THE DUBLIN JOURNAL

OF

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

DECEMBER 1, 1908.

PART I.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS

ART. XV.—*A Sketch of the History of Medicine in Ireland.*[a] By T. GILLMAN MOORHEAD, M.D., F.R.C.P.I.; Physician to the Royal City of Dublin Hospital.

IN endeavouring to select from amidst a number of subjects that on which I might most properly address you, I have been led by many reasons to select the subject of the History of Medicine in Ireland. This selection I will neither apologise for nor attempt to justify, further than to say that, brought up in a hospital where not only our own but all medical history was constantly brought before the students by one whose "tips on bone disease, and endless knowledge of authorities," are still fresh in the minds of many of us, I felt deeply my own lack of knowledge of the subject, and more especially with reference to our own country. I believe also that in a study of the Past we may receive a stimulus for the Present and a hope for the Future.

The actual beginnings of the medical art in Ireland are, as in other countries, lost to us for ever. The various remains which throw light on the customs and habits of our remotest ancestors, and which tell us so much of their religion and of

[a] The Presidential Address delivered to the Dublin University Biological Association, November 19th, 1908.

their burial customs, are mute as to the way the earliest medicine-men either gained or practised their special knowledge. Even in early manuscripts but few, and those only casual, references are to be found. From these we learn that Diancecht, an ancient hero and physician, practised medicine many centuries before Christ, and ultimately became a sort of Irish Æsculapius, who seems to have taught his followers so well that even in the second century B.C. students came from Scotland to be educated in Ireland. Irish women also, we learn, like their early Teutonic sisters, were not debarred from the practice of physic, for in the "Morte d'Arthur" it is recorded that Sir Tristram, wounded by a poisoned spear, was sent by King Mark to Ireland, and was there treated by the daughter of King Anguysshe. Before the middle of the fifth century A.D. Ireland was visited by St. Patrick, and in the subsequent spread of Christianity and devotion to learning medicine was not neglected, although, indeed, it was not taught in the ancient University of Tara. From the fifth to the twelfth century, and even later, three forms of schools existed in Ireland, which we may call governmental, monastic and private, the most important of the three being the monastic. The private schools were probably purely professional or technical, and it is from them that in all probability the hereditary families of physicians and lawyers took origin. In the monastic schools all known subjects of knowledge were taught, and the degree of Ollave was given to those who had perfected themselves in any particular subject of study. The highest of all these degrees was the Ollave Filideacht, or doctor of philosophy, the term Filideacht practically including all subjects, but any single subject, such as medicine, might be specialised in and a degree taken in it. Those who had entered the portals of the profession in this way were not entirely free agents, but were strictly controlled by various enactments of the Brehon Law, which, amongst other checks, fixed the amount of fee which the Gaelic doctor might demand.

We have a little evidence that a few Irishmen sought further knowledge abroad, for there is an Irish gloss on a medical MS. of the ninth century, which is at present preserved

in the Monastery at Karlsruhe, and some Irish charms are to be found in the "Leechdom of Bald," that earliest of Anglo-Saxon medical writings. As already stated, law, literature and medicine were hereditary in certain families, this fact first becoming clear in the chronicles of the thirteenth century. Some of these medical families were attached to definite districts, and acted during succeeding generations as physicians to some other family or clan. Thus, in Ulster, the MacDuinntsleibhes were attached to the MacDonnells of Kilmacrenan, and in Connaught the O'Lees were hereditary physicians to the O'Flaherties of Galway. Amongst those medical families medical text-books were apparently handed on from father to son, and many of them in manuscript form are now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, in Trinity College and in the British Museum. Unfortunately none of these have been translated, but those in the British Museum have been examined by Norman Moore and by O'Grady, to whose researches we must all feel indebted. The result of this examination has been to show that the MSS. all date between 1450 and 1590 A.D., and that they are for the most part translations into Irish of Latin works by Bernardus de Gordon of Montpellier, the Arabian, Honain ben Isaac, Aristotle and others. John of Gaddesden, the Englishman, Fellow of Merton College, whose medical work the "Rosa Anglica" was written about 1305, was also known amongst the Irish, for nine quotations from his work are found in one of the MS. written by Cormac MacDuinntsleibhe, one of which I will transcribe as showing the practical wisdom of our forefathers: "Great," he says, "is the torment to the stomach of supper at night. If thou wishest to be light, let thy supper be short." John of Gaddesden's book and that of Bernardus were themselves more compilations than original works, and the knowledge contained in them, representing, as they do, the common European medical knowledge of the time as taught at Salerno, Montpellier, Paris, Padua and other medical schools, shows that the Irish were medically in touch with other nations. During the earlier of the centuries that I have thus so briefly referred to theology and medicine were practised in all

likelihood by the same individuals, but we may presume that the two sciences became separate in Ireland, as elsewhere, after the Council of Tours in 1163, and other clerical councils forbade the practise of medicine—and, above all, surgery—by the clergy. Towards the end of the fifteenth century degrees were in some cases acquired abroad by individual members of the medical families, who afterwards returned to practice in their own country, and thus established a link between the ancient and modern methods of education. These, without doubt, were physicians only, for the distinction between physicians and surgeons was well defined from the fourteenth century onward. The members of both faculties were laymen, but the physicians, possessed of superior education, disdained all manual work, and regarded themselves as vastly above the mere surgeons. Surgery, which in the time of Hippocrates was a part, and probably the most important part, of medical science, owed its degradation to the theological attitude already referred to. When the clergy were forbidden to draw blood, their assistants assumed the functions, if not the dignity, of chirurgeons, and smiths and barbers, commencing with the simple operation of bleeding, soon developed into the accredited surgeons. It is interesting to notice that till the beginning of the nineteenth century the physician was commonly dubbed "doctor" and "esquire," the surgeon was plain "mister." Now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the surgeon in his pride marks a stage in his career when he calls himself "mister," and shrinks indignantly from the appellation of "doctor," in which the physician still rejoices.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the barbers of Dublin must have formed a strong and coherent body, for, in 1446, we find that they were incorporated as the Guild of St. Mary Magdalen for the promotion and exercise of the art of chirurgery. This corporation was the most ancient medical corporation in the United Kingdom, and had existed already for sixteen years, when the London barbers were established as a similar body. Of their doings in Dublin we know little, but from the very beginning of their existence numbers of

persons who practised surgery remained without their body, and uncontrolled. To include these a new charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1572 "to the barbers and chirurgeons of the City of Dublin," including also apothecaries and periwig makers, and permitting the admission of women to the body. The guild thus established ranked as one of the ordinary city companies; it was granted arms; had representatives on the city Corporation; and was granted a meeting place in a tower on the old city wall, beside the Polegate. The guild could, moreover, forbid under penalty the practice of surgery within the city by those who did not belong to it, and had the power of admitting members by means of examination. No definite account of these examinations exist, but, judging partly from analogy, and partly from some few records, we may conclude that for foreigners—that is, for those who had not served apprenticeship to actual members of the guild—the examination was not an easy one. At the date of which I speak, 1572, examinations were well recognised as the means of entry to the learned professions. Of the nations, the Persian seems to have been the first to protect itself in any way from quacks and unskilled practitioners ordaining that if a Persian wishes to practise medicine he must first practise on unbelievers; should three of these die under his hands he is for ever incapable; but should he cure three he is qualified to act as a physician to the followers of Ormuzd for ever and ever. This was a practical test which appeals to one, even at the present day, but the first real medical examination was held in 931 A.D. by the Arab, Sinan ben Tsabet, and was instigated by the fact that a patient in Bagdad had died by the fault of his physician. In the twelfth century examinations were regularly held in the School of Salerno, and in 1396 Cambridge University formulated a three years' curriculum in medical studies. From that time onwards examinations have increased and multiplied.

The second charter of the Barber Surgeons was renewed by James II. in 1687, and it was enacted that the shortest period of apprenticeship necessary for admission to the guild was to be seven years. Soon after this, however, complaints

began to be made, and became, decade after decade, more forcible against the alliance between the barbers and the surgeons. A good class of surgeons, distinct from the barbers, seems always to have existed, and about the beginning of the eighteenth century these became more and more numerous, while, at the same time, those within the guild became so few that at times difficulties arose in obtaining a sufficient number for the examination of candidates, and at one time the aid of the College of Physicians had to be called in to give sufficient weight and authority to the examinations. The apothecaries also wished to secede—apparently both surgeons and apothecaries at the end of the seventeenth century were low class general practitioners: the former practising physic and surgery and compounding; the latter, in addition to practising, keeping open shop. Both received a low rate of remuneration, while the pure physician was highly paid. In 1745 the apothecaries were finally established as a distinct guild—the Guild of St. Luke. They showed their activity in 1791 by producing a Dublin Pharmacopœia, and in 1792 established the Apothecaries' Hall, and later a medical school in St. Cecilia Street. Here we must leave them to return to the surgeons, who, after many efforts, were finally established as the Royal College of Surgeons of Ireland in 1784, under their first President, Samuel Croker King. The Company of Barber Surgeons languished and lingered for fifty years more, and was finally dissolved with the other city companies in 1840 A.D.

The new College met for the first time in the Rotunda Hospital, and proceeded to make by-laws concerning apprentices and examinations, the subjects mentioned for the latter being anatomy, physiology, surgery and surgical anatomy. Licences in midwifery were also arranged for, and by agreement with the College of Physicians were not to be granted to members or licentiates of the latter body. No preliminary examination was at first held, but early in the next century an extensive classical course was presented and examined in before a candidate could be entered as a registered pupil. The general standard of the professional examinations

was much higher than in the colleges of London and Edinburgh, so that then, as now, the less intelligent and less hard working students sought diplomas out of Ireland, and helped, no doubt, to sow the seeds of that ill-name which is so often unjustly applied to the Irish-taught students of to-day. Sir Astley Cooper's anecdote of an Irish candidate at the London college is worth repeating: "What is a simple and what a compound fracture?" asked the examiner. "A simple fracture is when a bone is broke, and a compound fracture when it's all broke" was the reply. Sir Astley asked what he meant by "all broke"? "I mean," he replied, "broke into smithereens, to be sure." "I ventured to ask him what was 'smithereens'? He turned upon me, with an expression of intense sympathy upon his countenance: 'You don't know what is smithereens; then I give you up.'"

Sir Astley, at the same time, in giving evidence before a Commission on medical education bore testimony to the excellent teaching and to the high standard of the profession in Ireland, while Sir Benjamin Brodie, before the same Commission, stated: "I believe the majority of Dublin-taught students are better than the English students."

The number of candidates presenting themselves at the College of Surgeons was nevertheless small, and this was attributed to the lack of accommodation for teaching and for the establishment of a school. To remedy this a small house, situated in Mercer Street, and in the close neighbourhood of Mercer's Hospital, as it then existed, was purchased in 1789, and for the next sixteen years was made use of by the college. Part of the premises was used as a lecture theatre and part as a dissecting and preparation room. This place was cramped, although another house at the rere was purchased which afforded a more retired entrance way, and, in consequence, attempts were made to obtain a grant from Parliament for the purchase of more suitable accommodation. The Government of the day, more sensible apparently than the present one to the merits of the Royal College, granted, in 1805, a sum of £6,000, and actually increased this to nearly £30,000 during the next five years. A site for building was at once

purchased in Stephen's Green from the Society of Friends, who owned and had utilised as a burying ground the greater part of the area on which the present college stands. Even at that date, however, the cemetery was almost disused, and suitable arrangements having been made to prevent desecration, building was commenced in 1805. These building operations continued intermittently till 1825, when the college assumed a form almost identical with that in which it exists to-day. Numerous alterations in the charter have been made between 1800 and the present date, and perhaps the most important additional privilege granted was that which ordained that only licentiates of the college could be appointed medical officers to the County Infirmaries of Ireland. This unjust rule remained in force till 1862, when it was at last abrogated by the Poor Law Board, and an order made that poor law medical officers must possess a double qualification.

In describing the gradual evolution of the College of Surgeons it has been necessary to mention the College of Physicians, and we have found that during the earlier years of the existence of the surgical college a sharp distinction was drawn between physicians and surgeons, so sharp indeed that before the commencement of the nineteenth century a physician would have run the risk of forfeiting his diploma if he was rash enough to meet a surgeon in consultation. From all we can gather the physicians were for the most part university men, and obtained their qualifications once the hereditary principle had begun to disappear, at the foreign universities. As the London College of Physicians was founded in 1518 it is possible that prior to the foundations of Trinity College some few Irishmen obtained a licence to practice in London. The records are, however, dumb on this subject. In 1591 the project of founding a national university was finally accomplished, and the foundation of Trinity College was laid. In the original charter permission was given to appoint the necessary scholastic exercises for degrees in every faculty. Divinity was, however, the faculty that received most attention, and although one of the Fellows

was appointed "medicus" about the year 1625, no steps seem up to then to have been taken to establish a school of teaching in medical science. This is really what one would expect, remembering that Trinity College, Dublin, was founded on the model of the English universities, for in them up to nearly the end of the seventeenth century medicine was quite neglected, and the College of Physicians was left as sole guardian of medical learning. Degrees were indeed granted under well-defined conditions; thus, for the degree of M.D. it was necessary to be an M.A. of seven years' standing, to have attended three dissections, and to have completed the cure of four diseases; but no facilities for study were provided within the walls. One medical degree only was granted before 1616, and we may presume that it was an *ad eundem* one. In 1626 the first attempt was made to found a College of Physicians in Ireland, when Charles I. wrote to Falkland, the Deputy General, expressing his wish to found a college in Dublin similar to the English College, "for the furthering of the laudable and most necessary art of physic, the practice whereof is daily abused by wandering, ignorant mountebanks and empirics, who, for want of restraint, do much abound to the daily impairing of the healths of our good subjects." No immediate action was taken, but the project was not lost sight of, and a couple of years later we find Bedell, the Provost, in a letter to Archbishop Ussher referring to a certain Dr. de Laune, a Fellow of the English College of Physicians, then in attendance on the Lord Deputy in Ireland, who was urging the establishment within Dublin University of a Medical College. Bedell approved of the suggestion, and in a further letter says: "I suppose it hath been an error all this time to neglect the faculties of law and physic and attend only to the ordering of one poor college of divines." The civil war in England now broke out. Trinity College suffered along with similar institutions, and the project received once more a set back. But indirectly the very disturbances which rendered Trinity College temporarily a more fitting abode for a garrison than for men of learning were the cause of the foundation of the College of Physicians.

John Stearne, a native of Co. Meath, had entered Trinity in 1639, and in a few years was elected a Fellow of the House. In 1643 he fled to Cambridge and entered a college known as Ward's College. Here he remained for a space of seven years, studied medicine and took a medical degree. His medical studies were also pursued for a few months in Oxford, but in 1651 he returned to Dublin, resumed his Fellowship, and was appointed Medical Fellow and Professor of Medicine in the College. He now also engaged in practice in the city, and apparently rapidly established a considerable reputation, for his influence with the Board of Trinity College became great, and in 1654 he was made President of Trinity Hall, a building which was then set apart for the sole and proper use of physicians. Trinity Hall was situated in the vicinity of the present Trinity Street. The site upon which it was built was at first occupied by a nunnery, in the village of Hoggin Green, outside the walls of Dublin. The nunnery having become disused, and having fallen into a dilapidated condition, became, with the land around it, the property of the Corporation of Dublin, and was granted by them in 1604 to some Dublin gentlemen who desired to erect a bridewell for the reception of vagrants, who, resorting to Dublin, endangered the lives of the citizens by introducing contagion. This building scheme was never completed, and in 1617 the bridewell was conveyed to Trinity College for a sum of £30, for the purpose of being used as a college hall. It did actually serve this purpose for a time, but was never convenient, as, owing to its distance from Trinity College and the unpleasant character of the slums intervening between it and the college, it was not thought desirable to have students residing within it. After the civil war the Corporation desired to resume occupation of it, and this might have been done but for the suggestion of Stearne. There is no doubt that Trinity College was at this time opposed to the setting up of a second hall or college within the university, and one of the many reasons advanced at this time against such an establishment is worth quoting. It was the opinion of the Duke of Portland that it was undesirable to introduce the extra stimulus of

competition between two halls, "as the students of Trinity College were already accustomed to endanger their health by overwork." Whether the statement be true or not, at any rate T. C. D. was glad, as we have seen, to be rid of the hall.

In 1660, on the restoration of the monarchy in England, Charles II. appointed a new Provost and new Fellows in Trinity College. Stearne was one of the few to be renewed in his Fellowship, and he at once entered into fresh negotiations concerning Trinity Hall. Finally, in 1667, he succeeded in obtaining the first charter incorporating the College of Physicians in Ireland. Amongst the interesting clauses in this and the next charter we find that the election of President was to be in the hands of the Provost of Trinity, and that "the President and fraternity shall, if demanded, meet to consult upon the best means for the recovery of the Provost and Fellows without fee." Stearne died two years later, and was buried under the old College Chapel. The simple monument that marked his grave was removed when the new chapel was built, and is now to be found with other similar memorials at the back of the present chapel. Upon his monument is engraved these words: '*κατάρα ἔστι μὴ ἀποθανεῖν.*' "It is an accursed thing not to die." Stearne, though a voluminous writer on theology, contributed little to medicine. He was, like many other medical men, learned in subjects other than his art, and actually was for a time a Professor of Hebrew. Bacon says he cannot blame physicians for fancying arts other than their profession, "because they find that mediocrity and excellence in their art maketh no difference in profit or reputation." Whether this be true or not, it was probably not the reason that prevented Stearne and his contemporaries from writing. It was rather the influence of authority that was so reverenced as to preclude all thought of original investigation. One curious clinical tale is recorded by Stearne:—A young man was operated on for stone, and recovered very rapidly, although a stone weighing eleven ounces was removed. His father, aged sixty-three, in robust health, was present at the operation, and was so frightened at his son's danger that within twenty-

four hours every hair on his head fell out. Later on he complained of great heat in his head, was deprived of vision for two hours, and lo! his hair began to bud forth anew.

The College now pursued an uneventful existence for twenty years, when in 1687 they fell out seriously with Trinity College, because the latter institution refused to confirm the president-elect, Crosby, on the ground that he was a Roman Catholic. The Physicians remained firm, and consequently without a president until 1690, when Sir Patrick Dun was appointed for the second time, he having already held office from 1681 to 1687. By his efforts a new charter was granted to the college in 1692; Trinity Hall was abandoned, and reverting to Trinity College, Dublin, disappears from history a few years later. The new charter was a comprehensive one, and granted, amongst other privileges, the exclusive right of practising physic in Dublin and its vicinity to licentiates of the college. None except graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, of Oxford or of Cambridge, were permitted to practise elsewhere in Ireland unless possessing the Physicians' licence. Graduates in medicine of Trinity College, were, however, to receive the College diploma without further examination.

Sir Patrick Dun, who was for long the most prominent medical man in Dublin, was a native of Aberdeen, who, after studying medicine in Paris and Oxford, had settled in Dublin, and become about 1676 a Fellow of the College of Physicians. In 1681, as already stated, he was first elected president, and again in 1690 he occupied the presidential chair, which he retained for several years. After Trinity Hall was abandoned, the College met for many years in Dun's house on Inns' Quay. Dun, in addition to his medical eminence, was a Member of Parliament and a well-known figure in social circles. He died in 1713, and is known to posterity through his famous will and deed for establishing a Professor of Physic in the City of Dublin. In the deed he declares his intention to provide for one or two professors of physic to read public lectures and make public anatomical dissections of the human body and of other animals, and to generally instruct in the sciences of medicine, surgery and pharmacy. He also left his house and

books to the College of Physicians. The first professor to be appointed under this deed was a Dr. Robert Griffith, in 1715. He was succeeded by a Dr. Grattan, during whose tenure of the office in 1743 it was determined to employ the revenues from the Dun estate in paying three professors—namely, of physic, of surgery and midwifery, and of materia medica—who were to lecture in Latin in convenient places appointed by the president and fellows. The place selected was the Philosophy School of Trinity College.

Meanwhile, Trinity College had been making some efforts to establish a real teaching School of Medicine within their walls. As late as 1695 the medical fellow, on his appointment, had to be granted three years' leave of absence to study medicine, but in 1711 a laboratory and anatomical theatre were established near the site of the present library, and a man named Hoyte was appointed as professor of anatomy. But few, nevertheless, took the degree of the University, for between 1724 and 1740 no medical degrees whatever were conferred, probably because most of those taught in the school sought the diploma of the College of Physicians. At this time a sort of mutual agreement existed between Trinity College and the Physicians. The latter restricted their fellowship to persons who had the Trinity degree of M.D., and at the same time the Censors of the College of Physicians attended at the examinations in Trinity, and no one could receive a degree without their sanction. This arrangement existed until 1760, when an incident occurred which temporarily overthrew it. To understand this incident it is necessary to refer to the position of obstetricians in relation to physicians and surgeons. Low as was the social grade of a surgeon, that of "a man midwife" seems to have been still lower up to the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1686 O'Dwyer voiced the feeling of the time by publishing a volume complaining bitterly of the intrusion of midwives and quacks into the profession, and although the charter of 1692 gave the College the absolute supervision of midwives and authority to examine and license in midwifery, they were careful to pass in 1753 a by-law to the effect that no practitioner of

midwifery should be examined for a medical degree, or for the College medical licence. The so-called professor of chirurgery and midwifery professed surgery alone. From the middle of the 18th century, however, midwifery seems to have been recognised outside professional circles as an honourable employment, the foundation of the Rotunda in 1757 by Bartholomew Moss no doubt helping to call attention to the important gratuitous services which so many obstetricians yielded to the poor. Many also by their writings had acquired considerable reputation, and amongst these was an obstetrician called Fielding Ould. In 1760 Trinity College determined to admit Ould to the degree of M.D., and after conferring upon him as a necessary preliminary the B.A. degree they requested the College of Physicians to examine him. This the latter refused to do on the grounds that he was a person of no academical education, and was, moreover, disqualified by his occupation for a licence to practise physic. Trinity College refused to be opposed in this way, ordered their candidate to be examined by their own professors, and gave him the degree. Thus a breach was made between the two Colleges, but it was practically healed in 1785 by Act of Parliament, although the arrangement which had caused the Trinity degree and the College licence to be practically identical was never renewed. Before leaving the subject of Fielding Ould, we may say that some years later the disabilities of obstetricians were removed, and Ould himself became a licentiate of the College. He was the second master of the Rotunda Hospital, and was the first practitioner of midwifery in Ireland to obtain the honour of knighthood, the conferring of which afforded occasion for the following amusing epigram :—

> "Sir Fielding Ould is made a knight,
> He should have been a lord by right,
> For then each lady's prayer would be
> 'O Lord, good Lord, deliver me.'"

The professors appointed by the College of Physicians seem now to have been left with their salaries, but without any pupils, a position which they no doubt fully enjoyed, but which excited the jealousy of their less fortunate and no doubt equally worthy brethren.

Trinity College also was unable, unaided, to support a complete medical school, so that finally legislation was sought for, and in 1785 an Act was passed by the Irish Parliament establishing a school of physic to consist of the King's professors on the foundation of Sir P. Dun, and of the University professors. Provision was also made for clinical lectures, but as no adequate steps were taken by the Physicians to facilitate the giving of these, and as some of the funds derived from Sir P. Dun's estate seem to have been improperly applied in the giving of loans to indigent members of the college and an annual gift of claret to the president, a further Act, known as the School of Physic Act, was passed in 1800 A.D. This Act diverted a large portion of Sir P. Dun's funds from the purposes for which he had bequeathed them, and ordained the foundation of a clinical hospital, which we know to-day as "Paddy Dun's." The building of the hospital was commenced in 1803, and completed in 1806. For many years it was not only a hospital, but also a place of meeting for the College of Physicians, and the place where the library of Sir Patrick Dun was kept. In 1864, however, the present premises for the College of Physicians were completed in Kildare Street. Both College and library migrated, and the Governors of Sir Patrick Dun's made use of the extra space, which they thus acquired to open surgical wards.

During the nineteenth century numerous attempts were made by the College of Surgeons to induce the College of Physicians to conjoin with them in establishing examinations for students which, when passed, would qualify them to practise in any department of the healing art. This was for many years resisted, principally, it is stated, owing to the greed of both parties, but was finally brought about in 1886, when what is known as the Conjoint Scheme was finally established. Trinity College, long before this, had granted, first a licence and then a degree in surgery, the holder of which, if also in possession of the M.B. degree, required no further qualification.

In addition to the public schools of the College of Surgeons, the College of Physicians, and Trinity College, numerous private

schools existed in Dublin from an early date, and most of them were able to gain recognition for their lectures from the official or chartered schools. The teaching was indeed more attractive in most of them than in the public schools, if we may judge from the number of students that attended them. So numerous were these schools during the nineteenth century that it would be quite impossible to refer to all of them even by name, and, in consequence, I will refer to only one or two. In 1809 Kirby, an anatomist of repute, established a school close to Mercer's Hospital, which rapidly became popular, and was soon removed to Peter Street. This school supplied numerous candidates for the Army Medical Service, and in order to conform with the regulations Kirby opened a hospital in connection with it to give the students clinical instruction. This hospital contained at first, we are informed, but one bed. In 1832 the school was temporarily closed, but four years later was re-opened, and again started on a successful career. It was re-named the Ledwich School in 1869 in honour of the late Professor Thomas Ledwich, who had long and honourably been connected with it. This and the Carmichael College were the last of the strictly private schools to disappear. The last-named school was founded in the neighbourhood of the Richmond Hospital, but was afterwards removed to its late position in Aungier Street. It, like the Park Street School, which was situated in the position lately occupied by St. Mark's Ophthalmic Hospital, numbered numerous distinguished men amongst its professors and lecturers. Corrigan, Robert Adams, and Bob Smith may be named amongst the Carmichael professors; Graves, Jacob and Cusack amongst those of Park Street. We have already referred to the school established in St. Cecilia Street by the Apothecaries' Hall. In 1854 this school was transferred to the Catholic University, and the famous Cecilia Street School as we now know it commenced its career.

Up to the present I have not referred to the development of the medical curriculum as it exists to-day, nor is it now possible to refer to it in any but the most cursory manner, although a study of its evolution is both interesting and

instructive, and throws much light on its present overcrowded condition. One or two special subjects may be briefly dealt with. The development of clinical teaching in Dublin and the growth of the clinical hospitals are inseparably connected with the names of Graves, Stokes and Corrigan. To each of these I hope to devote a few moments later on, and now I shall briefly refer to the origin of the use of hospitals as teaching establishments. We have ample evidence that the habit existed in the times of the Roman Empire, and in this connection I cannot refrain from quoting an epigram of Martial translated by Withington :—

"Languid I lay, and thou camest, O! Symmachus, quickly to see me.
Quickly thou camest, and with thee a hundred medical students.
The hundred pawed me all over with hands congealed by the north wind.
Ague before I had none, but now, by Apollo! I have it."[a]

In Dublin hospitals existed from the sixth century in connection with monastic institutions, and in the sixteenth century the monastic hospital of St. Stephen existed in what we now call Mercer Street; but this became disused, and in 1724 a portion of an old graveyard near its site was leased to a Mrs. Mercer, who built upon it an institution for poor girls. Out of this institution the original Mercer's Hospital developed in 1734, and some sixty years later was utilised for clinical teaching for a short period prior to the building of Dun's Hospital. The Meath Hospital, which was built about the middle of the eighteenth century, claims, however, to have been the first to provide systematic clinical instruction to the pupils attending it, most of whom were apprenticed to the various medical men on the staff. In this it takes precedence of Steevens' Hospital and Jervis Street Hospital, both of which were founded by medical men at an earlier date.

The next subject that I will refer to is that of Anatomy. It has been stated that the study of anatomy can be divided into several periods—namely, (1) the imperfect anatomy

[a] "Languebam: sed tu comitatus protinus ad me
Venisti centum, Symmache, discipulis.
Centum me tetigere manus Aquilone gelatæ.
Non habui febrem, Symmache, nunc habeo."
Martialis. Liber v. Epigramma ix.

taught in Greece to the Asclepiades; (2) the period of the Alexandrian anatomists, when human anatomy was carefully studied; (3) the period of the School of Salerno, when would-be anatomists were mostly nurtured on Copho's description of the anatomy of the pig; (4) the Arabic period, when human anatomy was taught from books, but without dissection, desecration of the human body being even more repulsive to the Mohammedans than to the mediæval Christians; (5) the modern period, in which human anatomy is studied and human dissections are practised. It is only to this last period that I need call your attention as far as Dublin and Ireland are concerned. The first record of a human dissection in Dublin is in 1684, when the body of a malefactor was obtained by Dun for the College of Physicians. Molyneux a member of the Dublin Philosophical Society refers to this dissection, saying that "the physicians present spoke at random as the parts presented themselves, and that Pierus glands in the gut were not discovered." The next mention we have is in an old account book of the College, in which the amount paid in 1696 for the transporting of a corpse to the College for dissection is entered in detail, and about the same time we learn that one Allen Mullin carried on extensive dissections at the Laboratory of the Dublin Philosophical Society in Crow Street. In this same laboratory many well known men of the time seem to have worked, and perhaps amongst others St. George Ashe, the Provost of Trinity College, for we find a paper of his on "Hermaphrodism" communicated about this date to the society. The systematic teaching of anatomy commenced with the building of the Trinity College Anatomy School in 1711. Much difficulty was experienced in obtaining subjects for many years, and to compensate for this a series of wax models were purchased in 1734, and were largely used for teaching purposes up to Macartney's time.

In 1741 a man called Robinson was professor, and his period of office was signalised by the obtaining of the corpse of Cornelius Magrath, the Irish Giant. Robinson had long had his eye on Magrath, and when tidings of his death were received he forbade his class to attempt to steal the body, but added, "if led away

by enthusiasm for knowledge you should disobey me, remember that no law can touch you, if you steal only the corpse," referring, of course, to the current belief that it was a penal offence to steal a shroud. The students acted on this discreetly veiled advice; they attended the wake, and, after making Magrath's friends comatose by a mixture of alcohol and laudanum, they conveyed away the body in triumph. Next day, to prevent a popular outburst, the Provost compounded with the friends. Robinson was succeeded by Cleghorn the elder, a pupil of Monro, under whom the school flourished for a time, but on his son succeeding him the number of students fell away in competition with the newly-opened school of the College of Surgeons, and the various private schools; nor did it recover till the appointment of Macartney in 1813.

To James Macartney, the most celebrated of all the professors of anatomy in Dublin, is to be ascribed, according to his biographer, MacAlister, any fame which the Dublin Scientific School, as distinct from the Clinical School, has attained. Macartney was a native of Armagh, and was educated in Dublin and London. After teaching for a time at Bartholomew's Hospital, and holding a military appointment, he was elected professor in Trinity College in 1813, and held this post for over twenty years. Of his numerous scientific writings I need not speak. He contributed largely to comparative anatomy, human anatomy and pathology, but he probably deserves most regard from posterity for the important part he took in having the Anatomy Act of 1832 introduced.

At the beginning of the last century the prejudice against human dissection was very widespread, and was probably increased by the law that the bodies of murderers were to be utilised for dissection, thereby casting a sort of stigma on all who were dissected. At the same time, the demand for bodies was very great, and to satisfy this a sort of new profession sprang up composed of individuals styled "resurrection men" or "sack-'em-ups." These men frequented the country cemeteries, and in particular a cemetery for the poor in the neighbourhood of the Royal Hospital, commonly known as "Bully's Acre"; on the evening after an interment took place

they rifled the grave and sold the body to the medical schools. To prevent this the friends of the dead often formed guards, and many a conflict took place between them and the "resurrection men." The latter were often accompanied by students, and the more active amongst the anatomical professors used to lead their schools on these midnight expeditions. The whole system was connived at by the Government, but in 1825, after the building of the new Anatomy School in Trinity College, the troubles increased. The theatre itself was in a position where it could be readily attacked, and as the porter was in league with the populace it was frequently in danger of being wrecked. The discovery of the crimes of Burke and Hare in Edinburgh added fuel to the flames, and resulted in the establishment in Dublin of an order styled "The Humane Society of St. John" to protect the bodies of the poor from the hands of the medical men. The employees of this society, however, finding their way made easy, began themselves to act as resurrectionists, and to export packing cases filled with bodies to England. As many as 1,500 corpses were thus exported within a single year. The quarrels that ensued between the old hands and these new recruits, and the discovery of the export trade, resulted in still greater popular indignation, and finally necessitated the passing of the Anatomy Act in 1832. Just before this Macartney induced nearly 400 men of distinction to sign a paper bequeathing their bodies for dissection, a paper which no doubt greatly influenced opinion at the time. In passing I may say that a similar step would not now be out of place to remove the prejudice against *post-mortem* examinations—a prejudice which does much to hinder the progress of pathological science, and, in consequence, therapeutics. Since the Act of 1832 the study of anatomy has, on the whole, proceeded smoothly. Before leaving Macartney I must add that in 1814 he founded and was the president of a students' medical society in Trinity College. Although this society lasted for only 14 years, and was not revived until 1870, it must be regarded as the direct precursor of our own Society—"The Bi."

The last subject of the curriculum that I will refer to is

Botany. Now that its importance to the medical student is so slight, it may be worth recalling that a hundred years ago it was one of the most important of all medical subjects. A physic garden existed near the old Anatomy School in 1711, but was far too small, and, in consequence, new premises were taken near Harold's Cross in 1800. But for the grasping nature of the Royal Dublin Society Trinity College might have had a share in the beautiful gardens at Glasnevin; if so, however, the college would hardly have possessed their present gardens at Lansdowne Road, which, purchased in 1806, were for long an important adjunct to the Medical School.

If, lastly, we try now to apprise the value of the additions which the Dublin School has made to the Sciences of Medicine we will find our task a lengthy and almost impossible one. Impossible, not because so little has been contributed, but so much. The Dublin School has been noted not so much for its epoch-making discoveries as for the steady and slow building up of the general structure of practical medicine, practical surgery, and practical midwifery. There is hardly a chapter in these three arts to which important additions have not been made. The remark made of Graves may indeed be applied to the entire Dublin School. It has been said of him: "We do not quote him so much now as formerly, because his work forms part of the foundation of a great superstructure."

In the seventeenth century Irish physicians were known abroad: O'Glacan, of Donegal, filled in succession the chairs of Physic in Toulouse and Bologna; and O'Connor, of Kerry, educated at Montpelier, became physician to Sobieski, King of Poland. Sir Thomas Molyneux, often styled the "Father of Irish Medicine," was the first great Irish physician. He was President of the College of Physicians and Professor of Physic in Trinity College. Like most of his contemporaries, his writings were not confined to medicine, but included translations from the classics and contributions to natural history. He figures later than Stearne and before Sir Patrick Dun. The names, however, that will be remembered longest are those of Graves, William Stokes, and Corrigan. Graves, the celebrated physician to the Meath Hospital, gained his

appointment to that institution in 1821, and at once began that series of clinical lectures which made his own name, that of the Meath Hospital, and the Dublin School famous throughout the world. Of his writings, Trousseau said: "I entreat those of my pupils who understand English to consider it as their breviary. Of all the practical works published in our time I am acquainted with none more useful or more intellectual." Graves's treatment of fevers (so much of which is embodied in his self-chosen epitaph—"He fed Fevers"), his treatment of tuberculosis and of infantile diarrhœa, and his description of the disease that bears his name, are but a few of the deeds that established his reputation. With Graves was associated William Stokes, the son of Whitley Stokes, himself a medical man, a United Irishman, and the first Professor of Natural History in Dublin University. William Stokes studied in Dublin and Edinburgh, and soon after his qualification he published the work that first brought him into prominence—"On the Use of the Stethoscope." He ably seconded the efforts of Graves in clinical teaching at the Meath Hospital, and took, in addition, a prominent place in Dublin life. His works on "Diseases of the Chest" and on "Diseases of the Heart and Aorta" gave him a European reputation. He was practically the first physician to recognise the curability of phthisis in its early stages, to recommend physical exercises in certain diseases of the heart, and to describe the type of respiration which we know as Cheyne-Stokes breathing. Corrigan's name is also embedded in our medical terminology, as the term "Corrigan's pulse" is usually given to the "water hammer" pulse of aortic patency. He lectured first at Jervis Street Hospital, and later at Steeven's; and as a clinician he probably attained a greater reputation than any of his predecessors. To see much in each case rather than to see many cases was his advice to those who wished to perfect themselves in clinical observation.

Amongst the Dublin surgeons Abraham Colles probably holds the highest place in our memory. Colles's fracture and Colles's fascia testify to the combination of surgery and anatomy which characterised him and the entire Dublin

School. William Dease, who is generally regarded as the founder of the Irish School of Surgery, Houston, of Houston's valves, a Baggot Street man; Flood, of Flood's ligament; Wallace, who introduced potassium iodide for tertiary syphilis; Jacob, of Jacob's ulcer; Robert Adams, who wrote on rheumatic gout; Shekleton, of Shekleton's aneurysm; O'Halloran, of Limerick; Bob Smith; Butcher, of Butcher's saw; Bennett, of Bennett's fracture; Bellingham and Tufnell (another Baggot Street man), both of aneurysmal fame—are all names that readily come to the mind. To these may be added the name of Samuel Haughton, the modern father of the Trinity School, whilst among the obstetricians M'Clintock and Montgomery, of Montgomery's tubercles, are names to be remembered. Some few medical men who attained distinction, though not in medicine, may be named:—Goldsmith, a Trinity man and a doctor, though not a medical graduate of Dublin; Thomas Addis Emmet and Charles Lever are those most widely known. The last-named practised medicine for ten years in Ireland and abroad before finally devoting himself entirely to literary pursuits. It is said that when in College "the curricle rather than the curriculum attracted his thoughts," and he expressed his preference for devilled over shrivelled kidneys, so I am afraid that he would have received but scant consideration from some of our present day professors. Lever's famous impersonation scene in "Charles O'Malley" is taken from life. Cusack, one of the surgeons to Steeven's, was accustomed to examine his class in the morning before getting up. On one occasion he was absent, and Lever successfully took his place for over half an hour before being discovered. Cusack, we are told, when a wrong answer was given, used to express his disgust with flatulent eructations, and this Lever most happily illustrated. Despite his levity Lever was for a time a most successful practitioner, and was one of a type that I hope will never be squeezed out of our school by cast-iron regulations.

I have now finished, gentlemen, and owe an apology for the length of my Address, and for its sketchiness. There are

many points on which I would have liked to enlarge, and many that I could not mention at all. History, however, is not like other things—it will keep.