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Travers Vs. Wilde and Other: Chloroform Acquitted

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Introduction

By 1864 Professor Wilde had reached the peak of his career.¹⁻⁴ At 49 (Figure 1) he was a leader of British ophthalmology and otology, the recognized expert on Ireland and its people and a prolific author. He and his wife Jane belonged to Dublin high society. He had been knighted in January 1864. By the end of that year, however, a scandal had nearly destroyed him.⁵⁻⁶

A Brilliant Career

William Robert Wills Wilde was born in March 1815 in Keekavin, a hamlet near Castlereagh, on the desolate and savage western shore of Ireland. He was the third son of Dr. Thomas Wilde, a country physician whose grandparents had emigrated from Durham in northeastern England and an Irish mother with a family history of mental illness. William's older brothers, John and Ralph, would become clergymen.

In 1832, William Wilde, then 17, left for Dublin to start a four-year surgical apprenticeship under the famous Abraham Coles and attend the Park Street Medical School. The names of some of his teachers, Graves, Cheyne, Stokes and Corrigan, are still familiar to today's physicians. Graves treated Wilde for severe asthma and bouts of typhoid fever. As a medical student he cared for cholera patients; he later claimed to have eluded the disease by consuming large amounts of port and brandy, a habit he kept throughout his life. In 1836, still a 21-year-old student, he published his first work, a short treatise on spina bifida.

In 1837 after he qualified as Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons (LRCSI),

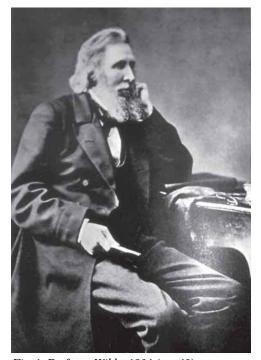


Fig. 1. Professor Wilde, 1864 (age 49)

Professor Graves recommended him to Robert Meiklam, a wealthy, tubercular Glascow merchant, who took him as his personal physician for a cruise on his yacht "Crusader" along the sunny Mediterranean shores. The nine-month voyage allowed Wilde to study the local diseases, especially the prevalent trachoma, which sparked his interest in ophthalmology and became a life-long object of study.⁷

Back in Dublin in June, 1838 and now a member of the British Medical Association, Wilde took up general practice while pre-

paring a book on his Mediterranean journey. The book8 was an immense literary and financial success; its earnings supported Wilde while he specialized in eye and ear diseases over the next three years. He spent 1839 at the London Moorfield Ophthalmic Hospital under the guidance of Tyrell and Dalrymple, two masters of English ophthalmology. Wilde also met Dr. James Clark, Queen Victoria's future physician and John Snow's patron. Clark introduced his young colleague to London's society and medical community. The next two years were spent on the continent, mainly in Vienna as a student of the renowned oculists, Professors Jaeger and Rosas.9 A book he published on Austria¹⁰ in 1843 was another literary success and showed his fascination with Vienna's social and academic life. After Vienna, he visited ear clinics in Munich, Prague, Dresden and Berlin, where he worked with the famous surgeon Diefenbach.

Returning to Dublin in 1841, Dr. Wilde opened eye and ear clinics in his home and in a rented building while teaching at the Park Street Medical School. His knowledge, skill and good results soon brought him patients, fame and money. When the Park Street Medical School closed in 1843, he bought the building and converted it into a a modern 25-bed hospital with operating room, lecture hall and quarters for house staff. St. Mark (Figure 2), the first ophthalmic hospital in Ireland, became a renowned teaching center

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Historical Activities at the ASA Annual Meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, October 22-26, 2005

Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology

Annual Exhibit

Freud, Erdmann & Einstein: The Heroes of 1905, ASA's Founding Year Georgia World Congress Center, ASA Resource Center (Technical Exhibits Hall) Sunday, October 23rd, 12:30 PM - 6:00 PM Monday, October 24th, 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM Tuesday, October 25th, 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM

Friends' Tea and Book Signing

Georgia World Congress Center, Room C301
Monday, October 24th, 12:30 PM to 2:30 PM

Forum on the History of Anesthesia

The ASA at 100: A History Continued Georgia World Congress Center, Room C302 Monday, October 24th, 2:00 PM to 4:00 PM

Lewis H. Wright Memorial Lecture

Georgia World Congress Center, Room C101 Tuesday, October 25th, 1:00 PM to 2:10 PM

History Panel

History of Solid Organ Transplantation Georgia World Congress Center, Room C104 Tuesday, October 25th, 2:00 PM to 4:00 PM

Anesthesia History Association

Annual Dinner Meeting

Legacy Ballroom

Embassy Suites Hotel

Monday, October 24th, 6:00 PM

History of Conjoined Twins

Mark Rockoff, M.D.

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- 1. Monographs: Old citations to historical monographs (including books, audiovisuals, serials, book chapters, and meeting papers) are now in LOCATORplus (http://locatorplus.gov), NLM's web-based online public access catalog, where they may be searched separately from now on, along with newly created citations.
- 2. Journal Articles: Old citations to journals have been moved to PubMed (www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/PubMed), NLM's web-based retrieval system, where they may be searched separately along with newly created citations.
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Wilde... Continued from Page 1



Fig. 2. St. Mark

for local medical students and visiting European and American physicians. Graefe, the famous German ophthalmologist, paid St. Mark a visit in 1851.¹¹⁻¹²

At 38 Wilde was now famous. His insistence on precise clinical observations, correct diagnoses and statistical analyses of his successes and failures had brought ophthalmology and otology from the lore of superstition and quackery into scientific disciplines. His textbook on aural surgery¹³ reprinted in the US and translated into German gained him worldwide acclaim and the title of "Father of Otology." Several of his surgical techniques and instruments are still used by today's otologists.¹⁴

Wilde introduced the use of atropine in eye surgery and was one of the first Dublin surgeons to adopt anesthesia. By February 1848 he had already defined the indications and dangers of chloroform in eye surgery. His interest in trachoma and infantile opthalmia, common in Ireland at the time, led to vigorous and successful campaigns against those national scourges. His study of infantile leucorrhoea helped him defend several men wrongly accused of child rape.

Many of Wilde's articles were published in the influential Dublin Journal of Medical Sciences. After receiving his diploma of FRCSI (Fellow, Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland) in 1845 he became the journal's editor after Arthur Jacobs, a fellow oculist was forced to resign. A bitter and jealous Jacobs remained his life-long enemy and the only colleague to censure him during the 1864 scandal. In 1848, overburdened by his clinical and academic work, Wilde gave up his position at the journal.

In 1841 Wilde had become the medical commissioner for the Irish Census, a post he kept to the end of his life. Criss-crossing the island every ten years to record its health problems required an immense amount of time and energy but was a superb occasion to acquaint himself with the country's scenery and history and with its people and their problems, including the Great Potato Famine of 1849-50. Patients too poor to pay his fees supplied him instead with stories and artifacts for his ethnologic studies. Wilde published over 50 works on Ireland and its inhabitants. Four of them, acclaimed as masterpieces, have recently been republished. 18-21 Studying the skull and medical records of Jonathan Swift, 22 Wilde proposed a new (but probably wrong) 14 diagnosis on the famous Dean's death.

A Busy Social Life

Wilde remained a bachelor until the age of 36, looked after by his sister Emily. He was well known as, and boasted of being, an inveterate philanderer, trying, in the words of G.B. Shaw, "to create a family in every Irish village." He had recognized three natural children:

- a) Henry Wilson ("Wilde's son") born in 1838. His father supported his medical education and in 1863 took him in his practice. Wilson, a brilliant oculist, later published the first British textbook of ophthalmology.
- b) Two daughters, Emily (born in 1847) and Mary (born in 1849) were adopted by Dr. Wilde's brother, the Reverend Ralph Wilde. Both were to die tragically in 1871.



Fig. 4. Professor Wilde and Speranza



Fig. 3. 1, Merrion Square, Dublin, Ireland

In 1857, after a brief courtship, Wilde married Jane Frances Elgee, the daughter of a Dublin lawyer. She was in her midtwenties (she always remained vague about her date of birth). She claimed to descend from a noble Italian family and had adopted the middle name of Francesca but in fact, the Elgees also originated from Durham in northeastern England. They had amassed a large fortune in the Irish building trade and produced several generations of lawyers, doctors, and clergymen. Her parents had provided her with a superb education and by the time of her marriage, the tall, dark-eyed beauty with long raven hair was already well known, under the pen name of "Speranza," for her poetry and her fiery nationalist writings in the seditious newspaper The Nation. Despite her eccentric behavior, dress and make-up, she was a warm, loyal and tolerant wife and a loving and indulgent mother to her three children: "Willie" born in 1852, Oscar, the future esthete and playwright, born in 1854, and her adored Isola, born in 1856.2-4,6

In 1855, shortly after Oscar's birth, the Wildes moved to 1 Merrion Square, a large Georgian mansion in the fashionable heart of Dublin (Figure 3). The house, with a large staff of servants and a well-stocked cellar, became the center of endless receptions, dinners, soirees and balls. There were frequent vacations in the five lodges that Dr. Wilde had built in the country. By the time of the professor's death, that extravagant living had brought his family near financial ruin. Although Dr. Wilde was revered by his patients and Speranza was cheered by the Irish crowds whenever she left her house, the Wildes' social success and prodigal lifestyle raised the usual jealousies and gossips. The Dubliners mocked the small, vain, homely philandering husband and his eccentric, pretentious, "high faluting"5 wife (Figure 4).

1864, The Triumphant Year

In 1864, Professor Wilde reached the peak of his career (Figure 5). He had re-

cently become "Oculist to the Queen in Ireland," president of the prestigious Royal Irish Academy, and a member of the Royal Society of Uppsala (Sweden) and the Berlin Antique Society. The King of Sweden had awarded him the Order of the Polar Star after his Scandinavian visit and Trinity College of Dublin had granted him the diploma of M.D. (honoris causa). In January 1864 the Earl of Carlisle, the Irish Vice-Roy, had knighted him in Queen Victoria's name for his work on the Irish Census and for his medical and literary achievements. Lady Jane had just published her widely acclaimed "Poems by Speranza." Tragedy, however, was soon to strike the ambitious couple.

Trial and Scandal⁵⁻⁶

One evening in February, 1864, while Professor Wilde was giving one of his popular lectures on Ireland to the Dublin YMCA, newspaper boys appeared at the door of the Metropolitan Hall to peddle a tract titled "Florence Boyle Price: A warning" and signed "Speranza." Speranza told the story of her friend Florence whom Dr. Quilp had tried to violate under chloroform while cauterizing a neck scar in his office. She had passed out and later awakened in a room reeking of chloroform to find Dr. Quilp on his knees, declaring his passion. Stunned and ashamed, Miss Price fled home with Speranza. Speranza described Dr. Quilp as a vulgar, coarse, and ugly brute. Quilp had later written to Miss Price to apologize and beg forgiveness and the generous young woman had returned to his office. There were more visits to the contrite doctor who offered various gifts. including "corrupting" books. Miss Price had sent several letters to Mrs. Quilp, but her husband had intercepted them. He also prevented her from seeing his wife and spread rumors that Florence Price was mad. The pamphlet included extracts of letters from Dr. Quilp to his victim. Speranza had written the tract with the hope (la speranza, in Italian) that other young women would be spared her friend's fate. "Speranza," of course, was the wellknown pen name of Mrs. Wilde. Over the following days the Dublin papers received anonymous letters drawing attention to the pamphlet and taunting "the new knight" and his "poetess wife." Copies of the leaflet were also sent to the Wildes, their friends, and even to some of the professor's patients.

In May 1864 while Lady Jane was vacationing with her children in Bray, newspaper boys tried to sell copies of the pamphlet to her servants. Mrs. Wilde, of course,



Fig. 5. Professor Wilde

knew the name of the tract's author. Mary Josephine Travers was a pretty, cultured 29-year-old spinster with literary ambitions. She lived with her father, Dr. Robert Travers, an insignificant and "woollyminded"5 professor of medical jurisprudence at Trinity College. He was separated from his mentally deranged wife. On May 6, 1864, an irate Lady Jane wrote an angry letter to Professor Travers, denying her husband's misconduct and accusing his daughter of harassment and blackmail. Dr. Travers ignored the letter but his daughter found it in his papers a few weeks later and promptly sued Lady Jane for libel for impugning her character and chastity and asking £2,000 in damages. Dr. Wilde was ioined as co-defendant.

The scandal drew enormous attention in Dublin and in Great Britain and was widely discussed in the lay23 and medical24 ²⁶ press. The trial was held at the Dublin Court of Common Pleas and ran from December 12 through 17, 1864. Because of its importance it was presided by Chief Justice Monahan and held before a special jury. Each party retained Dublin's best legal talent: Sullivan and Sidney for Lady Jane, **Armstrong and Butt for Miss Travers. Isaac** Butt, a failed politician, was rumored to have been Jane Elgee's lover before her marriage. The court was packed each day with a large crowd anxious for titillating revelations.

Justice Monahan reminded the jurors that the case was a civil action for libel, not a criminal case of rape. The defense, claiming that a private, privileged letter was not a libel, unsuccessfully tried to have the case dismissed. Armstrong, Miss Travers' main counsel in a windy, fatuous introduction confessed his chagrin at being drawn into a sordid story about a young maid's purity and because of the case's scabrous details advised the ladies to leave the courtroom.

None, of course, did. Quoting the Bible and Shakespeare he told his version of the victim's sad tale. In 1854 Miss Travers, a pretty 19-year-old, had been referred to Dr. Wilde by Professor Coles for deafness. Dr. Wilde cured her, refused his fees and a platonic friendship developed, with exchanges of letters and gifts, invitations to his house and various events in and out of Dublin and loans of money that Miss Travers had always repaid. She continued to visit his office to have a neck scar, the result of a childhood burn, cauterized. In 1861 Dr. Wilde also treated her for a plantar wart.

Armstrong then put Miss Travers on the stand. Under his guidance she insisted that she had always repaid Dr. Wilde's loans, including £40 to buy her passage to Australia to join her two brothers. She missed the steamer and returned to Dublin. Dr. Wilde had once tried to embrace her while examining her but she had repulsed him. She continued to see him after he had apologized. Armstrong then led her to the infamous evening of October 14, 1862. While his patient was kneeling before him to let him examine her scar, Dr. Wilde had tried to fondle her and when she fought him off he pressed a handkerchief soaked with chloroform to her face. She passed out for 10 to 15 minutes and when she woke up, a frantic, incoherent and apologetic Wilde took her to an upstairs bedroom and forced her to drink some wine. Dazed and confused she had fled home. She kept equivocating about what had happened while she was unconscious until an exasperated Justice Monahan bluntly asked her whether she had been violated. After much hesitation she mumbled "yes."

However, she continued to see Dr. Wilde. He occasionally had tried to fondle her but she had always resisted him. Once, ashamed of herself, she had swallowed some laudanum in his office, forcing a terrified Wilde to take her to a neighborhood pharmacy to drink an emetic. Even under her counsel's gentle and friendly questioning, she gave confused answers and frequently contradicted herself.

Sullivan, Lady Jane's counsel, then took over the cross-examination. He was brutal and relentless. Ignoring his witness's theatricals and neurotic sobbing he forced her to admit that she was unsure of the date of the incident and that she had invented the chloroform incident to dramatize her plea. She now claimed to have passed out when Dr. Wilde choked her with the strings of her bonnet and her scarf. After initial denials, she conceded that she had mentioned chloroform in her pamphlet. She could not

Wilde... Continued from Page 5

explain why she had not reported the assault to her father or why she continued to visit Dr. Wilde and ask him for money over the next two years, despite his occasional improprieties. Sullivan also introduced several of her letters to Wilde, one of them even suggesting that she may have borne him a son. The savage cross-examination exposed her as a nasty and vindictive liar and perjurer and destroyed her story and her character. Her neurotic behavior on the stand suggested a serious mental derangement. By the end of her deposition she had lost the sympathy of the jury and of the audience.

Lady Jane then took the stand, widely applauded by the Irish spectators. She was rudely examined by the ungracious Butt but stood her grounds and denied her husband's affair with Miss Travers. She had initially ignored the woman's accusations as "being above those sordid details" but had finally decided to end her importune visits, her incessant requests for money and her threats of blackmail. Dr. Wilde did not testify. This, Butt smugly declared, along with his wife's indifference to the accusations, clearly proved his guilt.

The day after Lady Jane's deposition, Justice Monahan announced that he had received a long, rambling anonymous letter affirming Dr. Wilde's guilt. The defense team had received 20 similar missives during the trial. No one in the court doubted who had written those insane letters.

On Monday, December 17, 1864, Justice Monahan gave a two-hour speech summarizing the case and instructing the jury. He felt that the story of an unreported rape under chloroform in a busy physician's office was implausible and would have been rejected, had this been a criminal case. The jurors, however, had only to decide whether Lady Jane's letter was libelous and, if it was, the amount of damage.

In less than one hour, with a brief interruption to request more coal for their icy room, the jurors returned a verdict of "guilty" against Lady Jane and awarded Miss Travers the derisory sum of one farthing (a mythical ¼ penny) thus expressing their contempt for the accuser. Dr. Wilde, as co-defendant, was charged the costs of the trial, £2,000, an enormous sum he could ill afford at that time.

The judgment vindicated Professor Wilde. The British press²³ and the medical journals²⁴⁻²⁶ stood with Dr. Wilde and his "gallant wife" and saw them as victims of a crazed perjurer. There was one exception: Arthur Jacobs, Wilde's old nemesis,

attacked him in an editorial of his journal, the *Dublin Medical Press*,²⁴ to the indignation of Dublin's medical community. The popular Dublin newspaper, *Saunders News* also vigorously defended the Wildes, implying Miss Travers was a blackmailer and a perjurer. She sued the editor in 1865 but lost her case.²⁷

Trial's Aftermath

The trial sapped Professor Wilde's academic and scientific enthusiasm. He continued to see large numbers of patients, perhaps out of financial necessity. He had become irascible and rude with them, unlike his son and associate Henry Wilson, a kind and gentle physician and a brilliant oculist.

The trial also dimmed Wilde's political zeal for Irish independence but not his passion for Ireland. Taking long vacations to his lodges, he continued to write extensively on his beloved country. In 1867 he published *Lough Corib*²¹ which is regarded as his masterpiece and earned him the famous Cunningham Gold Medal of the Royal Irish Academy a few years later.

The academic successes of their sons Willie and Oscar at Trinity College delighted the Wildes but there were also great tragedies. In 1867 their adored ten-year-old Isola died from an occult fever; and in November 1871 Dr. Wilde's two natural daughters, Emily and Mary, then in their early twenties, died from horrible burns a few days after their crinolines caught fire at a Halloween party.

Crippled by asthma, emphysema and gout, Dr. Wilde became an invalid in late

He died on April 19, 1876, of what the editor of the British Medical Journal²⁸ called "general breakdown of the system" but probably was heart failure caused by lung disease. He was 61. On April 22, 1876, after a stately funeral service led by his elder brother, the Reverend John Wilde, and attended by a large crowd of friends, colleagues, artists, members of the Royal Irish Academy and the mysterious veiled woman, Dr. Wilde was buried at the Mount Jerome Cemetery of Dublin. (Figure 6)28-29 The deceased left large debts and a heavily mortgaged estate. Less than £6000 remained for Speranza and her sons after Henry Wilson sold the properties, including the Merrion Square mansion.

Wilson continued to practice until June 1877 when he died of pneumonia at 39. A bachelor, he left his fortune to St. Mark Hospital. Speranza left Dublin in 1879 to join her two sons in London. She continued to entertain a Bohemian crowd and to write to earn a few much needed pounds. Lonesome, in poor health and unpublished in her last years, she died of pneumonia in February 1896. She had survived her husband by 22 years. Her son Oscar, then jailed in Reading, was refused permission to visit her. Little is known of Mary Josephine Travers after the trial. She died March 19, 1919, in Kingston College, a poorhouse in Mitchellstown, Cook County. She was 83.27

Some Afterthought

Like many trials, "Travers vs. Wilde" failed to uncover the truth. Justice Monahan was probably right when he told the jury that the rape story was hardly cred-

> ible but that there may have been "a long history of guilty intimacy," a fact supported by Dr. Wilde's refusal to testify.

> A ten-year relationship between a known philanderer and a pretty young woman who accepted his gifts, money and invitations to travel out of Dublin must have been more than platonic. Wilde probably got tired of an aging, greedy and neurotic mistress and tried to discard her, even buying her a passage to Australia. His tolerant

and broad-minded wife may have initially accepted the romance but may have later grown tired of Travers' unwelcome visits, requests for money and threats of blackmail. Several ugly rows between both



Fig. 6. Dr. Wilde's gravestone, Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin, Ireland

1875. He spent the first three weeks of April 1876 bed-ridden at Merrion Square nursed by the devoted Speranza and occasionally visited by a silent, veiled woman, probably the mother of one of his natural children.

women had taken place between the two women. The jilted mistress may have then decided to publicly humiliate the Wildes.

Though the medical journals, 25-26 except one²⁴ denied Wilde's affair and unprofessional conduct, his liaison was believed and well accepted by Dublin society, inured to the extra-marital affairs of the previous Regency era.^{1,5} The tolerant Jane Wilde had long accepted her husband's philandering. She herself was rumored to have had an affair with, and even a child from, Isaac Butt, lawyer and erratic leader of the Irish Home Rule party. Since Miss Travers was forced to recant her chloroform story, the court did not have to decide whether rape could be committed under chloroform, a matter still much debated in the medical and legal literature of the time.24-26

One may wonder how a physician with an immense practice and multiple academic pursuits still found the time and energy for so many amorous adventures. His colleagues described Wilde as a "restless, tireless man in constant motion." Except for his fascinating conversation and wit, he lacked the seducer's attributes. Jealous Dubliners described him as vain. domineering, short and ugly, with "a simian appearance and walk," bulging eyes, receding chin and pouting lips. He was unkempt and unshorn, and G.B. Shaw described him as "beyond soap and water," "as if he had just rolled in the dust."5 (Figure 4) Some of his photographs, however, show a neatly dressed, elegant, and dignified professional. (Figure 1) All his acquaintances agree that he was a man of enormous intelligence, knowledge and talent. He also was warm and loving, doting on his eccentric wife and his children, immensely generous to his friends and patients. Both Wildes were, to quote one of their biographers4 "mad with much heart."

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For further information, contact: Librarian, Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, or call (847) 825-5586. Visit our Website at www.ASAhq.org/wlm/ fellowship.html.

Complete proposals must be received before January 31, 2006, for consideration.

The Wood Library-Museum serves the membership of ASA and the anesthesiology community.

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Report on the Sixth International Symposium on the History of Anaesthesia

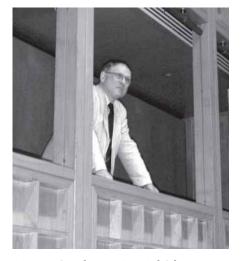
by Selma Harrison Calmes, M.D.

English weather was at its very best for the Sixth International Symposium on the History of Anaesthesia (ISHA) held in lovely Cambridge, UK, September 14 to 18, 2005. About 200 attendees from many countries and their families enjoyed beautiful warm, sunny days, and only one day of rain. Sponsors of the meeting were the History of Anaesthesia Society (HAS), led by President Dr. Peter Morris, and the Department of Anaesthesia, West Suffolk Hospital, represented by Dr. Neil Adams. English and American attendees dominated, but there were delegates from Canada, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Slovenia, Sweden, Czech Republic, Syria, Egypt and Australia. Senior anesthetists such as Drs. Lucien Morris (US), Carlos Parsloe (Brazil), Tom Boulton (UK) and Sir Keith Sykes (UK) added their prestige-and their memories of anesthesia history. Organizers of previous ISHAs also were present, including Joseph Rupreht (Netherlands, he started the ISHAs!), Tom Boulton (UK, organized the 2nd ISHA), Michael Goerig (Germany, 4th ISHA) and Carlos Diz (Spain, 5th ISHA).

Most stayed at the meeting site, Queens' College on the River Cam. This location gave good meeting facilities in an ancient setting. Queens' College (founded by two English queens) dates to 1448 and is one of the 31 colleges that make up Cambridge University. Although the area we met in and stayed in is comparatively new (1972-1981), we also enjoyed the older parts of Queens' College, such as the stunningly beautiful Old Hall (dates to before 1548, restored in 1961), where the Welcome Reception was held. We often passed through the Old Court, which is singled out as the



Drs. Carlos Diz, Joseph Rupreht, and Michael Goerig. All three have hosted ISHAs.



Meeting Coordinator, Dr. Neil Adams surveys the start of the meeting

most picturesque college court in Cambridge. Completed in 1449, this area is a perfect illustration of the College plan, with all essential features (chapel, library, hall, kitchens and living accommodation) around a single court. An ancient sundial, which also serves as a "moondial" (dates from 1733), rules over this court. (A real clock is nearby to assist those who can't figure out the formidable sundial/ moondial.) An arched passageway led from Old Court

into the Cloister Court, whose north side is the only half-timbered building in Cambridge. The east corner of Cloister Court

has the tower in which the noted scholar Erasmus of Rotterdam lodged from 1511-1514. (Erasmus was the logo for the first ISHA, so perhaps his ghost was looking over us as we came and went through Cloister Court.)

Cambridge is a bustling tourist town, as well as an academic center with a distinctly medieval aura. It is also a town full of music. On trips into town, beautiful choral music could be heard coming out of the various colleges' chapels. Surprisingly, the first choral music we heard was American spirituals, which seemed out of place in a medieval city! It turns out American spirituals are currently very popular with the students. Announcements of various concerts were posted on most fences, confirming the impression that this is a town full of music. Beautiful gardens are also common in the colleges, and there was even a herd of cows grazing across the river from the very majestic King's College Chapel. There were also many pubs to enjoy. "The Eagle" pub is especially important because this was where Watson and Crick made the announcement of the discovery of DNA in 1953. (The pub was the site for the announcement because this is where the two



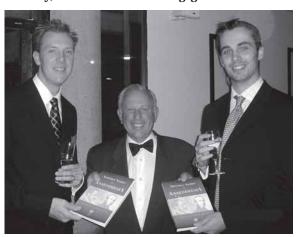
Attending SISHA with Dr. and Mrs. Rod Westhorpe

scientists spent most of their time, instead of their nearby lab.) "The Eagle" was also the pub for American and British aviators stationed nearby during World War II. They left graffiti on the ceiling of their room; this is still preserved.

Invited speakers and their topics included, in order of appearance:

1. David Wilkinson (St Bartholomew's Hospital, London), who gave the "Blessed Chloroform Lecture." Title was "To see oursel's as others see us!" This reviewed how others see the specialty of anesthesiology and had a powerful message.

- 2. Rodney Westhorpe (Melbourne, Australia): "Dr. Geoffrey Kaye, a man of many parts."
- 3. Roger Maltby (Calgary, Canada): "Some notable names in Anesthesia."
- 4. Marten van Wijhe (Delden, The Netherlands): "Pain and Culture through time."
- 5. Andrew Cunningham (Department of History and Philosophy of Science, Cambridge University): "Death in Venice: Morgagni



Drs. Jason McKeown and Hugh Smith receive copies of Dr. Roger Maltby's book.

and pathology in Enlightenment Italy."

6. Douglas Bacon (Rochester, Minnesota): "The ASA at 100: Reflections on the history of anesthesiology's oldest surviving organization."



UCSF resident, Dr. Matthew Mazurek delivers his third place Bullough Prize paper.

- and reflections on the discovery of halothane."
- 8. David Lai (Tacoma, Washington): "Pentothal postcards: Anaesthesia advertising from Abbott Labs."

Three rooms of free papers were needed for the many individual submissions. This was an enthusiastic group of presenters, some people giving three, or even five, papers. A very wide range of topics was covered. Residents participated by competing for the Bullough Prize, donated by the

wife of Dr. John Bullough after his death. The purpose of the £1,000 prize is to stimulate interest in the history of anesthesia at the resident level. The three finalists read their papers during an afternoon session, and judges determined the winner. Results were announced at the final banquet. First prize went to Jason McKeown at the University of Alabama at Birmingham for his paper, "Koller and Halstead at the University of Vienna in the 1870s." Second prize went to Hugh M. Smith, M.D., Ph.D., from the Mayo Clinic for his paper, "Post-Operative Nau-

sea and Vomiting and the Rise of Anaesthesia as a Surgical Specialty 1846-1946." Third prize was to Matthew J. Mazurek, M.D., from the University of California at San Francisco for his paper, "Dr. Chauncey Leake and the Development of Divinyl Oxide from Bench to Bedside."

Exhibits of historic equipment were available during the meeting from the museum of the Association of Anesthetists



Dr. Neil Adams and Dr. Doug Bacon lead off the Bullough Prize competition

7. Colin Suckling, Strathclyde, UK): of Great "Inventor and Son: Recollections Library

of Great Britain and Ireland, the Wood Library-Museum and the Museum on the



Robert Jones and Jeanette Thirwell Jones

History of Anaesthesia at the University of Bonn, Germany.

Social events included a celebration of the ASA's 100th anniversary. For this we visited some of the nearby sites in which America was involved during World War II. First, we traveled by bus to nearby Madingley to the Cambridge American Cemetery and Memorial, which is the only WW II American cemetery in the British Isles. This 30.5-acre cemetery was built in 1944 on land donated by Cambridge University. It now contains the graves of 3,812 American aviators who were killed in WW II (many more were moved back to the U.S., at their families' requests, when this option became available in 1947). A very long, graniteWall of the Missing contains 5,126 names. The Memorial contains a devotional chapel and an impressive map, "The Mastery of the Atlantic-The Great Air Assault," documenting the WW II situation in the Atlantic. (You can read more about this cemetery at www.abmc.gov/ca.)

We then went on to the American Air Museum in Britain, part of The Imperial War Museum's aviation branch in Duxford. Duxford was originally a British airfield but was donated to the U.S. in April 1943. It was the base for the U.S.'s 8th Air Force during WW II; the essential bombing raids to destroy German manufacturing flew out of Duxford. Built with American donations as a memorial to the 30,000 American airmen killed during WW II, it opened about 1996. The building is considered an outstanding example of contemporary British architecture and has won architectural prizes. Its goal is to collect WW II aircraft and display them. (Learn more about Duxford and the American Air Museum at duxford.iwm.org.uk.) Surrounded by warplanes hanging from the ceiling as if in flight, including a C-47

Continued on Page 10

SISHA... Continued from Page 9

wearing black and white invasion stripes (to help avoid collisions) like her father would have been in, AHA co-founder Selma Calmes gave a brief presentation about her father's time in England preparing for D-Day with the 82nd Airborne, one of three airborne units that parachuted into Normandy in the early hours of D-Day. She also showed the letters he wrote about his adventures on D-Day, as well as items showing English life during the difficult years of WW II. The American celebration ended with an American-style dinner back at Queens' College.

From the British side, the HAS released a new publication on Henry Hill Hickman, who advocated using inhaled gases to relieve the pain of surgery starting about 1823. This book is based on material collected by W.D.A. (Denis) Smith (d. 2000). A team of editors (Adrian Padfield, Edward Armitage, Frank Bennetts and Peter Drury) effectively cut the voluminous amount of material into a most attractive, neat story of Hickman's life. They also arranged to distribute at the meeting the most recent volume in the Wood Library's Careers series, on three notable British anesthetists (Ivan Magill, Robert Macintosh and Geoffrey Organe).

Tours included a trip to Ely (named for the eels who lived in the nearby, historic swamp lands), its 12th century cathedral, and the Fenlands. The Fenlands were previously a massive swamp that was finally able to be drained by Dutch engineers between 1600-1700 and is now pleasant farmland. A walking tour, "From leeches to DNA," visited some of the notable medical spots in Cambridge. King Henry VIII founded the first Royal Chair of Medicine here in 1540. William Harvey discovered circulation of the blood in 1628, Stephen Hales first measured blood pressure in 1733 and Crick and Watson working in the Cavendish Lab announced the structure of DNA in1953.

The Sixth ISHA led to particularly close mixing, in my opinion. Eating to-





Dr. Neil Adams' family assisting with registration

gether in the College dining hall led to many more opportunities to meet new friends. And, the late opening of the bar each night again led to a lot of friendships! The HAS, under Neil Adams' leadership, did a wonderful job of organizing and dealing with the inevitable small problems. Neil's family, by the way, deserves special thanks for all their hard work. His wife, daughter and son were on-site for the entire meeting and were great help, as well as being wonderful people. Neil's Department of Anaesthesia colleagues at West Suffolk Hospital did a yeoman's job of getting people to their rooms and with many other duties. The English spirit of fun was also very evident, especially the two antique cars that drove out to the American Air Museum. Many thanks go to the meeting sponsors for their hard work putting together this successful meeting. The Venue Committee met during this ISHA and decided the next meeting will be held in Crete, Greece, in 2009. ISHAs LIVE on!



Dr. Torsten Gordh, Dr. Selma Harrison Calmes, and Robert Woodhams at the last, formal banquet.



Tea break withDr. Roger Maltby and Dr. Margaret Murphy in foreground

Tea time with Dr. Jean Horton, Dr. Aileen Adams, and Dr. Doris K. Cope

Photographs courtesy of Dr. Selma Harrison Calmes and Dr. Adolph Giesecke.

America Sweeps the Bullough Prize! Jason McKeown, M.D., Returns from Cambridge, England, a Winner!

by A.J. Wright, M.L.S. Associate Professor and Clinical Librarian Department of Anesthesiology University of Alabama at Birmingham

The International Symposium on the History of Anaesthesia is held every four years, and the sixth ISHA was held in Cambridge, England, September 14-18. A prominent part of this meeting was a competition for the John Bullough Prize. Anyone in training as an anesthesia resident or fellow on December 31, 2004, could submit an essay for this competition. Authors of the five best papers were invited to Cambridge to present their work before an international panel of judges, who selected the winners at that time.

The first place winner in this contest, who received a check for £1,000, was Jason McKeown, M.D., for his paper, "Koller and Halsted at the University of Vienna in the 1870s." This essay will be published in the conference proceedings. Second and third place finishers, Hugh Smith, M.D., Ph.D., and Matthew Mazurek, M.D., were from the Mayo Clinic and UCSF respectively. Dr. McKeown has also presented this research at the 2004 American Society of Anesthesiologists annual meeting in Las Vegas and at the annual spring meeting of the Anesthesia History Association held here in Birmingham this past April. An

abstract of the paper can be found at www.anes.uab.edu/aneshist/AHA2005 McKeown.doc.

During their three-year training, all anesthesia residents in the U.S. must complete an academic research project in laboratory, clinical or historical research. Dr. McKeown chose a history topic and his work on the project included research in Vienna, Austria. The project was financially supported in part by The American Austrian Foundation which awarded him an Andlinger Fellowship for his research. During his stay in Vienna Dr. McKeown also worked in anesthesia at the Lorenz Boehler Trauma Hospital under Professor Walter Mauritz.

Dr. McKeown completed his anesthesia residency and pain fellowship in the UAB Department of Anesthesiology and joined the faculty as an Assistant Professor in July, 2005. He will also be participating as a faculty member in the department's Section on the History of Anesthesia, created in 2001 and the first such academic unit in the world. More information about the Section can be found at www.anes.uab.edu/hoasection.htm.

2005 Little Prize Award from the AHA

by A.J. Wright, M.L.S. Associate Professor and Clinical Librarian Department of Anesthesiology University of Alabama at Birmingham

Each year the Anesthesia History Association awards the David M. Little Prize for the best work of anesthesia history published the previous year in English. The prize is named after Dr. David M. Little, longtime Chair of Anesthesia at Hartford Hospital in Connecticut. Dr. Little, who died in 1981, also wrote for many years the "Classical File" series of history columns for Survey of Anesthesiology. The 2005 Little Prize Committee consisted of Mark G. Mandabach, M.D., Chair, and Ray J. Defalque, M.D., and A.J. Wright, M.L.S.

Little Prize Winner 2005

Lucien E. Morris, Mark E. Schroeder, Mark E. Warner, eds. A Celebration of 75 Years Honoring Ralph Milton Waters, M.D., Mentor to a Profession. Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, 2004 [Proceedings of the Ralph M. Waters Symposium on Professionalism in Anesthesiology, Madison, Wisconsin, June 2002]

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A listing of all winners since 1998 can be found at www.anes.uab.edu/aneshist/littleprize.htm.

From the Literature

by A.J. Wright, M.L.S. Associate Professor and Clinical Librarian Department of Anesthesiology University of Alabama at Birmingham

Note: I have examined most of the items listed in this column. Books can be listed in this column more than once as new reviews appear. Older articles are included as I work through a large backlog of materials. Some listings are not directly related to anesthesia, pain or critical care; I interpret those categories very broadly. Some will concern individuals important in the history of the specialty [i.e., Harvey Cushing or William Halsted] who also achieved in other areas or widely-used equipment such as the stethoscope. I also include career profiles of living individuals. Non-English materials are so indicated. Columns for the past several years are available as "Recent Articles on Anesthesia History" in the "Anesthesia History Files" at www.anes.uab.edu/aneshist/ aneshist.htm. I urge readers to send me any citations, especially those not in English, that I may otherwise miss!

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OF

ANESTHESIOLOGY

Careers in Anesthesiology IX
Three Pioneer British
Anaesthetists

Donald Caton, M.D. Kathryn E. McGoldrick, M.D., Editors John S. M. Zorab, Guest Editor

Sir Ivan Whiteside Magill Anthony Edridge

Sir Robert Reynolds Macintosh Keith Sykes

> Sir Geoffrey Organe Stanley Feldman

CAREERS IX features three pioneer British knights who helped to shape 20th century anesthesiology in the U.K. The story of selftrained Sir Ivan Magill illustrates clinical expertise acquired out of surgical necessity. His professionalism is expressed in a deft but unhurried manner, displaying a quiet confidence. Sir Robert Macintosh's story provides inspirational reading and touches upon his study of anesthetic mortality, which encountered enormous obstacles at the time but that can now be seen as a precursor to patient safety initiatives seen in the mid-1980s. Sir Geoffrey Organe was a key founding member of the WFSA, which he used to implement his lofty goals of establishing standards of anesthesia care and education in the developing world. Interspersed in these stories are fascinating accounts of self-experimentation — often to the detriment of the researchers — as they passionately endeavored to establish anesthesiology during and after World War II. This volume certainly adds to the rich tapestry of stories in the CAREERS se-

Careers in Anesthesiology, Volume IX. Park Ridge, IL: WLM, 2005. \$30 ISBN 1-889595-09-8.

Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology

520 N. Northwest Highway Park Ridge, IL 60068-2573 (847) 825-5586 www.ASAhq.org/wlm

This Month in Anesthesia History*

1632 October 20: Christopher Wren is born in London. Around 1660 the English architect and astronomer began to experiment with the transfusion of blood between animals and intravenous injections into animals. An account of his work was published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London in 1665. Wren, the greatest English architect of his time who designed many of London's cathedrals, died in that city in February, 1723. A much earlier attempt at blood transfusion was described by Stefano Infessura [ca. 1435-1500], an anti-papist lawyer in Rome. According to Infessura's Diary of the City of Rome, when Pope Innocent VIII was on his deathbed, a Jewish physician suggested infusing blood from three ten year-old boys into the pontiff's veins. All three donors died and Innocent himself died on July 25, 1492. The Catholic Encyclopedia warns that Infessura's work is full of gossip and not to be trusted.

1708 October 16: Swiss scientist and writer Albrecht von Haller, father of experimental physiology, is born. He graduated from medical school in Leiden at age 19 and returned to Bern where he lectured on anatomy and wrote poetry. His research on the irritability or contractility of muscle tissue was published in 1732 as A Dissertation on the Sensible and Irritable Parts of Animals. In 1736 he was appointed professor of anatomy at the University of Gottingen's medical school, where he spent 17 years. In 1753 he returned again to Bern, where he died in 1777. Haller published numerous other works, including bibliographies on anatomy, surgery, botany and medicine and a very popular collection of poems. A brief review of his life is available here.

1760 October 23: Japanese physician Hanaoka Seishu is born in Hirayama. In October 1805 Seishu performs an operation for breast cancer using "tsusensan" as an anesthetic. The research behind this event is portrayed in Sawako Ariyoshi's novel The Doctor's Wife. Seishu died on October 2, 1835.

1772 October 21: English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge is born. In 1799 Coleridge participated in the nitrous oxide experiments being conducted by Dr. Thomas Beddoes and his research assistant Humphry Davy at the Pneumatic Institute in Clifton, just outside Bristol.

Coleridge and other luminaries involved left written accounts published in Davy's great work on nitrous oxide which appeared in the summer of 1800. The enthusiasm for "laughing gas" inhalation by Coleridge, Davy, and fellow poet Robert Southey is depicted in the recent British film Pandaemonium.

1805 October 13: Japanese physician Hanaoka Seishu [1760-1835] performs an operation for breast cancer using "tsusensan" as an oral general anesthetic on a patient named Kan Aiya. The research behind this event is portrayed in Sawako Ariyoshi's novel The Doctor's Wife. [See also Ogata T. Seishu Hanaoka and his anaesthesiology and surgery. Anaesthesia 28:645-652, 1973] Seishu left case records of more than 150 breast cancer patients.

1815 October 31: Humphry Davy patents the miner's safety lamp for use in coal mining. In addition to his classic work with nitrous oxide in 1799 and 1800, Davy isolated the metals potassium, sodium, barium, calcium, and magnesium. He also conducted early electric lighting experiments.

1835 October 2: Japanese physician Hanaoka Seishu dies. See entries above for 13 October 1805 and 23 October 1760.

1846 October 16: On this Friday morning, Boston dentist William Thomas Green Morton appeared in the operating theater of the Massachusetts General Hospital. Morton was running late, but surgeon John Collins Warren had not yet started the removal of a tumor from Gilbert Abbot's jaw. For about three minutes Abbot breathed ether vapor from Morton's simple apparatus— which had been the source of his delay—and "sank into a state of insensibility," Warren noted later. The first public demonstration of ether anesthesia had begun and proved successful.

Abbot "did not experience pain at the time, although aware that the operation was proceeding," Warren wrote in his 1848 account of the event. The great surgeon is supposed to have declared, "Gentlemen, this is no humbug." The next day another MGH surgeon, George Hayward, removed a large tumor from a woman's arm while she was under the influence of the "Letheon," as Morton called it; for several weeks he did not reveal the nature of his anesthetic agent since he hoped to patent it. [Source: Keys TE. History of Surgical Anesthesia. Huntington, New York: Krieger, 1978, pp. 27-29]

1846 October 17: At the Massachusetts General Hospital surgeon George

Hayward removes a large tumor from the arm of a female patient anesthetized with ether. This operation is the second successful public demonstration of Morton's "Lethon."

1848 October 19: Samuel Guthrie, American chemist who discovered chloroform about the same time as Europeans Soubeiran and Justus Liebig, dies.

1849 October 7: American writer Edgar Allen Poe dies in Baltimore. Lesserknown among his works are three tales dealing with mesmerism, or what we now know as hypnotism. Mesmerism was developed in the late eighteenth-century by Viennese physician Franz Anton Mesmer [1734-1816] and for decades was associated with quackery. However, several physicians in the 1830s and 1840s in England and India used and promoted it as surgical pain relief until the introduction of ether by Morton. Poe's stories featuring mesmerism are "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains," "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar" and "Mesmerism Revelation." One recent history of mesmerism is Alison Winter's Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain [1998]. Poe was born January 19, 1809.

English author Pelham Grenville Wodehouse is born in Surrey. As P. G. Wodehouse he published 96 humorous novels and collections of stories before his death on February 14, 1975. Many of the novels feature the wealthy Bertie Wooster and his valet Jeeves. One of his other novels, Laughing Gas (1936) tells the story of the Earl of Havershot, who exchanges identities with a child movie star after inhaling nitrous oxide in a dentist's office. Since 1936 the novel has been reprinted numerous times, translated into Italian, Japanese and Spanish, and remains in print today.

1883 October 9: Ralph M. Waters is born. Dr. Waters' achievements during a long career at the University of Wisconsin make him the father of academic anesthesia in the United States. Dr. Waters died in 1979. For more information see Lucien E. Morris, Mark E. Schroeder, Mark E. Warner, eds. A Celebration of 75 Years Honoring Ralph Milton Waters, M.D., Mentor to a Profession. Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, 2004 [Proceedings of the Ralph M. Waters Symposium on Professionalism in Anesthesiology, Madison, WI, June 2002]

1888 October 17: American genius Thomas Alva Edison applies for his first patent for a device he calls a

^{*}For the full calendar, go to www.anes.uab.edu

"Kinetoscope"—what we now know as a motion picture camera. Edison claimed that it would "do for the eye what the phonograph does for the ear." Work on the device by Edison's collaborator William K.L. Dickson had begun soon after the move the previous year into a new laboratory at West Orange, New Jersey. A prototype with the earliest film strips was demonstrated in May, 1891, and Edison 's final patent filed in August of that year. Work on the Kinetoscope was completed in 1892. The following year Edison opened a motion picture studio and by 1894 was opening Kinetoscope viewing parlors in New York and other major cities. Competition from other companies led Edison into numerous legal battles, and by 1918 he had abandoned the motion picture business. However, one of his studio's early films, Dr. Colton, or Dentist Scene, has an important place in anesthesia history. This 1894 film was one of many "actualities" or short, non-fiction films made in the earliest period of motion pictures. A still from the film shows an elderly gentleman, apparently Gardner Quincy Colton, and others in either an actual or recreated dental procedure. If this is indeed Colton, who was born in 1814, he would have been 80 and the film made just four years before his death. In 1844 Colton had begun public nitrous oxide inhalation demonstrations in New England and toured the U.S. in subsequent years—he even came to Mobile . Alabama . in 1848! In 1863 he established the Colton Dental Association and began touring the U.S. and Europe to promote nitrous oxide anesthesia in dentistry. By 1894 Colton was perhaps the best known anesthetist in the world. And the brief film from Edison's studio is probably the first ever made of an anesthetic procedure.

1894 October 7: American author and physician Oliver Wendell Holmes dies. In addition to his many other achievements, Holmes suggested to William Morton just weeks after Morton's October 1846 public demonstration in Boston that the mental state produced by ether inhalation be called "anaesthesia." The word is derived from an ancient Greek term meaning lack or loss of sensation and had been in circulation in English for over a century when Holmes suggested it be applied to Morton's technique.

1902 October 25: American author Frank Norris dies. In his novel McTeague [1899], Norris tells the story of a San Francisco dentist. Early in the novel McTeague attacks one of his patients while she is under ether anesthesia.

1939 October 7: American neurosur-

geon and medical historian Harvey Cushing dies. In 1894 Cushing and fellow Massachusetts General Hospital "house pup" Ernst Amory Codman [1869-1940] developed the first anesthetic record.

1947 October 13: In Britain, two patients, Albert Woolley and Cecil Roe, receive spinal anesthesia from the same anaesthetist, Dr. James M. Graham, for relatively minor surgical procedures, and both developed permanent, painful, spastic paraparesis. The men sued Dr. Graham and the Ministry of Health; the case finally went to trial in October, 1953, and lasted eleven days. The plaintiffs lost primarily due to testimony of Sir Robert Macintosh of Oxford University. Despite the outcome, the use of spinal anesthesia in the United Kingdom was retarded for the next 25 years. Details of the case can be found in Morgan M. The Woolley and Roe case. Anaesthesia 1995;50:162-173.

1980 October: American Society of Post Anesthesia Nurses (ASPAN) is incorporated.

1990 October 21: Seven subspecialties admitted to the ASA House of Delegates.

1994 October 24: Twenty-cent U.S. stamp honoring Virginia Appar is released at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Pediatrics in Dallas, Texas.

2001 October 16: British medical historian Dr. Barbara M. Duncum dies. In 1947 Dr. Duncum published The Development of Inhalation Anaesthesia, which along with Thomas Keys' The History of Surgical Anesthesia is one of the major histories of the specialty. Her book was reprinted in 1994. Dr. Duncum was born February 22, 1910.

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Anesthesia History Association Eleventh Annual Resident Essay Contest

The Anesthesia History Association (AHA) sponsors an annual Resident Essay Contest with the prize presented at the ASA Annual Meeting.

Three typed copies of a 1,000-3,000 word essay written in English and related to the history of anesthesia, pain medicine or critical care should be submitted to:

William D. Hammonds, M.D., M.P.H.
Professor of Anesthesia and Director of Pain Outcomes Research
Department of Anesthesia
University of Iowa
200 Hawkins Drive, 6JCP
Iowa City, IA 53342-1079
U.S.A.

william-hammonds@uiowa.edu

The entrant must have written the essay either during his/her residency or within one year of completion of residency. Residents in any nation are eligible, but the essay MUST be submitted in English.

This award, which has a \$500.00 honorarium, will be presented at the AHA's annual dinner meeting to be held on October 16, 2006, in Chicago. This dinner is always held during the annual meeting of the American Society of Anesthesiologists. The second-place winner receives \$200.00 and the third-place winner receives \$100.00. The papers will be considered for publication in the Bulletin of Anesthesia History.

All entries must be received on or before September 1, 2006.

Bulletin of Anesthesia History Doris K. Cope, M.D., Editor 200 Delafield Road, Suite 2070 Pittsburgh, PA 15215 U.S.A.