innermost heart of admiration*, so, too, he held the respect and regard of every physician throughout California. A biography of the man, if it could expose his private dreams, freshness of thought, and pedantries, would not alone be medically historical but a pleasantry and a deferred obligation honoring a man who devoted a life to Facts and Ideas. Surgeon Edwin Bentley's active duty in the Modoc War Campaign should, also, add considerable interest and color to his experiences.

The Third Annual Session of the California State Medical Society opened its meetings at Pioneer Hall, Sacramento, April 9, 1873, with President G. A. Shurtleff presiding. This was an interesting period in California for the medical profession. All realized a successful and vigorous organization meant the advancement of medical science and improvement in the status of practitioners. The coterie of perennial stalwarts kept a close contact to be certain those imperfect and brittle fibres which had shown so much weakness in the past would not again fail the State organ.

Dr. J. F. Montgomery, local Chairman of Arrangements, greeted the medical guests. Few could have been more suitable for the occasion than Dr. Montgomery, and especially was he valuable to those later recorders of that earlier era as he had

a historical turn of mind and a yen for reviewing past events. This meeting was no exception. *By the vigor* (reorganized Society) *displayed since being aroused from its protracted torpor*, he said, *gives at least reasonable promise of a long, fruitful and prosperous existence, unless some untoward disaster, as in the past, befall it. We now have on our record a nominal membership of one hundred and sixty, from twenty-eight counties, but probably we cannot safely claim more than one hundred active co-laborers, out of an estimated number of fifteen hundred or two thousand regular practitioners in the State.*

Dr. Logan proposed an amendment to the Constitution making it obligatory upon the Permanent Secretary to reside in Sacramento. The amendment was passed. Dr. Morse resolved that Chairmen of the various Standing Committees give but a synopsis of their reports, the reading of which would accord with the provisions of the Constitution.

Dr. T. H. Pinkerton, of Alameda, was elected President for the term 1873-74; Dr. W. T. Wythe, of Sacramento, chosen Permanent Secretary, and San Francisco chosen as the next meeting place.

Dr. Shurtleff's Annual Message mostly was given over to the medical jurisprudence of insanity, a subject with which he was daily confronted as Superintendent of the Stockton Insane Asylum.

After the evening session on the 9th of April, Governor Booth gave a reception honoring the physicians at his residence on Front Street. The home was completely filled with leading citizens, their wives and daughters, who availed themselves of the Governor's invitation to meet visiting guests and their ladies. It was a gala affair. Interestingly enough, the old mansion yet remains. From out its shadows, however, no spirit, no phantom, has returned to reveal those characterizations and conversations that might afford a delectable touch to the sociabilities of a Yesteryear.

On the evening of the second and final day of the session, the annual banquet was held at the Golden Eagle Hotel, Dr. Hatch presiding. Twenty-two after-dinner speeches were listened to! . . . and from a description of the affair *all spent a most pleasant evening*. Observing, however, from a distance of time, there comes wonderment if the proverb *Patience is the key of Paradise* might not really be a truism.

The meeting was an eminent success, stated Dr. Gibbons in an editorial comment,⁴⁰ and must have dispelled all doubt, if any existed, of the permanence of the organization. Henceforth, the State Society is identified with the interests and reputation of the medical profession in California, and instead of soliciting favor and support, it is now in a position to confer favor and influence, and to invite any regular and honorable practitioner in the State to enter its ranks for his own benefit and honor.

In a previous moment Gibbons stated,⁴¹ Politicians often say that men are too much governed. The same may be said truly of medical societies in general. The attempt to enforce order and suppress irregularities by coercion often frustrates its purpose, and leads to confusion and disorganization. Discipline is a good thing; but its objects are often best attained through a degree of tolerance and indulgence. Where the profession is divided and discordant, a medical society will have the greatest success in healing the breaches by ignoring them, and by bringing together the heterogeneous elements on the basis of scientific research and mutual instruction and improvement.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SHURTLEFF, M. D.

Dr. George Augustus Shurtleff was born at Carver, Massachusetts, August 5, 1819, the son of Charles and Hannah (Shaw) Shurtleff, in an era when New Yorkers teased Bostonians for actions aloof from cosmopolites, and when a manufacturing system of native products was pressing forward to supply the American people.

George was reared in faith, knew the thrifty farm neighbors, brushed elbows with principle and reality, and after completing his native school attended Pierce's Academy at Middleborough, Massachusetts. On leaving the Academy he taught school for two years, and during the period became interested in, and began, the study of medicine in the office of his cousin Samuel Shaw, of Wareham. Shurtleff then entered Berkshire Medical School at Pittsfield, a school connected with Williams College

⁴⁰ Gibbons, Pacific Medical Journal, Sept. 1872, p. 608.

⁴¹ Ibid, v XV, March, 1872.

at Williamstown, and afterward attended the Vermont Medical College in Woodstock, from which he graduated in 1845.

He began practice at Wareham, was stricken by the *gold fever* and came to California, by way of Cape Horn, arriving in San Francisco, October 2, 1849. On October 12th, Dr. Shurtleff was in Stockton, went on to the gold fields and mined a short time, but in 1850 began the practice of medicine in Stockton, to remain and enjoy an active professional life, have many honors bestowed by confreres, receive civil confidences, and enjoy the respect and love of a large clientele.

Dr. Shurtleff and Mary Jane Nye were married August 5, 1846. Mrs. Shurtleff was born at Clermont, New Hampshire, in 1822.

Dr. Shurtleff was elected to serve the Stockton City Council, August 3, 1850; elected Recorder of San Joaquin County in 1855; and elected vestryman of the Episcopal Church when the Church was first organized in Stockton, and served until his death. About 1855 the Doctor formed a partnership with Dr. Samuel Langdon, no doubt to carry some of the professional responsibility while Dr. Shurtleff served his county as Recorder. In 1856 Shurtleff was appointed Director of the State Insane Asylum at Stockton, reappointed by Governor Leland Stanford, appointed Superintendent of the Asylum in 1865 by Governor E. F. Low, and was reappointed each term thereafter until health caused him to resign in 1883.

At reorganization of the California State Medical Society, October 19, 1870, Dr. Shurtleff was elected a Vice-President, and, in 1873, was made President. It was Shurtleff who organized San Joaquin County's first Medical Society in 1875, and, of course, was chosen its leader. He and Henry Gibbons, Sr., were selected by the State Society as representatives at the International Medical Congress at Philadelphia in 1876, but Shurtleff could not attend so his fellow townsman, Dr. Francis Walton Todd, was substituted.

The Regents of the University of California, in 1873, appointed Shurtleff Professor of Mental Diseases and Medical Jurisprudence. For ten years his learned and practical lectures were enjoyed at that Institution, but in 1883 health forbade continuance of such a heavy obligation. After resigning Shurtleff was made Professor Emeritus.

Shurtleff's contributions to medical science extended over many years, and, mostly, the articles were directed toward his

specialty—mental diseases. His essays were written with care and from experience; they were humanistic; received with regard by the profession, and the most of them are to be found in medical journals of that day.

Shurtleff enjoyed a respected and honored position with confreres over the State and received their trust, as did he of those in his own county. Life's hard work, trials, disappointments, reverses, shadows—became mere mirages as he neared the top of the Great Divide, and for a moment turned to reflect: not satisfied, perhaps, though the spirit of Inquiry having at last passed him by he accepted the mandate, closed the barrier, and, February 11, 1902, slowly walked into the Garden of Night.⁴³

⁴³ Data from the records of the late Jesse Walter Barnes, M. D., Stockton, California. By courtesy of Mrs. J. W. Barnes, and the welcome liaison aid of Dewey R. Powell, M. D., Stockton.

Chapter VII

“*Germ Theory*”—Age of “*detectives in medicine*” 1873-1875

THE AMERICAN MEDICAL Association met at St. Louis, from 6th to the 9th of May, 1873, a session of four days. This meeting gave the West particular interest, as Logan, of California, was its Commanding Officer. Logan's Address to the National Society dwelt on *the certainty of medicine and on expectancy and conservatism, showing the regulations of natural changes and therapeutic interference in disease.*⁴⁴ He advocated a constant alertness toward improvements in medical education; the cultivation of sanitary and preventive medicine; the diffusion among people through the newspapers and by lectures, of a knowledge of the laws of health; and certain modifications in the constitution and management of the National Association. Again, Logan renewed his proposition that the National body appeal to Congress for establishment at Washington of a National Bureau of Sanitary Science, but, though several motions were presented, none prevailed. The proposition was referred to a committee.

Several propositions were adopted, all of which would speed up the sessions and eliminate those essayists indulging in verbosity, thereby making meetings more attractive and stimulating and granting time for certain requisites then receiving too little attention.

Five hundred representatives of the profession, from thirty-two states and territories, attended. The greater number of these

⁴⁴ Pacific Medical Journal, June, 1873.

doctors lived hundreds of miles apart, many traveled so far with difficulty, and Gibbons felt they scarcely could spend three or four days together in intellectual and social intercourse without much benefit. He hoped the changes directed toward originality and profundity would not cause the Association to lose its democratic and cosmopolitan character, features that gave each member a sense of being a necessary part. Democracy, insight, wisdom, and a richness of consideration, one for the other, and within county, State and National organizations, meant strength and longevity; afforded opportunity, too, to that certain proportion shut out through necessity of circumstances from the facilities of education and advancement enjoyed by more crowded centers. Gibbons hoped the National organization would never fall into the hands of *the more ambitious and pretentious malcontents . . . who turn up their tender noses at 'country doctors' . . . We need it (Association) for the masses—for the rank and file of the profession. There is less eclat to be gained from the work of educating and elevating the great body of the profession, than from pushing into the regions of discovery with a few advanced scholars. But the improvement of the many is by far the most important work.*⁴⁵ Constantly guarding the ephemeral, the transient, of early medical organization as Gibbons lived to experience, never at any moment of the thirty-five years of participation did he cease to—borrowing from Emerson—*Set up the strong present tense against all the rumors of wrath, past or to come.*

When, in May or June of 1873, Dr. J. H. Wythe removed to San Francisco, he resigned as Secretary of the State Medical Society, as the Constitution required that that officer reside in Sacramento. The President appointed Dr. G. G. Tyrrell in his stead.

An American Public Health Association had been formed in 1872, and the first annual meeting was held in Cincinnati, May 1, 1873. California considered this Association an important one—the original seed had been planted in California—and read with much interest the papers presented on *Longevity*, on *Registration*, on *Nomenclature*, on *Sanitary Laws*, on a *National Sanitary Bureau*, on *American Dwelling Houses*, on the *General Causes of Diseases*, on the *Horse Influenza*, and other equally

45 Pacific Medical Journal, v XVI, 1873-1874, p. 40.



Dr. F. W. Hatch

The great tranquilizer of our earliest medical societies. A man of insight and judgment . . . an important philosopher . . . a thoughtful, inspiring writer . . . and one of the needed individuals not to be thrown off-balance.

vital subjects. It was the *jump off* in a field that California physicians, particularly Logan, had been urging and pressing for over several years; as Logan had earlier sought a State Board of Health long before the Massachusetts State Board of Health came into being.

At the beginning of 1873 medical organizations throughout California were probably as stable as or more so than ever before. Past experiences, past remembrances, however, created cautious optimism. Progress, both State and National, had been material the last three years, and many medical stalwarts wondered why, for her men were no greater now than at the beginning; many of those still present had experienced and toiled through the more than two decades of organizational effort; they had experienced and toiled through the more than two decades of organizational effort; they had experienced the bruises and gashes inflicted upon the society body, and had witnessed mortal blows, reflected over the loss, and mourned at the bier. Those practitioners already across the River had carried their experience with them; their frailties had been forgotten, but many particles of their legendary character, ineffaceable accomplishments, and self-reliance had remained to beneficially support residual structures. As social structure changed . . . became molded . . . transformed . . . in an interval of twenty-five years, the arts, occupations, marriages, languages—all—had passed through trials, failures and successes to develop a smoother flowing socialized whole. Medicine and its votaries traveled a parallel course with the social strata about them. Their complications and difficulties were no greater or more powerful, or more vulnerable; and most assuredly the problems of that day were not trivia.

Dr. Hatch, of Sacramento, on addressing his local society in his annual report of 1873, *felt a review of the past always profitable, and not without pleasure when there are good deeds to call to mind . . . Much good has been accomplished, radical changes have been wrought, a happy influence has been exerted, not only upon the profession itself, but upon the relations existing between us and the community in which we live. To have predicted, five years ago, that there would exist today in Sacramento a society such as that which we now constitute, having passed through a series of four full years without a break, without an interruption of harmony between its members, without*

a single element of discord, or the introduction, during all this period, of even the slightest subject of contention, would have been to confess a faith in the conservatism of our profession, unwarranted, to say the least, by past experience here, and unsustained by the results commonly observed in other localities . . . He who cannot witness a brother's success without jealousy, who cannot enter into competition with him without sinking his manhood in the meanness and littleness of a petty, sordid and ignoble rivalry, will find no sympathy here!

The relation existing between the profession and the public is a reciprocal one . . . This entire subject of the relation of the profession to the public is too little understood in every community. It is much less so in a population like ours. There is lack of discrimination . . . He (regular physician) is looked upon as every one else is looked upon who assumes the title of Doctor, even though it has been done without preparation, without proper culture, without the scientific and professional attainments which every physician ought to possess.

If we have grown strong, united and prosperous, let it be preserved and maintained in its integrity, let us cling to it as to the altar of our hopes, let us cherish it as it is, as we appreciate the good it has accomplished and the benefits of which it is destined to be the author, and hand it down to those who shall succeed us, a precious legacy to be perpetuated forever.

Reading the editorials and annual addresses of our medical forefathers we find it not difficult to note how cautiously organized medicine was compelled to ride the waves, to tack back and forth in order to keep clear of rocky shore lines, and forever fly storm flags, just in case. Strong passions were being found unfruitful; the soft note was more beneficial, was more compelling and more often called upon. Occasionally a sense of covetousness, combined with a lack of benevolence, charity, good will, and good nature arose, usually centering, directly or indirectly, with one or other of the medical schools.

The power of forgetfulness, however, was coming to mean salvation: to nervous systems, to friendships. It was the cement creating a final medical coagulum, thereby granting ultimate surcease to Fear. Gibbons urged a continuance of originality, considered there was at times too great a proneness to follow the leader, and asked his confreres to practice the precept of Dr. Rush—Observe, think and read! Read, observe and think

for yourselves.⁴⁶

Dr. John F. Morse, in September, 1873, presented a preamble and resolution to the San Francisco Medical Society seeking an independent State Board of Medical Examiners, which *must end in the measurement of the best possible professors, the most thorough students, and in evolving the best system of medical education for enhancing the guarantees of graduation and the value of medical diplomas.* The resolution was adopted and forwarded to the other several medical societies for their action and support.

An influenza epidemic of 1872-73 in California had been well described by Dr. G. G. Tyrell of Sacramento. This epidemic struck with almost irreparable damage, and Tyrrell and his colleagues reasoned for a cause of this *pestilence that walketh in the darkness.* They wondered if it came in on the *wings of the wind,* in whose atmosphere might be found the cause, or whether there might be a telluric influence, or a change in the electric condition of the air, or whether the cause was to be found in the so-called *Germ Theory* of epidemic disease. Disease germs were beginning to receive recognition—Logan, in 1874, in an article on a yellow fever epidemic outside of California used the term *germs*—though retention of zymotic and barometric bases were hard to dispel. By November, 1873, Gibbons was stating that *The microscope and the imagination have peopled earth, air and water with the germs of disease, and now milk comes in as a vehicle for the seeds of typhoid fever.*

Epidemic fevers—intermittent, remittent and continued—of California were familiar entities in all except an etiology. A general term of *malaria*, meaning bad air, was principally used, though *marsh miasm*, to some, seemed more expressive. The rainy season, stagnated water, vegetable putrefaction, and irrigation, coupled with alluvial mining, were all accused, yet a specific cause hung before practitioners' eyes as a cloud of mystery. A number of European practitioners of eminent standing were just then using carbolic acid in intermittent fever, contending results when quinia failed, while others were unable in the least way to bear out such results. Nonetheless, according to Gibbons,⁴⁷ *This is the age of detectives in medicine. The best*

46 Pacific Medical Journal, v XVI, July, 1873, p. 92.

47 Ibid, p. 407.

minds are pursuing the physical causes of disease, with the microscope, with chemistry, with imagination. Disease is no longer dynamic but material. Its seeds float in the air, and abound in water, in milk, in food. When one takes a drink of water the chances are that he swallows a myriad of living organisms, vegetable and animal, which will carry into his blood the germs of typhoid, of tubercle, of cholera. Milk may be fraught with the poison of typhoid fever and may scatter the pestilence broadcast. It may conceal the seeds of cholera and plant a great harvest of that scourge. So we are taught. More than that, we are now assured that milk can propagate tubercle. A French scientist has demonstrated that calves fed on substances with which tuberculous matter is mixed, will become tuberculous. Also that the milk of tuberculous cows brings on tuberculosis, and of course that the milk of tuberculous women will do the same. And then we cannot breathe the air with safety, for it may be filled with the germs of palmella, which will enter the blood and grow into an ague-fit. Pork and beef are dangerous from the trichina, and tenia is smuggled into the stomach with vegetables and spring water. We live in a dangerous world, and what with the multiplication and improvements of binoculars the dangers increase every day. It is to be hoped our microscopists will give us a bill of fare, informing us what we may eat and drink, if indeed there is anything salubrious.

The Sonoma County Medical Association, slightly more than one year old, held its first meeting of the year, January 2, 1874. Eight to ten of the physicians on the roll were charter members. Those members who were serving on State Society committees were asked to retain copies of their reports to that organization that they might be filed for benefit of the local society.

The State Medical Society held its Fifth Annual Meeting, April 15, 1874, in Mechanics' Institute, San Francisco, sixty-three members answering to the call of names. Dr. J. F. Morse as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements read an address of welcome . . . a performance the sagging though unyielding body was scarce able to perform, yet gave his message in excellent diction, filled with human warmth and faith, whilst there was inward realization his obligations were thereat being slowly relinquished to an inexorable soft Sleep. Ere the year had passed—on December 30, 1874—Dr. Morse, who had given so much

of his great usefulness and wonderful capacity to medicine, and who, ever, was friend, companion and gentleman to conferees as well as the body politic, surrendered all earthly responsibilities, duties and covenants that he might keep his own appointment with Death, the son of Night.

Dr. Tyrrell, Secretary, proposed a constitutional amendment providing expulsion of any member failing to pay his dues for two successive years and after notice had been served, unless from absence or other good reason. The proposal automatically was laid over for action at the next annual meeting.

Dr. Morse's resolution for a Board of Medical Examiners not connected with any medical school was severely attacked by Dr. Beverly Cole. Morse defended, and the applause received gave evidence that the sympathies of the audience were his. Gibbons, Sr., felt the medical schools and medical profession at large need cooperate, give agreement, so he resolved a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to bring before the next annual meeting *a plan by which the said object can be accomplished*. Drs. Morse, Shurtleff, Logan, Gibbons, Sr., and Hewston were placed on the Committee.

Dr. J. M. Browne, of Solano County, was elected President, succeeding Dr. Pinkerton; Dr. G. G. Tyrrell was retained as Permanent Secretary, and Sacramento was chosen next year's place of meeting.

Dr. J. P. Whitney proposed an amendment to the Constitution providing *Sections* in the Society, thereby eliciting greater attention to papers presented by referring them to appropriate sections.

This annual meeting appeared to have been both productive and satisfactory; at least there were no confiscatory happenstances to mar. Gibbons, Sr., remarked he was happy to *witness the perfect success, the complete triumph, the assured permanency of the Society . . . the unity of purpose which was manifested . . .*, and considered *The Society now stands as a power in the land, efficient not only as an educator and an excitant to mental labor, but a harmonizer and unifier of the profession, collecting its numbers in a phalanx and enabling them to accomplish by concentrated action whatever is desirable in shaping public opinion and legislation. And those gentlemen who have stood aloof because they could see no profit to themselves in the membership, must now cast aside that ob-*

jection. *The Society is now in a position which enables it to offer a favor to every new candidate rather than to ask a favor at his hands.*⁴⁸

However, reading *between the lines* on what Gibbons said created a feeling that, with Shakespeare, *Thy wish was father to the thought*. No one knew better than Gibbons—as editor of a medical journal, an active society participant, and with his fingers constantly on the pulse to observe any uncoordinated or vacillating action—there was a small, forceful undercurrent element which needed awareness. It was there; and it loomed forward often, though never with enough force to dis sever the reorganized Society.

The State Society’s treasury contained \$1,100.00, and fortunately so, too, as the Legislature refused further appropriation for printing the Transactions.

To draw a trial balance on the net worth of President-Doctor Thomas H. Pinkerton to his Society, after completing his term of office, is somewhat exacting. While his tenure revealed nothing that was perhaps outstanding in material accomplishment, the fact he held the organization on an even keel, softened out disgruntled individuals and allowed no indecorous action on the floor of the forum reveals a marked capability.

The Doctor was Oakland’s first City Health Officer, appointed by Mayor Dr. Samuel Merritt, 1868-1869; became first President of the Oakland Medical Association, October 25, 1869; and he and his Society whole-heartedly cooperated with Logan *et al* to reorganize the State Medical Society. Pinkerton was an earnest, active and progressive medical society proponent, and his compulsive forcefulness, as much as anything, no doubt, was reason for his selection to leadership of the State Medical Association.

Pinkerton was born in Amesbury, Massachusetts, in 1817, graduated from Harvard Medical School in 1859, and sailed around the Horn and into San Francisco Bay on January 5, 1861, armed with letters to the financier, J. O. Eldredge of San Francisco, who introduced him to George Hearst. The latter sent him to Virginia City, Nevada. His stage driver from Sacramento to Virginia City was the celebrated reinsman, Hank Monk. He was surgeon for the famous Ophir, Gould, and Curry mining companies, city physician to Virginia City and county physician

48 Pacific Medical Journal, v XVI, July 1873, p. 628.

to Story County, and was in charge of the Virginia City Hospital during its first five hectic years. He was at the hub of the wildest, most romantic period of Washoe history. Perhaps his life there was a bit too romantic, for he moved to quiet suburban Oakland in 1866 and grew with it . . . His hobby was ornithology and the collecting of stuffed birds. He apparently outlived his lucrative practice for, as happens to many of the best physicians, he died a poor man.⁴⁹

The Sixteenth Volume, June, 1874, of the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL brought a proud comment from the capable Editor, Henry Gibbons, Sr.; and well it should have, as he had for nine consecutive years published an excellent volume, and year after year from his own pocket met the deficit—*not until a very recent date has it paid expenses*. Without a similar experience no one could in the slightest manner comprehend what hours of labor, worry and criticism ere the ultimate crystallization of his JOURNAL. Organizing, composing, reading, personal correspondence (local, national and foreign), correcting copy, publishing, collections, and much else granted no moments for respite. Though it had reached a paying basis *its life would go out instantly if there were no other motive than money to vitalize it*. Without a personality and in the hands of one not having a love for books and study and composing, it would have gone the way of so many companion journals. *We take pride*, said Doctor Gibbons, *in the reflection it has outlived nearly all the medical journals which existed in America at its birth. Possibly it is some honor to the profession on the Pacific Coast, that a country settled for scarcely a quarter of a century, can point to a medical journal sixteen years of age*. There is a certainty too few tapped the Editor on his shoulder and gave praise, and while such a gracious gesture might have been a most acceptable pabulum, his multiple labors were performed from pleasure, not to call out for others to come and see.

Dr. J. M. Browne, U. S. N., President of the State Medical Society, was absent on ship duty at the time of the Society's annual meeting in Sacramento, April 21 and 22, 1875. President Browne's letter was read to the assemblage, and Dr. A. B. Nixon,

49 A History of the ALAMEDA COUNTY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, by Milton Henry Shutes, M. D., 1946, p. 53.

Vice-President, occupied the Chair. Dr. Nixon's Annual Address was, mostly, a recapitulation of those subjects perennially presented—the same food, if a change in flavor. The Society saw fit to retain Dr. Nixon in office and chose him President for the year 1875-76. The list of Society members revealed upwards of two hundred names, and sixteen honorary members, with a thousand dollars in the treasury.

There were two amendment changes to the Constitution, both proposed the year before: First, provided for expulsion of members delinquent in their dues for two years, without good cause; and, Second, provided for submission to the chairman of the committee on a particular subject, all papers offered for reading before the Society.

To comply with President Browne's wish, Dr. Gibbons offered the following resolutions: that a Committee on Alcohol and Tobacco be appointed by the President, and that a committee of five members be appointed to promote the organization of county and district societies. Gibbons regretted that certain extensive and populous sections of the State were not represented in the Society. He cited *the large and prosperous county of Santa Clara, the seat of literature and science, had not a single representative, nor was there a medical society in the county. Los Angeles, one of the most flourishing cities in the State, had no Society, though it was honorably represented.*⁵⁰ Gibbons hoped that such an action would be the needed stimulant—*spark*—to arouse physicians and have them become a part of the family circle, both for the Society's and their own good. Plenty of safeguards had been thrown up against admission of applicants having no diplomas that none need have worry as to the future. The worry was the fact that too many with diplomas were not joining up.

Dr. John Mills Browne's inability to occupy the Chair at the April, 1875, session of the Medical Society of the State of California was most unfortunate. He was admittedly a capable physician and surgeon, had been an ardent attendant at the State Medical Society conventions since its reorganization, and being a gifted orator his eloquence within the forum and at annual banquets made him a prominent and possessive figure.

Browne was the first medical officer to command the Naval

⁵⁰ Pacific Medical Journal, v XVII, 1874-75, p. 607.

Hospital at Mare Island and, later, 1888-1893, served as Surgeon General of the United States Navy. He is the only active medical officer of any of the United States services ever to be elected president of California's Medical Society. His rise to Society prominence was sudden, and short-lived because of obligations to the Navy, yet his residence on California's Pacific shore first began in 1854. California's medical archives give up little information on this eleventh individual chosen leader of the California Medical Society, though the United States Medical Bulletin⁵¹ affords a significant review of Dr. Browne's activities:

John Mills Browne, the thirteenth Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, and the ninth to hold office as Surgeon General, was born in Hinsdale, N. H., on May 10, 1831. He graduated from the medical school of Harvard University in 1852, and was appointed an assistant surgeon in the Navy on March 25, 1853, from New Hampshire. His first duty was in the store ship Warren, at Sausalito, California, across the bay from San Francisco. This ship, in September 1854, was anchored at Mare Island and became the residence of the first commandant of the navy yard, Comdr. David G. Farragut. The future Surgeon General of the Navy was thus the first medical officer of the Mare Island Navy Yard. His next sea service included surveying duty on the Pacific coast and experiences in an Indian war on the shores of Puget Sound. Promoted to a passed assistant surgeon on May 12, 1858, he served in the African Squadron, engaged in suppression of the slave trade. He was commissioned surgeon on June 19, 1861, and was soon ordered to the steam sloop Kearsarge. He was on that vessel as senior medical officer when, under the command of Comdr. John A. Winslow, she engaged and sunk the celebrated Confederate cruiser Alabama. Following the Civil War, he supervised the building of the Naval Hospital, Mare Island, Calif., and was the first medical officer in command of that hospital. He was fleet surgeon of the Pacific Fleet and, in 1883 when the Museum of Naval Hygiene was founded in Washington, he was ordered as its first director. He was appointed Surgeon General by President Cleveland on April 2, 1888, and held office until May 10, 1893. He retired in 1893, and his death occurred in Washington,

51 Vol. 35, No. 2 of April, 1937. Courtesy John W. Green, M. D., Vallejo, Calif., and B. W. Hogan, Rear Admiral, Med. Corps, Surgeon General, U. S. Navy.

December 7 of the following year.

Doctor Browne was a man of distinguished appearance and, what is unusual in a physician, was a gifted orator. He was particularly well known as an after-dinner speaker. He was prominent in the Masonic Order.

As showing the rate of promotion in the Medical Corps of the Navy in the period for a decade before the Civil War to the 1880's, the dates of his promotion to the various grades are given below:

Assistant Surgeon, May 26, 1853

Passed assistant surgeon, May 12, 1858

Surgeon, June 19, 1861

Medical inspector, December 1, 1871

Medical director, October 6, 1878

The Assistant Chiefs of Bureau during the Surgeon Generalcy of Browne were Surgeons W. K. Van Reyden and J. C. Boyd.

Dr. Logan's recommendation to the American Medical Association, in 1871, that they use their influence for a National Bureau of Health seemingly was being *kicked around* more than many cared to see. Dr. Bowditch, Chairman of the National Committee of Hygiene, felt such a move was not feasible nor desirable until such a time State Boards of Health had been more generally established, and offered a resolution calling for a report every year of the progress made in this direction throughout the Union. Bowditch's resolution was supported, much to the disappointment of the National Health Bureau's hard-working author, Doctor Logan.

Chapter VIII

California Medical Law Lady Doctors Admitted to State Society 1875-1877

WHEN the American Medical Association met at Louisville, Kentucky, the spring of 1875, but ten years after General Lee had surrendered his Army at Appomattox, reconstruction in the South was still in process. Kentucky was one of the border states that did not secede. The general Amnesty Act of 1872 disqualified the leading whites, though by the time of the American Medical Association meeting in May, 1875, military occupation was near an end, the whites had gained control of all except three states, and those were recovered the following year. Defeat, and especially reconstruction policies, left its chasm, a breach that had become so broad it was difficult, as someone said, *to sit quietly and hear your own breathing and look out on the universe and be content.* Nonetheless, Doctor Baldwin, of Alabama, stated on the floor of the meeting *that long since Alabama had shaken hands with Massachusetts*, and a Texan told how *the graves of both the Federal and Confederate dead were annually strewn with the choicest flowers, and that the tears shed and grief manifested on such an occasion partook of mutual feeling.* This cooperative action, this brotherhood within the ranks, this relinquishment of shackles preventing professional harmony and sympathy, North and South and East and West, was rejoiced at on the Pacific Coast, for sectionalism had to bear its portion of guilt in splitting asunder, for ten years, organized medicine in Cali-

fornia.

The Louisville meeting was a healthful moment in American medicine: thereat commonplace culture was granted predominance; the power of those chronic critics against the National Association was weakened; the hands of national, state and county societies were energized and strengthened; and public relationship was given ascendancy. To make their anticipations more certain of attainment Louisville's Committee of Arrangement forbade liquors of all kinds, including wine, from the entertainments provided for guests. Gibbons remarked that *nothing short of an unselfish and conscientious regard for the success of the meeting, the personal welfare of the members, and the interests of society at large, could have inspired them to a movement requiring so much courage and independence. . . . These advantages and influences are not only of a scientific and intellectual character, but eminently social and moral, and even, in a large degree political. A good work was done at Louisville.*

During May, 1875, the San Joaquin County Medical Society was organized, creating one more link in the State chain.

An Act to Regulate the Practice of Medicine in the State of California passed the two Legislative Chambers, was signed by the Governor, and became law. None were entirely satisfied with the law—*impossible of all impossibilities*—though it contained some very good points and there was belief the *worms* in it could be eliminated once the law began to function. It supported the Examining Board in refusing licenses to those of unprofessional or dishonorable conduct; required practitioners without a diploma to submit to an examination; imposed an almost prohibitive license *on nostrum venders and mesmeric and spiritualistic mountebanks*; and prohibited anyone from the practice of medicine after 1876, unless he had a regular diploma. The homeopaths and eclectics had their own Examining Boards, under their own supervision. *It will be a great advantage*, wrote Gibbons,⁵² *to have them eliminated from our ranks and placed where their status will be known and published.*

On February 13, 1876, one of the oldest and most beloved members, Dr. Thos. M. Logan, died of pneumonia when sixty-

⁵² Pacific Medical Journal, April, 1876, p. 530.

eight years old. As past president of the State Medical Society, past president of the American Medical Association, faithful ally of organized medicine, and recipient of innumerable honors received both for medical and lay accomplishments he was one of the best known of the medical family. The last few years of his life were devoted mainly to the study of Hygiene and Sanitary Laws. *His last illness was contracted in the public service, stated Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr.⁵³ Being in the Senate Chamber on business connected with the State Board of Health, he was overheated by the stifling atmosphere of the apartment, and after walking home in the cold night air, he was seized with a chill, which lasted several hours and was followed by pneumonitis. Though the pneumonic inflammation passed off, his strength never rallied, and he gradually succumbed.* Dr. Logan was buried in the State plot of the Sacramento City Cemetery.

Physicians over California looked forward to the State Medical Society meeting, April 19th and 20th, 1876, with a bit of apprehension, as the new law was to come up for action, as well as election of a Board of Examiners, both of which might well awaken biased interests. The meeting was held in the Young Men's Christian Association Hall, called to order by President A. B. Nixon, M. D., and greetings were extended by Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., as Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements.

The Board of Censors, ere they gave sanction to a few applicants, called for a Society interpretation of the provision to the Constitution a year past declaring none but members of local medical societies were eligible, unless there be no society existing in the county of their residence or for some especially assigned reason. One of the candidates belonged to the San Francisco Medical Benevolent Society, admittedly a beneficial association but one that had regular scientific meetings and whose doors were open to all applicants for membership, provided they possessed the required testimonials. A variance of opinion was elicited but, ultimately, by resolution, the Society was recognized and the admission granted, though Dr. Gibbons, Sr., *hoped the resolution would not be regarded as a precedent. If so it would be in the power of disaffected schemers anywhere to get up outside organizations, the members of which would claim admission to the State Society and thereby frustrate the*

53 Pacific Medical Journal, v IX, No. 10, March 1876, p. 485.

*design of the State Society to foster local societies and promote through them the harmony and interests of the profession.*⁵⁴ Dr. Gibbons was too experienced not to be cautious, and, with Shakespeare, envisioned *When clouds are seen, wise men put on their cloaks.*

There was a similar motion offered relative to the German Pathological Society, but as that Society restricted membership to European diplomas, the resolution was defeated. However, the Society of German Physicians was recognized as coming within the provisions of the Constitution.

The Nominating Committee, by motion from the floor, was composed of one member from each county represented. The Committee nominated, and the Society elected, Dr. W. Fitch Cheney, of Butte, for President and the following were elected the first State Board of Examiners: Dr. Simpson, Dr. H. Gibbons, Sr., and Dr. Bates, San Francisco; Dr. Babcock, Oakland; Dr. J. F. Montgomery, Sacramento; Dr. Orme, Los Angeles; Dr. L. Robinson, Colusa. Alternates—First, Dr. Cushing, Oakland; second, Dr. A. B. Caldwell, Marysville; Dr. Clark, Stockton. It was agreed the actual expenses of the Board should be paid by the State Society, and San Francisco was chosen the next meeting place.

That difficult and much bandied topic, *To Whom does the Doctor's prescription belong—the doctor writing it, the patient, or the druggist?* The prescription was accorded the physician and could not be renewed without the owner's sanction.

Admission of lady doctors to the State Society, as well as other societies throughout the nation, had for years been a burning coal—too hot to handle. The JOURNAL Editor⁵⁵ ran this paragraph under title of THE WOMEN ARE COMING: *They have had a 'commencement' lately in Philadelphia, at the Women's Medical College—the oldest medical college for females, we believe, in the world. The editor of a leading Philadelphia newspaper went there to look at the wiry old maids and to enjoy a laugh at the expense of the ill-favored, near-sighted, vinegar-tempered, odd customed, eccentric and unfeminine doctresses. But he played Balaam, and was so enraptured with the personal appearance and graceful demeanor and literary accomplish-*

⁵⁴ Pacific Medical Journal, v IX, No. 10, March 1876, p. 574.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 535.

ments of the ladies, that he applies to them the lines of Tennyson:

'They sat along the forms like morning doves

'That sun their milky bosoms on the thatch—

'A beauteous range of pupils.'

The Board of Censors passed favorably on five lady doctors asking admission to the Society and recommended they be granted membership. The request landed with great impact! Voting was equally divided. For years the subject had been tossed back and forth—throughout the States, and Europe, too—and there was no make-believe in any debate that was listened to on the State Medical Society floor. Dr. Euthenasia S. Meade, first woman to practice medicine on the Pacific Coast, in an address in 1893, before the Women's Medical Club of the Pacific stated: *In conclusion let me say that in 1875 (1876 is the correct date) there was admitted to the Medical Society of the State of California, five women graduates of medicine. The vote to elect them being submitted to roll-call, showed there was a tie, and now came the supreme moment: All eyes turned to the presiding officer, Dr. A. B. Nixon, of Sacramento, and he, in a voice a little choked with emotion (for the debate had been warm and sometimes personal), said: 'And I, gentlemen, cast the needed vote to declare the ladies elected.' There followed cheering and other sounds, enough to indicate the serpent is still in Eden. 'He rests from his labors but works do follow him.'*

At the evening banquet, Dr. H. Gibbons, Sr., responded to the toast, *Our Female Associates. After years of coquetry and courtship they have demonstrated the virtue of leap year. May their marriage with us put a stop to bickerings and quarrels.*

The meeting, nonetheless, closed in fine harmony, *the largest and most satisfactory meeting yet held.* These several subjects which well could have left a savor of disunion were adroitly handled by the Chair and the session adjourned with a feeling of success, permanence and power—an organization *holding in its hands the destinies of the profession.*⁵⁶

With the XXIst Volume of the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL it had been edited for twelve years either by the Senior Gibbons or by both Senior and Junior. Few medical journals in America had enjoyed this longevity under the same

⁵⁶ Pacific Medical Journal, May, 1876, p. 582.

leadership. Gibbons, Sr., commented he entered the thirteenth year with alacrity, unwearied—in fact *the labor and vexation served to lighten the cares of life and furnish much recreation amid the routine and drudgery of every day practice.*⁵⁷ With all the JOURNAL's imperfections he said it had been a good educator, had assisted in binding together the profession, and because of this organized structure, there was developed intellectual, moral and political force, a force becoming stronger from year to year. Humanist that he was, Gibbons sought and enjoyed *the sympathy and fraternal consideration of our fellows, which we estimate as the first reward.* In a way the good Doctor had reached that age at which he was beginning to sum up recollections. His JOURNAL made an excellent Diary, at least for those last twelve to thirteen years of a long life in the far West. For persuasive good to the medical profession, no contemporary was equal to the general scope Gibbons' interests covered, and encased within was that specific talent carrying him to an illustrious position. He was real, and at his literary best when opposing that bundle of contradictory medical element—an element that would have postponed western medical organization for many years except for Gibbons.

In July, Doctor Gibbons wrote an editorial on *Medical Society Entertainments*;⁵⁸ the article had its origin through a resolution of the State Medical Society of New Jersey, oldest State Society in America, prohibiting entertainment at the place of meeting. He hoped the precedent would be followed in California, stating he had attended *many medical entertainments both in California and in the East, and we may say with truth that in no single instance was intoxicating liquor introduced without excess, and in large companies without drunkenness. The supper of the State Society at its last session in San Francisco was a mortifying illustration in point . . . A few years ago, on the occasion of the annual meeting of the State Medical Society in Sacramento, Governor Booth invited the members to an evenings entertainment at his house. He had the courage and independence—for it requires all that to stem the current of popular usage—to exclude all intoxicating liquors. In consequence there was rational and pleasant conversation . . . re-*

57 Pacific Medical Journal, May, 1876, p. 584.

58 Ibid, v XIX, 1876-77, p. 72.

fined and social enjoyment . . . deprived no person of dignity or sense.

It was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that Gibbons had spoken out against the evil of Bacchus. The Bacchanals criticized his stance, for which criticism he not at all cared. With Samuel Johnson, he felt that, *in the bottle*, discontent, cowardice and bashfulness were seeking, in turn, comfort, courage and confidence. Beside moral, social and intellectual reasons he abhorred the public relation reaction some of the brotherhood created.

When the American Medical Association met, June 6, 1876, a lady doctor delegate representing the Illinois State Society, presented her credentials. Dr. Brodie, of Detroit, resolved that all such names be referred to the Judicial Council, but his effort was followed by a motion Brodie's resolution be laid upon the table, was carried by a large vote, resulting in much applause. The lady doctor's right to a seat was recognized, and her sex thereby gained recognition within the National Association. The same year, November 1, 1876, Mrs. L. M. F. Wanzer, of San Francisco, graduated from the Medical Department of University of California, to become the first lady graduate of this Coast.

Because of Philadelphia's Centennial Jubilee, the American Medical Association held its 1876 conclave in that city, not for scientific discussion and for social communion alone, but also for the patriotic purpose of joining in the Centennial Celebration, as well as worshipping at the shrine of liberty—birthplace of a nation. One hundred years in the life of a nation, as compared with the old civilizations appeared a short span, but the trials this youthful country so nobly met, its resistance to participation in foreign conflicts, its safe passage through the fiercest civil war ever known to mankind, and its climb to maturity with assets so distinct, valuable and compelling, assured a firm and indissoluble union. In one hundred years its population increased from three to forty million.

Philadelphia was—is—hallowed ground to the medical profession, for there, one hundred years back was organized the first medical school this country ever knew. It became the mother medical school from whence originated our present day medical education. In war and medicine the names of Wm. Shippen, Jr., John Morgan, Jonathan Potts, James Craik, Ben-

jamin Rush, and others, will hold esteem to perpetuity because of their accomplishments the first half century of our nation's existence.

In Philadelphia the American Medical Association had its birth, though conceived in New York. It was 1847 that medical delegates from over the country assembled there to organize, to create and adopt a Constitution, By-Laws and a Code of Ethics, though not until 1848 did they meet in Baltimore as a scientific body. The same year, 1848, James Marshall discovered gold in a Coloma millrace, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended war with Mexico, thereby adding a western empire to an already mighty republic and magnetically attracted a world's attention to the West. In two short years California's first local medical society was organized, and six years thereafter followed the first State Medical Society. Both, with others, were beaten to bits on rocks of representation, ethics and man's selfishness, though by 1876, like the national mother society, those periods of painful reverses, of trial and error, were in the main cast overboard, granted clearer sailing in waters free of larger troublesome questions.

State Medicine and Public Hygiene are indebted to the West for the large share of public attention given them. To Logan the people are indebted for movements in these firsts (1871) as well as the establishment of a section in the American Medical Association on State Medicine and Public Hygiene; fortunately and ably commanded and has given and is giving, fine attention to protecting public health—the very existence of a nation. Nine States had organized State Boards of Health:

Massachusetts.....	in 1869
Louisiana	in 1870
California	in 1870
Virginia	in 1872
Minnesota	in 1873
Michigan	in 1873
Maryland	in 1874
Georgia.....	in 1875
Alabama	in 1875

J. Marion Sims, M. D., President of the American Medical Association, in his Address had this to say: *Of these (States) only four belong to the original thirteen States. How strange to see the young sister California taking the lead of the great*

*States of New York and Pennsylvania*⁵⁹

Potent, prosperous Santa Clara County physicians met on August 12, 1876, in San Jose, to form the Santa Clara County Medical Society. Twenty-four doctors initiated the organization, in number inferior only to the position of San Francisco and Alameda. The Society entered the ranks of organized medicine, September 5, 1876; Dr. J. M. Browne was chosen President; the Society adopting a previously proposed constitution and by-laws, as well as effecting the essential committees. Now that the mother State Society was beyond—or seemed so—the possibility of doubt and question, there was a natural presumption that other counties, one by one, would follow precedent.

That long-talked-of International Medical Congress meeting, held September, 1876, at Philadelphia—first in America—drew the best representatives of the profession, from America and from countries around the earth. The meeting was held in the Chapel of the University. Dr. Henry Gibbons, Sr., in attendance, wrote that adjoining the Chapel stood the Hospital and Medical College . . . *that venerable mother of American schools and American doctors has all the vigor and energy of a healthful middle life.*⁶⁰ Dr. F. Walton Todd, of Stockton, and Dr. H. Gibbons, Sr., of San Francisco, represented the State Medical Society. It seems not at all surprising that Dr. Gibbons should note the *perfect illustrations of prevailing courtesy and dignity . . . never was the fraternal feeling disturbed by a word of harshness or excitement . . .* Here was laid, stated Prof. Gross of Philadelphia, *upon a common altar for common good the best means of promoting the holiest and dearest interests of our profession. In its wide range, the present Congress is without a parallel . . . Certain members (in America) felt an irresistible desire to show the world what the century since the establishment of our independence as a free and sovereign people, has accomplished for scientific medicine . . . Time was when we had no medical literature—no medical science—when we were utterly helpless, and wholly dependent upon the aid derived from our European brethren, especially the English, whose language, practice and habits we made our own.* To better portray what others thought of our scientific gentlemen in that earlier period, Dr. Gross

⁵⁹ Pacific Medical Journal, v XIX, 1876-77, p. 108.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 202.

recited that we had *no native works on medicine and the collateral sciences until after the commencement of the present century*; that, in 1769, Samuel Johnson, speaking of the American colonies, exclaimed, *Sir, they are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging*; that Abbe Raynal declared, in the latter 18th Century, *America had not yet produced a single man of genius*; and a Scott reflected: *Who reads an American book, who goes to an American play, or who looks at an American picture?* Truths, even if but partial, can hurt—do hurt. Our country was youthful, restless and, in candor, had somewhat dispensed with the popular code perhaps, or relinquished it for reasons of diminished population or great distances one from another.

Nonetheless, Prof. Gross alerted the assembly that *the discourses which will be delivered before you on the progress of American medicine will serve to show that the profession of the United States has earned for itself an enviable reputation, and that it is fully abreast with all the other pursuits that adorn the human mind and shed lustre upon the scientific character of the nation. They will serve to show that we have passed the period of medical provincialism, and that we stand upon a lofty platform, to which we need not be ashamed to invite the representative men of the profession of foreign countries, however illustrious, or however far advanced in the arts of civilization.*

Prof. Austin Flint reported on the History of Medicine the Past Century; Dr. J. M. Toner, of Washington, D. C., gave a *Medical Biography*, briefly recounted the medical careers of one hundred of the most eminent medical men of the century; Dr. Parvin of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Prof. Stanford E. Chaille of the University of Louisiana and Prof. Davis of Chicago gave, respectively, papers on *Obstetrics*, *Medical Jurisprudence*, and *The History of Medical Colleges in the United States*, all sketched the progress attained over the century. If collected together and bound these major essays would offer an excellent book on the history of American medicine, to 1876.

Near the meeting place, in a nearby burying ground at Fifth and Arch Streets, lay Benjamin Franklin and his wife Deborah. The scientist and philanthropist, *Father of the Revolution*, founder of a University, and President of the Board of Trustees of the University, who signed the new Rules *Respecting a Medi-*

cal Education and a Degree, remained close by for his long sleep. Might it have been possible the spirit awakened to the importance of those essays on a science that owed him so much? Essays from scientific gentlemen at that moment were enjoying the results of Franklin's uncommon endowment, a University. Medicine and medical organization on the Pacific Coast, too, are indirectly pleasantly indebted to *Poor Richard*.

The meeting of the Congress stimulated the pen—fortunately—of Henry Gibbons, Sr. He had returned to his old haunts of a quarter century back and found *that scarcely an individual of my former friends and associates is left alive*, to give pensive moments; yet he perceived there was warmth and inspiration in the constituted body of the Congress—*assiduous and laborious students, skillful and successful operators and practitioners who would have done honor to any nationality in the old world. What country in the old world, he asked, has brought into universal distinction and eminence in so brief a period, so many practitioners and surgeons, so many authors and teachers, so many explorers and discoverers?*

Always American, was Gibbons—morning, noon and night. He besought the coming generation of physicians not to weep and wail over the inferiority of American Medicine and American Schools, lest foreign physicians take them at their word and lose respect *for a body of men whose own exponents so zealously and pertinaciously ply the community with assertions of its unworthiness and debasement.*

To see and study the flesh gives contact and interview with the nerve energy, with the bones and internal organs—for human worth is but human and, often, too often, it lurks behind self or unknown premises. Association with European physicians, some of them their most brilliant, gave Gibbons a *second look and a revised trial balance; and, too, observation and intercourse with physicians of the Atlantic States rather enhanced my estimate of the profession of California.*

As the new year 1877 made its appearance so, too, did the California Medical Law—a law enforcing upon every California practitioner of medicine those certain requirements previously stated. At that time the three legalized Examining Boards had issued the following number of licenses:

Medical Society of the State of California700

Eclectic Society 40
 Homeopathic Society 50

This law made no change in the relative position of the three classes of practitioners, but left them exactly where it found them. *But it does segregate them and draw a well marked line of distinction which will prove alike useful to the regular profession and to the public, stated Gibbons, Sr.⁶¹ At the expiration of the year, every person will have an opportunity to examine the lists of licensed practitioners, and to perceive where each one belongs. Hitherto, the status of irregular practitioners was mostly unknown and they had the advantage of being confounded with regular physicians. From this they had everything to gain, whilst regular physicians had everything to lose by being confounded with others. Hereafter it will be impossible to practice under false colors.*

Dr. Grover, Secretary of the Board of Examiners, was about to publish, in April, the first complete directory of physicians licensed by the Board, with sources of the diplomas, credentials, dates when obtained, and the names of those licensed on examination. The directory would probably be a more informative listing than any other in the Union, and most helpful not alone in California but, for reference, in all the States.

Once again, April 18, 1877, it was the season for a meeting of the Medical Society of the State of California. President Wm. Fitch Cheney brought the first session to order in Dashaway Hall, San Francisco. Dr. G. H. Powers made a gracious, relevant address of welcome, and the Censors reported their list of candidates for admission to the Society. Dr. Gibbons, Sr., stirred up some muddy water by asking that the Censors be instructed to recommend no candidate who had refused or neglected to take out a license from the regular Board of Examiners. The San Francisco Benevolent Society, which had organized its own Board of Examiners and issued licenses, especially opposed the request, because the resolution would exclude their licensees from State Society membership. The resolution, after thousands of words and development of partisan, high-wrought feelings, was carried. To obviate any possibility of unconstitutionality, Dr. Gibbons then gave notice of an

61 Pacific Medical Journal, v XIX, 1876-77, p. 322.

amendment to the constitution that only licentiates of the Board of Examiners representing the State Society could be admitted to membership. This amendment, according to rule, was laid over for a year.

The Board of Censors moved the expulsion of two or three members and accepted the resignations of several others, but the Forum asked the Board to be more explicit—to *call a spade a spade*. On the following morning the red carpet was removed, the names given, and each acted upon separately. The Benevolent Society appeared to be the organized resistance to Society wishes. There were verbal lacerations aplenty, and for some years resulting scars were noticeable here and there; yet legalization of a diploma and credentials from the regular Board of Medical Examiners remained adamant and ultimate victors.

Report of the Nominating Committee elicited conflicting opinions when Dr. Washington Ayer's name was presented for President. He was charged with being a member of the Medical Benevolent Society, to which Dr. Ayer answered, by a letter circulated privately, and stated his connection was merely social, that he condemned their course in opposing the medical law and organizing their own Board of Examiners, and that his own license was procured from the regular Board appointed by the State Society. The letter seemed sufficient, and Dr. Ayer was elected President for the term 1877-78, the meeting to be held at San Jose. The Nominating Committee, though, did revise its report when it was learned one on the Board of Censors was a member of the Medical Benevolent Society and had refused to apply to the Board of Examiners of the California State Society for a license.

The PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL⁶² congratulated the Society for overcoming and settling problems arising out of the Benevolent Society; that it was proper *the profession throughout the State should know . . . there is a small element somewhere, benevolent only in name, hostile to the profession at large, hostile to the State Medical Society, to the San Francisco Medical Society, to the Medical law, to the Board of Examiners, to the Medical schools, and in fact hostile to almost everything except oysters and the like, socially considered; and that the troubles in the late meeting were mainly the result*

62 Pacific Medical Journal, v XIX, 1876-77, p. 543.

of the subterranean fermentation of this element.

Dr. Walter S. Thorne, San Jose, reflecting over the recent State Medical Society meeting, wrote a letter to the JOURNAL and asked it receive publicity. He wrote *in the humble capacity of a rural member*, doing so in full realization, as he put it, the San Francisco and Sacramento medical societies form the *de facto* State Medical Society, allowed their country cousins to *be seen and not heard* and that his own Society was *ignobly omitted from all representation upon the various committees*. He complained of the unparliamentary debate, raucous response to offenders, discrimination in selection of officers, uncivil and impolitic harangues, and felt these were secondary to *local animosities and jealousies of rival societies and schools*, and were not and should not be allowed to become a part of State Society proceedings. Legitimate debate, he said, was stifled for emotionalism, and *the malaria of the Capitol has not infected their modesty*; sober considerations were without opportunity, and he *deprecated the character and conduct of the last meeting as unworthy and unbecoming the embodiment of the medical learning of the Commonwealth*.

The JOURNAL's Senior Editor concluded Dr. Thorne had unwittingly done the very thing it was his intention to condemn in others; that he had taken a late opportunity to disclose his own features to the landscape, had lain low and quiet in the meeting as others worked diligently to afford a correct and durable canvas. Gibbons stated that the differences centered around the action and the inclination of the Benevolent Society, that no word grew out of rivalry of the Medical Schools, and that the San Francisco Medical Society and the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement, as such, were in no way provocative. The President and Secretary alone made the Standing Committee appointments; *that the latter assumed too much in some respects is not the fault of the physicians of Sacramento, . . . It is to be hoped that he will hereafter confine himself to his legitimate duties, and consider himself the servant of the Society, not its master . . . The Board of Censors is a guarantee against disease from that source in the future.*

Dr. F. W. Hatch proposed a resolution—which was unanimously adopted—that the Society endorse the views of President Cheney to create local Boards of Health in every incorporated city and town in the State, and invoke legislative aid

in promoting the resolution.

President Cheney appeared to have placed more physicians from outlying centers on his Standing Committees than any of his predecessors, and his program revealed a more generous medical literature than preceding ones. Those dissensions that he was confronted with made his official position not an easy one, though Dr. Gibbons felt that *having worked off its accumulated excitability in convulsive twitchings, the Society will hereafter settle down to a peaceful and normal pursuit of healthy life*. The Society had been put to the test and revealed real potential strength, a good omen that it now rested on firm ground to give a renewed future assurance.

The California Directory for medical practitioners, prepared by Secretary Doctor Grover of the Board of Medical Examiners, had a particular interest because it was the first production of its kind that gave the names of licentiates and their location, and fairly accurately revealed growth spots and, thus, the economic status over the State. San Francisco, commercial center of the Pacific Coast, showed the greatest number of doctors, with Los Angeles, largest municipality in the south, being second. The Directory listed many nationalities: from England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, France, Mexico, Austria, Holland, Italy, Denmark, Switzerland and Belgium.

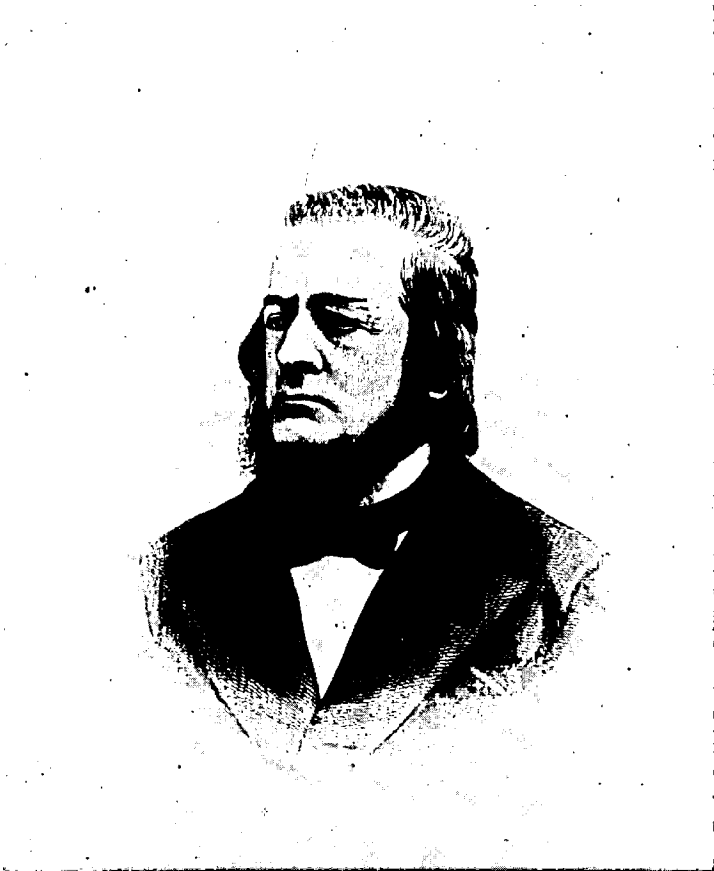
Chapter IX

Review of a Quarter Century of California Medicine, Medical Schools, and Medical Journalism 1878-1879

FOLLOWING the Civil War the United States took on a new stature, and held an international position as a military power. The West, too, continued on the advance, though restless from pressure for railroad regulation, Chinese exclusion, and improvement of labor's economic position. Surface mining over the gold-bearing regions was now in the Past; it was replaced by quartz mining and search for gold-holding quartz leads, plus a refinement of the quartz through an improved mode of milling. Agriculture and stock raising were gathering more and more impetus because of improved transportation facilities and more consumer demand. Adjudication of land titles, acceptance of Chinese exclusion, certain reforms, plus a wonderful climate gave Southern California — south of the Tehachapi — an increase in her population from six thousand persons in 1850 to seventy-five thousand or more in 1877. Practitioners of medicine followed the centers of population, and population was governed by economic strength, a strength, in the case of Southern California, created by Nature's benevolence, by man-made opportunities and possibilities, or both. The West, with all its prosperity and advancement to this time, was still having *growing pains*; great unseen horizons awaited.

A quarter century of medicine in California presented impressive and substantial accomplishment; obtained, too, under such a diverse set of circumstances it scarcely granted description. It was a land where towns had come into being almost overnight, and where success smiled on some and ruined others. Failures,

genealogical factors, internationalization, occupations, abstention from religious and moral teachings, and diseases peculiar to climatic and racial intermixture, filled mental institutions and incited suicide. However, lure of this new land brought doctors to meet the occasion, to *match my mountains*, to construct and



Dr. Hugh H. Toland

*Founder of Toland, later the University of California, Medical School.
An excellent surgeon, with a few world first's.*

reconstruct organized medical societies, build hospitals, medical schools, labor for health and sanitation, fight the charlatan, the selfish, the incompetent — to give this Pacific Coast empire an equality rating, if not with all of, with most of the eastern schools. Henry Gibbons, Sr., wrote⁶³ that *The medical schools of America have been the essential promoters, if not the authors, of almost the entire advance in medicine which our country has witnessed during the present century. The schools are but the outcrop of that vast amount of energy and ambition, which has signalized the history of American medicine. The medical schools have given birth to organizations, from the National Association downwards to State and local societies, by means of which new life has been infused into the profession . . . The medical schools have seized the press and opened that mighty fountain of journalism from which the stream of knowledge flows in a million channels into every doctor's study . . . I am certain that no other State in the Union absorbs as much medical literature in proportion to its population as California.*

Nearly two hundred had graduated from California medical schools since the first school had been instituted seventeen years previously, and a perusal of both the scientific and organizational activities within the State Society revealed how active those graduates had become, and how ably they had met up to their obligations, and disclosed an ability equal to that of any. *The qualifications, said Gibbons, of the average American graduate will compare favorably with those of his trans-Atlantic confrere. In practical medicine and surgery, and in the department of obstetrics, American-made physicians are quite as skillful and successful as any others . . . And when I take a general survey of the condition and progress of medical science, and the character and qualifications of medical men in our own country, and especially in California, so far as feeling any sense of humility and shame, I proclaim myself proud of my profession, glad to be in it and of it, to be identified with it, to live in it and, when the time shall come, to die in it.*⁶⁴

At the American Medical Association meeting, 5th to the 8th, inclusive, of June, 1877, some points of interest to this State Association were discussed. Dr. Bowditch believed every member of a State Society should too be a permanent member of the

63 *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XX, 1877-78, p. 6.

64 *Ibid.*

American Medical Association, and favored a reduced representation, that is, one delegate for every twenty or thirty members instead of one for every ten. This change he felt would make the position more sought after and would carry more honor.

The eighth annual session of the California State Medical Society was held at San Jose, April 17 and 18, 1878. President Washington Ayer presided, and Dr. W. A. Saxe of San Jose welcomed the guests. Ten new members were favorably presented for membership to the Society and accepted, and, later in the meeting, seven more were added to the list. The President's Annual Address briefly reviewed Society history and congratulated members and the profession at large on its advanced welfare.

The last year's proposed amendment that all candidates for membership should possess a license from the Board of Examiners of the Society was adopted, to become part of article 2, section 4, of the Constitution. By an amendment adopted, thenceforth certificates of membership had to be signed by the President and Secretary only, rather than by all officers as theretofore.

Dr. H. S. Orme of Los Angeles was elected to succeed President Washington Ayer, and San Francisco was declared the next meeting place.

The May, 1878, issue completed the twentieth volume of the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL which for fourteen years had been under the able, conscientious and astute Gibbons, Sr., and the son, Gibbons, Jr., who appeared a few years later. Gibbons stated the Journal's *contents might have been more abstruse and more scientific, prying deeper in the recondite, searching the unsearchable problems of physiology and pathology, embodying more European learning, and for these reasons more acceptable to a few readers, and possibly reflecting more credit at home and abroad on the character of the editors. But such has not been our design. We have written or gleaned for the many and not for the few.*

The Senior Editor loved the work of composition, of dispensing medical information, of intercourse with professional journalists—nationally and internationally; it kept alive social associations and permitted him to live the greatest number of good hours with companions and circumstances.

In 1878, the Medical College of the Pacific and the Medical Department of the State University announced they were extending their requirements to a three years' graded course of study in conformity with Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania and a few others, and the new regulations would apply to students after the course began in June.

Use of hypodermic medication began to attract attention in Europe by midyear 1878, and American medical journals started carrying articles on the experience and progress obtained. Syphilis was being treated by subcutaneous injection of corrosive sublimate, ergot was being given hypodermically for arrest of alarming uterine hemorrhage, and, by some, the subcutaneous injection of salt water for *radical cures of congenital inguinal hernia*. Separate theories still were having their day. As yet the microscope had not shown whether a germ was animal or vegetable, or whether it was a specific for each peculiar disease.

Progress in the treatment and prevention of disease caused some to believe that a time was not far distant when physicians would be out of employment — these hopes based mostly on the supposition hygienic measures would prevent all zymotic diseases. But Gibbons, discussing the matter, said always there would be business for the doctor as *sooner or later death must come*; that hygienic measures would reduce mortality of children under five years from the then fifty percent to twenty or thirty, and thus increase a physician's clientage. It was thought that educating people to a health standard would give them appreciation of preventive medicine and physicians' advice.

At the meeting of the American Medical Association in Buffalo, New York, beginning June 4, 1878, little came about that was of interest to State Medicine. President Richardson spoke how important to the National body were State Medicine and State Boards of Health, and the Committee to encourage formation of State Boards of Health reported an addition of three the past year, which made nineteen in all. Sketches of the lives of seventy-five deceased members were filed by the Necrology Committee, making a total of 850 names on the necrology list of the Association since the Society's formation in 1847. Younger elements of the profession perhaps gave little attention to the necrology listing, for youth has slight truck with Fate, but the figures were observed by Gibbons, Sr., for he commented:⁶⁵*We are struck with*

65 Ibid, v XXI, 1878-79, p. 71.

the absence of most of the old organizers and workers. The management of the body appears to have gone mainly into new and younger hands. No sense of a feeling of injustice could be perceived in his pen; there was given thought, nonetheless, on the subject of values: of living, the direction ahead, and effort to see and hear things anew.

Gibbons, too, wondered in which direction modern medical journalism was pointing. Pages of medical periodicals, national and international, poured in on him to observe and he was *struck with the great amount of space occupied by the novel, the rare, the anomalous, the abstruse and the speculative, in proportion to the practical, or that which is available in the daily experience of the mass of practitioners . . . All this is well enough in its place, but as nineteen-twentieths of every day practice concerns common diseases, the question arises whether it is proper that nineteen-twentieths of the literary labor of medical men should be devoted to uncommon diseases and extraordinary and exceptional phenomena.*⁶⁶

In 1878, at the annual meeting of the American Public Health Association, resolutions were adopted declaring yellow fever a specific disease, not indigenous to the United States, and that a rigid quarantine or non-intercourse would exclude it. The Association was of the opinion this obligation belonged to the government, and, too, the government should establish a commission of experts to investigate the subject. Peculiarly enough—or was it?—there was considerable dissatisfaction at passage of the resolutions; many considering only a matter of cleanliness was involved and that the disease was propagated only where local causes promoted its development. As yet the world had not overtaken the likes of Walter Reed and Lazear and Carroll and John Moran; the stegomyia was still to ride rampant another twenty-two years ere man factually recognized that those she-mosquitoes held flights with Death. To date the profession had mourned the passing of seventy-eight physicians in a service of humanity during the late yellow fever epidemic in the South. It was felt that others would eventually be added, possibly to pass the hundred mark.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 277.

without decline for two months; characterized by a peculiar prolongation in individual cases, with a succession of renewals. Only a few took on the form of pneumonia, and few of the cases were fatal. In certain sections of the Pacific Coast diphtheria was unusually severe and malignant — often in remote villages and mountain towns where no local causes might be suspected. *Every day adds to the value of sanitary science, wrote Gibbons, and demonstrates the utility and necessity of Boards of Health, local, state and national, and all other instrumentalities which belong to the domain of PREVENTIVE MEDICINE.*⁶⁷

The State Medical Society was making plans for its meeting in San Francisco, April 16. In February, Gibbons, Sr., was soliciting better reports from standing committees, stating the reports on the whole had theretofore seldom been a credit to the writer or Society because no attempt was made to bring them to completion. In more than half the cases no report at all had been made, and, in many such instances the position had been solicited — those individuals unconscious no doubt that *honor and ease are seldom bedfellows*. The JOURNAL, in February, gave names of those doctors who were chairmen of the more important committees: to stimulate . . . and, a subtle *get going*.

It was said the April 16 meeting was, in many respects, the most satisfactory that had been held because most Standing Committee Chairmen had made full and complete reports, and these had been followed by free, agreeable and productive discussions. Dr. Henry S. Orme, Los Angeles, in his Address as President, gave special concern to hygiene and the prevention of disease — more and more commanding attention at that period —, and sought that the Society take some progressive action for State support of a State Hospital for consumptives, and a State Botanic Garden.

Dr. W. P. Gibbons' report on Indigenous Botany received especial attention. Botanical research was very much a part of earlier physicians' lives; they knew plant life, communed with gardens, fields and mountains, and kept awake to Nature; received and felt a salutary envelopment within all that pertained to Nature; held a clan-ship with Nature and took pleasure and surcease watching each moment of change in her natural forces. Out of the 131,000,000 acres of land in the State, 26,000,000 — accor-

67 Ibid, p. 395.

ding to W.P. Gibbons, in 1879—were reputed to be forest, 5,000,000 tules and 9,000,000 arid, *which can be reclaimed by irrigation*. The beauty of a tree gave these acres charm . . . its moisture exhalation and leaf dropping invited attention for health and utilitarian reasons. The Society urged more and varied planting of trees: To reduce summer temperatures, preserve moisture balance, provide a continual source of profit, and use this acreage for utility and beauty.

The appellation of "Allopathy" and "Allopaths" was resented —*a name introduced by Hahnemann to give distinction to his homeopathic dogmas*. Nixon, of Sacramento, presented a resolution *utterly repudiating the name of allopath. The regular profession of medicine is knowing no sectarianism in medicine, practicing no exclusive dogma, or in any way restricting its legitimate members in the treatment of their patients, but on the contrary giving them the fullest latitude to use any remedy or any means whereby the welfare of the sick may be promoted, their health insured, or their lives prolonged.*

A resolution was passed requesting the American Medical Association memorialize Congress to pass a law requiring that all patent and proprietary medicines, on or after July 1, 1880, be labeled with proximate principles contained therein, and their relative properties.

Dr. A. W. Saxe, of Santa Clara, was nominated and elected president of the Society for the year ending April, 1880, and the usual greetings of appreciation were extended to retiring President Orme for his constructive term and courteous attention afforded the membership.

The Northern District Medical Association held its meeting in Marysville, May 13. Eight local medical societies had by then been organized in California: San Francisco, Sacramento, Alameda, Northern District, Sonoma District, Stockton, Santa Clara and Los Angeles.

The State Medical Society and the conscientious editor of the Pacific Medical Journal were happy, June 11, 1879, to salute a reorganized Sonoma County Medical Society. Dr. Gordon was made President, Dr. R. Press Smith, Secretary, and a committee selected to revise the Constitution and By-laws.

Chapter X

Politics Enters the State Board of Health Trained Nurses 1879-1883

GEORGE C. PERKINS was elected Governor of California, September 3, 1879, and inaugurated January 8, 1880. Changes in the composition of the State Board of Health therefor resulted; and every change in, and every action of, the body were of interest to the State Medical Society. State and local societies had guided the destinies of California health and were vigilant of public health and progress, and of preventive medicine. The Board consisted of seven members, appointed by the Governor for four years, and none except the permanent Secretary received compensation other than actual expenses. At the expiration of Governor William Irwin's term of office, 1879, five State Board members' time in office too had expired, so Governor George C. Perkins sent the names of five physicians to the Senate for their approval, two of whom were new nominees. Two of the Board physicians were Republican and five Democrats; the Governor and Senate were Republican, so the Senate refused confirmation feeling there should be a more equitable distribution. Political considerations had never before entered into appointing members to this Board. Senate action placed on the Governor a duty of nominating. Governor Perkins presented the names of Dr. H. Gibbons, Sr., of San Francisco, one of the old Board, and Drs. W. H. Cluness, of Sacramento, J. M. Widney, of Los Angeles, C. J. Mason, of Chico, and C. W. Breyfogle, of San Jose, the last four being new appointees. The Senate confirmed the Governor's nominations; some, however, took strenuous exception to Dr. Breyfogle on the ground of

his being a homeopath. There was contention he would prevent harmony and create hostility, as had previously been experienced by Sacramento's City Board of Health. Support by personal and professional friends, and, too, the fact Dr. Breyfogle was a graduate of a regular medical college in Philadelphia, brought about his Senate confirmation. Homeopaths had done nothing in the State to in any way connect them with public health, or with the standards of medical education, or with the suppression of quackery; moreover, they had thrown up barriers to the State Medical law, and many homeopaths had exhibited antipathy toward vaccination. Future possibilities *could* be ominous for State health if homeopathy were given entree to Board appointments.

After all nominations to the Health Board had been confirmed, five of its members were *somewhat* disturbed to discover one of the new members was an Eclectic. The doctor had been graduated, however, from what was generally considered the best eclectic institution in America, and stood well in the community in which he practiced. The regulars were not too nonplussed over his selection. In any event, the only difference in theory was the rejection by eclectics of certain remedies; and the eclectics, like the homeopaths, rejected their own so-called exclusive system whenever they wished — which was quite often — prescribing the same medicine in the same doses as was prescribed by regular practitioners. The embarrassing yet humorous part, however, was to have an eclectic unknowingly appointed. The Eclectic and Homeopathic Examining Boards had licensed some of the most notorious quacks, a circumstance and action unpardonable, unforgiveable and unforgettable to the regulars.

Some within the regular profession felt those regulars on the Board of Health should resign rather than serve with an eclectic or homeopath, more especially with a homeopath. but Gibbons, Sr.,⁶⁸ had this to say on that point: *The association is not likely to contaminate the body and impregnate the majority with heresy. On the contrary we have a suspicion that it will have the opposite effect and bring about the dissipation of the peculiar notions of the exceptional member.*

A decade of progress in medicine and medical organization was observed as members of the California State Medical Society assembled in San Francisco, April 21, 1880, for the annual con-

68 *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XXI, 1878-79, p. 6.

clave. President A. W. Saxe, as he brought the Society to order commented this was the Tenth Annual Session, a decade of medical advancement. Eleven counties were represented at the opening session, and telegrams received revealed that other county representatives were held away because of severe storms and freshets.

Dr. G. G. Tyrrell, Permanent Secretary since reorganization of the Society, proffered his resignation. It was accepted and a resolution of thanks expressed for his conscientious and able services. The Nominating Committee presented the names of Dr. F. W. Todd, of Stockton, for President, and Dr. Wallace A. Briggs, of Sacramento, for Permanent Secretary, and these two, with those others chosen for the other elective offices of the State Society, were given sanction. San Francisco was again selected as their choice for the next meeting place. This same Committee advised, too, that the San Francisco Society forego the usual banquet at conclusion of the meeting, or allow those partaking to contribute their part of the cost. Such a responsibility and cost were too great for any local society to support, and irrespective of the appreciation of such amenities some societies were fearful of the obligations of being host.

A resolution was adopted asking the Secretary of the Board of Medical Examiners to communicate with local societies seeking their aid to fearlessly prosecute violaters of the Medical Law. Assuredly the law wouldn't be self-operative, the Board reasoned, and an inactive law on the statute books ought either be upheld or rescinded. Friends of the law should make the effort; the Board could not do it alone, and most certainly its enemies could not be depended upon to assist. The Board was prepared to procure the services of a first-class criminal lawyer to assist district attorneys if and when their work loads caused them to wish such assistance.

Sale of medical diplomas by a spurious diploma mill in Philadelphia was brought to the attention of every reputedly established medical school in the United States and to the attention of the State Board of Medical Examiners. Seemingly, too, numbers of these fraudulent diplomas were being purchased by Germans within the old country. It was reported three thousand in all had been issued and that the nefarious practice began in 1853. The selling of diplomas in Germany was brought to the notice of the State Department through the United States Minister at Berlin. Apparently so common was the practice that the Minister was embarrassed, on attending a successful play in the Royal Theatre, to listen to the questioning of a character regard-

ing his Doctorate degree and his being accused of having bought his degree in America; and, too, to read a successful German novel which portrayed the scoundrel of the book as having escaped to America where he procured a sham medical diploma, was comfortably settled and looked to as a man of substance. Convictions of quacks, illegal practitioners, and such, were few; prosecution seemed to strengthen rather than weaken them in the public's eye; people wished to believe that doctors were vigilant and actively anti-this and anti-that for their personal satisfaction and gain. To *clean house* was a slow, hard and disappointing job, and ineffectually and unsatisfactorily accomplished. Nonetheless, even though the California Medical Law had been accepted in compromise, much good had arisen because of it. Gibbons, Sr., in December, 1880, commented⁶⁹: *With all its imperfections, with all the difficulties in the way of its enforcement, and with all the abuses which lay at the door of two of the examining boards, the law has undoubtedly done much good thus far, when it has but gained a firm footing for future action and for much greater extension of its benefits.*

In February, 1880, Gibbons again gave notice the State Society would soon be meeting and warned chairmen of the several standing committees *not* to give the *No report* reply when called upon, for *Such neglect of duty is death to the Society*. The State and local societies were a part of Gibbons' GREAT COMMANDMENTS.

Dr. J. Walton Todd, President of the State Medical Society, in late fall of 1880 went to Europe because of ill health. He hoped the change might be beneficial, and while there, attended clinics and hospitals in the cordial and intellectual atmosphere of his foreign medical confreres. He was in Paris during November, 1880, and expected to spend the winter months in Italy. As Dr. Todd was absent when the California State Society convened in annual session in San Francisco, April 20, 1881, Dr. G. G. Tyrrell, First Vice-President, occupied the Chair. Dr. Todd's Annual Address was read to the assemblage. It urged a higher standard of education in candidates for medicine, fewer medical schools, longer term of instruction, and examinations for degrees in the several States by boards separate from the schools instructing. He sought some means to prevent druggists from pirating

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 321.

prescriptions, prevent their being used to make proprietary medicines, and also being used to prescribe for the sick. Todd felt, too, the time then opportune to have laws for compulsory vaccination.

Fifteen counties were represented at opening of the State Society meeting, many of whose members subsequently joined the State organization. Amendments to the Constitution, proposed last year, were adopted:

1. To create a Standing Committee *On Legislation*.
2. To cancel the requirement that the permanent Secretary shall reside in Sacramento.
3. To create a Standing Committee on Gynecology, on Diseases of Women and Children, on Ophthalmology, and one on Necrology.

Dr. G. G. Tyrrell, of Sacramento, was elected President for the year 1881-82, and Dr. W. A. Briggs was reelected Permanent Secretary.

On October 1, 1881, *The Society of Physicians and Surgeons of Alameda County* was formed, to join a group of sister societies over the State and align one more unit to the State Medical Society system. The experiences, researches and originalities of every physician needed to be exposed to all; only by way of medical societies, it was learned, were such latent truths properly divulged. Professor J.H. Wythe was chosen the new Society's first president.

There seemed a constant *lean* toward the idea of trained nurses as adjuncts to the professional treatment of sick folk; more and more was there appreciation of the value of their services. It was realized that *monthly* nurses, as then constituted, were scarcely more than maids — helpful, it was true, but too many were ignorant, incompetent, self-willed, and some even often intractable. Training schools for nurses were multiplying, and, ultimately, it was hoped the risks of childbed might be greatly lessened. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., and the Hospital for Women and Children in San Francisco, were conducting successful training schools. Beginning the year 1883, a California Directory of Nurses had been established in San Francisco.

The PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL thought the meeting of the California State Medical Society *exhibited a marked advance in various respects* — excellent atten-

dance, no wasted discussion on matters that did not pertain to medical science, and a high character in general of the papers presented. Twelve counties from over the State sent representatives, and within the attendance were to be seen many of the regular and loyal attenders. Dr. L. C. Lane was elected to succeed Dr. G. G. Tyrrell.

President Tyrrell's Annual Address revealed that considerable thought had been given it, and disclosed an author holding both liberal and progressive trends. He advocated the appointment of plumbing and drainage inspectors — to be supervised by boards of health; sought the establishment of a criminal insane asylum, and modification of both civil and penal codes, leading to separation of the criminal and vicious from those merely intellectually diseased; that Judges be granted the appointment of medical experts, or, perhaps better still, make them expert officers of the government, to be well paid and subject to a permanent appointment — after being rigidly *screened* to secure the highest competency.

It was Gibbons' experience that medical experts degrade the profession⁷⁰, for the reason most of these physicians summoned to testify were not experts; rather the lawyers *by inquiries of various kinds they discover those who will testify to suit their purposes, and these at once become experts. They may be learned and competent, they may not . . . And so, when the trial comes on, we have two sets of experts testifying point blank, one against the other.* Dr. Tyrrell's recommendations were turned over to the Committee on Legislation of the State Medical Society.

Resolutions were introduced to test the feeling of members on a so-called new Code — a product of the New York State Medical Society. This change would allow consultation with all legally qualified practitioners of medicine whether or not Society members. The resolution was opposed by the American Medical Association. This *new — codism* was not accepted.

Medical instruction in San Francisco held a position of basic soundness by 1882. Through Dr. Toland's generosity, the college founded by him became affiliated with the State University, and November 4, 1882, Dr. Lane, builder of the Medical College and Lane Hospital, deeded them to a corporate body, the Cooper Medical College, in honor of his Uncle, Elias Samuel Cooper.

70 Ibid, v XXV, 1882-83, p. 27.

Toland, at his presentation, was prudently circumspect to have his name memorialized; with a like circumspection, Lane, obedient to memories, named the college for his uncle, the hospital for himself, and stipulated that a course of public lectures, called the *Lane Lectures*, would be held annually from January to May inclusive, the lectures to be delivered semi-monthly. In that day the public was of the opinion the hospital was the doctors' working tool; today there is general realization a hospital is part of a community, and the community part of the hospital.

The year 1882 was auspicious for medicine, and those that graduated in November from California's medical schools were first to complete their medical requirements under the new regime. Dr. Tyrrell, in his Annual Address presumably spent a few moments gazing in the crystal ball and, doing so, came up with a bit of prognosis: *When we reflect upon the researches of Pasteur, Drysdale, Klebs, Koch, Klein, Sanderson, Cruvelli, and a host of others in the field of experimental physiology, pregnant as they are with the grandest results, we seem to be approaching the very verge of a discovery which will so vastly increase our sway over those diseases in whose presence we now stand almost powerless, that in time we may practically arrest and exterminate them.*

San Francisco's first skin clinic, first on the Pacific Coast, was organized in 1882 in the Medical College of the Pacific, with Alfred Regensburger, M.D., in charge.⁷¹

The annual meeting of the State Medical Society, April 18, 1883, in San Francisco, seemed a replica of the preceding conclaves. Dr. L. C. Lane, President, gave his Annual Address but deviated from a usual approach by giving an account of his and Mrs. Lane's recent trip to Guatemala, where they spent the winter for the Doctor's health. Twelve new members and three honorary members were elected to the Society at its first session; a disappointing number when was considered how many non-member physicians there were over the State. Neither the editorials nor the Proceedings, up to now, gave inkling of a cause for such lack of interest, though a cursory glance would not permit such a command as 1883, *and ALL'S WELL.*

⁷¹ *Teaching of Dermatology: Its Development in San Francisco*, by Douglas A. Montgomery, M. D., v 55, No. 6, December 1941, California and Western Medicine, p. 305.

The Standing Committees, one after another, made their reports; so, too, did the Medical Board of Examiners and the Censors. Some of the reports were exceptionally worthy.

The Society membership followed a Nominating Committee's recommendation and elected as President, Ira E. Oatman, of Sacramento, and reelected W. A. Briggs, of Sacramento, Permanent Secretary. Again this year this Committee recommended that each banqueter pay his pro rata of cost of the annual banquet; that the annual meetings be extended from two to three days; and that but half hour be allowed for reading any paper. The year's Transactions was gotten to the medical public in late August or early September. All in all, Gibbons was of the opinion it was the best volume that had yet been published: *the topics of the reports and papers much more varied than heretofore, and a merit of brevity attaches to the articles.*⁷²

The essay of Henry Gibbons, Sr., M. D., on the *History of Medical Law in California*⁷³ is of interest in that there is unfolded, more or less step by step, a law that was primarily weak but through a correction and addition here and there and by public education, had ultimately been resolved into something agreeably substantial. Gibbons, perhaps more than any other individual, through the medium of his JOURNAL, kept the law from being dissolved. He granted the weaknesses, the inadequacies, how tenuous was it in certain particulars, yet asked that the law be regarded with tolerance, that members *bear themselves in patience until the experiment should have been fully tried; and not insist on abandoning the law and throwing away all the work of years and the money expended, nor should it be forgotten that the other States have followed our example and adopted laws more or less like ours, and that still others are preparing to do likewise. In no instance has the law been appealed; on the contrary, such legislation generally commands the favor of the profession and of legislatures. In issuing all efforts to sustain and enforce the law, we of California are but joining the great army of the profession, and fighting in a common cause. Let our motto be, UNION, HARMONY, and GOOD FEELING. Success will follow.*

The power of a medical journal, as with the press, Gibbons

⁷² *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XXVI, 1883-84, p. 134.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 193

found might be bold and well directed: guide attention into lofty channels, hold imbalance until steadiness was restored, separate the chaff and prescribe the useful. Gibbons held within his hands that opportunity; the call was great and pressing and essential; desire and ability and moral courage had been God-given him, and, fortunately for medicine and medical organization on the Pacific Coast, this thoroughly religious spirit, this flexible yet inflexible of medical thought and proper character, for more than thirty years spread scattered seeds that propagated medical knowledge and medical group harmony . . . and who cultivated, as needed, with a modicum of praise or irony or satire or direct accusation, with result, and lived to see some of his efforts succeed — if not all, at least some. The medical West of Gibbons' era was much influenced by his personal and literary characteristics, and was immensely richer for his having lived.

Chapter XI

Sanitary Reform and Public Hygiene Advance in Medical Education 1884

SANITARY REFORM AND public hygiene had made progress; even in a country where money was looked upon as promoting liberty, friendship, society, and power. Sanitation appeared on the move, and great strides had been accomplished the past fifteen years. All the states in the Union except nine had some form of state sanitary organization, and all had been organized since 1869 — when Massachusetts set up the first State Board of Health.⁷⁴

In prospective, therefore, much organizational strength and accomplishment had been revealed in but fourteen years. In the 16th Century the average human span of life was a little over twenty years; in the 19th Century it had risen to forty years. In the former century more than one-fourth of the children died in their first year; in the latter century, less than one-sixth. In the 16th Century only three percent lived to see their three score and ten years; in the 19th Century eighteen percent lived beyond that age, and as many lived to be seventy as in the 16th Century died at forty-three.

During this year of 1883, Dr. W. E. Taylor, speaking to the University of California Graduating Class⁷⁵, felt the history of medicine was *closely interwoven with all that is good and noble*

⁷⁴ Massachusetts has been challenged — *Louisiana State Board of Health, Centennial of its Establishment*, by Benjamin Freadman, M. D. The BULLETIN of the Tulane University Medical Faculty, v15, November 1955, Number 1.

⁷⁵ *San Francisco Western Lancet*, v XII, November, 1883.

in the world . . . It needs no eulogy. Its eulogy is found written in the Golden letters wherever there is sickness, suffering, and death, whether in the palace of the rich, or in the hovel of the poor, in sunshine and in storm, and where pestilence walks abroad. On the tented field, amid the roar and carnage of battle, and afar out at sea, where storm-clouds their banners fling, and where white-winged ships sail gaily. Rhetorical? . . . yes; exaggerated, overemphasized? . . . medical history doesn't think so.

A love of books, the respect of books and their collection and their purchase, was a good omen for a young country. The Library of the Surgeon-General's Office in Washington, D. C., was coming to be more extensive than the best libraries in England and France.

Membership increase in the State Medical Society was dragging to the extent that it caused some anxiety, and this lag in membership was apparent also in some local societies. Dr. Wm. W. Kerr's address, October, 1883, before the San Francisco County Medical Society deplored the fact *it required five months to obtain a quorum, and thus, only seven instead of eighteen meetings were held. It is with a feeling of shame that I state these facts, but the case demands plain speaking. What will our sister societies think of us, the largest society in the State, when they learn that we can only scrape up a quorum at one-third of our meetings? What honor is there in belonging to a Society that practically ceased to exist for five months of the year, and had to close its doors in the middle of a session because the members would not attend the meetings? What inducement is there to prepare papers for a society when you sit and wait and wait, in the delusive hope that some passing member will stray in to make up a quorum just one hour after the time for which the meeting was called, and then have to pocket your paper and retire in the hope that your wandering brother will arrive in time for the meeting two weeks later?*⁷⁶

Some — too many — local societies were not adding to their membership, were leaning back on the breeching, and so, it was good to have Dr. Chester Rowell, of Fresno, report (February, 1884) a lively medical society had been organized in that county, with sixteen or eighteen members.

The JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIA-

⁷⁶ *San Francisco Western Lancet*, v XII, 1883, October, p. 433.

TION, a weekly, came into print in 1883, with N. S. Davis, M. D., of Chicago, as Editor. Each number contained thirty-two pages of reading matter and was sent to all of the Association who were entitled to the Transactions. It would cost others five dollars a year.

Advancement of medical education was under constant pressure by the State Society, as well as local societies. Harvard University had made the first forward stride. Prior to 1870, in common with other leading schools, the requirements were: attendance upon two courses of lectures, one, at least, from the school where graduated, and evidence of three years of study, including the time spent on lectures. The medical schools were independent of the University and for sustenance depended upon fees and emoluments. In 1870 the medical department at Harvard took on a more intimate connection with the University, the latter accepted financial control and allotted regular salaries to the faculty. Requirements were then changed: candidates for admission who held no degree in arts or science were required to pass a written examination in English, Latin, Physis and any one of the subjects — French, German, elements of algebra, or of plane geometry and botany. For a graduate degree, candidates had to have studied medicine three or four full years, and have spent at least one continuous year at the school.

Medical schools of the Pacific Coast followed the lead of Harvard Medical School. In 1883 notice of the following additional requirements was announced: In 1884, and each year thereafter, the regular course of lectures was lengthened to nine months. Each student was required to pass a scholastic examination before the Dean of the Faculty prior to matriculating. The University of California school was one of the first colleges in the United States to adopt the three years curriculum, and one of the few that extended each year's course to nine months attendance upon lectures. The Cooper school divided its year into a regular course of six months and an intermediate course of four months.

The Chairs were not sufficiently endowed to enable the professors to devote full time to scientific pursuits; the teachers were practitioners of medicine and were not slow to discern or utilize theories and observations of their more scientific brethren and, too, carried all of the practical accomplishments to their medical practitioners. The offering of positions on the various

committee's of the approaching International Medical Congress to six teachers of medicine in San Francisco spoke highly of their acquirements.

A few years before this period there was a rather common feeling that a further advance was impossible in operative surgery, that thenceforth the surgeons' duties would be limited to variations and details in operations already known. *No one dreamed of the wide and unexplored field which has since been opened up to the surgeon*, commented the Lancet in 1883.⁷⁷ *We refer to abdominal surgery, which, today, is attracting beyond anything else the eyes of the medical world; a branch of surgery which has sprung rapidly and most unexpectedly into notice.*

The chemist Liebig had considered fermentation due to a chemical, while Pasteur (1857) discovered it was bound to the presence of organized bodies — a biological process. Fermentation, as Liebig thought, did not cause contagious diseases, but Pasteur gave a new direction to research thinking. The germ peculiar to each disease must be sought out, must be isolated, and inoculated to produce that disease. In 1883 the subject was still in its infancy, and causal germs had as yet not been clearly demonstrated. As early as 1850, Dr. John K. Mitchell, Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in Jefferson Medical College, declared that many diseases originated from portable germs, or, as he designated them, *cryptogamous fungi*. He had seen these forms with the microscope. However, knowing a germ was causative in one case, cleared the way for a deduction that in other diseases there must be a causal germ; discovery of the cause of anthrax was followed by that of relapsing fever, typhoid, leprosy and tuberculosis. The French too had learned that by a process of cultivating the bacteria they were so diminished in their virulency as to no longer be fatal on inoculation, but that animals so treated were no longer affected by infections of the unmitigated virus.

The address on practical medicine at the last American Medical Association meeting, in Cleveland, was a resume on the years progress. The Lancet⁷⁸ editorialized that *The inevitable bacillus was paraded to the front, and after doing full duty, was relegated to the laboratories of the germ sharps, . . . and, until*

77 Ibid, v XII, 1883, p. 116.

78 Ibid.

definitely settled and the jury of the medical fraternity had found the bacillus 'guilty as proven,' we propose to maintain a position of 'scientific scepticism', to use the words of a recent writer on the subject.

The Los Angeles County Medical Society, organized in 1871, held their thirteenth annual meeting at the home of its former President, Dr. Walter Lindley. It was an evening meeting, February 1, 1884, and was indeed a felicitous and picturesque assemblage, which included California's Governor, the Mayor of the city, the State Printer and others of no lesser dignitaries. Dr. H. H. Nadeau, retiring President, gave a very appropriate mixed assemblage address — *the Relation of Physician to Society* —, which was well received. There was sensed a feeling that that subject, or something akin to it, should oftener be promoted for the benefit of both doctors and the public, toward the end that the Society would come into a closer and a fuller understanding with the public.

Nadeau spoke of the physician's contact with rich and poor, the physically and mentally ill, those in fear and with anguished souls and burdened hearts, and denied the sometime contention the doctor was not alive to, and aroused at, the call of the suffering, *whether in the gilded palace or in the poverty and privation of a hovel.*⁷⁹ Nadeau promoted the postulate that a physician who performed well his duty became a living proof that the practical application of medical science was a most self-denying, most elevating, and the most comprehensive of all sciences and pursuits.

The Doctor thought some practitioners contributed to weaken a public-and-doctor relationship through the few that gave small importance to self-respect, dignity, zeal, and other and varied frailties which threatened a respectful regard. *What an incredible weight it has in forming and governing opinions between both the medical scientists and society! . . . The real secret, the very foundation of success in demonstrating the affinity between the society and the profession, is in the natural moral law of the physician's self-respect, culture, dignity, and irreproachable character. By and because of a physician's duties and profession he has been spontaneously commissioned a friend of society; a friend by way of a law superior to society and its agents.*

79 Journal, v XXVI, 1883-84, p. 431.

He has been commissioned, too, to claim and strive to deserve and maintain such confidence. Nadeau asked the profession to study human nature on the broadest scale, and make the student an interested observer of the masses.

Gibbons, Sr.,⁸⁰ commented on an article in the Philadelphia *Medical Times* which told of a series of lectures for lay audiences that had been given by doctors of that city. The *Times* concluded its article regarding the Philadelphia course in these words: *If physicians generally were to show more willingness to instruct the public, the result would be greater interest in the public health, measures connected with sanitary science would receive more hearty endorsement by the people, and the medical profession would be more highly esteemed.*

The Medical Society of the State of California convened in annual session at San Francisco, April 16, 1884. Extraordinary rains over the State affected the attendance, though more than one hundred members were present.

President Oatman's address covered medical legislation, the Legislature, a quarantine station somewhere in the Bay area, and legal provision for medical libraries in our chief cities. Oatman felt medical libraries served the public as well as did law libraries, *so carefully provided for*—though there is wonderment if the good Doctor never counted the lawyer legislators! Oatman, too, recommended the Board of Health be given more legal liberties for community protection; protested the new code of ethics schism in New York and gave fealty to the old code of the National Association; concluded by stating he considered micro-organisms in connection with certain diseases as the effect rather than the cause in most instances.

When the State Society was in session the year before Dr. Tyrrell, of Sacramento, presented a resolution for a constitutional change: resolving the election of officers into the body of the Society, rather than by a Nominating Committee formed of delegates from every county. Acceptance of the resolution caused a return to the original manner of selection, though discarded seven or eight years back because it wasted too much time, and concentrated the selection in a few localities rather than permitting a more equitable State distribution.

Speaking of the State meeting, the JOURNAL⁸¹ stated *The*

⁸⁰ June, 1884, JOURNAL, p. 541.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 449.

papers read were superior in character to those of any previous meeting. The banquet was orderly and enjoyable, . . . A resolution recommended that the Legislature make the chemist of the State University a State Chemist, and that he, with the State Board of Health, be required to make an analysis of food, drugs, remedies, waters, et cetera, and report the same for the good of the general public.

Dr. R. Beverly Cole, of San Francisco, was elected President for the 1884-85 term, and San Francisco was chosen as the next annual meeting place. It was decided to extend the next annual session of the Society through three days instead of confining it to two.

In July, 1884, the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL announced that arrangements had been completed with Dr. Whitwell, editor and proprietor of the WESTERN LANCET, to unite the two journals under title of PACIFIC MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL and WESTERN LANCET. Dr. Whitwell, Harvard graduate, scholar and able writer, would assist in the editorial department and assume most of the business management. This arrangement would materially lessen the responsibilities of Gibbons, Sr., as he, for some time, had carried the load because the Junior Editor had college and professional labors preventing his cooperation.

In future the JOURNAL would be enlarged by one-fifth more reading material, and the subscription price reduced to \$2.50 *to all subscribers paying in advance*. The JOURNAL, now, would be the only medical journal on the Pacific Coast devoted to the interests of the regular profession. For twenty-two years Dr. Gibbons, Sr., had borne the burden; a gratuitous task, one might almost say; yet the Doctor seemed desirous of giving that service, the while expecting no more than appreciation — if not here, then by that third Silent Partner to all our deeds.

Two deservedly acclaimed medical gentlemen of California, Drs. F. W. Hatch and Henry Gibbons, Sr., passed this earth within three weeks of each other; the former in his adopted Sacramento, October 16, 1884, and the latter at his old home, Wilmington, Delaware, November 5, 1884. Both lived lives of productive activity and notable accomplishment, with life streams unhidden; both were travelers after truth, and both unstintingly and untiringly gave their lives for medical and social advancement; and both were beloved characters at medical society firesides.

Within a month's time they were afforded relief from life's cares, and under guidance of the same moon, strolled through that Great Divide, to sit and rest in leisure.

Chapter XII

Reveries of Past Society Difficulties; Trials During the Present Era 1885-1888

DRS. BEVERLY COLE AND James Simpson of San Francisco, and Dr. G. G. Tyrrell of Sacramento, were appointed to the State Board of Health in January, 1885, owing to vacancies at the death of Drs. Hatch and Gibbons, and the expiration of Dr. Rowell's term of office.

The JOURNAL'S April issue made the usual perennial remarks relative to the State Medical meeting: the enjoyment in renewing old acquaintances and creating new ones; the renewal of old medical subjects as well as discussing new ones. Lengthening the session from two to three days would give ample time for papers and their discussion, relieve that lack of time pressure and perhaps allow for a few voluntary contributions. Some wondered, however, if those doctors who had to travel from outlying regions would feel they could afford three days. *Take time when time is, for time will away*, however, mused the philosopher.

The State meeting would bring forward the question of desirability of publishing the transactions in a separate volume, as before, or in the JOURNAL and make it the Society's journal. There were assets and liabilities in each direction. It was thought if dues were made to cover the subscription too there would be an additional inducement to join the Society: by merely paying a small additional sum, and those who were subscribers and members would receive both for less. Also that printing the Transactions in the JOURNAL would grant that document an improved circulation.

Dr. R. Beverly Cole, as presiding officer, called the California Medical Society into session for its longest meeting to date,

April 15, 16, and 17, 1885. Dr. Cole proved himself to be a fair and equitable officer. The added day gave ample time for free discussion of the subject matter presented, and promoted a surpassing interest when each topic had been fully explored.

Nominations for officers were made from the floor and not out of committee as in previous sessions. A full attendance was present, and interest was at a maximum when two candidates were eloquently presented for the first position. Dr. W. S. Thorne of San Jose received the crown of laurel, and there is every reason to believe his very able and full Report on Surgery had much to do in granting him the margin of choice over his opponent.

During the meeting fifteen doctors were added as new members. Others would have joined but for the difficulty in bringing their credentials, an admittance requirement at that time. It was generally considered that the State Society should make members of those accepted by a Board of the members' own choosing — the State Board of Medical Examiners — for the American Medical Association accepted as members those with a certificate of good standing from the president and secretary of a county society. Adjustment of the State Society's awry ruling was thereupon begun.

The question of the publication of the Proceedings was referred to the Committee on Publication, which, in turn, accepted an offer by the PACIFIC MEDICAL and SURGICAL JOURNAL. Thereafter, the cost of both dues and journal was to be one fee, and one or more of the papers which had been presented at the annual meeting and which had been decided upon for publication were to be printed monthly. This would entail added labor, care and obligation on the part of the JOURNAL editor, so he took as associate Dr. Wm. Watt Kerr, and Beverly Cole and W. A. Briggs as collaborators. Twelve extra pages were to be added to the JOURNAL, bringing the reading matter to sixty pages.

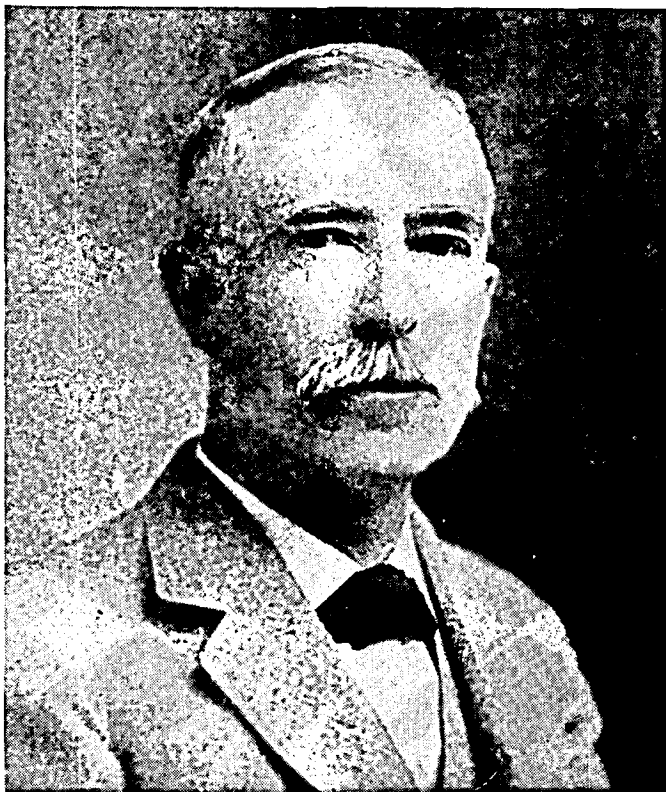
Influential members of the San Francisco Medical Society suggested to the Committee on Publication that ere a contract with the JOURNAL was signed it be agreed a representative from the Medical Department of the University of California and the Secretary of the Society should appear on the cover of the Journal as collaborators.

This was requested because it was considered that Dr. Whitwell's connection with the Cooper School *would impart an*

element which could not fail to be insidious, and even harmful in its influence. The sentiment on this matter appeared to be very decided, and with due regard to the number and weight of these representations the Committee on Publication agreed. As Dr. Whitwell was in accord the contract was consummated.⁸²

Dr. Thorne, as Chairman, gave the annual Report on Surgery. He reiterated the value of Listerism to surgery, and felt that *no innovation since the discovery of Jenner had excited more wide-*

82 Journal, v XXIX, 1886, p. 547.



Dr. James H. Parkinson

Year after year a power in medical politics in this State. His mind was excellently organized, and historical-wise we are especially indebted to him.

spread comment, nor acrimonious dissension, or been subjected to more searching tests. But this matter, true or false, has revolutionized certain branches of surgery. He continued with discussing operations on large joints and the great cavities — abdomen, cranial and thoracic. The kidney was not now beyond reach of the surgeon, herniae were being radically treated, the thoracic sac and the lung itself were surgically cared for, several resections of small intestine had been reported, biliary colic relieved, and the direct treatment of spinal caries had been practiced.

The JOURNAL, June, 1885, reported the formation of a medical society in Yolo County; a preliminary meeting having been held at Woodland. A like society was formed at Red Bluff, called the Northern District Medical Society, and a third at Marysville, called the Marysville District Society. During the year 1885 five other local societies were added: the Butte County Medical Society, Medical Society of Yuba and Sutter Counties, Contra Costa County Medical Society, Fresno County Medical Society and the Humboldt County Medical Society. The San Bernardino County Medical Society was reorganized.

Reputable physicians, the State Medical Society and the Board of Medical Examiners welcomed this increasing number of local societies: for their acquaintance and friendship advantages, for the exchange of medical experiences and a stimulus thereby given to write and read medicine, for binding the profession closer together, adding numbers and strength to the State Society and, finally, collecting together legal practitioners might, through that united action, drive out the illegal — who were a detriment to the people and a discredit and dishonor to an honorable science.

There was no denying the fact that sanitary and health enactments in California owed their beginning, their basic foundation, to the medical profession. In that earlier period the lure of gold transcended statehood economy; personal interests received precedent over the health of the masses, and detoured legislators' minds in every direction other than toward sanitation and health enactments. Regular practitioners of medicine, correctly or incorrectly, were suspect in their efforts to have statutes enacted forbidding irregular *doctors* — untrained, grafting and grasping enemies of the sick — from plying their nefarious trade. A statute for a California State Board of Health followed the formation of a few local boards of health, soon after the great

commonwealth of Massachusetts also revealed the efficacy of health legislation. Legislators bandied a health program from *pillar to post* ere giving their legislative backing. Physicians genuflected, supplicated, appealed, went to their public for support, yet had to await the ravages of deaths through epidemics of cholera, smallpox, scarlet fever, measles, diphtheria, typhoid fever, et cetera, ere reason was recognized. California legislative health action is an interesting story, many times recited. The appropriations for health legislation were miserly — hundreds for my gaming table but pennies for my health, seemed too common logic —, and as years went on a parsimonious economy of the rulers increased rather than bettered. The appropriation had been reduced by one-fifth in the years 1870 to 1885. California's population in 1870 was 560,000; by 1885 it was nearly doubled. Mining had declined, agriculture had increased, urban activity and life and population were prominently accelerated; and, therefore, people had congregated, wages were smaller, and life's struggle was more difficult, had hardened. In this group of changes were to be seen lowered vitalities, increased susceptibility to diseases, and all avenues freed and cleared for its spread and propagation. Hygienists advised that the denser the population the more difficult it became to obtain a perfect system of sanitation. Doctors implored for help that public health welfare be received factually and supported in ratio. Those legislative attendants with supposed talents of a financier and the hearts of a patriot were misjudged — too many were marauders of public good who had risen to power by way of political flattery. Proper sanitary legislation, with a commensurate financial support, had to await a time. During the interval stalwart physicians recognized those ever-increasing mysteries of their environment, and continued to follow the aphorism that *The path of duty is the path of safety.*

Recommendation for changes in procuring a license to practice medicine in California was made at the last State Medical Society meeting. Dr. A. P. Whittell recommended the present Medical Law be extended to the formation of one Board for each State, its representatives chosen from the profession at large. The Board would secure uniform thoroughness in medical education, and all applicants would have to appear before it, no matter to what *school* they belonged.

Medicine was confidently advancing the germ theory, and, as

Oatman told the assemblage *the establishment upon immutable principles of improved prophylaxis and treatment of diseases involved, remains the great desideratum.*

The American Medical Association and the International Congress were in disagreement on arranging for the Congress that was to meet in Washington, D. C., in 1887. The National Association ruled that only members of the Association, or of societies in affiliation with it, were eligible for seats in the Congress, while Dr. Billings' Committee of Arrangements — Dr. Lane of San Francisco was one of them — took a broader view and stated delegates should be geographically selected from *all* regular practitioners. In consequence a serious change was made in the personnel of those who *were* to have been representatives at the International Congress. Dr. Levi C. Lane was dropped from the Committee of Arrangements, dropped from the list of vice-presidents as well as relieved of his position on the Surgical Section, and debarred from even entering the Congress as a delegate. His sin: accused of being a *new-code* man — which he wasn't. Politically, there were no new-code disciples on the Pacific Coast. New-codism belonged to New York.

James Paget of London wrote that it was not the consensus of the Congress it *would be regulated with any degree of exclusiveness . . .*⁸³, and Dr. Whitwell, Editor, felt *perhaps the American Medical Association will now be convinced they have meddled*, and, boasting of the mischief the National Association had done, further stated *they have struck a blow at medical culture, the effects of which only the lapse of long years can remove.*

A second medical journal, THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRACTITIONER, produced its first issue at beginning of 1886. The JOURNAL wished it well, and felt there was plenty of room for another journal in California, especially in the south.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Medical Society of the State of California would convene on April 21, 1886, and extend through the 23d. An excellent meeting was anticipated as the past year had revealed real medical-interest progress. Several new local societies had been formed and local societies had added new members — the San Francisco County Medical Society had been especially fortunate in adding fifty. There was the impression and hope a like spirit would be shown toward the State

83 JOURNAL, v XXVIII, 1885, p. 496.

institution, as this larger unit carried its definite appeal: it afforded a break to practice monotony; allowed the physician attending the meeting to observe he was not alone in the battle of life and death; that the meeting of a few days gave respite on a luxurious pillow; and acted as a stimulant, and urged . . . to improve, to study harder and to stand higher in self-belief.

Attendance at the State session would afford information to those members who contemplated a trip to attend the International Congress, soon to be held in Washington, D. C. The Grand Army of the Republic, by chance, was to have its conclave at the same time. Many California doctors, who had once followed the boys in Blue, saw their opportunity to listen to national and international medical leaders on the latest advances in medicine and surgery, and also salute and join hands with some of those remaining of a once stately and dedicated force that had fought to preserve a national unity.

President William P. Gibbons presided when the State Medical Society met in San Francisco the 21st of April. One of the first acts performed was the effecting of a needed change to the method of admitting members to the Society. This was done by excluding the words, *by the exhibition of his diploma*; and by adding, to Art. III., Sec. 7, after the word *election*, the following: *in the absence or loss of applicant's diploma, the Board of Censors may accept satisfactory proof that the diploma has been presented to the State Board of Examiners of this Society, and a license to practice issued thereon. It shall be the further duty of the Board of Censors to examine into the present professional standing of applicants.* Dr. Parkinson, of Sacramento, offered another amendment to the Constitution still further simplifying admittance. All Standing Committees made their reports, in accordance with constitutional routine, and original papers on multiple medical subjects were presented.

Dr. W. S. Thorne of San Jose was elected President for the ensuing year, and Wallace A. Briggs again was supported for the Permanent Secretary's post.

Requirement of a regular permit before a human body might be buried was recommended and the Committee on Legislation was to seek the needed legislation; and the section of ophthalmology was henceforth to include otology, laryngology and rhinoscopy as subsections.

The meeting was especially entertaining and productive.

Nearly one hundred forty new members were added to the Society membership; those papers presented were considered above the usual average; and a resolution was offered for a committee to study the possibility of a protective association against multiple, unsuccessful and groundless suits for malpractice. The JOURNAL and the Society renewed their last year's agreement but it was granted each active member of the Medical Society of the State of California, in good standing, received one year's subscription plus a bound copy of the Transactions. A bound volume of the Transactions would make it more convenient as a reference medium.

Annual addresses by retiring presidents of the State Medical Society recreate historical backgrounds of the medical evolution in this Far West. In the study of these addresses there is a fruitful uncovering and unfolding of Time and its events; a pathway on which might be observed great medical characters — some active, some passive: the one productively, positively great, and many of the others receptively so. Some of those characters charm and scintillate and attract and reach their high point when associating in and with the mass, while others of noble soul lose their latent potentials among the crowd — substantially as distinguished, though, with strength and eminence illumined only when alone or associating with the few.

President Gibbons' address was pleasantly and attentively received, for in substance there was much of value. There were a few present, too, whose memories walked the old scenes with Gibbons, and intermittently reverted to the time they were trudging those old medical trails of advancement, whereon, too often, the participants took two steps forward and fell back three. An unwavering faith, however, was sustained, energy never flagged, the contacts and struggles seemed to increase rather than lessen, though all, this day, are shown to have been transitory events. Asylums, hospitals, medical schools, humanitarian institutions, scientific, literary and cultural organizations were resting on foundations sufficiently substantial to become permanent memorials to those pioneer medical builders, so many of whom had left the valley of life and were sitting and musing quietly on the Far Shore, there possibly summing up their long, eventful and arduous journey and reflecting what might be the thoughts and reactions of their medical progeny.

The President sought the membership's, and the Executive

Board's, pleasure regarding several problems. What further was to be done with illegal practitioners and empirics, for both were still complex evils; expert testimony and the payment for expert services needed to be conclusively settled; a law or laws were needed making those bringing malpractice suits — a method savoring of blackmail — responsible if they could not prove their allegations. Corrective action was needed for those physicians certifying or endorsing proprietary medicine and pharmaceutical formulae; and suggestions were offered for compromise in the matter of those separate and opposed committees whose duties were to arrange for the International Medical Congress. Mostly, the propositions advanced had been *friends* of several years.

Dr. G. L. Simmons' REPORT ON SURGERY — *What California Has Done For Surgery* — contained much of interest. Simmons regretted that writers and practitioners abroad and nationally, even some in California, *do not familiarize themselves more with the labors of those who have preceded them, before claiming priority for an operation or invention. Justice to the dead often requires us to recall the past and to point to reliable, though forgotten, records . . .*⁸⁴ Lister's publishing, in the LONDON LANCET, November 3, 1883, seven fractured patella cases whereon he had obtained good union and function with silver wire, caused others to copy the procedures with Lister having been spoken of as originator of a new surgical advancement. Simmons then referred to the published accounts of California operations, by Professor E. S. Cooper, in the MEDICAL PRESS, January 1861 (p. 14). The surgery of joints was similarly spoken of. Simmons continued by stating that *A comparison of modified Listerism now practiced in operations upon diseased joints, with the methods of the California surgeons of twenty-five years ago indicates the activity of surgical thought upon this coast at that period, and shows that prominent operators were in advance of the times in which they lived. Free drainage by the introduction of tents of absorbent lint, the support of bandages, and the free use of alcohol, one of the best antiseptics, indicates a near approach to drainage tubes, antiseptic cotton and bichloride of mercury or carbolic dressings.*

In the surgical treatment of empyema,⁸⁵ Simmons asserted

84 Journal, v XXIX, 1886, p. 385.

85 Ibid, p. 396.

that Chassaignac is generally given the credit of first treating empyema in this way (by free incisions and thorough drainage), an inspection of the literature of this subject shows that to Dr. Toland, of San Francisco, rightfully belongs the credit of introducing this procedure, and his cases and the instrument used for drainage are a part of the records of the Marine Hospital Service in California. Dr. Toland also published some of his earlier cases with results which may be found in the *PACIFIC MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL* for January, 1858. In order to secure regular drainage Dr. Toland invented a short silver catheter with guard, for the purpose of retention..

In closing this reference to a small portion of the original work done by two of our deceased members, in order to secure if possible through the proceedings of the State Medical Society a more general recognition of their merits, we may express the hope that at some future time abler pens will review their entire surgical labors, and place upon record all that belongs to their self-sacrifice and devotion to the profession. Already the encyclopedias of Jaccoud and Dechambre in France, certify to the use of metallic sutures as originating with one of these California surgeons in cases of fractured inferior maxilla, fractured clavicle, pseudo-arthritis, and achromio-clavicular luxations. The generation which commenced with their labors, and the life of this Society shows also, the foundation work of the two medical schools of the metropolis of California laid by their hands upon enduring bases.

As this thirty years is about to close, let us insist that justice, even though tardy, be rendered to their earnest enthusiasm and intensified devotion to surgery.

Malpractice suits had become so prevalent the past few years that the medical profession was gravely disturbed. Most of the suits were classed as no more than blackmail, and it was thought necessary the State Medical Society should create a medico-legal board, whose duty it would be to investigate all charges of malpractice and try to protect its members. Many of the doctors that had been sued were in no financial condition to defend themselves—during the mid '80s doctors from over the State had donated to assist one member whose case was in and out of the courts for a period of nine months—and whose only capital was the possession of a good professional reputation. A medico-legal board which found charges unwarranted would pronounce

them so and would represent the united profession of the State, thereby causing scallawag patients or shyster lawyers to hesitate before bringing charges.

Who was to become the Society's next president always became a round-table discussion of the politically minded from the moment one election ended until the next annual meeting. Merely as a suggestion Editor Whitwell usually, in a preconvention issue of his Journal, presented two to four names and gave reason why each had claim to the membership's consideration. In 1887 he suggested Dr. Wallace A. Briggs, of Sacramento, and Dr. R. H. Plummer, of San Francisco. The former for seven years had been an ardent, efficient and constant Permanent Secretary, and the latter, the indefatigable and subservient Secretary of the Board of Medical Examiners. Both had become well known to all attenders at State Medical Society meetings.

The *Sacramento Medical Times* of April, 1887 (p. 73), spoke of the past few years' competition for the Presidential chair. It commended a competitive spirit in support of friends though cautioned that *those principles which should influence the constituency are perhaps sometimes overlooked, and none should forget that the dignity and ultimate advantage of the Society is the first consideration . . . and that antagonisms of schools and cliques should be deeply buried. The State Society is not to be used as a means of advancement of any one of its elements; nor should a section of the membership endeavor to obtain supremacy by methods that must be deprecated . . . The President should be absolutely free from the suspicion of connection with any one element, however powerful or numerous.*

The Seventeenth Annual Session of the Medical Society of the State of California convened at San Francisco, April 20, 1887, with President Walter S. Thorne presiding. Dr. Plummer conveyed the address of welcome, which was followed by the President's Annual Address.

Dr. Thorne felt the Society was destined to enjoy an auspicious adolescence and go on to attain honorable manhood and ripe old age. He based that conclusion on the Society's robust youth, its excellent membership interest, good attendance and worthy contributions, all of which revealed fine harmony. Like the navigator, however, he felt there should be an occasional verification of position. The doctor, as individuals do, realied upon past experiences. Experience, though, was a personal

equation based on the mental, the physical and intellectual character, education, training, and opportunity, and there was no gainsaying the fact the Father of Medicine was right in the aphorism that experience can be fallacious and judgment difficult.

Dr. Thorne held that a great deal of confusion, contradiction, and questionable practice resulted from the following: (1) VICES OF MEDICAL JOURNALISM. He stated that *Every man is a book-maker or an author — we write, we are opulent in words as Hamlet says, and we sometimes bring a farthing rush-light to redeem an obscure idea from merited oblivion.* Medical journals searched to fill their columns, and largely through their publications, new treatment programs and new remedies had reached the profession. Dr. Thorne considered that many remedies had been promoted and were valueless; had been *mistaken for a beacon light upon a hill*; (2) CLIMATE AND ITS RELATION TO HEALTH. Thorne commented on Hippocrates having turned to astronomy for success in the preservation of health; the naturalist having turned to climate and soil as a probable explanation; though year after year careful and penetrating attention caused the profession to look farther for an explanation of certain climates upon disease; (3) BACTERIOLOGY. No other investigatory branch of medicine compared in importance and promise, Thorne thought, as did the question of the bacterial origin of disease, and these discoveries had speedily received strong confirmation. The process wherein a pathogenic bacterium produced a disease was not understood in 1887, yet the intimate relation between bacteria and disease forbade rejection of the evidence. Many links needed to be connected in the chain of evidence, though there appeared a foreshadowing of the grandest possibilities for the medical profession; (4) PHYSIOLOGICAL ERRORS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM. The microscopical anatomist delved anew into the mysteries of pathological histology. The germs of cholera, anthrax and tuberculosis had been recognized. The chemist invented new remedies for old diseases. But Dr. Thorne thought the school system gave too little attention to health. *Give us the best possible brain* was too common a demand of civilization; but, nontheless, far-reaching physiological questions came running to the physician in consequence. Improved physical attention to both child and school room was advised; *physical attainments*, he thought, *should be equally honorable in rank with grammar, rhetoric or classics*; (5) ALCOHOL

AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION. Thorne asked the question if no responsibility rested upon the profession for the increase of alcoholism. He implied the medical practitioner assuredly saw the vice in the raw; saw it as it was, and had been — a pestilential and desolating influence; yet there was no quarantine against self-poisoning by alcohol, and he concluded that *as man, as physicians, we should unite our efforts to emancipate politics from the unhallowed association with the commerce of this pernicious drug*; (6) SPECIALIZATION IN MEDICINE. Thorne considered that *the ever widening domain of medical art, the extended field of scientific research essential to a complete medical art, the extended field of scientific research essential to a complete medical course, the vast array of detail to master preparatory to general practice is naturally suggestive that life is too limited to permit us to encompass the art and science of medicine — and that our limited time and ability might be more profitably employed in a more circumscribed area*. However, he thought, too, the specialist should be a man of large views, capable of looking at the horizons of physical capabilities, and not permit *the field of the speculum to limit pathological inquiry*; (7) MEDICAL EDUCATION. Experience revealed that in higher walks of the profession mostly men of broad and deep culture resided, and a good preparatory foundation, a thorough literary training, enabled its possessor to reach that residence of honorable distinction. The speaker was of an opinion *the foundations of medical education are defective and the superstructure toppling and uncertain. These are facts, disguise them as we may*; (8) A MATTER OF FINANCE. After reiterating all those fine deeds the State Society had performed and the lofty position held — by its own members and by a public confidence — Thorne recommended a review and change in the Society's economy with an intention of owning its own home and the foundation of a medical library and museum; (9) and THE LAW REGULATING THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE. The official register of 1887 furnished evidence the law was in efficient hands and unqualified practitioners had shown a sixty-six percent reduction. Nonetheless, Thorne recommended one recognized standard of minimum attainment for every individual professing to practice the science and art of medicine.

Dr. Thorne's address has been granted more liberality as it was an admirable one, and there was desired the countenance of a few presidents be a bit more fully exposed — a countenance por-

traying lineaments similar to those of several of his predecessors. Observation exposed what appeared to be too much attention given political, under-the-table angling to become President of the Society, and too little credit, and too perurious a recognition of honest, ceaseless, self-denying effort for general medical advancement. It is axiomatic, however, that *Reward [will] sweeten labor*.

An amendment to the constitution concluded to insert after *the Board of Censors shall examine credentials for admission to the Society*, the words *after all applications have been read to the Society in the body of the house and posted on the bulletin board in the ante room*. This would afford opportunity for last minute appraisal or criticism ere an applicant's name came up for final vote.

Dr. R. H. Plummer was chosen President for the term 1887-88, and San Francisco again selected as the Society's next annual meeting place. The several committees made their reports. A resolution recommending compulsory vaccination was adopted, and papers on scientific topics then followed.

By resolution the Transactions thenceforth were to be published by the Society in volume form as before. The *Journal*⁸⁶ discussed reason why their contract should be continued, while the Society concluded the program not a good one, especially as they did not own the magazine and the experiment proved too costly. Whitwell accused a small coterie from Sacramento; Parkinson denied the accusation. To clarify conditions for subscribers the *Journal* stated: *Since by action taken at the last meeting of the State Society this Journal will no longer be furnished free to members*.

The Sacramento Medical Times, edited by Dr. James H. Parkinson, began its career in 1887, with Drs. Wallace A. Briggs, Wm. Ellery Briggs, Thos. W. Huntington and Crocker Simmons as collaborators. The first issue contained forty-two pages of reading matter, with the rest of the *Journal* devoted to Society proceedings, editorial, correspondence and miscellaneous. The Editor of the *Journal* thought it unwise to attempt to establish another journal in California, though *competition is always a benefit, however, even to editors, and we shall look upon the Sacramento Medical Times as a thorn which will continually*

86 *Ibid*, v XXX, 1887, p. 299.

spur us on to renewed efforts.

Editor Parkinson stated he did not seek to *supplant its contemporaries, nor . . . supply a demand, but rather to create one.* The monthly was of a good format and had an excellent sized print.

The Ninth International Congress, as arranged, met at Washington, D. C., in October 1887, one of the largest ever convened. Twenty-eight hundred had registered by eveing of the second day, and was internationally well represented — approximately one hundred and fifty from other countries. An observance of the section programs was pleasing and from a scientific standpoint ranked high. *Science is not bounded by geographic lines nor limited by oceans or mountain chains*, commented the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. The *Medical Record* stated *the scientific work of the meeting was respectable . . . The representation of distinguished foreigners was not extremely small, and the best contributions were decidedly from American physicians . . . Far from being a failure, but still further from being a brilliant success.*

The above quotes reveal extremes of prejudice and personalities. A study of comments of those journals not implicated in the pre-convention disharmony shows a well attended, highly scientific meeting, with many elements of strength and far-reaching good results.

A third edition of the California Medical Register revealed that the Board of Medical Examiners had issued a total of 2071 professional certificates, an increase of 373 since publication of the last Register. The total number of persons then practicing in California was 1879, of which number 164 were classed as *Illegals*. Considering an estimated population of 1,100,000, the ratio of medical practitioners to inhabitants was 1 to every 585 persons.

Reports of disease by the State Board of Health for the month of November, 1887, indicated an abnormal amount of sickness, especially diseases of the respiratory and alimentary tracts. Smallpox was quite prevalent in San Francisco; diphtheria, whooping cough, measles, and scarlet fever continued to spread over the State; and typhoid fever was to be found in nearly every town in the State.

The February, 1888, issue of the *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal* announced the retirement of Dr. Wm. Watt Kerr from its

editorial management after two years' association.⁸⁷ Two months later Dr. Kerr was elected Secretary of the California State Medical Society.

Once again medical journals gave announcement of the coming annual meeting of the State Medical Society – April 18, 19, and 20, in San Francisco – to call attention of the rank and file and whet their desire to attend. President R. H. Plummer was in the chair at Convention time, April 18, and later reports stated this meeting was one of the best: the attendance was large; the pre-convention appointment of members to open discussions added materially in interest and results, and did more than anything else to contribute general success; and the exhibits on display were good, attractively placed, and created a lively interest. Dr. J. Simpson was, by acclamation, elected President, and San Francisco once again became the choice for the next annual meeting place. San Diego asked the meeting be held there, but was refused because of Southern California's meager membership.

Dr. Parkinson, of Sacramento, warned against a centralization of the Society (a State Medical Society home building was under promotion in San Francisco). He stated *it should be representative in the widest sense – and it will be well if for some years to come the annual meetings are held outside of San Francisco.*⁸⁸

President Plummer, in his final remarks to the Society, stated he surrendered *with a great deal of gratification, because I am glad to be free of the responsibility; and it has been a source of anxiety, and pleasure.* The Society numbered 200 members in 1886, 135 additional were admitted at that session and 100 more members added in 1888. This gave a total enrollment of about 450. Even with a three-day session, some papers were cut short for lack of time to read them, and, therefore, consideration was being given to a possible four-day convention. Plummer asked his Southern California confreres to continue their present attendance at the meetings and said that without doubt *the Society will meet you in the South* shortly.

Marked advancements had been made in gynecology the past twenty-five years. The labors of Sims in America, Simpson in Edinburgh, and Simon in Germany began to mature, and those diseases of women that seemed hopeless a generation before

87 Ibid, v XXXI, p. 83.

88 *Sacramento Medical Times*, v II, 1888, p. 223.

were now routinely and successfully cared for. A National Society, the American Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, had been recently organized in Buffalo, New York, and the first regular meeting was to be held in Washington, D. C., September 18, 19 and 20, 1888. The Society was to be limited to 100 members.

Chapter XIII

Quarantine Stations of a National Character

Constitution and By-Laws of the State Society Amended

Medical Progress—Medical Legislation

1888-1889

QUARANTINE STATIONS of a national character, to prevent invasion of smallpox and kindred contractible diseases by those European and Asiatic vessels docking at our ports of entry, attracted more and more attention from State Boards of Health, particularly those States with ports of entry. Shortly before smallpox had been discovered on an Atlantic steamship arriving in Baltimore. In two days those not afflicted were forwarded to their destination. This was quite in contrast to the late fifteen-day quarantine imposed upon all vessels reaching San Francisco from Hong Kong, a variance that in one or other of the two examples needed more symmetry, more uniformity, and this was being sought from a national level. Senator Stanford had a bill before the Congress for establishment of several national quarantine stations, including one at San Francisco — leading city of the Pacific Coast and which then claimed a population of 300,000. Nothing might be expected from California's State Legislature, they thought, if by winter smallpox had lost its terrors, for *Fear is the great inventor*. Many health matters had already been placed in the Legislators' lap with a *do pass* from both State and local medical societies, to wit: no body shall be interred without a certificate from a legally qualified physician, the coroner, or in default of this, the written statement of two respectable citizens; necessity of establishment of a

quarantine station at the Port of San Francisco; a law which compelled the vaccination of all children before entering the public school; and reenacting the law for recording births, marriages and deaths so that penalties could be added for noncompliance.

On June 8, 1888, was formed the Southern California District Medical Society, with the object of *uniting the whole southern section of the medical profession into one body*. The meetings were to be held semi-annually.

The *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal and Western Lancet* was transferred, December, 1888, from the editorship of William S. Whitwell to D. A. Hodghead, a native Virginian, graduate of King's College, Bristol, Tennessee, and M. D. from Bellevue Medical College, New York, 1884.

Dr. Hodghead's first editorial, January 1889 issue, stated his desire was to *have this journal aid greatly in keeping the profession on this coast well informed, make it an index of medical thought and advancement, render it a means of instruction to our brethren in the East, that they may know where to send their invalids requiring a change, and oppose every agency detrimental to scientific medicine*.

Beginning the new year 1889 the *Sacramento Medical Times'* name was changed to *Occidental Medical Times* — thereby giving it a more representative atmosphere.

Dr. G. G. Tyrrell's term as a member on the State Board of Health expired, and there was surprise by the JOURNAL's Editor that Governor Waterman did not reappoint the Permanent Secretary. The profession, according to the Editor, was loath to believe the Board, the Secretary, or either or both, would come under the purview of politics, the *spoils system*. It was felt that faithful and efficient service, not denying another might do as well or even better, the only essential for assuring continuance in office, and permitting experience continue to serve the public health.

The State Board of Health's Legislative Committee, assisted by a like committee of San Francisco's City Board of Health, met and agreed the State Board draw a bill to present to the Legislature seeking appointment of a State Sanitary Inspector and a State Veterinarian (defeated in the 1887 legislative session), and to give the State Board of Health some authority over local Boards in matters not pertaining to quarantine. The three requests would be excellent additions for health progress.

At the last session of Congress a bill had been passed appropriating needed funds for establishing quarantine stations at San Francisco, San Diego and Port Townsend, Washington Territory. The Commission for San Francisco was John S. Hager, Collector of Customs, Dr. S. Beverly Cole, of the State Board of Health, and Dr. H. W. Sawtelle, Surgeon United States Marine Hospital Service. It was thought the Commission would recommend Hospital Cove, on Angel Island, for the quarantine site. Hospital Cove was the most protected area of the Island; it was fortunately in slack water at all times of tide, had a sandy beach, excellent facility for wharfage, had better wind protection than any other part of the Island and was out of vessel traffic channels. A ten-acre plateau adjoined the cove, giving ample room for buildings, and, as a requisite, there was an excellent water supply.

Every preparation had been made to assure the success of the next State Medical Society meeting. The nineteen committees, enrolling in all ninety-five physicians, were stated to be showing *signs of great activity with encouraging results.*⁸⁹

When the Society convened in San Francisco, April 17, 1889, President James Simpson of San Francisco introduced Dr. H. H. Hart, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who graciously welcomed the many visitors from over the State. President Simpson's address covered the following subjects:

1. OVER-PRESSURE IN SCHOOLS. He was not inclined to take the alarmist's viewpoint, but felt children's *sickness arose from causes foreign to the school-room nine cases out of ten.*⁹⁰
2. MEDICAL ADVANCEMENT. Simpson sought of his confreres they *hold fast to that which is proven. However, never fall into that conservatism that stifles progress . . .*
3. Hypnotism.
4. The quarantine station in San Francisco.
5. COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY. It was Dr. Simpson's thought that the State Society should take a fostering interest in county medical societies throughout the State, and give more accord to county medical welfare. As county groups met once or twice monthly they should be of more value to the physician as a medium of scientific and social exchange. Of the fifteen or more county medical societies outside the metropolis, Simpson thought if doubtful more than eight or nine held regular meetings.

⁸⁹ *Journal*, v XXXII, 1889, p. 233.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 279.

The southern part of the State was in good condition *owing to large recent accessions of Eastern physicians bringing with them an admirable esprit de corps.*⁹¹ President Simpson urged the formation of societies in those districts now graced with an increased population. That none had been formed he surmised was not secondary to inertia or lack of interest, but to the inability to find a physician, or physicians, possessing the necessary tact for organization. *It is the friction of friendly contact that brings out the good that lies concealed under the surface of every man,* stated Simpson. He suggested, too, that a list of the county societies, with their respective officers and membership, be printed and appended annually as a portion of the transactions of the State body.

The report of the Committee on Histology and Microscopy binds science with an era. At a previous report the Committee had alluded to the powerful influence the germ theory exerted on prophylaxis and hygiene, while it had aided scarcely not at all in the field of therapeutics. However, microbiology had won marked success in the realm of surgery and obstetrics. The boldness of modern surgery had been determined only by recognizing its revelations. Suppuration was the subject of much experimentation: was it due to microbes or were chemical influences also involved in its causation, they asked each other.

Dr. Walter M. Lindley, of Los Angeles, was chosen President to succeed Dr. Simpson, and Los Angeles was the Society's selection for the next meeting place. In future it was agreed to meet on the third Tuesday in April instead of the third Wednesday, a change that came about because the third Friday of April, 1889, fell on Good Friday.

The Committee on Legislation reported that progressive legislation had been secured even if much of the effort put forth had been nullified by adverse action of legislators, in one or the other house. However, a compulsory vaccination of school children law had been passed; also a law forbidding the burial of a body without a permit by a proper officer; and a law establishing local boards of health in each town of 500 population or more.

The amended constitution and by-laws were read, section by

91 *Occidental Medical Times*, v III, 1889, p. 225.

section, and adopted. A change was made, in Secs. 5 and 6 of the constitution, that thenceforth compelled continuous membership in the local society, where one existed, essential for admission to, or retention of, membership in the State Society. This was a change of major attention. In future the choice of a meeting place was to precede the election of officers, an arrangement of material value in choosing officers. *Future* members, too, would have to belong to their local societies, when one existed; their membership could be retained only by a *continuous* membership in the local society. This change conformed to the rule of the American Medical Association, and it was thought it would strengthen local societies and develop an advantageous and closer amalgamation between city, county, State and National Societies.

Editorially the *Occidental Medical Times* drew a trial balance of the State meeting. They stated it was a successful one, the attendance and general interest good, and thirty-four new members had been added. There was hope the election of Dr. Lindley, of Los Angeles, would open a new era, and stifle that apprehensive tendency toward centralization apparent up to that time. Lindley had youth, energy and ability, and a powerful incentive to make the first meeting in the south a most successful one.

The past five years prior to 1889 practitioners of medicine on the Pacific Coast had almost doubled, and to some of the thoughtful, aggressive members it then seemed the time to make a *pitch* toward having the National Society meet in San Francisco in 1890. It was hoped their coming to San Francisco would add many to that Association's membership, as proportionately, it was lower in the west than it should have been. The new Medical Register revealed a gratifying increase of physicians in San Francisco and Oakland, as well as throughout Southern California. The National Association, however, met at Newport without considering California as its next meeting place. But, said Parkinson, *without one representative to urge her claims, our Golden State must await a more propitious opportunity.*⁹²

There seemed very little opposition to the changes that had recently been made in the new constitution of the State Medical Society. To the contrary, most of the comments indicated a support of the requirement of membership in a county society ere

92 Ibid, p. 444.

they would be acceptable for State Medical Society membership According to the *Occidental Medical Times*⁹³ the amendment had *found favor in unexpected quarters . . . the weak point in our professional organization has been the independence and mutual irresponsibility of each unit to the other . . . We have always maintained that the local society should be the ultimate tribunal before which the conduct of practitioners resident in its district should be judged.*

93 Ibid, p. 613.

Chapter XIV

1889-1891

IN 1883 there entered the ranks of California's State Medical Society a character to become a student of local and State Medical Constitutions, a parliamentarian of unusual ability and with a fine memory for minutae, who, for more than forty years, was a distinguished force in the body politic of western medicine. The intentions and endeavors of James H. Parkinson, M. D., of Sacramento, were factually directed, and attuned in equity. Parkinson moved in a sphere of confidence and positiveness and courageously defended his every resolve, but just as dauntlessly repulsed opposition. The first edition of Parkinson's *Sacramento Medical Times* came into physicians' hands March, 1887. With the exception of two years — 1899 and 1900 — the magazine had a continuous circulation for twelve years. Parkinson's editorials were well written, colorful, earnest, pithy . . . irrespective if the reader agreed or not with the subject matter and the attitude taken. Never was he challenged for having allowed the banner of organized medicine touch the ground. The *Occidental Medical Times* (originally *Sacramento Medical Times*), in its era, stood as one of the leaders for information regarding the California Medical Society: for historical sequence, for organizational management, and for *around the corner* political maneuvering. It was axiomatic that Parkinson would *work and vote as he talked and prayed*. His remark, *we will not always agree, and if we did, the knell of all future exploration in our art and its associate sciences would be that moment sounded*, is typically Parkinsonian.

Dr. Hodghead, Editor of the *Pacific Medical Journal* — the longer title had been shortened beginning January, 1889 — in an editorial, February, 1890,⁹⁴ spoke of quite a noticeable lack of

94 v XXXIII, p. 95.

attendance spirit within the San Francisco County Medical Society. The papers presented before the Society the past year, during 1888, he wrote, revealed thoughtful labor and deserved an audience, and an audience willing to enter into a mutual exchange of thought and opinion.

Beginning with the March, 1889, number, the *Pacific Medical Journal* shared ownership: Dr. Winslow Anderson became an equal partner with Dr. D. A. Hodghead. Though Dr. Anderson was just then leaving for Europe, he planned much work in the eastern states and in Europe and contemplated enterprising measures for further progressive improvements of the *Journal*. At that time, the staff of collaborators was increased and each was accorded a section over which he was to have charge. Every division and subdivision of medicine was to have a place.

The State Medical Society meeting, according to its President, Dr. Walter M. Lindley, would last three and a half days. The Twentieth Anniversary of the Society – an historical landmark – convened in Los Angeles, April 15, 1890. Dr. Lindley gave the usual President's blessing and alluded to his happiness in greeting a membership from all parts of the State, and *to the increasing number of California graduates soon to represent the profession on the Pacific Coast*, though presently one-sixth of California's physicians were from foreign lands. Lindley spoke of seeing before him *silver-haired Nestors of the profession, who have assisted at the birth of this Society and who have carefully nurtured it until today, when it is twenty years old*. He went on to comment on the relationship of physicians and druggists; to advise a health certificate before marriage; talked of the increase of malpractice suits; of the general revival of cremation; and recommended a committee be appointed to draft the proper resolutions inviting the American Medical Association to meet in San Francisco in 1891.

Some salient points of the Convention need mentioning, if for no other reason than to give historical beginning to the objective. The Legislative Committee explained how the Legislature defeated the bill for sanitary supervision of slaughtering cattle for food. During 1888-89 politics and politicians had been intruding on the domain of the State Board of Health, with litigation resulting over the seat of the Permanent Secretary, and secondary thereto there was an omission of sanitary interests.

A resolution of Dr. W. W. Kerr, San Francisco, was passed

which asked that the various medical societies investigate their County Hospitals and endeavor to have them placed upon a solid financial basis. Kerr considered the annual appropriations inadequate.

Dr. W. R. Cluness of Sacramento was elected President for the coming year, and Sacramento chosen the place of next meeting. *In this, stated the Occidental Medical Times,*⁹⁵ *we recognize the assertion of a principle move essential to the healthy growth and prosperity of our organization. Year after year the meetings have been held in the Metropolis, until the tendency to centralization became so great that a project was actually started to provide a permanent home in San Francisco. Nothing could be more pernicious in its effects or fatal in result. The Society is of the whole State . . . San Francisco is perhaps least to blame in this centralizing tendency. It is the result rather of a spirit of carelessness and selfish indifference on the part of members elsewhere. A meeting in the city means responsibility . . . The labor that need occur but once in a decade is wrongfully shirked.*

The *Pacific Medical Journal* of April reported Dr. Hodghead was superseded by Dr. John C. Sundberg as one of the Editors. Dr. Hodghead had devoted two and one-quarter years to the *Journal* and now handed over his duties to another, of whom much praise was spoken.

The California State Medical Society's Committee of Arrangements sent out circulars giving full information regarding the Society meeting to be held—intelligence regarding committees, transportation, et cetera. The meeting opened in Sacramento, April 21, 1891. Dr. W.R. Cluness, President, spoke of the obligations and derelictions of medical practitioners to professional character, a subject appearing to be somewhat threadbare but seemingly considered a *must*. The matter of percentages some doctors were accused of receiving on prescriptions was said to be as prevalent in San Francisco *as in any city in the whole world, and is an 'open secret'*. Chico, Grass Valley, Livermore, Riverside, Santa Rosa and Woodland, so far as could be discerned, were free of the abominable system. Cluness felt *something ought to be done, both in San Francisco and in other towns of California, to abate a practice which is so common as to cast a cloud over the whole body of medical practitioners.* The Presi-

95 *Ibid*, v IV, 1890, p. 247.

dent also attacked Society practice flourishing under the appellation of *Friendly Associations, Sick Clubs, and Benevolent Associations.*

Dr. J. O. Hirschfelder, as Chairman, gave the Report of the Committee on Clinical Medicine. A great deal of experimentation was then under way with Koch's treatment of tuberculosis. Hirschfelder had hoped that in the celebrated lymph a cure had been found to that most extensively distributed disease, to that voracious destroyer of the human race. However, careful and scientific investigation with Koch's lymph had failed to verify expectations.

There had been a growing dissatisfaction with the methods governing the conduct of the State Medical Society's business, and the previous year a committee had been appointed to advise some approach whereby more satisfactory work could be accomplished. This committee felt it still inadvisable to attempt the division of the Society into sections but did make several recommendations: (1) That a committee of three, to be known as the *Executive Committee*, be appointed annually by the President, to serve during the session of the Society next following. All resolutions, general business, and matters not pertaining to reports or papers upon the program, were to be referred without debate to the Executive Committee. The Committee would then consider them and submit its report to the Society. In this manner they could be speedily disposed of. (2) That Article IV, Sec. 2, of the By-laws be so amended as to omit the word *resume*, and substitute the word *subject* or *subjects* germane to the Executive Committee. (3) That the reading of committee reports be strictly limited to twenty-five minutes; the time for reading voluntary contributions be limited to twenty minutes. (4) The program be so arranged that each committee be regarded as a section, and that all papers pertaining to that subject, whether supplementary reports or voluntary contributions, be included under the same head and be read and discussed *seriatim*. Following that advice Dr. Cluness conducted the meeting accordingly.

A circular had been sent, by President Cluness, to members of standing committees pointing out the desirability of brevity, and asked those presenting papers select the subject wherein they might embody so far as possible the personal opinion of the author. This was adhered to and thereby excluded all but scientific matters from the session.

The attendance was only one hundred and thirteen, against

one hundred and ninety at Los Angeles the previous year, though all considered the meeting was a success in every respect, *and last, but not least, in the daily routine of activities, came the entertainments, pleasant memories of which will long dwell in our hearts. In providing social enjoyment to cheer and strengthen us for our more laborious duties, a new departure was made last year at Los Angeles and perfected this year in Sacramento—a grand and glorious reformation which no one will ever regret. We refer to the presence of ladies and the absence of wine.*

*During April, 1891, there was a complete reorganization of the Board of Health: an entirely new membership, except Drs. W. R. Cluness, of Sacramento, and C. A. Ruggles, of Stockton, and the new Permanent Secretary—Dr. J. R. Laine, of Sacramento. The new Secretary—and on him the bulk of the labor will devolve—is yet a young man, full of life and energy, and we doubt not but that he will go on effecting what his predecessors has so effectually begun.*⁹⁶ Members of the Health Board, except the Secretary, received no salary, no remuneration other than bare traveling expenses. The legislators refused to pay more. Nonetheless, the previous year's legislature had fathered the Bill that provided the Board of Health with an attorney, at \$3,000.00 per annum. *For the first time in the history of the Board the members, with one exception, belong to the dominant political party, stated the Occidental Medical Times.*

San Francisco was voted the next meeting place, and Dr. O. O. Burgess, of San Francisco, was elected President for the term 1891-92. The Doctor for many years had been a prominent member of the profession and, according to Parkinson, was *unconnected with any clique, and free to devote himself to the interests of the Society.*

Two new laws—an act to regulate the practice of pharmacy, and the sale of poisons—were passed by the California State Legislature. The former would go into effect January 1, 1892, and the law stated that no one but a properly qualified pharmacist could open and conduct a drug store in this State. However, the numerous incompetents then in business would not be disturbed the remainder of their natural lives. There were hopes, according to medical journals of that day, the life span for these *ignoramuses would be short.*

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 300.

The PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL opened the new year, 1892, with greetings to the profession, and as public health guardians, advised California doctors of medicine buckle on their armor and storm the fortresses of death-dealing diseases defended by the hordes of *bacilli* and *micrococci*.

Mortuary reports could teach valuable lessons, for any caring to learn, in matters appertaining to hygiene and sociology. Too, the *Journal* believed those mortuary reports should be interpreted to an interested public, to inform in what manner and how the Reaper advanced, and how perpetual sanitary vigilance and sanitary and sociological reforms would reduce the mortality rates. It was asked whether casualty was a polite term for criminal negligence, when it was observed that over a period of twenty years, five percent of the population had died by violence. Senator Stanford's thoroughbred trotters were valued higher than was human life, and given more care. The murderers seemed to need more consideration by the law-abiding citizenry. Sums of money were being expended to save the murderer, though too little attention was given the person murdered. More thought for the murdered would have given joy or comfort to many a poor but honest family. Moral diseases, such as kleptomania, erotomania, homicidal mania, inebriety, and their ilk, seemed to have been contagious, for they had spread over communities, and directly and indirectly had helped to enlarge the mortuary lists. How to prohibit, correct these pathological influences—even, for instance, in inebriety—would have materially lessened the social strain. Many thought the drunkard and drunkard-maker were parasites of a most virulent strain. The enlightened, law-abiding and cultured citizenry considered the tumultuous West had gotten beyond that earlier demoralized frontier stage. Forty years had wrought material changes—for good—, and positive, substantial qualities and domestic-living, dutiful personalities had taken their proper position regarding pressing public affairs. They, with the medical profession, considered there had been a benignant tolerance toward moral diseases; conditions that needed an immediate sociological approach, that should be met *head on*, with an attack in strength. That portion of society holding such a philosophy seemed, unfortunately, a minority percentage, but, of course, that was erroneous—they were merely unorganized.

Physicians had clamored for constructive sanitary improve-

ments, while legislators showed interest in the *pork-barrel*, and but glanced circumspectly at sanitary bills. To them, it all seemed a promotion scheme, or such was their defense after returning to their constituency.

It had been three years since the State Medical Society last had met in San Francisco. At Los Angeles in 1890, the then President, Dr. Walter Lindley, recommended and made suggestions that the topographical, climatic and sanitary conditions of California be represented at the World's Fair in San Francisco. The *Pacific Medical Journal* was quite in accord with Dr. Lindley's recommendation, but fatigued and disgusted with both city and State legislative sanitary accomplishments, the *Journal* satirically remarked:⁹⁷ *From a hygienically instructional, as well as esthetic point of view it would also be edifying to transplant on to the fair grounds one of our typical inland cities with its conspicuously exposed latrines, sewage-saturated soil and typhoid-polluted wells.* The *Journal* recommended⁹⁸ that *steps should be taken to have the sanitary condition of the State represented at the World's Fair next year and to so improve it that we need not blush.*

Some members of the State Medical Society felt there was much that might be given attention: (1) a strengthening to effectually keep out quacks and charlatans, those with or without diplomas. (2) Thought be given to the Pan-American Medical Congress and International Medical Congress meetings. (3) An invitation to the American Medical Association to meet in San Francisco not be overlooked.

Dr. O. O. Burgess' address as President of the State Medical Society was well received. He contended the true origin of any code of ethics came from a stern and incorruptible conscience. The medical code possessed, and should embody, flexibility sufficient to supply a popular demand for medical news and medical knowledge without exhibiting one's own medical personality; faith and belief and recognition would be returned to that medical workman who became known in his work shop, became known to his tradesmen as they passed by; and to the reliable and devoted who would pause and listen and observe. These actions would be protection enough against the deceptive wiles of quackery.

97 *Ibid*, v XXXV, 1892, p. 172.

98 *Ibid*, p. 213.

A National Public Health bill was now before Congress, which provided for the establishment of a National Board of Health—the ghost of Logan might almost herein be seen!—and the American Medical Association's meeting in May asked that all state medical society president's memorialize Congress to create a cabinet officer known as the Medical Secretary of Public Health. President Plummer wished his Society to act accordingly.

Dr. Plummer was in favor of a national law for regulating practice: a uniformity in State and Territories; to create a national standard, and make the standard sufficiently high to receive recognition in countries over the world. He also felt that expert witnesses should be simply explanatory and nonpartisan, advisers of the Court.

The *Occidental Medical Times*⁹⁹ commented the State meeting was conducted, and the program arranged, as for the year 1891, but had been improved upon by omitting the evening session and condensing the day's work into two sessions. The usual failure of readers of papers to be present and ready when required was a stumbling block, a condition to which the Committee of Arrangements should always give attention. The selection of San Francisco again for the 1893 session of the State Society was a mistake, according to the *Medical Times*, as it was reverting to the old scheme; the San Francisco attendance was none too good, and *some members not even being present at a single session*; instead of there being two *schools* in the Society, a third faction, the San Francisco Polyclinic, was being noted. *The State Society is certainly not the place for warring schools and factions, or for professional jealousies, unfortunately too common in San Francisco. That no member of a school should be elected President is ridiculous, excluding as it would some of our best men; and it is equally absurd that any faction or factions should monopolize all the honors.*

99 Ibid, v VI, 1892, p. 265.

Chapter XV

1892-1894

THE STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY was said, in 1892, to have a listing of 390 members: a gradual, steady increase, though in proportion to the number of regular physicians throughout the State, it was much below what rightfully it should have been.

Dr. W. E. Taylor of San Francisco was elected President for the ensuing year. Dr. Taylor was a deservedly popular man and, according to Dr. Parkinson, had *always been found on the right side as an earnest advocate of good feeling, higher professional ethics, and assisted the unfortunate or oppressed*. Apparently there were aspirants among younger members, and though Parkinson felt their efforts revealed ambition and aspiration, he was of the impression those of a younger age with an ambition for the presidency should postpone their desire a time, and follow the Society's unwritten law of many years by allowing the selection to come from amongst the senior members. There were some seniors who had devoted a very great deal to medicine and medical organization that might not be there in ten years, while the younger men had before them many years of active life. Therefore, stated Dr. Parkinson, *in justice as in modesty, they should be satisfied to wait till they in turn had reached maturer years*.

The not unusual annual wrangle over selection of the Board of Medical Examiners again appeared. The rank and file deplored this friction and wasted time, let alone the hard feeling sometimes engendered. A new departure in selecting was being considered—either by amendment to the by-laws or by special action.

An Association of Pacific Coast Rhinologists, Laryngologists, and Aurists had been in contemplation through the activities of

Dr. T. R. Rumbold of San Francisco. The Doctor suggested holding the organizational meeting at the time the State Society was in session. The organization was to be confined to those physicians practicing only ear, nose and throat. It was probable too that oculists would be included, for none of them on this coast had confined their practice exclusively to ophthalmology, but attended also the diseases of ear, nose and throat.

The San Francisco Society of Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat Surgeons held a regular meeting on August 26, 1892, whereat the Constitution and By-laws of this new Society were read. Dr. J. C. Sundberg occupied the Chair.

The Medical Section of the Historical Exhibit at the State Fair was one of the finest, according to the *Occidental Medical Times*, ever gathered together, and never again, perhaps, will there be gathered such an array of the mementoes of the industrial, commercial and social evolution of California as was brought together. It constituted a grand and impressive object-lesson in the history of our State. To this exhibit Cooper Medical College, and the Medical Department of the State University, contributed liberally. The former, photographs of Professor Henry Gibbons, Sr., of the first and of the present corps of professors, of the first graduating class, of the college building as it appeared in 1882, and also as it appeared on its completion in 1890, and a table of data relating to the organization and work of the schools. The latter, portraits of Professor Toland and of R. Beverly Cole, photographs of the present corps of professors, of the first graduating class, and a statistical table similar to that of Cooper College. Mrs. Logan contributed an excellent portrait of her husband, Dr. T. M. Logan, the scholarly organizer and first secretary of the State Board of Health, and Mrs. Hatch an extremely life-like portrait of his worthy successor on the Board, Dr. F. W. Hatch. The Chairman of the Medical Section secured photographs of Drs. G. L. Simmons and W. R. Cluness, who more than any others have been instrumental in promoting the influence and efficiency of the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement . . .

The Northern District Medical Society had been organized, May 26, 1891, and to October, 1892, it had made a slow yet steady progress. Its membership came from widely separated districts, and its fraternal relations, advancement in professional amenities, and stimulus to intellectual energy were looked upon with a great deal of enjoyment. Primarily the organization was

intended to cover only those adjoining counties in the Chico area, but its scope was extended to include the northern and central counties of California. The area, too, had several local societies, though there seemed no reason a large and prosperous association meeting semi-annually would at all interfere. This district society was to occupy a position between the local and State organizations, supplying, especially in California's northernmost counties, the place of the former whose physicians were few and scattered. The next meeting was to be held at Biggs, and the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement hoped the Society would in the near future meet in Sacramento, *the cradle of medical organization in California*.

The annual report of San Francisco's Polyclinic for the year ending March 16, 1892, revealed an institution of unusual stature. Primarily founded as a dispensary for treatment of sick poor, it was, in 1892, being used by the University of California for graduate instruction. This Post-graduate Department of the University of California listed a faculty and assistants of forty-eight physicians.

Both the Medical Department of the University of California and Cooper Medical College had been *flirting* with a four years' course requisite for graduation. This program was soon adopted, to take effect the year following, 1893.

The year 1892 had opened with an influenza epidemic in America and Europe, which reached as far south as Cairo. Death stalked this epidemic on its travels over the world. Every effort was directed toward finding its cause, without results, though its bacillary origin was stoutly maintained.

Cholera bequeathed sad havoc in India and the Orient. Russia witnessed the fear, anguish, suffering and death cholera's ravages created—200,000 people dying of the pestilence. Add to this number the 500,000 dying in Europe and the Orient, and there came the realization of how sore-stricken were those countries in their loss of their young and old, their needy and needed. California had known her cholera tragedies, and learned that proper hygiene and sanitary conditions were preventive.

The year 1892 was acquainted with the fact that bovine virus did protect from smallpox, and that rabic spinal marrow prevented hydrophobia. Professor Koch was still giving his every effort on his tuberculin, for cure of tuberculosis. Special surgery had made rapid progress during the year; the brain and spinal cord

were being operated upon with success; the lungs, heart, liver, gall bladder and intestines were frequently and successfully subjected to the surgeon's knife. Antisepsis gradually was giving way to asepsis, and suppurations following surgery became an exception rather than the rule. Hygiene and preventive medicine were greatly advanced, and if the legalized health boards were given proper cooperation by the public and legislative bodies epidemics were thoroughly controlled. The medical hope was less politics—in health boards, hospitals and insane asylums.¹⁰⁰

Great advancement in the basic sciences, particularly chemistry and physics, had added new and more exact methods to the doctor's armamentarium. Having to conclude an opinion of a case wholly on external signs was replaced by an ability to inspect and explore the interior of organs.¹⁰¹

Some constructive medical legislation was before California's Legislature in February, 1893, and the regular physicians, with a meager element of the Homeopaths and Eclectics, were urging its passage. The bill provided for a State Board of Examiners to be appointed by the Governor; contained no reference to schools, isms, or pathies; recognized all legally qualified candidates and would, if the law was passed, examine them in the branches of anatomy, physiology, chemistry, et cetera, irrespective of schools. The Homeopaths and Eclectics would receive separate examinations in two subjects, therapeutics and practice, thereby affording agreeable justice to all.

W. S. Thorne, M. D., Adjunct Professor of Principles and Practice of Surgery, Medical Department University of California, spoke on the subject of MEDICAL ETHICS IN SAN FRANCISCO. The Doctor imagined that a few suggestions on the subject might be particularly timely in lieu of the State Medical Society meeting that month. The fact California medical societies were separated from the older and more stable societies in the East resulted in an inadequate, more immature *esprit de corps*. Thorne thought provincialism found expression in self-laudation . . . *nothing so pre-eminently distinguishes the small man as his fancied superiority and the assumption of great wisdom. His country attainments, traditions, have deeply impressed, and it is*

100 *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XXXV, 1892, p. 743.

101 *Occidental Medical Times*, v VII, 1893, p. 10.

*only with years he comes to learn that schools do not make doctors, and that doctors do not make men—that behind the doctor is the man and his character, which together comprise all that he is, and all that he is worth to the community in which he lives. The doctor, whatever his attainments, who is dishonorable, who maligns his neighbor, who detracts from the honest and conscientious effort on the part of an humble confrere is a contemptible man; the man of many degrees, the man of encyclopedic knowledge may be, and often is, a weak and incompetent practitioner. Colleges may confer degrees, but they cannot confer courage, honor and common sense. Men equally educated yet different in point of intelligent application of their acquirements. Men unequally educated will yet more widely differ in this regard, but honest and conscientious effort, however ill-directed, is entitled to respectful consideration. Fortuitous circumstances of birth, educational advantages and adaptation, place us individually on different planes, but this difference is potential capacity, if fortified by honest endeavor, should not retract from the respect due to such attributes. The too frequent tendency in San Francisco for one medical neighbor to openly charge another with ignorance and incompetence is ignoble. The man who indulges in this sort of egotism is handling a boomerang which weapon is quite as likely to injure the owner as it is to destroy the object of its aim. In any event it lessens the confidence and respect of the public for the medical profession. The medical profession is nothing if not dignified and respectful . . . No man can rise or has ever risen to an exalted height in medicine who has not carried with him the love and respect of his contemporaries.*¹⁰²

Dr. Thorne's address was filled with civilities; thoughts so exalted, so impregnated with dictums everyone *should* live up to, it seemed becoming all listen and take bearings of the direction a well-thinking medical gentleman sought to lead. He had spoken so intimately and eminently of human decencies that a rereading could not fail but cause one—anyone—to wonder if they were being thoroughly thrashed *with the rawhide of the wiser minds*.

Dr. W. E. Taylor delivered his annual address as President of

¹⁰² *Pacific Medical Journal*, vXXXVI, 1893, p. 220.

the State Medical Society, April 18, 1893. The subject material was substantially the same as that of his immediate predecessors. The Society had three hundred fifty members enrolled, and the President deprecated the fact that out of two thousand regular physicians in active practice so few saw fit to give their attention and services to the State organization and, in turn, receive the Society's many offerings. Attendance at the annual meeting was good, and the number of papers above average, but the *Occidental Medical Times* stated the meeting seemed to drag and the discussions were much behind those of recent meetings, a situation, however, that Dr. Parkinson attributed to the President's poor health.

San Jose was selected as the next meeting place, though no invitation had been extended by that city. The Society did not this time await an invitation but felt the membership would be added to by not localizing in the metropolis. *We hope*, said Dr. Parkinson, *that the course adopted this year will be continued in the future and that every locality in the State will be visited in turn. It is very noticeable that with successive meetings in San Francisco the tendency to general stagnation is quite marked, in no feature more plainly than in the lack of attendance from the city itself.*

Dr. C. G. Kenyon of San Francisco was elected President to succeed Dr. Taylor.

Because of a long-continued, semiactive friction within the household of San Francisco's County Medical Society, their last election of officers resulted in the splitting away of a segment to create a new society. The JOURNAL stated *the gentlemen who organized this new society did so because their candidate was fairly defeated . . . It will be a matter of profound regret that one of our most eminent surgeons and distinguished philanthropists should be the prime mover in this unwise revolt.* The *Occidental Medical Press*, of Sacramento, stated *various causes have been assigned. At the bottom of all may be described the unfortunate want of harmony that has long characterized the profession of the metropolis, and the equally unfortunate though inevitable jealousy between the two schools of medicine in that city. This factional fight has been an annual offense to the State Society year after year, to which we have frequently referred . . . The facts of the case justify the assumption that the society has originated from a desire to find more congenial association in the sole*

prosecution of medical and scientific improvement. Drs. Ellinwood, Hanson, Lane and Plummer presented their resignations to the County Medical Society, which were accepted.

The *Medical Times*, commented on the State Society Transactions, considered it a vastly improved volume in appearance but felt there still was some room for press-work betterment. At the same time there was chiding because no mention had been made of the source of the material—a donation by Parkinson—and their statement of apology for the imperfect report of discussions. The *Medical Times* for several years had taken a stenographic report of the proceedings, and had furnished a copy—*for free*—to the Committee of Publications of the State Society. To give no recognition was unfortunate; most assuredly recognition was owing. The controversial attitude, one toward the other, of the two Editors appeared the causative factor, though acceptance and use of the copy deserved to be properly accredited.

The American Medical Association voted to meet in San Francisco the next year (1894). Their first visit to the Pacific Coast was in 1871 when California's medical organization and medical population could scarcely have been in a more painful condition, or more weakly constituted for harmony. Disunion was prevalent, and courtesy, among far too many, was incompatible, conflicting, controversial. Again in 1894, the city chosen to be host was witnessing peevish, petulant disharmony, and the JOURNAL was publishing that *We must assume the virtue of unity, if we have it or not.* Dr. Wm. Watt Kerr, the new President, recommended matters of ethics be referred to a committee, thereby obviating a nidus of so much friction the past year, and from a medical standpoint the suggestion was a successful one.

The PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL was *sore put* too, and justly, because Supervisors of the County of San Francisco had rejected the idea of a milk inspector and the erection of a garbage incinerator; yet they contemplated spending \$10,000 for a new city map!

On January 1, 1894, the PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL entered upon its thirty-seventh year, and with considerable pleasure noted a subscription increase of nearly fifty percent the past eighteen months. California's population and economy had grown also and the number of physicians in California had by then reached 3,300; nonetheless, the JOURNAL's pride in its

accomplishments was justified. It had served its objective in an aggressive, creditable and patient manner, and too often under dire circumstances; and for so many years it had been the one guiding spirit upon which advancement of medicine and the medical profession depended throughout a raw, unhewn, prodigal West. That area, after unearthing a golden richness, settled seriously to establishing a great republic by effecting solid economy; by advancing its ample, valuable and matchless God-given gifts; by investing its own, and foreign, confidence and money; and by telling and inviting the world to come and enjoy Nature's playground and workshop.

Chapter XVI

San Francisco's Midwinter Fair *American Medical Association* *Meets in San Francisco* 1894

WHEN, at Milwaukee, the invitation was extended the American Medical Association to meet in San Francisco in 1894, there was no assurance a Midwinter Fair would be accomplished. Exhibitors at the National medical meeting were inquisitive, and foreign exhibitors there had not the vaguest comprehension of California — land of Sunshine. Natives of the Eastern and Middle States were almost as unknowing as were people from foreign lands, and a medical profession from those same areas wondered, because of the year-after-year invitation of the California State Medical Society, why they should not make the trip and see for themselves.

The Midwinter Fair was conceived by M. H. de Young, proprietor of the San Francisco CHRONICLE, after he had observed exhibits at the Chicago World's Fair. To advertise California's climate, it was determined to hold the Fair in *midwinter*, a time such a project would be a climatic impossibility in eastern cities, though California literally knew no *winter* except in the high Sierra Nevada Mountains. The selected time also gave opportunity for exhibitors to move direct to San Francisco without the expense of a waiting interval. The Midwinter Fair opened January 27, 1894, and extended to July 1 of that year. It was therefore at its peak of efficiency when the American Medical Association arrived for its annual meeting.

Entertaining the National organization gave opportunity for those steady sound-mind and sound-body doctors to give the *call-to-arms* of California's medical profession, to strengthen and

increase the number of local societies, to urge numerical strengthening of the State body; and by infusing that pride-of-State doctrine and forgetting-of-personalities guidance through a go-to-work program, the visit of the National Association was to become a tonic as it had been in 1871. Promoting the welfare of medical societies, the medical profession and the general public was on the *menu* at nearly every meeting of all California medical societies.

The American Medical Association was asking State and local societies to stand by the Code, not to follow efforts of a small group of reformers and slant the document away from its simple integrity. General practitioners had no complaint, but there was a specialty element in New York that was noisy, persistent and perservering—over what?: merely the refusal of the Code to sanction a patent. California's State organization appeared solidly behind the National Association against a Code change; too, they were in accord regarding rights of consultation.

The Medical Society of the State of California convened in San Jose, April 17, 1894, one month before the American Medical Association was to visit San Francisco. Dr. D. Caldwell of the Santa Clara County Medical Society gave the Address of Welcome, having been introduced by the State President, Dr. C. G. Kenyon. President Kenyon spoke of the Annual Address as a time-honored custom which was, he thought, not to impart information but rather to afford opportunity for the more general discussion of ideas. Kenyon stated there was satisfaction with the standard adopted by our medical schools, the vast amount of medical literature, and the prevalent custom of young men to go abroad. The Society customs and procedure remained somewhat of a constant, but the President considered a few constitutional and by-law changes with a view directed toward increasing the membership, and adding to the working capacity and advancement of the profession. His suggestions were: (1) Reduction of annual dues. With \$3,000 in the treasury, with fund accumulation not a purpose of the Society and no legitimate objective needing accumulation of funds, there seemed no reason not to lower dues and have the Society gather the advantages to themselves by so doing. (2) Rescind the constitutional requirement that continuous membership in a local society was necessary to qualify for the State organization. (3) The publication of a quarterly bulletin. Besides the points above notated, Dr. Kenyon's

address covered unlawful practices, embalming, and the Code of Medical Ethics.

The Executive Committee brought in the following recommendations:

1. The Medico-Chirurgical Society of San Francisco having adopted the Code of Ethics of the American Medical Association, it was recommended that the Society be recognized by the State Society.
2. Legislation against purulent ophthalmia.
3. That the amount named in the resolution (\$2,500) be appropriated to be expended by the Committee of Arrangements of the American Medical Association.
4. That the Committee believed it inexpedient to reduce dues of the Society. The amount accumulated was very small for a period of twenty-four years. There had been times the Society was in debt, and if again that might occur a surplus would be welcome.
5. Continuous membership in the local society was productive of a vast amount of good, and very exceptionally would it work a hardship. Advised against a change.
6. Quarterly bulletin. Recommended the matter be referred to the incoming Executive Committee for study, and to report at the next annual meeting, April 1895.
7. Code of Ethics. Recommended the Society unanimously endorse the Code.
8. Embalming. Believed the suggestion that the embalming of any body should not be allowed until permission had been granted by a coroner or other proper officer, was good, and recommended the matter be referred to the Committee on Medical Legislation for action.
9. Committee on State Library. Favored the creation of a standing committee on this subject, and report at next meeting.

The OCCIDENTAL MEDICAL PRESS¹⁰³ considered the State meeting a less successful one compared with others of recent years; a result of hard times and the fact the American Medical Association was to meet the following month in San Fran-

¹⁰³ *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XXXVI, 1893, p. 279.

cisco. Only two members appeared from the extreme southern section, and from the northern district of the State by the same quota. The local attendance was poor, and those visitors from the metropolis who arrived on the morning train returned in the afternoon, and commonly this was their only visit. The acoustic properties of the hall were poor, the lighting of the hall not too good, and the temperature was lower than comfortable. Dr. Parkinson stated the fault was not the presiding officer's, for *Dr. Kenyon was always regarded as a worker . . . and more than fulfilled his part.* The scientific papers, however, *were uniformly good.*

The PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL agreed the program was unusually complete, and the papers were of more than average excellence. The number present, however, was disappointing and not understandable unless it was due to the unpopular manner in which the Society was conducted, particularly in the matter of the election of officers.

Dr. G. L. Simmons, of Sacramento, was chosen the Society's President. The Doctor was an 1850 pioneer to California, a productive and guiding supporter of California's medical societies since 1857, an experienced and stable selection and an ideal personage to welcome the American Medical Association to California.

Every preparation was in progress to greet the National Association, and even if in the midst of hard times, the profession generously extended itself. An abundance of social features had been provided, and care was taken to carry the social program forward without interfering with the real work of the Association.

Some of the points of interest suggested should be visited were the Midwinter Fair at Golden Gate Park and an all-day boat trip covering the following route: to Hunter's Point, to Union Iron Works and Sugar Refinery, down the bay to the Heads, showing the Gate, Fort Point and the Presidio Reservation, thence to Raccoon Straits, passing Alcatraz, and stopping at the United States Quarantine Station, thence up the bay along the Marin shore and on to Mare Island. Then turn home passing down the Contra Costa shore, then Berkeley and Oakland, again crossing the bay to San Francisco. San Francisco's historical, commercial and educational points listed for the visitors to see were innumerable—too numerous to mention. The bay area counties, with their varied and outstanding attractions, were also listed to welcome the visitors. There could be no doubt San

Francisco and her near neighbor doctors were *shoulder to shoulder* in hosting their confreres, with their families, coming out of eastern States.

The National Convention was opened June 5, 1894, by the President Dr. James F. Hibberd, of Indiana. Over six hundred members registered at the meeting, and distinguished medical practitioners from all parts of the country attended. Dr. Hibberd was presented a beautiful gavel, emblematic of California, the body made of manzanita and the handle of orange wood. On each side was gold plated—the one inscribed *American Medical Association, San Francisco, 1894*, and the other, *Dr. James F. Hibberd, President*. The Oregon Medical Society presented each section with a gavel, the mallets of which were myrtle, and the handles of yew.¹⁰⁴

In substance Dr. Hibberd's address reiterated the belief every county society should be represented in its State society; every medical man who belonged to any medical society should belong to a county or an equivalent medical society, and every member of a county society should be a member of his State society, and this, an *open sesame* to the American Medical Association. Hibberd stated Congress was in a program of reducing its support to the National Medical Library; the outlook for securing a bureau of public health at this session of Congress was not encouraging; and the future advances in medicine would be along biological lines.

The conference was conceded in every way to have been a success. *The meeting as a whole, whether viewed from its scientific or from its social aspect, leaves only pleasant memories*, commented the MEDICAL TIMES,¹⁰⁵ *and all concerned in the entertainment of the guests must feel repaid by the universal satisfaction expressed on all sides*. Dr. G. L. Simmons, of Sacramento, as President of the Medical Society of the State of California, welcomed the guests with an appropriate and historically interesting address.

Drs. Donald McLean, of Detroit, H. D. Didama, of Syracuse, New York, R. Beverly Cole and L. C. Lane, of San Francisco, were nominated for President of the American Medical Association. Dr. McLean was chosen. *If the Pacific Coast delegates*

104 *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XXXVII, 1894, p. 413.

105 *Ibid*, v VIII, 1894, p. 429.

could have agreed on either one of their candidates, instead of putting up both, they would have surely secured the Presidency, was the opinion of the PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL.¹⁰⁶ Several eastern delegates who voted for McLean or Didama said that they would have supported a Pacific Coast candidate had there been but one. Interschool friction . . . conflict . . . failure!

106 *Ibid.*, v XXXVII, 1894, p. 458.

Chapter XVII

1895-1897

THE LANE HOSPITAL was formally opened for reception of patients on New Year's Day, 1895. It was a monument to Dr. Lane, his gift to the corporation, and became companion to Cooper Medical College. The Hospital was erected to furnish medical students an improved opportunity for patient study in joint vicinity with the medical school, and refuge where sick folk would receive skill and service. At end of the year, December, 1895, Dr. Lane announced he had founded, and made financial provision for the maintaining of, a course of lectures to be known as the *Lane Course of Medical Lectures*. These lectures were to be delivered annually in Cooper Medical College during the term to begin the first of June. The foundation was to be a perpetual part of the instruction afforded in Cooper College, and \$2,000 was allotted for each annual course. Dr. Lane willed that the lecturer must be a man of prominent distinction within the sphere of medical art and science, and might be from any part of the world. The lectures were not to be fewer than ten in number, must be delivered in the English tongue, and were to remain the property of the author.

Diphtheria antitoxin was a most important contribution to make an appearance at turn of the year; presented by M. Roux to the Medical Congress at Budapest. Investigation had been in progress for three years at the Pasteur Institute and the Hospital des Enfants-Malades. The solution of this problem meant the demonstration of a principle which could be of equal use in other infectious diseases. Death rates from diphtheria in Germany dropped from sixty to fifteen percent after the antitoxin had been used. California's Legislature, the Thirty-First Session, appropriated six thousand dollars to procure, manufacture and distri-

bute the antitoxin—second State in the Union in this progressive move, New York being the first.

At near end of the Civil War an income tax of five percent was levied on incomes from six hundred dollars to five thousand dollars, and ten percent on those above the latter amount. Some time after, the tax was declared unconstitutional. After the first Monday in March, 1895, an income of more than \$3500 a year required a return of income to the Internal Revenue Collector of the district in which the person resided. This law affected a large number of physicians in the Pacific Coast States and Territories. The tax was two percent.

The State Medical Society met at Golden Gate Hall, San Francisco, April 16, 1895. The society membership was but four hundred, though there were over two thousand regular physicians in active practice throughout the State. Many tried to analyze the reason for the profession's lack of interest. Could too much politics be the cause? *Does the membership increase only when a candidate for the presidency urges men to join and pay their dues?*, and, if true, the JOURNAL suggested they *try it without bosses for a while and make it a Society for the advancement of medical science.*¹⁰⁷

At the opening meeting there were but twenty-five members present, according to the JOURNAL; smallest attendance since the Society's organization. The address of Dr. G. L. Simmons, President, told of his earliest contact with California and California medicine; how his *personal interest in medical science as youth and man about covers the period since the tide of gold-seekers literally rushed to the Territory of California*. To improve membership in the State body, Simmons recommended appointment of an officer, a State organizer, to visit certain sections of the State, the same as was being done by fraternal and benefit organizations. He went on to discuss the compensation of professional work for large corporations, medical clubs, and the like, and wondered if this growing custom might not be a blow at equity and justice. The term *allopathy* was criticised; serum therapy had made appearance since the last annual meeting. Regarding professional remuneration, Simmons considered the services of medical men underrated on all sides, and spoke of the *upright judge who, without a smile, allows private fees of*

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, v XXXVIII, 1895, p. 167.

thousands to young attorneys, haggles over an account of hundreds for medical services which generally involve a night and day attention in the presence of sights and scenes of the oddest and most terrible character.

The President thought publicity should be accorded in public matters, *to enlighten the public upon the question of the true position of the medical profession, and the relation it sustains to all 'pathies', healers and faith cures.*

There were a number of excellent papers delivered at the session; many were considered first-class, very few mediocre, according to the OCCIDENTAL MEDICAL TIMES. For the first time every Standing Committee presented a report. On the whole, discussions were good. There was difficulty in confining authors to their allotted time. Dr. Simmons was considered an efficient presiding officer; too lenient, if anything, though his conduct of publicly lecturing a member—*unexampled in the history of the Society—entitles him to the highest credit, and the few plain statements then made will doubtless have wholesome effect.*

Los Angeles was selected next year's annual meeting place, and Dr. Le Moynes Wills chosen the new President.

There was an apparent wearied anxiety within the State Society membership. Editorial thoughts emanating from both the San Francisco and Sacramento medical journals had been displaying a restless sort of torment. A cause for so few of the many regular practitioners joining up with the State organization was election of its officers, administration of meetings, centralization, and the embarrassment, frustration, disrespect and resultant quarreling secondary to a biased, discrediting quibbling attitude of San Francisco's medical schools, one toward the other, thus making it hard for the profession to properly evaluate these problems and come to a practical conclusion. In the June issue of the PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL, Dr. Winslow Anderson, Editor, displayed rancor and prejudice, more especially apparent since Dr. Anderson had been publicly criticized at the State Society assemblage; yet some of Dr. Anderson's criticisms were not without justice and in keeping with the actions of a certain element. At the recent—April, 1895—meeting only twenty-five men had been in their seats when President Simmons first struck his gavel; in the afternoon the members increased to thirty-five, *which was about the average attendance until the afternoon of*

election, when the number increased quite considerably.

Attendance was spoken of as disgraceful, a fault of the State profession. *Was the profession not interested in the advancement of medical science, or had the Society lost the profession's confidence?* Medical schools from over the earth were represented in California, and their graduates were earnest, aggressive practitioners, were attentive to the latest advancements. Original articles presented before the Society compared favorably with those in the older States. The Editorialist was unable, therefore, to sustain a charge that the multitude of practitioners were not interested in the progress of science; but concluded, rather, they were annoyed, disgusted and disgruntled with the management of the State Society and found it impossible to strike a chord of sympathy.

The JOURNAL charged the Society had been clique manipulated for many years, and held the previous year's San Jose meeting as an example. The State meeting opened with a small attendance, as previously stated, but the afternoon of the election a carload of members from San Francisco arrived, *busied themselves in the lobbies and side rooms caucassing until the hour for election, cast their votes under the direction of the boss and immediately rushed from the hall to catch the 3 o'clock P.M. return train to San Francisco, leaving, as the President facetiously remarked, one old woman and the hall. Among the officers who were elected by the famous car-load already mentioned was a majority of the Board of Examiners and Board of Censors.*¹⁰⁸

The Editor, Dr. Winslow Anderson, stated that at this meeting he *hurriedly dictated a letter, and which he had not taken the time to read over and sign.*¹⁰⁹ It was because of this letter and the vote of censure by the Board of Censors that the Editor of the JOURNAL received his reprimand from President Simmons, in open forum. It was considered the reprimand would produce a more quiescent state. However, the situation did not afford the proper future insight and wisdom hoped for. The intellectual man seemed not ready to follow so fertile a course as spoken of by Oliver Wendell Holmes when he stated that: *You see wisdom in slippers and science in a short jacket.*

¹⁰⁸ *Pacific Medical Journal*, XXXVIII, 1895, p. 330.

¹⁰⁹ The Editor might, too, have mentioned another letter relative to his cure of tuberculosis.

Ambition, pedestal climbing, spotlight hope . . . overcame simple industry: For some it seemed hard to learn that

*The tissue of life to be
We weave with colors all our own;
And in the field of destiny
We reap as we have sown.*

In June, 1895, the JOURNAL was taken over by the Pacific Medical Journal Publishing Company, with Dr. W. F. McNutt, author, scholar and physician, chief of the editorial staff.

A very gracious compliment and expression of trust and confidence was directed to the profession of California when the American Medical Association in 1895 elected Professor R. Beverly Cole President of that high Association at its forty-sixth annual meeting in Baltimore. Professor Cole, of the Medical Department of the University of California, was at that time the oldest medical teacher west of the Rocky Mountains, the first to deliver a medical lecture to medical students, *was accoucher at the birth of the first medical school on the Pacific Coast*, and was held to be one of the best of presiding officers.

The January, 1896, issue of the Pacific Medical Journal wrote a short editorial on what the Journal called *The Tablet Fad*. It stated that a great many physicians acted as if a new era in the practice of medicine had dawned because of a substitution of medicine in tablet form for written prescriptions. Assiduously, continued the JOURNAL, tablets were handier for the physicians to dispense. Tablets were more portable and stable, required a smaller space to handle a number of drugs, and they could be manufactured free from disagreeable taste and smell. Too, tablets gave doctors more freedom from a dependance upon druggists. The interest lies, of course, *when* such therapy began to be dispensed in small tablets.

Another discovery occurred in the same era—November, 1895—when Roentgen noted the dark coated paper covering his Crookes tube suddenly glow mysteriously as he turned on the electrical discharge. The qualities of these Roentgen rays seemed to physicians to portend an undetermined value, especially to medicine and surgery.

The State Medical Society was to meet in Los Angeles, April 21, 22, and 23, 1896, the first time in several years, and only the

second time it ever had met there. Because of the Los Angeles Annual Fiesta, or flower fete, going on at the same time, the Society had decided upon a morning and afternoon session, abandoning its evening meeting, thereby permitting members that time for pleasure.

W. Le Moyne Wills, M. D., President of the State Society, devoted his Address to a short sketch of a history of preventive medicine, surgical advancement the past year, an antivivisection resurgence, and a return to the how, why, when and where the Society membership might be increased.

The Fiesta pageants, day and night excursions, and all, seemed too much for the doctors, as the sessions were not alone poorly attended but apparently lacked, according to the reports given, that usual scientific devotion, though possibly it might have been obtained at another time and under different circumstances. The meeting had been a disappointment, and according to editorials, there was hope *the low water mark in the affairs of our State Medical Society has been reached. There was a general recognition among its members that the California State Medical Society [was] not standing in the front rank, that it [was] not doing that work which alone can give a scientific society anything more than local recognition.*¹¹⁰

Since the first meeting in the south, doctors did note much change in the area. In the past six years Los Angeles had increased its population from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand; building permits had doubled; and the medical profession had kept pace: additional sanitariums, hospitals, and colleges had been built. Up-to-date sewer systems were added; good water supply was being received from the great San Fernando Valley, and rich *strikes* of black gold [oil] had been announced.

The State Society Legislative Committee reported the Ophthalmic Bill had failed of passage; they stated this failure was due to misapprehension and ridicule. Too many Legislators and lay opponents of the Bill titled it *The Doctors' Red-eye Bill*, showed an unwillingness to comprehend, and challenged it as being simply in the interest of physicians. Dr. Emmet Rixford reported two cases of *Protozoic Infection*. He also enumerated a number of cases in which organisms, most probably, so he stated, sarcosporidia had been found. Cutaneous lesions show-

110 *Journal*, v XXXIX, 1896, p. 319.

ing protozon had been reported, two of the recent four cases having come from the San Joaquin Valley.

Wm. Watt Kerr, M. D., was reelected Secretary of the State Society, while Dr. Thos. Ross replaced Dr. J. H. Parkinson for Treasurer. The Pacific Medical Journal¹¹¹ felt the Society was to be congratulated on the latter selection, for *Dr. Ross will confine his attention more to the duties of Treasurer and less to the politics of the Society than the former incumbent, Dr. J. H. Parkinson, was in the habit of doing.*

Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., of San Francisco, was chosen President to succeed Dr. Wills. Dr. Parkinson considered this selection *a fitting tribute to the worthy representative of an honored name,*¹¹² and continued with a most appropriate eulogy of both Gibbons, Sr., and Gibbons, Jr. Dr. Gibbons, Jr., had been intimately and faithfully connected with the State Society for more than a quarter of a century, and now, the kindly, friendly, courteous gentleman of delicate sensibilities and clear thoughts was shown recognition and appreciation by the State Medical electorate.

The department of Hygiene and Dietetics had been urging and pressing for protection against adulteration of food products. Legislation to protect had been grievously disappointing; only the realization it was absorbing universal attention afforded hope. In November, 1893, the Alameda City Board of Health was able to have an ordinance passed, and thereat was *laid the foundation for the thorough inspection of all food stuffs, milk and its products, and all dairies supplying milk to the city.*¹¹³ Much had been done in the east and considerable had been accomplished here. But laws to meet all food product adulterations and the enforcement of such laws to see that manufacturers and dealers comply were sorely needed.

Law for the prevention of blindness passed the Senate and Assembly without opposition and was signed by the Governor. Two years before it had been killed in committee.

As might have been expected, the Annual Address of Dr. Henry Gibbons, Jr., President of California's State Medical Society, carried an interest story of the founding of that organization up to the date of Dr. Gibbons' message, April 20, 1897. Forty years, he related, looked down upon the Society, *years of most brilliant and unexampled achievement in the domain of science*

111 p. 462.

112 *Occidental Medical Times*, v X, 1896, p. 303.

113 *Ibid*, v XI, 1897, p. 43.

and art. Literature over this period covered a great range—sixteen royal quarto volumes, over 17,000 pages were required to give the subjects and titles only of the articles in pamphlets, magazines and books in the library of the Surgeon-General's office at Washington. Each year there was produced four hundred new books in medicine and surgery and their allied subjects, while it was granted at least one hundred thirty medical magazines—daily, weekly and monthly—were published in the United States alone.

The State Medical Society was organized when the State was but six years old; eleven delegates to the first session still remained; the transactions of that earliest meeting contained forty-three pages—the President's address and eight papers. There were nine standing committees; three made reports, of which two were exceedingly brief. The Transactions of 1897, however, had expanded to three hundred fifty to four hundred fifty pages, and twenty-one committees, of which nearly all provided extended reports.

The California of 1897 had about 400 graduates from medical colleges of foreign countries, 1650 graduates from colleges of the United States other than California, and 750 from California. The United States in the preceding ten years had established twenty-one new medical colleges, with an increase in students from 10,000 to 17,000, and, too, with a graduated increase in requirements. The depressed financial and industrial conditions over the country the year or more previous stood to reduce medical matriculates, though the economic situation appeared, rather, the basis of an increase.

Gibbons commented that California was *said to have inaugurated the recent advance in the profession in its legal and educational aspects, for to her belongs the credit of enacting the first medical law, though she has now fallen behind in the roll. Nearly all the States have since enacted more restrictive laws, notably that recently passed in New York.*

Gibbons recommended *both a licensing and examining board, before which all future applicants for registration shall pass examination prior to being admitted to practice.* He desired a National Board, *with a big 'N'*, and thought there need be no fear of centralization; too, a National Board of Health, and gave reasons why. The President spoke of serum therapy; medical fees for life insurance examinations; keeping a record of those serving

on standing committees that future presidents might know members' interests, the next in line, personal claims—to promote a democratic approach; called attention the program was the longest ever presented to the Society—forty-three papers, discussion of which would be opened by thirteen appointed members; and with a final comment concluded: *One who has much riding to do about a large city must hail with intense satisfaction the substitution of asphalt pavement for stone.*

The initiation fee for Society membership was discontinued, but a motion to reduce the annual dues from five to three dollars was not carried.

Dr. Cephas L. Bard of Ventura was unanimously elected President of the Society for the ensuing year; Wm. Watt Kerr, First Vice-President; and Dr. Wm. Fitch Cheney, of San Francisco, Secretary. Fresno was selected the next meeting place, the first time the center of the State had been chosen.

Dr. T. W. Huntington, as Chairman, gave the annual report on Surgery. His report revolved around a query: *Why progress in Surgery is by leaps?* He indicated that the last half century had afforded two excellent examples—the discovery of anaesthesia, and asepticism. After discovery of ether anaesthesia in 1846, a dread of human suffering was dispelled, horrors of the operating room with the stigma of barbarism passed away, and a great activity and advance resulted in the surgical world. On the appearance of asepticism the field of surgical action once more multiplied. *In 1887, enthusiasm was at its highest pitch; methods of research were revised; new issues were joined; old theories were abandoned, and there sprang into existence an abiding faith in systems founded upon rational hypotheses.* Then began an era of experimentation, and it was recognized certain organs *were* amenable to successful approach. Sterile catgut replaced silk for deep sutures; shock and the loss of blood were contended with by using sterile saline solution in vein or in tissues; the brain and nervous system were surgically explored; and the vermiform appendix attracted attention. *I know of no grave structural lesion of the digestive tract that has not been attacked surgically, stated Huntington, and in a vast majority of these conditions with highly gratifying results.*

A number of the Standing Committee reports and original essays were both instructive and entertaining, though it was thought the Executive Committee had erred with too much in

so short a time. Some were of the impression four papers, with a fair amount of discussion, were quite sufficient at a single session, and if more were docketed the Chair would need to manage well and firmly. Papers must not be read at the expense of discussion, as discussion was the lifeblood—gave color, by projecting the personality, individuality and experiences of the speaker, and was *the* session interest.

The Editor of the PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL felt rather choleric over State Medical meetings, yet hesitated to offer constructive criticism, since he judged it was received with a destructive intent, and hence vacillated whether there was wisdom in extending already fatigued arms in any gesture of remonstrance. As *none knows the weight of another's burthen*, the load was shifted by publishing a letter from *Scribbler*, and another from *Medical Diner* on the *Dinner of the State Medical Society, 1897*. Both were spirited and pungent, and the first paragraph of *Scribbler's* missive is included—to reveal style and lucidity, and wonderment if the writer did not *find more bark and steel for the mind* than actually was present: *The State Society is nothing if not mechanical. The routine of work is invariable—a committee report, a paper read, a little hand-clapping, some inappropriate discussions and all is over. Criticism invokes combat. The man who presents an opinion, backs it by his inscrutable wisdom, and to differ is to insult. Most members sit in sullen silence. They are modest, have all to learn, nothing to impart; the immodest ones come only when the way is clear and they can be heard without interruption; these have nothing to learn here, all to impart. When they want to learn something they go to Germany or to the City and County Hospital . . .*¹¹⁴

The comments of *Medical Diner* on the Annual Banquet held some verity no doubt, as the OCCIDENTAL MEDICAL TIMES too gave comment: *It was not worse than former occasions of this character, nor was it any better. It is true that none of the participants were seriously injured physically, yet we are assured that mental wounds both wide and deep were caused by the intemperate utterances of some of the speakers.*

Kern County joined the family of medical societies at a meeting November 4, 1897. R.A. Ferguson, M.D., of Bakersfield, was its first president. The Doctor spoke of benefits to profession and

¹¹⁴ *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XL, 1897, p. 331.

to public such an organization could, and would, create: good fellowship, enthusiasm for knowledge, devotion for medical science, jealous regard for honor toward the profession, and enlightenment of the public toward the profession, toward health laws and health needs.

The year 1898 was an important one in our national history. Spanish-American difficulties over Cuba were climaxed by war in April. The President called for 200,000 volunteers; Congress appropriated \$50,000,000 for national defense. On May 6, Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish men-of-war at Manila and settled down to its blockade, awaiting reenforcements with intention of taking the Philippine Islands. The war was of short duration. America had but 379 men killed, or died of wounds, though the sickness toll was heavy for an active campaign of but six months and the few men involved.

Chapter XVIII

1898-1900

THE MEDICAL HISTORY of the Spanish-American War is an interesting and informative story unto itself, though California, California encampments and California physicians gave much and participated materially. Local Boards of Health and the State Board of Health proved their ability and willingness to coordinate with Federal Health officials.

Camp Merritt's sick list and death rate among soldiers were giving real alarm. Typhoid fever had made its appearance. The water and milk supplied was the same as that of the city. The Camp, though, had practically no sewerage, cess pools were vile and defied disinfectants, and slops and other kitchen waste materials were openly left to decompose. Raw troops, too, were suddenly congregated and faced a total change in their accustomed routine of quarters, food and exposures.

During the short war—May to October—people had been unnerved by tales of mortality in fields and camp. The diseased, the dead, the dying, all were preached about, and the causes for it all came under severe criticism. The total strength of the army was 274,717 men, and these men were mustered in, equipped, drilled and transported to campaign in tropical, unhealthy countries, in midsummer. The total number of deaths, all causes included, was, during this period, 2,010. Many, too many, were sacrificed on the altar of typhoid fever, yet out of that experience came a knowledge of sanitation and health measures without precedent, in so short a time. In consequence, we owe to those succumbing a great debt for having given their all that others might benefit.

The OCCIDENTAL MEDICAL TIMES' pre-State Medical Convention recommendations were: 1. Better medical laws;

2. Abolition of all forms of contract practice which effects a reduction of legitimate medical fees; 3. The limitation of the growing evil of free clinics and dispensaries, and a fair consideration of the abuses of hospital practice.¹¹⁵

The addition of the College of Physicians and Surgeons gave California's metropolis five medical schools: Cooper Medical College, University of California School of Medicine, California Eclectic Medical College, Hahnemann Medical College, and the most recent College of Physicians and Surgeons.

The medical profession of the San Joaquin Valley in general, and of Fresno in particular, are to be highly commended for the zeal displayed in the management of the meeting at Fresno, commented the PACIFIC MEDICAL JOURNAL¹¹⁶ regarding the State Medical Society conclave held there April 19 to 22, 1898. President Cephas L. Bard, of Ventura, called order at 11:15 A. M., with a fair attendance present. The Los Angeles, Bakersfield and interior points sent in large delegations early Monday morning, and San Francisco, San Jose and Oakland with their surrounding areas, furnished a delegation by midnight which filled the already crowded hotels to overflowing.¹¹⁷

Dr. A. J. Pedlar welcomed the guests on behalf of the San Joaquin County Medical Society and the people of Fresno.

The JOURNAL judged, from a literary and scientific standpoint, that the meeting equaled the average, and numerous excellent papers contributed by the country members were a good omen, as their contributions and attendance tended to fraternize the profession, add fresh ideas and experiences, and attract a desirable membership. The JOURNAL also was glad to note *an impressive absence of grandstand plays and nauseating fakism, such as characterized the meeting one year before.*¹¹⁸ Again the OCCIDENTAL MEDICAL TIMES was of the opinion the number of papers presented were far too many, and hoped measures might be taken to remedy the failure.¹¹⁹

One incident marred the proceedings: Drs. Beverly Mac Monagle and Samuel O. L. Potter, of San Francisco, came close to

115 *Occidental Medical Times*, v 12, 1898, p. 157.

116 *Ibid*, v 41, 1898, p. 299.

117 *Ibid*, p. 307.

118 *Journal*, v 41, 1898, p. 299.

119 *Occidental Medical Times*, v 12, 1898, p. 271.

physical combat upon the floor of the assembly. Each had interest in a separate candidate for President of the Society: Mac Monagle, for Wm. Watt Kerr; Potter, for W. F. McNutt. *It is true the incident was a small one*, stated the TIMES,¹²⁰ *yet small as it was it was a very disgraceful affair, the first, we believe, that has ever occurred at a meeting of the State Society.* Politics, as well as religion or a family dog, can produce strange human emotions.

Dr. Wm. Watt Kerr was elected President for the ensuing year, by a majority of one vote. Hotel del Monte at Monterey was chosen the next meeting place. *The election of Secretary brought out a pretty fight between the supporters of Dr. Cheney, of Cooper College, and Dr. Hodghead, of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, which resulted in the election of Dr. Hodghead by a majority of two votes.*¹²¹ *The profession as a body is fair minded, intelligent and honorable, no matter how it may differ in matters of policy and in personal preference, and it may be trusted to elect in its Society at its future annual conventions presiding officers who will be just in the distribution of its favors.*¹²²

Dr. Pace, of Tulare, as Chairman, read a paper on *The Clinical Medicine of To-day*. The Doctor stated researches in pathology the past year had added comparatively few facts, and that a multitude of exploded theories had resulted in a conservatism demanding indisputable proof before the majority of medical men would acquiesce in any new fad or doctrine. Dr. Pace also discussed problems on the subject of antitoxin then awaiting solution, though he stated there was one most important contribution, the Widal test for typhoid fever. He considered there was a rapid pulling away from the so-called idiopathic origin of diseases, as slowly and surely specific causes were being found.

The College of the Physicians and Surgeons was then on its second year. *No institution in the land ever started against such odds and succeeded half as well, and few ever began with all influences favorable, and did better. The intention is to teach by actual demonstration, and not on paper*, stated the JOURNAL.¹²³ In this second year the school had *as many or more regularly*

¹²⁰ Ibid, v 12, 1898, p. 271.

¹²¹ *Pacific Medical Journal*, v 41, 1898, p. 307.

¹²² Ibid, v 42, April 1899, p. 238.

¹²³ *Pacific Medical Journal*, v XL, 1897, p. 569.

matriculated students as the two favored colleges put together . . . This particular editorial was precipitated by the College of Physicians and Surgeons' charge that the students of Cooper College and Medical Department of the University of California held a monopoly of the County Hospital.

On November 19, 1898, Dr. W. F. McNutt gave his final address before the Medical Class of the University of California in Toland Hall. The Journal stated the old Hall seemed a congenial and tranquil environ, a hallowed object that Dr. McNutt could scarce feel was inanimate. It was *once the founder's pride, once the only medical college on the Coast—a pioneer preparing the way for the teaching of modern science.*¹²⁴ Built at a cost of \$30,000, with money Dr. Toland earned from the practice of medicine and generously presented to the University of California. Toland Hall was one of the first gifts made to the University by a medical man. The class of '99 was graduating from the new building. Dr. McNutt and one other were the only ones left of a Faculty he had joined twenty years before; the others, by then, had already listened to the low whispering of Death above them. Toland Hall resigned its position for the new Medical College Building, Medical Department University of California, on land donated by Adolph Sutro.

Osteopathy had become more or less prevalent in San Francisco the last few months of 1898 and beginning of 1899, though slowly had made ingress over the past two years, and there was no denying a large portion of the community was being attracted to this new credo. Unfathomable and unshakable credulity had existed long before the middle ages and there appeared to be no lessening in the 19th Century. Christian Science, a Chinese system of medicine, and cataract absorbers had only minor support from the poorer classes; to the educated, however, and the rich they were patron saints. A few years back the State Medical Society had spent several thousand dollars to convict a notorious San Francisco abortionist. The conviction was obtained, and the convicted fined one dollar! The fine was cheerfully paid and the *gentleman* returned to find his consultation rooms filled with waiting patients. Thenceforward the State Society refused to advertise quacks.

The Medical Society of the State of California announced its

¹²⁴ *Pacific Medical Journal*, v 41, 1898, p. 641.

next annual meeting at Del Monte through a *preliminary memorandum*. The memo stated, in part: *This special place of meeting insures that none of the attendance shall have ordinary professional duties to divide their interests with the sessions of the Society, and it is the wish of the Committee of Arrangements that the meeting be marked, not only by the Society having a delightful outing, under exceptional auspices, but that the technical work done be of a higher order than is usually the case.*¹²⁵ The JOURNAL's *State Society* editorial, March, 1899,¹²⁶ anything but predicated a meeting of breadth and liberality, if the article represented the general sentiment among California physicians. Two paragraphs are sufficient to give the Editor's appraisal—and a fearsome forecast:

What is the policy this year with the State Society? The opponent of the present incumbent of the Presidential Chair, who was defeated by but two votes, has not been generously offered even the humblest place, and not a man, with possibly one exception, who voted for Dr. McNutt [the losing candidate] at Fresno, has been given part or parcel in the affairs of the Society this year. It is not to be supposed that these gentlemen desire or seek such prominence, but we wish to emphasize the fact that this is the punishment meted out to those who had the courage to have opinions of their own and to dare oppose the self constituted rulers. This is not a Society of slaves, but of free men, and one member is entitled to as many rights and privileges as another.

The Society provides for twenty-two standing committees, all appointed by the President. Of these, eleven chairmen, just one half, including a Regent, have been selected from those in some way connected with the Medical Department of the University of California. Two chairmanships have been generously extended to Cooper, two to the University of Southern California and a like number to the College of Physicians and Surgeons. Of the latter chairmen, at least one of them was the President's ardent supporter. This leaves five chairmen to be distributed to the State at-large, one of which goes to Stockton, another to Alameda, another to Marysville, and the remainder to San Francisco.

¹²⁵ *Journal*, 1899, p. 162.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 162.

Evidently practitioners were responsive to the JOURNAL's editorial, for the April issue told of an inclination in certain directions to organize a separate State Society. However, the Editor stated that *fealty to the profession and the Society would argue in favor of one Society . . . What will be the moral and numerical effect on the welfare of the Association? Some members no doubt are indifferent, others will say 'it is only for one year', others 'that he can go to Glasgow with his commissions'*.¹²⁷

As a suggested selection for President when the State Society convened, the JOURNAL *heard mentioned* Dr. Thos. Ross' name. Dr. Ross was an old and faithful member, duty-minded, just and upright and with executive ability; such a selection, in the JOURNAL's mind, was far superior to a near-at-home applicant, who might have a dissimilar local and State Society philosophy, and a separate medical school connection. Too many were suspect. The JOURNAL knew of a carefully laid plan by the numerous minority group, said to be one-tenth of the membership, upon whose shoulders so much censure was heaped at Fresno, and who had for punishment been put under the ban¹²⁸ but felt it should not at that moment be given publicity. According to the JOURNAL this group bargained to give their support in a direction favorable to them. They extended a hand of friendship and presented two names to the Society, with a *left-handed* premise of the Presidency to Dr. Ross a year thence—in other words elect two President's at once. Dr. Ross refused to withdraw for a neutral man, or for the premise projected, and *gracefully declined to be a candidate*.

Dr. George Chismore, of San Francisco, an excellent physician and honorably recognized by all, was elected President for the ensuing year. However, asserted the JOURNAL, *If Dr. Chismore is to be the tool of the men who elected him, if he is not greater in this instance than his creators, he will not resuscitate the Society*.

The numerous minority sought, too, the Secretaryship. Fearing, according to the JOURNAL's vernacular, they could not defeat Dr. Hodghead, they accused him of the April article, *New State Society*. When an opponent was named, Dr. Hodghead resigned. The ruling faction *had showed itself the type of vora-*

¹²⁷ *Journal*, v 42, 1899, p. 238.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 300.

ciousness and devoid of magnanimity.

The meeting at Del Monte could be both praised and criticized. Harmony was present, there were some good papers, and some constructive, intelligent discussions. Many thought that both the papers and the discussions were of the highest order. Each session attendance averaged superior because of fewer exterior attractions owing to the locale. However, the JOURNAL¹²⁹ factually or unyieldingly considered that harmony was secondary to an insufficient number present to create a disturbance or even to produce a little excitement, if any had been wanted. The unfair treatment of country physicians was more than ever emphasized at Del Monte. Of the twenty-five positions to be filled by election, twenty-three were given to San Francisco physicians. The list reveals: President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Secretary, First Assistant Secretary, the Board of Censors—five in number—, and the Executive Committee of three, all from San Francisco . . . The State Society was accused of being no more than a San Francisco County Medical Society. *We mention this, not in a spirit of criticism, but with a view to justice and fairness . . . [This] practice has sapped the life from our State organization . . . paradoxical as it may seem, minorities may and by unfair means, sometimes do rule.*¹³⁰

Dr. Harry M. Sherman, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and as such, also official greeter, welcomed the guests to Monterey, not as a resident but as the son of a pioneer, whose father, with Wm. S. Davis, author and merchant, had traveled by horseback to Monterey in 1847, before California was annexed to the Union. Dr. Sherman told members they were to have the privilege of listening to noteworthy papers, papers that revealed original thought and original work. The Fresno meeting had had fifty-five papers; Del Monte was to have thirty-six or thirty-seven, with the same amount of time to be devoted. No papers were to be read except by the author.

On May 20, 1899, the cornerstone of a new medical building was laid for the College of Physicians and Surgeons, with the Grand Lodge of Masons of the State of California in charge of ceremonies. At the dedicatory ceremonies, Mayor Phelan told of a primary golden age, soon followed by an era of commerce, and

¹²⁹ Ibid, p. 297.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 299.

by 1899, the educational period had arrived. Judge Carpenter recited how rapid was the growth of the College in but three years and congratulated it on such results. The new building was to be a three-story structure, facing on three streets, located near the great Railroad Hospital on Mission Street, within easy reach of the County Hospital.

In July, 1899, Dr. W. F. McNutt resigned as Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine from the Medical Department of the University of California. He had served the University well, had brought to it ability, character, dexterity and skill—for twenty-two consecutive years—, and with constancy had attended that institution's Aesculapian altar. The JOURNAL¹³¹ considered Dr. McNutt the Faculty's *brainiest man, the one most widely and favorably known, and the one who, more than any other, lent character and force to the faculty. Why was he not made emeritus professor?*, asked the JOURNAL.

Since the move was made from Toland Hall [the old College] to the New Medical School—Toland Hall was abandoned after the Christmas holidays—Professors Taylor, McNutt, McLean, Langfeld and Spencer had withdrawn from the faculty, and their resignations were said not to have divulged satisfactory reasons. *Mother Grundy*, according to the JOURNAL, suspected *a little coterie of small great men who run the faculty are the same medico-political clique who have stampeded the State Medical Society, that the dissatisfaction is in that quarter*. However, the aspirations, hopes and intentions of the JOURNAL Editor, too, had been circumspectly viewed for quite some time, and California's physicians looked upon the whole affair as belonging to medical schools within the metropolis. There was hope amity might prevail, but in the interval the rank and file desired that this confused, yet dominating spirit, should be encircled.

As the 19th Century came to an end, one might have asked why such a discontented, restive and complaining attitude within the profession? Advancement in medicine and surgery, medical education, research, sanitation, hygiene, hospitals—all were so outstanding, after so few years, it seemed revelatory. The youthful West had passed her golden season to match ability with sister States: in agriculture, education, shipping, finance, religion, the family circle. Her future seemed unpredictable; she

131 Ibid, p. 425.

was in the race of life—opportunities were everywhere, and both genius and mediocrity stumbled into them with a sufficient regularity to stimulate an attendance from near and afar. Lawlessness and moral liberations were confined; the human and the beastly had been separated. All men, every profession, were striving and struggling with circumstances peculiar to no other people or area. Magnanimity and benevolence were everywhere observed; wise men were accepting life's humanities, and endeavoring to expose how beautiful human service *might* function. However, a plaintive, selfish rabble, sought illiberal indulgence . . . their unattainable . . . their Paradise. They were subjective, though refused to be subjectively contented and happy.

The doctor, the medical profession, have, in the transformations of California medical societies, unveiled no more than human characteristics: those symbols that, more usual than not, have been overemphasized. The real images of her magnificent characters have not been granted—certainly during their lifetime—a proper unfolding, though Death should open eyes to their human significance.

Nor is it always in the most distinguished achievements that man's virtues or vices may be best discerned; but very often an action of small note, a short saying, or a jest shall distinguish a person's real character more than the greatest sieges or the most important battles. These words of Plutarch awaken attention in everyone.

APPENDIX A

PRESIDENTS OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA — 1856 to 1900

B. F. Keene	1856 - Died in Sept.
E. S. Cooper, Senior V. P. served to Feby. 1857	
Henry Gibbons, Sr.	1857
A. B. Stout	1858
R. B. Ellis.....	1859
Isaac Rowell	1860
Samuel F. Hamm	1861
Thomas M. Logan.....	(Society reorganized).....1870
Henry Gibbons, Sr.	1871
G. A. Shurtleff.....	1872
T. H. Pinkerton	1873
J. M. Brown, USN	1874-1875
A. B. Nixon	1875-1876
Wm. Fitch Cheney	1876-1877
Washington Ayer	1877-1878
H. S. Orme	1878-1879
A. W. Saxe	1879-1880
F. W. Todd	1880-1881
G. G. Tyrrell	1881-1882
L. C. Lane	1882-1883
Ira E. Oatman	1883-1884
R. Beverly Cole	1884-1885
W. P. Gibbons.....	1885-1886
W. S. Thorne	1886-1887
R. H. Plummer	1887-1888
James Simpson	1888-1889
Walter M. Lindley	1889-1890
W. R. Cluness	1890-1891
O. O. Burgess	1891-1892
W. E. Taylor	1892-1893
C. C. Kenyon	1893-1894
G. L. Simmons	1894-1895
W. LeMoyne Wills	1895-1896
Henry Gibbons, Jr.	1896-1897
Cephas L. Bard	1897-1898
Wm. Watt Kerr	1898-1899
George Chismore	1899-1900

INDEX

Explanation of Abbreviations in Index

C.S.M.S. — California State Medical Society
C.M.A. — California Medical Association
A.M.A. — American Medical Association
S.S.M.I. — Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement
S.F.M.S. — San Francisco Medical Society

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