More than half the twenty-four founding members of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia in 1787 had received a part of their formal medical training in Europe; and when in the succeeding decade Caspar Wistar, Junior, Benjamin Smith Barton, Philip Syng Physick, and Isaac Cathrall began to practice, the number of Philadelphia physicians with foreign education was increased. What was true of Quaker Philadelphia was true also, though usually to a lesser degree, elsewhere in the United States. From 1749, when John Moultrie, of South Carolina, was made a doctor of medicine of the University of Edinburgh, to the close of the century, no fewer than 117 Americans received the medical degree of that institution alone; while uncounted others, like Thomas Parke, Samuel Powel Griffitts, and Benjamin Smith Barton, studied there for a term or two. Indeed, so constant was the flow of American medical students to England, Scotland, and the Continent in the latter half of the eighteenth century, that one might speak of a kind of trade in them, America exporting the raw materials for physicians
and surgeons and receiving after the passage of three or four years the finished products. These colonials and young republicans filled themselves at the fountainheads of science abroad; and, returning with the knowledge of the European schools and hospitals, were prepared and eager, the Philadelphians at least, to spread their learning through the United States and make Philadelphia the Edinburgh of America.¹

The medical students who went abroad in the half century after 1750 were not, however, pioneers in a new movement, for in the second quarter of the century several Philadelphians had sought medical instruction in England and on the Continent. John Redman and Benjamin Morris received their degrees from Leyden; Thomas Bond studied in Paris and Thomas Cadwalader in London with Cheselden and at Rheims; and at Rheims Phineas Bond received his medical degree.² These were the men who dominated the profession in the city at mid-century and were the preceptors of that group of younger men who made Philadelphia at the century's close the medical capital of the nation. These older men, who, like Redman, could speak of many of the members of the College of Physicians as their professional children, established a standard of medical practice and fashioned a pattern of professional education which no prospective student of medicine, especially if he wished to practice in Philadelphia, could safely ignore.

Drawn to the practice of medicine for varying reasons—Wistar is said to have been moved by the suffering of the wounded at the


² It is not easy to determine the nature of the foreign studies of some of these men and their successors. Within their limits the following lists are helpful: R. W. Innes Smith, English-Speaking Students of Medicine at the University of Leyden (Edinburgh, 1932) and List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, from MDCCV. to MDCCCLXVI. (Edinburgh, 1867), from the last of which Samuel Lewis extracted the names of the American students, which were printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XII (1888), 159–65.
battle of Germantown, while Barton may have studied physic to give respectability to his study of botany and natural history—these young men entered upon a course of study already pretty well fixed for them. The best preparation was a college education, then three or more years of apprenticeship to a learned and reputable physician, and finally Europe for what William Shippen, Junior, called “the last polish.” Shippen himself followed this program—a bachelor’s degree at the College of New Jersey, three years’ study with his father in Philadelphia, and then anatomical studies in London, the medical degree at Edinburgh, and a visit to Paris. John Morgan and Benjamin Rush also received their medical training in these three stages, as did John Carson, Philip Syng Physick, and Thomas T. Hewson, the last three all graduates of the college at Philadelphia. But John Morgan’s dream of basing medical studies on a broad liberal education failed to materialize even in his own school; probably the greater number entered upon their apprenticeship and medical studies without having been to college and, receiving the degree of bachelor of medicine, either set up in practice at once or went abroad to receive the coveted M.D. in Scotland or on the Continent. To this group belonged Thomas Parke, who, however, was content not to take his degree, Caspar Wistar, Junior, James Hutchinson, Samuel Powel Griffitts, and John Foulke. John Redman Coxe probably belongs in their number as well, for after he received his M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania (the degree of bachelor of medicine was dropped in 1789), he spent one year in the London Hospital and another attending the lectures and hospitals at Edinburgh and Paris. Only Thomas Ruston seems to have gone to Europe directly from his apprenticeship without a formal liberal or medical education. But none went to Europe without an apprenticeship of some sort. So important indeed was this element of training that when George Logan arrived in London without it, Dr. Fothergill
sent him off at once to spend a year studying and working with a country practitioner.\(^7\)

What a medical student learned from his apprenticeship depended, naturally, upon the character of his preceptor and the nature of the work he was required and permitted to do. The labors of an apprentice ran the gamut from errand boy to physician-in-charge: Rush, for example, after only a year’s observation and practice, was frequently left by Dr. Redman in full charge of a patient.\(^8\) Once when Logan and his preceptor differed as to the cause of death from a blow, the latter requested and received permission for the two of them to examine the body.\(^9\) Such practical training as this was, of course, based upon a study of the medical masters: Rush learned his Hippocrates by translating the *Aphorisms* into English;\(^10\) and Dr. Kuhn, putting young Physick through a thorough course of reading, directed him first of all to master Cullen’s *First Lines*, an injunction the boy obeyed by memorizing the entire work.\(^11\) And from the manuscript notes of the lectures of the teachers in London and Edinburgh, which appear to have circulated among the medical students in Philadelphia, the students received an introduction to the latest medical and allied doctrines and a preparation for their own attendance upon the same or similar lectures.

But here the resources of Philadelphia ended. To an English correspondent the elder Dr. Shippen wrote, “My son has had his education in the best college in this part of the country, and has been studying physic with me, besides which he has had the opportunity of seeing the practice of every gentleman of note in our city. But for want of that variety of operations and those frequent dissections which are common in older countries, I must send him to Europe.” There the younger Shippen might spend a winter in London, attending William Hunter’s anatomical lectures and private dissections, take a course in midwifery with Smellie, and enter himself as a pupil at Guy’s Hospital; then he might go on to Rouen, study physic and take his degree; and finally he might return to London and revisit

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\(^7\) Logan to Charles Logan, Dunmow, Aug. 16, 1775. Letter Book (H S P).


\(^10\) Goodman, *op. cit.*, 11.

the hospitals. Such a letter might have been written and such a program outlined for any one of a dozen Philadelphia medical students.

When his American education was completed, therefore, his resolve taken to go abroad, and his passage booked, the medical student turned to his Philadelphia instructors for letters of introduction to the great and near-great of the medical and scientific worlds of Britain and the Continent which he was about to enter. Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Fothergill and Dr. Lettsom, London physicians, the Barclays, great men in the Quaker hierarchy, and other friends of Americans received a constant stream of young Philadelphians—Franklin's "American children," Thomas Bond called them—bearing letters from America; and in their turn they provided the young men with other letters which might be useful to them in the prosecution of their studies. Fothergill never failed to receive an American, and especially a Pennsylvania Quaker, with grave courtesy and Friendly kindness. He made him welcome, and proposed a course of study. Logan, for example, he received "in such manner as had more the appearance of a tender Father than a transient Friend."

Franklin introduced the students to persons of his acquaintance, advised them on their studies and bearing, sometimes even loaned them money. He gave Rush, when Rush set out for France, a letter of credit on a Paris banker; and he loaned John Morgan the amount of the fees involved in that Philadelphian's election to the Royal Society of London.

A few, asking for more than letters of introduction, requested advice on the proper course of study and conduct abroad. For John Foulke, who sailed to France in the spring of 1780, and for Samuel Powel Griffitts, who went over the next year, Dr. Rush prepared a list of eighteen suggestions. Evincing not only a care for the profes-

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13 Bond to Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, April 27, 1780. Franklin Papers (American Philosophical Society), XVIII, 49.
15 Goodman, op. cit., 19.
16 Morgan to Franklin, Philadelphia, Oct. 10, 1765. Franklin Papers (A P S), I, 162. There is an interesting exchange of letters between Rush and Jonathan Potts and Dr. Franklin in Mrs. Thomas Potts James, Memorial of Thomas Potts, Junior . . . (Privately printed, 1874), 172-75.
sional advancement of his students, but an interest in their social development as well, Rush recommended that Foulke and Griffitts attend lectures on natural philosophy as well as on medical subjects, visit the hospitals, noting the prescriptions and modes of treatment, spend a few hours daily for some weeks in a chemical laboratory and apothecary's shop, and acquire a library. He also urged them to keep a diary, "Attend Shews of all kinds, and describe in your Journal"—this a reflection of Rush's own stern morality—"the most trifling of them," and spend an hour daily for three months in dancing lessons. Indeed, the ease and success with which the Americans made their way in the scientific and social world of Europe was a tribute not only to their knowledge, intelligence, and lively interest, but to their social grace and personal charm as well.

In addition to letters of introduction and advice, those Philadelphians who were also Friends usually wished to take with them a certificate from their meeting. Probably typical was that issued to Charles Moore, who went to Edinburgh in 1748, which certified that he was "Religiously disposed . . . a diligent Attender of our Meetings for Worship & . . . clear from Marriage Engagements." Caspar Wistar, when he applied for a similar certificate, had some difficulty in obtaining it, for Wistar the preceding fall had fallen "into the Scandalous & alarming temptation of being engaged in a duel"; and though he had publicly condemned his conduct, the elders of the meeting inclined to feel that he ought to evidence in his outward port a greater proof of humiliation and contrition of heart. That Friends were not without grounds for their fear of the temptations which might befall those removed from the oversight of the meeting is attested by the cases of Jonas Preston and Samuel Powel

17 Rush, "Letters, Facts & Observations upon a Variety of Subjects," 47-51. Rush MSS. (Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Branch). Dr. Rush had followed his own advice in the matter of a journal. The journal of his studies at Edinburgh and London, 1766-68, has recently come to light and is now (October, 1942) in the possession of Mr. James Lewis Hook, a dealer in early Americana, of Bala-Cynwyd, Pa. The journal of Rush's European tour is owned by the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, but, being in safe-keeping for the duration, could not be consulted in the preparation of this paper.


19 Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XVII (1893), 379.

20 James Pemberton to John Pemberton, Philadelphia, 8 mo. 27, 1783. Pemberton Papers (H S P), XXXIX, 89.
Griffitts. The first, when he reached Paris, adopted an extreme manner of Parisian dress and speech, to the great concern of his mother, a respected preacher among Friends, while the latter hardly set foot on French soil than he returned to his mother his inexpensive American watch "as it would make but a poor Appearance here, where we cannot expect People to value such Things for their intrinsic Worth." Still, as he was resolved to go to Edinburgh in any case, Wistar got his certificate and departed with the blessing, albeit reluctant, of the meeting.

No medical student set out for Europe without having first considered with his preceptor and medical school instructors at Philadelphia the advantages of the several schools abroad. Dr. Thomas Bond, one of the sanest of the Philadelphia physicians, when he was inquiring after a proper school for his son Richard, made a rapid survey of them in 1771. "The School of Edinburgh," he began, "seems at this time to be better calculated to please the Fancy, than to form the Judgement; and indeed the many extraordinary Novelties incullcated there, would be a Barr to public Confidence in this Part of the World. As far as We can judge from the public Exhibitions," he went on, "Surgery in London is a mere mechanic Art, well executed." Of Paris he could make no judgment, for his friends and former teachers there, Astruc, Winslow, Ferin, Huno, and Le Cat, were all dead. He reckoned that if the writings of Gaubius were any criterion, physic must be scientifically and usefully taught at Leyden, though the school was said to be neglected. The medical institutions of Vienna he knew had been reformed by Van Swieten, which was good; yet the world was annually misled by absurdities and falsehoods propagated under his sanctions, this was bad. But in spite of Bond's judgment of Edinburgh, "the general Run" of students from America, as Dr. Franklin put it, was to the Scottish capital. Naturally the language barrier tended to deflect the stream from the Continent, while tradition, common citizenship, the advice of Fother-
gill and Lettsom, both Edinburgh graduates, and the dazzling eminence of Edinburgh itself all strengthened the pull to that center. Nothing less than war, in fact, was able to break the Philadelphia-Edinburgh-London pattern of medical education. During the American Revolution Foulke and Griffitts studied at Paris. The former went on to Leipsic and the latter, considering physic "not on so respectable a Footing" in Paris as one might wish, to Montpellier. But both, as soon as returning peace permitted them to enter England, made straight for the teachers of their American teachers. None ever ventured as far as Vienna. However, Hugh Williamson, after studies at Edinburgh, London, and Leyden, took his degree at Utrecht in 1766, and Barton, piqued at some real or fancied indifference on the part of two of the faculty, left Edinburgh for Germany, where he is said—though a search of the records failed to reveal the truth of the allegation—to have received his medical degree at Göttingen. And although Morgan made a well-known visit to Padua, he seems to have carried away from his interviews with the aged Morgagni only the two stout volumes of a presentation copy of the *De Sedibus et Caussis Morborum*, and none followed his steps below the Alps.

So for the Philadelphia medical student it was pretty largely a story of Edinburgh and London. Boerhaave's Scottish students, returned from Leyden, had made the Scottish capital a live and throbbing center of medical teaching, the most famous certainly and the most influential in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In

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28 John Morgan, *Journal...from the City of Rome to the City of London, 1764...* (Phila., 1907), 104-108; Richard H. Shryock, "The Advent of Modern Medicine in Philadelphia, 1800-1850," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, XIII (1941), 724. My indebtedness to Professor Shryock is far greater than is indicated by this single citation.
the 1780s nearly five hundred students of medicine were in the city—John R. B. Rodgers in the spring of 1785 said that Dr. Monro had 399 in his anatomy class alone—and of this number there were always fifteen or twenty Americans, usually two or three Philadelphians. Most of the students were younger than those from the Quaker City and not so well prepared, for they came straight to Edinburgh to serve their apprenticeship and attend the lectures together; and many were so rude and boisterous that Wistar distinguished from the throng those whom he called “respectable.” In fact one medical student from Virginia, looking back on his life at Edinburgh, expressed the opinion that “more licentious youths are hardly to be found anywhere than I remember to have seen in Edinburgh.” Another from the Old Dominion in 1776 divided the students into three groups: “the Fine Gentlemen,” who did not study; “the Gentlemen, or students of medicine strictly speaking,” who lived genteely yet applied themselves to their work; and “the vulgar,” who were either lazy or “entirely devoid of everything polite and agreeable.”

The Philadelphians seem to have belonged almost without exception in the number of “the Gentlemen, or students of medicine strictly speaking.” Most of them had had some formal medical instruction at home and all had served an apprenticeship with some practitioner. They were, therefore, if not mature, at least older than the common run, and they had had a certain amount of experience. One would expect them to be, like Thomas Parke, astonished and disgusted by “the Indecency, Ill manner & foolish Conduct of many of the Pupils” in London at Dr. McKenzie’s demonstration of the female reproductive organs. Furthermore, several of the Philadelphians, like Rush, went to Europe to prepare themselves to teach at home; while all Americans, whether they were still colonials or were erstwhile subjects of the Crown, felt they were on their mettle to prove themselves by the excellence of their work.

Their mornings were largely occupied in hearing lectures read, and

32 Wyndham B. Blanton, Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century (Richmond, Va., 1931), 89. Pages 83–92 provide a good account of the Virginia students at Edinburgh in the latter half of the century.
the notes taken then were written out in full in the afternoon or evening. In addition there were at Edinburgh—though this was hardly a feature of the course—some opportunities for hospital observation in the Royal Infirmary; and most of the students employed a part of their free time in reading some of the most recent professional publications. There were letters to write: nothing delighted the medical students more than to be able to detail a course of experiments or to keep their old preceptors at Philadelphia informed of the latest opinions and discoveries in the medical and scientific world. When the use of opium in the treatment of syphilis was being hotly debated in the 1780s, for example, Wistar and James Hall filled their letters to Rush with accounts of the newest developments and ventured their own careful judgments in the matter.34 Most Americans probably belonged to one or more of the medical societies at Edinburgh. Here the opinions of the professors were examined (recorded judgments of the instructors by their students seem to suggest that those lecturers were most highly thought of who made a display of erudition and had an impressive mode of delivery) and papers were read and defended by the members. Logan, for example, read papers on dyspepsia, which he attributed to lack of exercise, on ulceration, and on smallpox and inoculation.35 Wistar was elected a president of the Royal Medical Society and of a "Society for the further Investigation of Natural History," and Logan, when he was quitting Edinburgh, wrote his brother that he did not esteem his medical degree "so great an honour as being President of the Medical Society . . . ."36 Barton made no small splash while a student at Edinburgh. He was a president of the Royal Medical Society in 1787-88; and he won the Harveian Prize of the Society with an essay on the black henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*). In 1787 he published his *Observations on some Parts of Natural History*, which undertook to show that the Indian mounds of North America were constructed by the Toltecs of Mexico and that the Toltecs were descended from the Danes. Although he felt this

opened up the subject, he had the good sense to regret it immediately as a "premature performance." 37

Most of these matters concerning the medical school were touched upon in a long letter which George Logan wrote his brother from Edinburgh in 1778: 38

The Medical department consists of 6 Professorships, Viz, Chemistry, Anatomy, Practice, Theory, Mat. Med. and Botany. These Classes every Gentleman who graduates, is obliged to attend, his attendance on Midwifery is also expected, but this they cannot insist on. You cannot graduate here without having studied Medicine at this or some other University for three years: on these conditions you are admitted to a private examination at which, if you give satisfaction you are declared a candidate; after this you have another private & one public examination; but there is hardly an instance of a Gentleman being degraded after passing his first. Your exercises consist in writing several papers for private inspection and a Thesis which you are to publish & defend at the Public examination.

Dr's Black, Monro & Cullen who fill the three first chairs, are Men of great abilities and eminent in their different departments—Black is esteemed one of the first Chemists in Europe—he has made several discoveries with respect to fixed air, & has some peculiar Ideas respecting latent-heat; but unfortunate for himself & for Mankind, he allows others to publish his discoveries in an imperfect state, for which they reap the laurels only due to himself. His Lectures are more calculated for the Physician as a Philosopher than as a practitioner. Dr. Monro has generally above 300 Pupils; for as his Lectures are on Anatomy & Surgery it is necessary for persons in every department of Medicine to attend him. He is too great a Philosopher to enter so minutely into his subject as the demonstrative part of it requires, on which account Students may attend him three or four years without gaining a proper knowledge of this kind; but in his Physiology, perhaps no person is equal to him for perspicuity and strength of argument—A large fortune has lulled his genius asleep, he therefore does not fatigue himself in making new discoveries, but contents himself in delivering his Lectures nearly verbatim as he did 15 years ago.

The World is so well acquainted with Dr. Cullen's abilities that it is unnecessary to say anything with respect to them. You know he has established a new theory of Medicine; but like all other Great Men, I am afraid he is too fond of this Child, to make it of long continuance. As the Boerhaavians accounted for every disease of the body from a vitiated state of the fluids, so on the other hand Dr. Cullen refers them to a vitiated state of the Nervous System. Both these opinions have their merits & demerits; wherefore it is necessary for a student to attend several Universities, and not too early to form his opinion. . . .

The fee to each of the Professors is three Guineas except to Dr. Hope who is only allowed two by the University, yet such is his meanness that he will take three guineas not only the first but the second year if any Gentleman should do him that honour to attend him.

37 Barton, op. cit., 10–12; Alan Thomson, Librarian of the Royal Medical Society, to author, Edinburgh, Sept. 14, 1942. Mr. Thomson kindly checked the records to learn when Wistar, Barton, and Logan were elected members of the Society and when each served as president.

38 Logan to Charles Logan, Edinburgh, March 2, 1778. Letter Book (H S P.)
The Medical Students also reap great advantage from the Infirmary to which they also pay three Guineas. It is a fine building consisting of a Body [ ] feet in length & two wings; and will contain [ ] Patients. It is regulated in a better manner than any other Hospital in Britain, but as my friend Dr. Stedman has lately published an account of it, I will procure one of them for you.

Another very great advantage which I have not taken notice of is derived from the 3 Medical Societies where every Member is obliged to give in Papers & defend them—Here the different doctrines & opinions of great Men are canvassed with diffidence and candor—Each Society has its own particular laws printed & Libraries to which the Members have free access—The Medical Society is the oldest established—it has a Hall not yet finished which will cost upwards of £1200 and their collection of Books is excellent & valued at £1000. I have the honor of being a Member of these three Societies from which I assure you I have received as much improvement as from any one Professor. In one of these Societies the Latin language is spoke with great fluency and ease. . . .

Among such a number of students you will no doubt judge that we have plenty of companions but I do not think that a Man of your good sense & taste would be able to select 20 out of Monro's 300 with whom you would wish to associate. On account of there being such a large proportion of the low class among the Students, the others are not paid that respect which is due to them neither from the Citizens nor Professors considering the quantity of Money they annually spend among them and their genteel behavior.

But for persons like Logan, "students of medicine strictly speaking," life in the University town was not unpleasant. They lived with private families, for Principal Robertson was no believer in student segregation as practiced in the English universities. Thus they in some measure entered into the life of the community, forming acquaintances and sometimes friendships which extended over many years. Rush, for example, was admitted as a burgess and guild brother of the city, and was sufficiently at home among the Scots to persuade John Witherspoon to come to the presidency of the College of New Jersey. In fact he made such intimate friends abroad that, twenty-five years later, he received a personal gift from his old friend Lady Jane Belcher.

How very pleasant the life of the Philadelphians at Edinburgh might be is suggested by the experience of Thomas Parke, whom Fothergill recommended to the care of a worthy Quaker of Edinburgh, one Miller. Well known, respected, and wealthy, Friend Miller inquired assiduously into the progress of Parke and some of

39 Notes and Queries, IX (1854), 603. The reference was suggested by Dr. Packard and J. Gordon Wilson.
40 Goodman, op. cit., 16-17.
his fellow students, saw to it that they attended their religious meetings, and had them to his home each First-day evening when, after reading from the Bible or from Quaker books, with an occasional exhortation from a female preacher, they all sat down to a good supper. More interesting, though less typical, of course, was the experience of Rush’s fellow student, Jonathan Potts. Of Quaker inheritance, though not a birthright Friend, he had a deep religious experience on shipboard, so that when he arrived in Edinburgh he was a different man from the one who had left Philadelphia. Regularly he attended Quaker meeting in the Scottish capital. It was composed of eight or ten men and as many women, and only when some traveling Friend came was there any preaching. Hence he attended meeting for months “without ever hearing a word externally, but it has been quite otherwise inwardly . . . . I really believe,” he went on, contrasting this silent meeting with the proud assemblages of the Quakers in their seat at Philadelphia, “that there is more Life & heartfelt Religion in the silent Meetings at Edinburg than in the Meetings of the highly-favored People of Phil. who have line upon line, & precept upon precept, & who perhaps overlook that indwelling Word which is not only able to direct Men to the path of Life, but will enable them to walk in it . . . .” And Potts, resolved to walk according to the Light, really humbled himself. The tickets to plays, concerts, and dances which well-meaning friends sent him had to be returned; and he was not afraid to own himself a Quaker. Off came his ruffles, his hair he untied, and he was “not ashamed to use the plain language to the greatest Man in Edinburg, not but that it is a great cross to me.”

As Logan wrote, Cullen was preeminent at Edinburgh, and his influence on the young students from America was stupendous. Morgan called him the Boerhaave of his age and spoke of him with emotion. Thomas Parke in 1771 called him “y* Shining Oracle of Physic.” While Rush became positively ecstatic at the mention of his name: “Dr. Cullen the great the unrivalled Dr. Cullen is going on

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43 Potts to Joseph Potts, Edinburgh, Jan. 20, 1767. Mrs. James, op. cit., 177–78.
44 Rush to Morgan, Edinburgh, Nov. 16, 1766. Gratz Collection (H S P), Case 1, Box 20.
unfolding each Day some new facet to us in the Animal Oeconomy . . . I think I would not fail of having heard them [his lectures] for ten thousand pounds. illustrious Oracle of human Wisdom live—live forever!"46 Not twenty years later another Philadelphian declared that Cullen was "certainly one of the greatest men that ever lived—his method in arrangement & his perspicuity in argument are astonishingly fine & convincing—like a true philosopher he makes every thing tend to the illustration of his subject." And Rodgers found him, as Rush had, "the Idol of his Pupils."47 So greatly in fact did Edinburgh and the brilliance of the Cullenian system announced there impress some of the American medical students that they never shook free of the Scotsman's intellectual dominance. Rush left Edinburgh in hopes that he would "be able to transplant most of his Doctrines to Philadelphia";48 while Kuhn's lectures at the University of Pennsylvania were declared by the black-billed Charles Caldwell to be a mere paraphrase of Cullen, "and not a few of them actual copies of his lectures."49

Still the importance of the practical work at London was recognized. The wiser felt as Logan did: he left the northern capital between terms to spend two months dissecting at London, "it being a necessary & useful part of our profession, but which the prejudices of the Scotch will not admit of our deriving any advantage from."50 There were some, however, who were inclined to feel that no profit was to be derived from the hospital experience and anatomical theaters of London by those who had received at Edinburgh the "last polish" in medical training. This was the opinion of James Hall, who attended John Hunter's lectures "more for the name of the thing than anything else,"51 and of Benjamin Rush, who began his

49 Caldwell, Autobiography (Phila., 1855), 124.
work in London with the conviction that he would not get "any great improvement from it. After attending the Lectures & Practice of the great Dr Cullen for two years," he explained to Morgan, "I am sure little Knowledge can be acquired from the random Prescriptions of the London Hospital Physicians. However as my Reputation may be influenced by it, I shall follow them faithfully for some Months." But after a few months' experience his doubts were resolved. He conceded that the London schools had their merit and he admitted the error of his judgment of the London physicians, but with a curious reservation that shows how much he was still under the domination of system: "few of them indeed practise Medicine upon philosophical principles, but notwithstanding this, they have enriched ye Science wth. a number of very useful Facts." He was attending William Hunter's lectures and, "as soon as the Weather is cold eno' to admit of bringing dead Bodies into ye Theater," he would begin to dissect under Hewson.

For it was the hospitals and the private schools that made London, as Griffitts called it, "the Metropolis of the whole World for practical Medicine"; and the Americans who studied in London attended the practice of the first and the lectures of the second. The usual routine called for walking the wards with a physician or surgeon, like Dr. Huck or Mr. Cline, in the morning, a lecture in the afternoon, and study, reading, or the copying of lecture notes in the evening. Occasionally there might be an operation and once in a while an invitation from one of the older men to attend a meeting of one of the medical societies. Only one criticism of the hospital work was voiced and that was the reaction against the traditional English distinction between physicians and surgeons. An American student who paid a fee to attend, say, the surgical practice of Henry Cline, was surprised and irritated to be told that if he wished to attend the prescriptions of the house physicians, he must pay the physician's fee as well. These, John Rodgers thought, were "monstrously enormous." James Hall, for example, a dresser at St.

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53 Griffitts to Rush, London, Aug. 10, 1783. Rush MSS. (L C P, Ridgway), XXI, 94. But Griffitts thought that the French hospitals, from which he had just come, were superior in cleanliness and nursing arrangements.
Thomas', paid £50 for the privilege. To have attended a physician would have cost him another £22, which he could not afford.\footnote{Rodgers to Rush, London, Aug. 9, 1784. Rush MSS. (L C P, Ridgway), XIV, 132; Hall to Rush, Oct. 18, 1783, in Ruschenberger, \textit{op. cit.}, 16-17.}

Of equal importance with the hospitals in the London pattern of medical instruction were the schools of the private teachers of anatomy, surgery, and midwifery. The greatest names in the last third of the century were those of William and John Hunter; and some of the Philadelphians, as Shippen, Rush, Physick, Hutchinson, Wistar, Lyons, and Hall, not only attended their lectures but in some cases had the privilege of studying with them as house pupils. On October 2, 1759, William Shippen, Junior, moved his trunk to John Hunter's and began a busy period of work in the dissecting room and of attendance on William Hunter's lectures. Day after day, as his journal records, he went into the dissecting room at six or seven in the morning, worked until late afternoon, and stopped only when he must attend one of William Hunter's classes. Here are the entries of a single week:\footnote{The original journal of Dr. Shippen, covering the period from July 19, 1759, to January 22, 1760, is in the possession of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, of Baltimore, Md., to whom I wish again to express my grateful appreciation. Dr. Pleasants graciously sent me a typescript copy of the journal to use in the preparation of this paper, and it is from this copy that the quotations are taken. Some entries in the diary were quoted by Dr. J. M. T. Finney in his Hunterian Lecture in London in 1927, "The Influence of John Hunter upon Early American Surgery," \textit{Lancet}, CCXII (Feb. 19, 26, 1927), pt. 1, 420-22, 469-72. The paper was also published as a pamphlet.}

November 1. Rose at 8. busy in dissecting room all Day. Lecture at Night.

November 2. Went to Georges Hospital and saw Hawkins and Bromfield operate, Stone and amputation. Mr. Hunter in afternoon dissecting for Glands and Ducts for Saliva. Lecture at 5 till 8. New farce High Life below Stairs; very good and apropos to times.

November 3. Rose at 8. saw Mr. H. extract a Steatomatous Tumor from upper Eyelid. busy in opening a Live Dog to see the Lacteals and thoracic Duct etc. Lecture from 5 till 8.

November 4. as usual at Mr. DeBerdts.


November 6. looking at Mr. Hunter dissecting for Lecture the Muscles of Thigh and Leg. Lecture at 5. At Roberts till 9, sup'd and bed.

November 7. Rose at 7. Mr. Hunter dissecting Muscles for Lecture. Went to see a patient under my care. . . . After Lecture went to Bartholomews Hospital and saw the neatest operation for Bubonocele that I ever saw by Mr. Pott, a very clever neat Surgeon. Home at 9.
The influence of John Hunter on Philip Syng Physick has often been commented upon.\textsuperscript{56} With a liberal education in Philadelphia, a three years' apprenticeship to Adam Kuhn, and attendance on the medical lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, Physick went to England in 1789 and was entered by his father as a house pupil with John Hunter. There is a pleasant anecdote, which must be repeated because it reflects the temper of John Hunter and, presumably, that which marked his pupil, to the effect that when the elder Physick inquired what books his son would need, Hunter took him by the arm and leading him to the dissecting room said, "These are the books your son will learn; the others are fit for very little."\textsuperscript{57} At once the boy entered upon his work, in May he became a dresser at St. George's Hospital, and in December, probably by the influence of Hunter, was appointed a house surgeon at the Hospital, with an allowance of £25 for board and lodging. As an American; not even a colonial, he encountered the jealousy of the unsuccessful candidates for this post and this put him on his mettle. That jealousy gave way to respect and admiration, however, Randolph tells, when Physick successfully reduced a dislocated shoulder before the entire class of

\textsuperscript{56} Unfortunately the journal and letters which Physick wrote during his medical studies abroad cannot be located. They were formerly in the possession of a descendant and were seen by Dr. Francis R. Packard; but upon their owner's death, they could not be found. It is the judgment of Dr. Packard, who inquired carefully after them, that "they are irretrievably lost." Letter to author, Philadelphia, August 26, 1942.


\textsuperscript{57} Stephen Paget, \textit{John Hunter, Man of Science and Surgeon} (1728-1793) (London, 1897), 233. The elder Physick was asked by Hunter to procure a pair of opossums. After much difficulty Mr. Physick was able to send over a female opossum with her young. He accompanied the gift by a letter containing feeding instructions and the warning that, if the animals must be moved, "they should be lifted by the Tail, or they will bite." Physick to Hunter, Phila., May 20, 1790. Penn-Physick MSS. (H S P), II, 274-75.
medical students. It was during this year of hospital service that Physick performed, at Hunter's request, a series of experiments for the Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-Shot Wounds (London, 1794). In this work Hunter recorded his judgment that he could depend on Physick's accuracy. Upon the completion of his year's service at St. George's, Physick returned to Hunter to work, and it was probably at this period that Hunter asked Physick to remain in England and share his practice. Declining what must have been a tempting offer—only Thomas Ruston of all the Philadelphians, it seems, settled in England to practice—Physick went up to Edinburgh, took his degree the next year, attended the practice of the Royal Infirmary there for a few months, and returned to Philadelphia. But to John Hunter he had an indebtedness which he ever acknowledged. Indeed, his son-in-law declared that the admiration Physick had for Hunter "amounted to a species of veneration. Certain it is, that he never ceased to consider him as the greatest man that ever adorned the medical profession."

Such intimate contact as Shippen and Physick had with John Hunter, and which other students enjoyed in greater or less degree with other physicians and surgeons, was one of the best ways to acquire medical knowledge and the cream of medical experience. Perhaps it was the memory of the benefits received from his attendance at the weekly sessions Sir John Pringle held at his home for a select group of medical students, that made Rush advise his pupils in turn to "gain access to & cultivate an intimacy with a few eminent physicians & surgeons—you will profit more by asking them questions in a few hours, than by attending hospital practice for years."

That this professor-student relation might be pleasant and profitable is attested by the picture which Professor Fabricius, of Kiel, Kuhn's fellow student at Upsala, drew of their almost idyllic life together


with Linnaeus. Not a day passed that they did not see him, either at lectures or in familiar conversations. "In summer we followed him into the country. We were three, Kuhn, Zoega, and I, all foreigners. In winter we lived directly facing his house, and he came to us almost every day, in his short red robe de chambre, with a green fur-cap on his head and a pipe in his hand. He came for half an hour but stopped a whole one, and many times two." And Linnaeus, when Kuhn was about to leave Europe, wrote to him in terms seldom used by a teacher of a student, saying that he cherished him "as a beloved son, for your correct and engaging deportment, in which none of the foreigners excelled you; for your unwearied ardor and application in cultivating the sciences, in which you were surpassed by no one; for your undisguised friendship, in which none could have equalled you." Similarly Cullen had a high opinion of his American students: he constantly cited Morgan’s diligence and reputation as an encouragement of the other American students, and resuming his correspondence after the American War he told Rush, "I hold you and shall always hold you in the same esteem and affection as ever." Then he sent his "respectful and affectionate compliments to all my old pupils at Philadelphia. I shall always hold it my highest honour that the founders of the Medical College of Philadelphia were all of them my Pupils and if it can be known I think it will be the most certain means of transmitting my name to a distant posterity for I believe that this School will one day or other be the greatest in the world."

Naturally the students compared the opportunities for study in Europe with those they had known at the Edinburgh of America; and they concluded that on the whole the formal instruction at Philadelphia was not inferior to that found anywhere in Europe. Only when he visited the Hunters’ anatomical museum was Thomas Parke ashamed for his native city, and he “blushed for ye indolence & neglect of our Philad Professors of Anatomy—for sure a more com-


64 Linnaeus to Kuhn, Upsala, Feb. 20, 1767. “Biographical Notice of Dr. Adam Kuhn,” Eclectic Repertory . . ., VIII (1818), 247.

65 Rush to Morgan, Edinburgh, Nov. 16, 1766. Gratz Collection (H S P), Case 1, Box 20.

plete collection of preparations I think is not in Europe. Nay every part of the Human Body is there to be Seen in its greatest beauty—instead of an old dirty Theatre I there beheld the most elegant building suitable for the purpose—in short it so far surpasses anything of the kind I ever saw before y't. I think I cannot w'th. any patience ever enter Shippens hereafter.”

Particulars aside, however, the general judgment was favorable to the American work. Griffitts often told Rodgers that he received more satisfaction and improvement from his medical masters in Philadelphia than in France or England.

Rodgers was “somewhat disappointed in my high raised expectations of its [England’s] Medical Perfections—I am persuaded that Medicine is taught more Scientifically in Philad. than in London, & that our Teachers there are more attentive to the improvement of their Pupils than they are here.”

Barton was, as he wrote from Edinburgh, “convinced, by experience, that little is wanted in Philadelphia to make that school one of the first seats of medicine in the world.”

In Germany Foulke found that “the coolness with which Science is courted at Leipsic & a general disposition to a contentment in such discoveries as the Sons of Science in France or Great Britain may throw into the world, tends to continue old usages, & Theories, & such parts of the School of Leipsic, as I have at present acquaintance with appear much inferior to that of Paris & no way superior to that young Seminary” which owed its birth to his correspondent Dr. Franklin.

As if to place a kind of seal upon these opinions, Daniel Coxe, who was, however, more American than English, sent his son John Redman Coxe to study medicine with Dr. Rush at Philadelphia, where, he thought, the “lights & practical aids” of physic could be better got than in England, to which the boy would return for the final touches.

The impression of hard work which the letters and journals of these Philadelphia students of medicine give is probably well founded. Yet, after the manner of medical students of every age, they had their ways of recreation and diversion; and few could have failed to

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71 Foulke to Franklin, Leipsic, Oct. 12, 1781. Franklin Papers (APS), XXIII, 11.
appreciate Rush’s cry as he left Edinburgh, that “the happiest period of my Life is now near over, my Halcyon Days have been spent in Edin.”\(^{73}\) George Logan, when he was sent by Dr. Fothergill to Dunmow, forty miles from London, to work for a year with a country practitioner, found the place “a properer situation for an Anchoret, than a human being who has the least taste for a social life.”\(^{74}\) But Edinburgh and London especially were more lively. At very least there were the usual sights to see. Within a few weeks of his arrival in the English metropolis Parke visited St. James’ and Buckingham palaces, saw the menagerie at the Tower and the elephants at Buckingham House—“ye largest & most frightfull Beasts I ever saw.” He walked through the elegant and enchanting gardens of Vaux Hall, and was charmed by the lawns and paths and pools of Kensington Gardens. He learned that two hours were not enough to examine the British Museum’s “most amasing collection of Curiosities”; he climbed up to the tower of St. Paul’s to get a view of London; and he climbed out of bed one morning at half past five to go to Blackheath to see the King, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Prince of Wales at a military review, “a most grand sight,” thought this Philadelphia Quaker. And there were brief excursions to make. Guide book in hand, Parke went to Oxford, where he found “one of the most curious Cities in England”; he visited Bath, as did George Logan, and, like Logan, he used only superlatives to describe it. Plays and lectures found the Philadelphians in attendance. Shippen saw Garrick several times, in Macbeth, which he thought “surprising”; in Lear, which he thought “inimitable”; and from France he carried back to Garrick a personal letter from Laurence Sterne.\(^{75}\) He heard Whitefield preach on a number of occasions, as did Rush at least once. Franklin took him to the Royal Society. On another occasion at the College of Physicians he heard Mark Akenside, physician and poet, read a “very entertaining” paper on Harvey. There were the pleasures of the table and, sometimes, of the bottle too; for no American went to England and the Continent without letters to friends and relatives who delighted to entertain them and


\(^{74}\) Logan to Charles Logan, Dunmow, Aug. 16, 1775. Letter Book (H S P).

whom, sometimes, it profited them to be with. Rush called once on John Wilkes, whose library of “histories and commonplace literature” he thought mirrored the trivial character of the man. With his fellow-Pennsylvanian Benjamin West he spent several pleasant evenings and met Sir Joshua Reynolds; and Reynolds invited him to dine one day with Oliver Goldsmith and the massive Dr. Johnson.  

One night at Sir John Shaw’s seat, Shippen was one of a party that sat drinking claret until midnight and then “retired and bedded, much pleased”; and it was Shippen who, more than twenty years after he left Edinburgh, when he was sending back one of his own students, recalled himself to Cullen as “a pupil who was as fond of a Solan Goose as you were.”

Finally, of course, there were the ladies. Shippen frequently interrupted his anatomical studies with the Hunters to attend a dance. Some of these occasions were made pleasant for him by his fair companions. Others he set down—like an honest Philadelphian—as being conducted without order or regularity. For Dr. Parke the date December 14, 1771, must have been a sort of red-letter day, for he then “saw some very fine Women for ye first [time] in Edinburgh that I tho’t any thing like Venus’s.” Perhaps Betsy Empson was such a Venus; at any rate, after spending an evening with her, Parke wrote remorsefully into his journal, “Cou’d medical knowledge be acquired in this manner I think I should soon be a proficient, but alas! I fear I am wrong in not being more diligent.” What John Foulke learned about women, older women at least, is only hinted at by the query of his friend George Fox, whether Foulke was “as assiduous as heretofore in his visits to the bald Head and Tail Countess [possibly Mme. la Comtesse de la Mark], or has he forfeited by some inconstancy the honorable title of mon Fils.” And apparently in London one could always, if one wished, as Thomas Parke did not, be “captivated by ye Ladies which so plentifully are planted all along the Strand to entice young Gentlemen home wth.

76 Goodman, op. cit., 18–19.
78 Fox to William Temple Franklin, St. Florentin, July 10, 1781. Franklin Papers (A P S), CIII, 72.
them." All in all, it was probably not a life of unrelieved application to studies.\textsuperscript{79}

Something of what European study meant to the professional training of the young doctors from Philadelphia, European travel meant to the broadening of their general experience. New places, new faces, and new ideas all opened up a different world from that which revolved in ordered paths around the city on the Delaware. Not content to see of Europe only what they viewed from the windows of their lecture halls and laboratories, they set out to make a grand tour of the Continent. When his work at Edinburgh, London, and Paris was finished, procuring a copy of Thomas Nugent's \textit{The Grand Tour}, Morgan made a trip to Italy, visiting the art galleries and noting the names of the works displayed, entering the churches and casting a skeptical eye on the miracles allegedly performed in some of them, and meeting a few of the great and near-great and some of more interesting residents of that ancient land.\textsuperscript{80} Shippen, despite the war, was able to get to France in the capacity of physician to Louisa Poyntz, sister of Lady Spencer.\textsuperscript{81} Kuhn, who studied in Sweden, Scotland, and England, traveled also in France, Holland, and Germany. Not only did they receive new impressions and make the acquaintance of persons different from those they knew at home in Philadelphia, but the European experience wore away some of the angularities of their manners. John Foulke, for example, during the period of his service as a Revolutionary Army surgeon, was described by a fellow surgeon as "a pedantic young Quaker"; but, if the letters of his gay friends William Temple Franklin and George Fox mirror

\textsuperscript{79} The matter of these paragraphs comes primarily from the Journal of Thomas Parke, Pemberton Papers (H S P), LVII, 93-98, and from the Journal of William Shippen, Junior, in the possession of Dr. Pleasants.

\textsuperscript{80} Morgan's was the most ambitious of the tours, and his reputation and acquaintance paved the way for others who came after him. Griffitts, for example, stayed with the very family in Paris with whom Morgan had lived twenty years before. But Morgan himself followed partly in the wake of two fellow-Philadelphians. From Naples on May 12, 1764, he wrote to Joseph Shippen, Junior, that "amongst ten thousand English Men whose Names are inscribed on the Walls of Nero's Prison," he and Samuel Powel, his traveling companion, "descry'd Yours & Mr. Allen's in legible Characters." (Balch Collection, Shippen Papers (H S P), I, 127.) One wonders whether, in the manner of tourists of that and later days, Dr. John Morgan, M.D. and soon to be F.R.S., left his autograph for other Philadelphians to find.

The original of Morgan's journal of his Continental trip is in the University of Pennsylvania Medical School.

\textsuperscript{81} Curtis, editor, \textit{Letters of Laurence Sterne}, 156.
him accurately, in Europe he deserved anything but the epithet "pedantic." To be sure, simply traveling a bit into Europe, even meeting some of the great and dining at their tables, as Morgan did with the Duke of York in Italy, was no earnest of broadened intellectual horizons or high resolves taken. But the experience had this worth, that it gave the young colonists and the new republicans a certain self-confidence which stood them and their profession in good stead, it introduced them to their fellow workers in medicine, and it gave them a pipe line into that bubbling cauldron of ideas which marked Europe at the century's close.

In the journals they kept and in the letters they wrote home they recorded their impressions of England and of Europe and they made their judgments, profound or ill-considered, of the places and the people they saw. Of course there was the weather. From Phineas Bond, a law student with whom some of the medical students often dined, English weather received its due: "There is such a continued Fog in this Country, that the Sun does not appear once a Month," he grumbled. "They call it fine Weather if it is possible to walk half a Mile without being wet to ye Skin." Britain's weather was indeed discouraging, for hardly an American came to that land to study who did not fall ill. Caspar Wistar felt his sickness had so far retarded his advancement that he half considered returning home without his degree: and it was to the illness and convalescence of Benjamin Smith Barton that his friends owed his Observations on Natural History. The weather of Paris was equally condemned by Griffitts, who gave it as one of the reasons for studying at Montpellier that in southern France the sun shone for days on end, "which to a Person coming from the Bogs of Paris forms a very agreeable Contrast."

For the cities, especially the English cities, their enthusiasm was equally restrained. Probably it was the uniqueness of Venice, rather than its beauty, that made Morgan speak of it as "rising out of the Sea . . . indeed a beautiful object"; and though Logan spoke of London as "this grand superb City," he noted in Dover the narrow

82 Bond to Samuel Rhoads, London, Dec. 28, 1771. (MS., College of Physicians of Phila.).
84 Griffitts to M. and H. Griffitts, Montpellier, Jan. 7, 1783. Griffitts Correspondence (H S P); Griffitts to William Temple Franklin, Montpellier, Oct. 31, 1782. Franklin Papers (A P S), CIV, 118.
and irregular streets and the houses "by no means elegant," thought Colchester "badly built and worse paved," and, like other medical students in that northern capital, was impressed by "the remarkable filthiness" of Edinburgh. It was a "nasty Town," thought Dr. John Sims, Logan's preceptor and Parke's friend, where, as Benjamin Rush observed, not without some humor, there was an intimate connection between sanitation and the franchise. The houses of Edinburgh having neither yards nor cellars and so no necessary houses, "all their filth of every kind is thrown out of their windows. This is done in the night generally, and is carried away next morning by carts appointed for that purpose. Unhappy they who are obliged to walk out after ten or eleven o'clock at night. It is no uncommon thing to receive what Juvenal says he did, in his first satire, from a window in Rome. This is called here being naturalized. As yet I have happily escaped being made a freeman of the city in this way, but my unfortunate friend Potts has gained the honour before me." L'Orient, Griffitts' first sight of France and a French town, presented an agreeable variety "to a Person who has seen nothing above the plain & elegant Streets of Philadelphia. . . . The Houses to be sure are old fashioned & all of Stone but if they do not look elegant they look venerable, & we have plenty of Gothic Churches Castles &c." But there was no nonsense about Griffitts. To a young friend in Philadelphia who seems to have been sighing for a glimpse of the Old World, he wrote like a philosopher, "Let me tell you for your Comfort that the little Alley you live in, is far preferable in some respects to many of the largest Streets in Paris—To be sure the Houses are not 6 or 7 Stories high but then a Person can walk without getting up to their Knees in Mud—" London he dismissed summarily: "The Palaces are nothing at all, as to the outside—The Park is so, so—Perhaps a dozen good looking houses, and so much for London."
Their reaction to the countryside was quite different. As he traveled northward from London to Edinburgh, Logan made careful note of the agricultural improvements generally in evidence. With the eye of an agricultural reformer he described the rural districts he passed through and his comments and descriptions reveal the interest and intelligence that were to make the Stenton farm a model. Everywhere he found agriculture "carried on with great spirit, and with such advantage that many in this Neighbourhood [Dunmow] have made large fortunes"; and he cited the instance of a gentleman who was said to have amassed £20,000 in thirty years by his attention to farming alone. In Scotland he found the same spirit prevailing. There Lord Kames was intensely interested in agriculture which had "nearly become a polite part of education, and is generally the topic of conversation among those of the first characters."92

But one did not need to be an agriculturist to be charmed by the beauties of the English or European scene, and many of the Philadelphians revealed in their letters a deep appreciation of them. Shippen, for example, wrote in his journal of walking out to the seat of Lord Tinley at Wanstead, which had "before it a grand lawn beset with Marble Images and Lamps, at the End of it a piece of water 11 Acres. On one side a fine woody Grove with a great Stream of Water running thro it etc. very pretty."93 But this was artificial. What Morgan saw in Italy was real and the romantic appreciation of this man of science flashes through the awkwardness of his grammar and the inadequacy of his vocabulary. The cascade of Terni was "a most astonishing and sublime sight," its waters tumbling "in a white foamy Column; ye circling ringlets following each other in quick succession like lightning glance on ye eye of the spectator." The Alps, he thought, seemed "to overtop the very Clouds, shewing their hoary heads in the clear Azure expanse of the Firmament many & many leagues, towering aloft, & stretching along the Horrizon in a Chain as far as the Eye could reach. . . ." From Mount Cenis "a rude but sublime Picture presented itself all round—Hills highing their Heads in Clouds—Some seeming to pierce, & seem above the Clouds in the upper regions of Air covered with snow—Water pre-

93 Shippen, Journal, Sept. 3, 1759. (Typescript copy in possession of Dr. Pleasants.)
incipitating itself down the sides of the Hills forming innumerable Cascades & running with impetuous force to the foot of the Hill."  
Naturally the travelers passed the people of Europe in judgment before them. Logan liked the Scots: the Highlanders, though inquisitive and superstitious, were hospitable, brave, generous, and sensitive of their honor; the lower classes he thought honest and generally sober, though dirty in their houses and persons; while the education and easy bearing of the Scottish ladies made them, he thought, "fit companions for Men of sense."  
Parke's chief complaint against the people of North Britain was that they prepared their food "in ye Scotch Taste, i.e. one third Dirt by way of Condiment."  
On the whole, however, though Morgan had some things to say on the morality of Italian women and Rush made an honest but not entirely successful effort to divest himself of inherited prejudices against those of France, the Philadelphians were remarkably slow to make a comprehensive judgment of any national character. It was the part of a philosopher to try to comprehend.

The American Revolution seems to have influenced the reception the English gave the Americans and also the Americans' attitude toward the English. It appears certain that the medical students who went abroad before 1775 met on the whole with a friendlier treatment, entered more freely into the social life of that country, and made acquaintances and friends more easily than did those who went to England after 1783. For to these, since they were no longer colonials, the English felt less responsibility and they betrayed a certain restraint and formality which irked the Americans. Griffitts put it succinctly: "They are not extravagantly fond of Americans in England, tho' they generally behave very politely when conversing on Politicks." Others carried away the same impression.  
Of course, war or no war, those with relations or other intimate ties in England continued to find a welcome. The position of the elder Physick and his services to the Penn family opened many doors to his son; Logan

95 Logan to Charles Logan, Edinburgh, June 1, 1777, Feb. 27, 1778. Letter Book (H S P).  
bore an impressive name among Friends;\(^{98}\) while the English seem never to have ignored ability and social grace.

Occasionally these young travelers from the Quaker City touched the skirts of fame and greatness. Rush saw the royal family dine publicly at Versailles but was shocked to see the Dauphin take a piece of meat from his mouth, look at it carefully, and throw it on the floor.\(^{99}\) In London Morgan and Shippen, "with a couple of Ladies," saw the coronation procession of George III. Morgan cast an appraising eye over the figure of the Queen—"rather a little woman than otherwise," not beautiful but sweet and affable in appearance, "a fine slender waist, her carriage, air & manners incomparably easy, & genteel; I think majestic—upon y\(^e\) whole an amiable woman to look at . . . ."\(^{100}\) In Rome Morgan had another treat. Arriving there in the party of the Duke of York, he was invited to all the entertainments given for His Royal Highness, even dined at his table on a sturgeon sent the Duke with the papal blessing. He had a private audience with His Holiness—"he was affable and courteous," the erstwhile Quaker reported—and during Holy Week attended one of "y\(^e\) grand functions at wch the Pope assists in Person—next to y\(^e\) Coronation tis one of the finest sights I ever saw."\(^{101}\) But the choicest treat was yet in store. On his way back to Paris and to Philadelphia Morgan and his fellow traveler, Samuel Powel, paid a visit to the Sage of Ferney. They spent several hours with Voltaire and when in the evening they took their leave, they received a thunderous farewell: "Behold two Amiable Young Men," the great man declaimed before his company, pointing to the Philadelphians, "Lovers of Truth & Inquirers into Nature. They are not satisfy'd with mear Appearances, they love Investigation & Truth, & despize Superstition—I commend You Gentlemen—go on, love Truth &


\(^{99}\) Goodman, op. cit., 22.


\(^{101}\) Morgan to Joseph Shippen, Junior, Naples, May 12, 1764. Balch Collection, Shippen Papers (H S P), I, 127; Morgan, Journal, 26.
search diligently after it. Hate Hypocrisy Hate Masses & above all hate the Priests.”

And so finally, their studies completed, their travels at an end, they returned home, these Philadelphians, to practice and to teach. For, whether it was something that Europe gave them or something that Europe had only prepared them to do, teach they must and teach they did. A surprising number were imbued with a passion to bring medical knowledge to America; like Griffitts they returned home “with an high Idea of our University.” Morgan, Shippen, Rush, and Kuhn formed the first faculty of the medical school; and Wistar, Griffitts, Barton, and Physick joined it subsequently. John H. Gibbons gave private lectures on theory and practice after 1789. Foulke, becoming interested in balloons, delivered popular lectures on pneumatics and offered courses in anatomy, so that one of his friends jestingly called him both the Montgolfier and the Monro of America; and Rodgers, leaving Philadelphia after a few years, went to New York, where he taught in the medical school of that city. Of almost every one of these Philadelphia students of medicine one might say that he proved to be, as Dr. Franklin predicted of Morgan, “of great Use to his Country as well as an Honour to the Medical School of Edinburgh.”

Dickinson College

Whitfield J. Bell, Jr.

104 G. W. Norris, op. cit., 122.