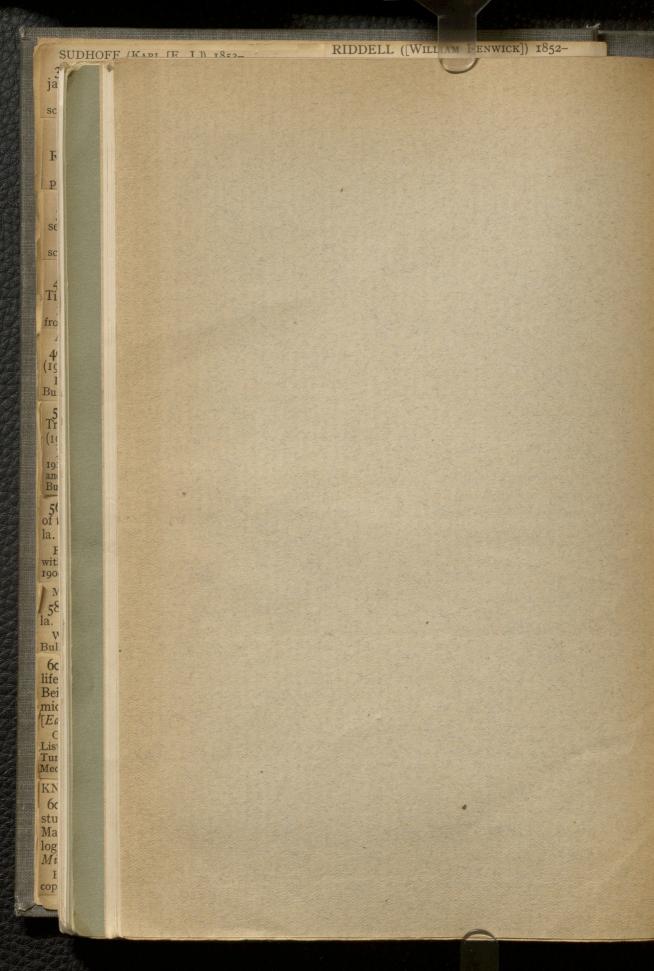
RICHARD BRIGHT'S TRAVELS IN LOWER HUNGARY: A PHYSICIAN'S HOLIDAY.

By FIELDING H. GARRISON, M. D., Assistant Librarian, Army Medical Library, Washington, D. C.



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RICHARD BRIGHT'S TRAVELS IN LOWER HUNGARY: A PHYSICIAN'S HOLIDAY.*

By FIELDING H. GARRISON, M. D., Assistant Librarian, Army Medical Library, Washington, D. C.

The travels of great physicians have seldom been anything [173] more than matters of casual record, and rarely has a professional man left a detailed account of his journeyings among strange lands and people. We have only a hint or so of Galen's wanderings or of the way in which Dioscorides worked up the data for the first treatise on materia medica while plying his avocations as an army surgeon. Aubrey affords a glimpse of Harvey in Germany, "making observations of strange trees and plants and sometimes like to be lost," and Harvey's own description of his visit to the Bass Rock stands apart as a remarkable bit of impressionistic writing, a sort of Whistlerian "arrangement in white," leaving, even for those who have never seen it, a definite presentment in the mind's eye of the gleaming chalk-white cliffs, coated with crumbled birds' eggs, the myriads of sea-birds and solan geese, whirling and screaming in the June sunlight around the huge rocky pile off the eastern coast of Scotland. In his memorial of Robert Graves, Stokes has left a fascinating account of his colleague's youthful adventures on the continent, his imprisonment as a German spy on account of his suspicious fluency in speaking the language, how he and Turner (the artist) knocked about together for months without asking each other's names, and how, during a storm in the Mediterranean, the high-spirited Graves successfully put down a mutiny on board ship, smashing the life-boat with an axe, overpowering the panic-stricken captain, assuming command over the crew, repairing the pumps with leather from his

* Paper read before the Johns Hopkins Hospital Historical Club, February 12, 1912.

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[173] own boots and successfully bringing the vessel safely into port through his competent seamanship. The Italian travels of John Bell have a special artistic interest; Sir William Wilde's books are eminently readable, and there is interesting matter in the collected letters of Sir Charles Bell, Helmholtz, Billroth and others, not to mention the scathing arraignment of the
[174] inconveniences and disagreements of Italian travel in the eighteenth century by William Sharpe, one of Bright's predecessors at Guy's Hospital.

But on the whole, it is perhaps not too much to say that Richard Bright's account of his journey from Vienna through Lower Hungary is the most important book of travels written by a physician, for his object in writing it was no less than to give, incidentally, a scientific account of the state of that kingdom at the time of the Peace Congress of 1814-15, just before the close of the Napoleonic wars. The acknowledged master in the special field in which Bright made essay is Sir Richard Burton, and, always excepting the "Pilgrimage" and the African travels, Bright's book, although of an earlier period, will compare favorably with any of Burton's in descriptive talent and scientific accuracy. Like Harvey or Sydenham or Jenner, Bright was the typical Saxon physician and his mind was of a cheerful cast. Humor he had, of the clear-eyed kind which sees things as they are and takes them as they come, but hardly the peculiar twist of phrase which marks the professional or non-professional humorist. There was in his composition not a trace of self-consciousness or whimsicality, nothing of the Celtic habit of saying something funny for its own sake or of that eminently Scotch trait of drawing out other people's peculiarities for private amusement or future reference which Joanna Baillie noted in William Hunter, and which made even his old teacher Smellie somewhat afraid of him.

Few men have entered the medical profession with such a thorough scientific equipment as did young Richard Bright. The son of a Bristol banker, his early years were exempt from struggle and it is not the least interesting trait of his honorable youth that he must have spent it in some hard and exacting study and work. When Sir George Mackenzie visited Iceland in 1810 he asked Bright, then a medical student of twentyone at Edinburgh, and Dr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Holland [174] to accompany him as experts, "knowing them to be young men of very superior talents and acquirements, in a high degree pleasing in their manners and promising me the hope of numbering them (as I now have the happiness of doing) among my friends." In the volume of travels which resulted from this trip, we find Bright contributing the chapters on the zoology and botany of Iceland, while Holland deals with its literature and institutions and the diseases of its inhabitants. This book is a large quarto volume of the keepsake order, handsome in typography and illustration, published by Constable of Edinburgh, who afterwards printed Bright's Hungarian travels in the same sumptuous style. The author constantly refers to Bright as an ideally cheerful companion who put up with all the hardships and mishaps of the trip with good humor and equanimity. One little contretemps is amusing enough to note in passing. While stopping as guests of Count Trampe, the former governor, the travellers were waited upon at the table by the governor's niece and "an elderly female who had appeared at the same time" and who turned out to be his sisterin-law. "We sent some triffing present to these ladies; and on this account, as soon as we entered the house, it became necessary to submit to the customary salute denoting the gratitude of those who receive presents. On many occasions we could well have dispensed with the ceremony; and our talents were often exercised in contriving means of evasion or escape." More than once, throughout this Icelandic itinerary, we have the diverting spectacle of three able-bodied, hard-headed young men at infinite pains to dodge the country schoolboy's nightmare of being "honey-fugled with a righteous kiss."

In the year 1841 Dr. Bright, then a young man of twentyfive, sometime an interne at Guy's and a recent graduate from Edinburgh, took a long vacation tour on the continent, incidentally attending lectures and clinics at Berlin and Vienna. In the winter of 1814-15 we find him back in London again, studying skin diseases at Bateman's clinics, a subject in which he and Addison always had a keen interest. In March and April, 1815 he made his two journeys into Hungary, returning home through Belgium, shortly after the battle of Waterloo,

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[174] where he saw many interesting cases. The result of his continental travels was a large quarto published by Constable in 1818, with interesting illustrations all the work of his own pencil, ten of them engraved by different hands, the rest clever wood-cuts. His narrative begins with two chapters descriptive of Vienna, whither he had come to see the Peace Congress then in session. He arrived there toward the end of November, and his first lodging was "a busy and dirty inn in the commercial part of the city, which was much frequented by Greeks, Armenians and Eastern merchants." His apartment he describes as "large and desolate, without a carpet, but provided with an earthen stove in one corner, and a little wooden bedstead in the other. Such are the miserable accommodations in most of the inns at Vienna." He immediately set forth on a tour of investigation, finding the narrow streets, on a level with the carriage ways, so risky of access that "the foot passenger has no safety but in the judgment of the charioteer, who frequently risks an encounter with your feet, rather than with the wheels of a passing carriage. The coachmen, however, give some warning of their approach, by a species of unintelligible roar, a little in accent like the language in which a Lancashire carter converses with his team; but not less peremptory than the rapid 'by your leave' of a Bath chairman." Returning at an early hour he goes on, "I retired to the box, for it deserves no better name, which was destined to receive my weary limbs." Next morning he was awakened by a succession of visitors, characteristic of the Vienna of those days, a chiropodist, barber, female tooth-brush vender, and two turbaned sellers of meerschaum pipes; having disposed of these, he settled down to a breakfast " consisting, as is usual in Germany, of a jug of hot scalded milk and another of coffee." It is Sunday, a day of festivity as well as of piety in Vienna, and he is advised to go to the *Redoute* in order to see the exalted personages of the congress. Entering the Hofburg he finds himself in a brilliantly lighted salon of splendid dimensions, and we are now in the full swing of his narrative.

Never was an assembly less ceremonious; every one wore his hat; many, till the room became heated, their great-coats; and no one pretended to appear in an evening dress, except a few Englishmen... Around the whole circumference of the room

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were four or five rows of benches, occupied, for the most part, [175] by well-dressed females; while the other parts presented a moving multitude, many of whom were in masks, or in dominos, and were busily engaged in talking and laughing, or dancing to the music of a powerful orchestra. My companion squeezed my arm, as we passed a thin figure with sallow shrunken features, of mild expression, with a neck stiff, bending a little forwards and walking badly. "That is our Emporor." I shook my head and smiled. ... "There, do you see that little man with white hair, a pale face, and aquiline nose? He was almost pushed down as he passed the corner. That is the King of Denmark." Again I shook my head in disbelief. "Here the Emperor of Russia approaches." I looked up, and found the information true. His fine, manly form, his round and smiling countenance, and his neat morning dress were not to be mistaken; they were the same which, some months before, I had seen enter the church at Harlem, to the thundering peals of the grand organ. I soon recognized the tall form, the solemn and grave features of the King of Prussia. . . "That was the Grand Duke of Baden," said my monitor, "whose toe you trod upon. . . . See, three women in masks have beset the King of Prussia; he seems not a little puzzled what he shall do with them. . . . " "Who is this young man next to us, marked with the small-pox, who is speaking broken English?" "It is the Crown Prince of Bavaria; he is said to be very fond of your nation. ... " After a little more pushing, for the room was now becoming very full, we encountered a fine, dark, military-looking man, not in uniform, of course, but with moustaches. This was Beauharnois, viceroy of Italy.

Returning home at a late hour in the morning Bright succeeded in changing his lodging and went on with his round of sightseeing. In the grand square in front of the Hofburg he heard the sentinels announce the approach of royalty by "a yell more hideous than ever issued from the mouth of a Cherokee Indian," set off by a flourish of rolling drums. At the Carrousel he saw the splendid tournaments "contrived to dissipate the ennui of royalty" by the nobility, which consisted in riding full tilt at dummy Turk's heads (a natural object of Viennese aversion) and sweeping them off, one after another, by successive saber-strokes. Of the gorgeous uniforms of the participants he observes that "they bore the appearance of being the substantial fruits rather than the honorable testimonials of victorious arms"; and he notes that the congress was, in general, disappointing, since its splendor was entirely that of the Austrian Court, with little display on

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[175] the part of the foreign visitors. He describes the Viennese picnics, tableaux, charades, dinner parties, the street scenes in Old Vienna, the crowds in the Prater, the religious ceremonials, the theaters and the innumerable court balls, concerning which one of the participants formulated an epigram which sounds like a premonition of the Old Guard at Waterloo: le congrès danse, mais il n'avance pas.

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During his stay in Vienna Bright paid a special visit to Schönbrunn, where Marie Louise was then living in seclusion; he was taken in to see her infant son, and this is his impression of *l'Aiglon*:

He was the sweetest child I ever beheld; his complexion light, with fine, white silky hair falling in curls upon his neck. He was dressed in the embroidered uniform of a hussar, and seemed to pay little attention to us as we entered, continuing to arrange the dishes in his little kitchen. I believe he was the least embarrassed of the party. He was rather too old to allow of loud praises of his beauty, and rather too young to enter into conversation. His appearance was so engaging, that I longed to take him into my arms, yet his situation forbade such familiarity. Under these circumstances, we contrived a few trifling questions, to which he gave such arch and bashful answers as we have all often received from children of his age, and, after a few minutes conversation with Madame Montesquieu, we withdrew.

At the time of Bright's visit the Old Vienna School-Van Swieten, Auenbrugger, Stoll, de Haen-had long since passed away, and the members of the New Vienna School-Semmelweis, Hyrtl, Hebra, Skoda, Rokitansky-were either unborn, in their infancy, or in their teens. The sole survivor of the Old Vienna School was Johann Peter Frank (1745-1821), who, at time of Bright's visit, was the leading medical man of Vienna and in our own time enjoys the distinction of being the first physician to emphasize the importance of diseases of the spinal cord, while his "Complete System of Medical Polity" (System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizei) is, if we except the thirteenth and fifteenth chapters of the Book of Leviticus, the true foundation of public hygiene. This remarkable work, which contains in theoretical solution all those hygienic problems which are words of ambition to-day, such as the medical inspection of schools, proper food and suitable benches for the school children, even the taxing of bachelors, was published as far back as 1777 by Schwann of Mann- [175] heim, the printer of Schiller's "Robbers." Its author, a rare and happy combination of French intelligence and German thoroughness, made his way up from obscurity to become one of the great figures of German medicine by his own unaided industry. As with Schiller, his early life was the scene of privation, struggle and parental harshness—

Der Sorge Wohnsitz die den blonden Knaben Früh lehrte. wie man duldet, kämpft, entbehrt—

but Bright gives us a pleasing glimpse of a kindly old gentleman at ease, and at peace with himself in the evening of his life, receiving the unknown English youth with consideration and urbanity. "He is a man of the most instructive and pleasing conversation, with great knowledge both of books and men, and is most universally respected. He is now above seventy years of age, is perfectly firm and upright, and, in all his faculties and dispositions, possesses the force and energy of youth, tempered by the mildness of advancing years."

The general state of science in Vienna Bright describes as far from flourishing, by reason of the difficulties and obstacles placed in the way of education, the narrow-minded censorship of the press and of foreign publications and the relatively small number of scientific men. Besides Frank, the most notable of these were Hildenbrand, memorable for his early work on typhoid fever (1810), the ophthalmologist Beer, Vincenz von Kern the surgeon, who revived the cold water bandages of Cesare Magati (1616) as a simple treatment for wounds, and the anatomist Prochaska, whose studious secrecy and mercenary disposition in regard to a certain method of injecting anatomical preparations are duly deplored by our author.

Prochaska is ready, for fifty ducats, to supply to the curious small cabinets, accompanied with a microscope, and containing about seventy microscopic specimens, showing the most minute [176] ramifications of different vessels in the various structures of the body. It appears that this art of subtle injection is the same which Lieberkühn employed before them, and which was lost after his death. It would, indeed, be a blot upon the scientific spirit of the university of Vienna, if a second time such a discovery should be suffered to perish.

[176] Of Hildenbrand Bright says:

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This very able physician is the worthy successor of the celebrated Stoll and Frank; he devotes himself very assiduously to the improvement of the students, whose education, in the practical parts of medicine, he superintends. He visits the patients, in company with the pupils, as early as seven o'clock in the morning, and afterwards delivers a very excellent course of medical lectures in Latin.

De Carro, who was educated in England, at least deserves remembrance as the pioneer of Jennerian vaccination, both in Europe and in Asia, beginning his experiments, like Benjamin Waterhouse, upon his own children (1799). Count Harrack is praised by Bright for a variety of philanthropy which, except in the case of Emile Littré, is not on record as an exclusive feature of medical practice.

This singular man turned his attention to the study of medicine somewhat late in life, for the sole purpose of doing good, and continues to spend his time unceasingly in relieving the miseries of those who are unable to make pecuniary return for the attentions and advice they receive. This species of benevolent exertion is much needed in Vienna, where there are none of the smaller medical charities and dispensaries, which abound in our own country.

It appears that Count Harrack even attempted to memorialize the Peace Congress to induce the Sublime Porte to set aside religious prejudice in checking the ravages of plague in Turkey, but, very naturally the project fell through, and as Bright quaintly observes, "the followers of Mahomet still continue to view the plague with superstitious resignation."

Before leaving Vienna we may note Bright's description of the famous Narrenthurm, or "Lunatic's Tower," erected in 1784, one of the show places of Old Vienna, where, as in ancient Bedlam, the public were allowed to view the insane, like animals in a menagerie, on payment of a small fee.

The Asylum for the Insane is a fanciful edifice, and not well contrived. Externally, it appears a large round tower; and, on entering, it is found to consist of a hollow circle, in the center of which a square building rises, joined to the circle by each of its angles. The circular part contains the patients, and the inclosed building is intended for the residence of the keepers and the surgeon. This building is four stories high, besides the ground floor . . . It contains 300 patients, whose condition is far from [176] being as comfortable as in many of the establishments for the insane which I have visited.

In March, 1815, Bright, amply provided with letters of introduction to Hungarian nobles, set out from Vienna for Pressburg, journeying eastward through the flat, open country along the right bank of the Danube, and finding little of interest until he arrived at the estate of a hospitable magnate who bore the name of Count Hunyadi. The Graf, as Bright styles him, was away from home, but the director of the estate soon assured the traveller that it was an essential part of Hungarian hospitality to receive an honored guest with the same ceremony as if the master were present. Here he remained for several days and then proceeded to the silver mines of Schemnitz, in the Carpathian Mountains, and thence to Buda Pest, returning westward to Vienna by way of Raab. His second trip, in April, 1815, was another circular tour, southward from Vienna to the Balaton Lake, passing along the borders of Croatia to Fünfkirchen, then northward again to Buda Pest, returning eastward through Styria. In this way he saw the fringe of the Puszta, but did not get across the Danube into Transylvania.

In such an extensive itinerary, occupying some six hundred pages, we can best appreciate Bright's narrative by considering the things which excited his greatest interest. First of all, the people. Of Bright's very human descriptions of the Hungarian nobles and their vassals, we may say, as George Moore said of Turgenieff, that he judged both gentleman and peasant " as a scholar and a philosopher, without small-beer cynicism or that air of which Thackeray could never divest himself, of having been in society after the success of one of his books." His artistic eye delights in minute notations of the differences in female costume-Hungarian, Sclavonian, Styrian, Wallachian, Illyrian-and he devotes page after page to an endeavor to make the reader understand the almost medieval status of the Hungarian peasant at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His conclusion is that "it is not only in appearance, but in reality, oppressive. The appearance of oppression constantly imposing on the sufferer a consciousness of his humilia-

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[176] tion, is of itself an evil hard to bear," but, even if the master were kind, the harsh condition imposed by the government itself, the heavy tolls and tributes, the quartering of troops, the constant labors required in road-making, bridge-building and other public works, made it impossible at this time for the peasant to reap any just reward for his labors.

It is certain that the whole system is bad. . . . A man of capital can bear, for a year or two years, the failure of his crops; but, let a cold east wind blow for one night—let a hailstorm descend or let a river overflow its banks—and the peasant, who has nothing but his field, starves or becomes a burthen to his lord.

Of the peasants themselves he says:

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They were cheerful—but it was the cheerfulness of boys under the eye of their master—and there was something disagreeable in that appearance of timorous, yet rebellious, subordination, which seemed to say—"This is hard—but it must be so. . . ." No one can remain long in Hungary, without seeing that all who are in stations superior to the peasant look on him with contempt, mingled with suspicion and dread.

In regard to one detail of Hungarian feudalism, a survival of the ancient Jus Gladii, or right of the lord to inflict capital punishment or imprisonment upon his serfs, our author rises almost to indignation, held in restraint by the fact that he was speaking of his hospitable hosts.

The traveller seldom approaches the house of a Hungarian noble, who possesses the Jus Gladii, without being shocked by the clanking of chains, and the exhibition of these objects of misery loaded with irons. The prison itself is never concealed from the curiosity of strangers; I should almost say that it is considered a boast—a kind of badge of the power which the lord possesses. . . . It is scarcely credible, that men of the noblest and most refined minds, should persist in the barbarous custom of placing in the

[177] very gateway of their hospitable mansions—in the only path by which their offspring can approach the domestic hearth—the miserable victims of a most sacred, but, at the same time, most painful and revolting duty.

Bright differentiates clearly between the Slavic (Slovak) and Hungarian peasant, and in respect of neatness and cleanliness, very much to the advantage of the latter. Of the Sclavonian peasants he says:

When you have seen one you have seen all. From the same little head, covered with oil, falls the same matted long black hair, negligently plaited or tied in knots; and over the same dirty [177] jackets and trousers, is wrapped on each a cloak of coarse woolen cloth, or sheep-skin still retaining its wool. Whether it be winter or summer, week-day or sabbath, the Sclavonian of this district never lays aside his cloak, or is seen but in heavy boots.

Add to this the fact that many were afflicted

with that unseemly disease, known by the name of Plica Polonica, in which the hair grows so matted that it is impossible to disentangle it, and becomes actually felted into balls, which, from an unfounded apprehension of bad consequences, the peasants are very unwilling to have removed.... The real Hungarians showed far greater attention to personal neatness, and like the gypsies, were often dressed in hussar jackets, blue pantaloons, boots and broad-brimmed hats, which gave them the appearance of banditti.

This appearance often merged into reality in the open country, through their characteristic love of indolence and the passion for wild life and freedom. As in old days on the Scotch border, "the herdsmen are usually mere thieves, stealing cattle when they are able." Bright found the Hungarian gypsies singularly like those at home, not only in appearance but in language. He made an extensive vocabulary of gypsy words, and, when he got back to England, one of the first things he did was to look up a family of hedge-gypsies at Norwood, to find to his delight that they recognized almost every word he could recall. Like George Borrow, he speaks with lively sympathy of the advantages of the free, independent roaming life of these people in the open air.

I leave it to those who have been accustomed to visit the habitations of the poor in the metropolis, in great cities, in country towns, or in any but those Arcadian cottages which exist only in the fancy of the poet, to draw a comparison between the activity, the free condition, and the pure air enjoyed by the gypsy, and the idleness, the debauchery, and the filth in which a large part of the poorer classes are enveloped.

Bright was an early advocate of the view that the gypsies, Tzigani or Egyptians, were originally a nomadic Hindu tribe, and, in support of this contention, he cites an interesting verse from old Skelton, descriptive of the Oriental turban worn by Elynoure Rumminge: [177]

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Her kirtell Bristowe red, With clothes upon her heade, That they way a sowe of leade, Wrythen in a wonder wise, After the Sarazins gise, With a whim wham Knit with a trim tram Upon her brayne panne, Like an EGYPTIAN Capped about When she goeth oute, &c.

In seeking contact with the Hungarian peasants and gypsies. Bright naturally found opportunities to see their national dances and hear their music, and he describes a concert which was improvised in his honor at a gipsy farmhouse, as follows:

A Cygany woman sat upon the projecting part of the heated stove, and spun with a distaff while the children crowded behind her. The four musicians arranged themselves in a circle, and a few peasants who entered, made up the party within doors. . . . The instruments were three violins and a violoncello, and, at my request, the tunes they played were the national airs of the Hungarians and Sclavonians. After listening for an hour, I was not sorry to bring the concert to a conclusion; for in truth the room, with its low boarded roof, was but little calculated for such a powerful band.

In the theaters at Buda Pest, Bright was especially attracted by the musical instruments, one of which, a set of strings struck by a plectrum, resembled the Langspiel which he saw in Iceland. Another was the Dudelsack, or Hungarian bagpipe; and a third, the cymbalom, or Glockenspiel, which he thought of Turkish origin.

A subject in which Bright took a curious interest was the burial of the dead. Of a deeply religious nature himself, he seems to have regarded the emotions displayed at funerals as a test of sincerity, and he attended several, he says "as a ceremony which no one ought to neglect in a foreign country." One of the finest traits of old-fashioned German character is (or was) the deep reverence and regard of children for their parents. Of this, he gives a touching example :

When I was at Berlin, during the preceding year, I followed the celebrated Iffland to the grave. Mingled with some pomp, you might trace much real feeling. In the midst of the ceremony my attention was attracted by a young woman, who stood near a [177] mound of earth newly covered with turf, which she anxiously protected from the feet of the pressing crowd. It was the tomb of her parent; and the figure of this affectionate daughter presented a monument more striking than the most costly work of art.

The following may be taken as an expression of his views on the subject of religion:

These humble peasants of Hungary have, through the native promptings of the heart, so blended the memory of their departed friends with the feelings of devotion, that nations boasting of higher degrees of cultivation may respect and follow their example. We may civilize and refine away our feelings till the simple dictates of nature are completely yielded up. With the majority of mankind consolation is sought in forgetfulness. . . . If, putting aside all unintelligible motives, there is one which can be felt and explained, more pure than others, leading us to rejoice in our future prospects, it is the idea and hope of meeting again the friends from whom we have been separated by death.

On the road Bright's journey through Hungary was, in a sense, "roughing it." He usually travelled in a rough peasant's wagon, the wheels of his conveyance sinking "to their naves" in the mud of the boggy roads, encountering languages, as Henry James puts it, " perceived to be foreign but not further identified," so that his conversation with the toll-gate keepers and other roadside officials was, of necessity, in Latin. It was often impossible to get transportation or change of horses without a special order, and sometimes the postillion would unload him at an impossible inn, with fair promises of the best accommodation, and, while he was inside, would seize the occasion by [178] the forelock and beat a hasty retreat. The fear of banditti was another excuse for shilly-shallying, and, on one occasion, when "a very exorbitant and unmanageable postmaster" gave this as a reason for avoiding the main road and taking a circuitous route, "the matter was settled, and all the banditti put to flight, by my agreeing to his terms, and paying a heavy extra charge." At the roadside hostelries, his sensations were scarcely those of the idealized eighteenth-century traveller, who,

> Where'er his stages may have been, May sigh to think he still has found His warmest welcome at an inn.

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[178] He had what were the common experiences of travellers in Eastern Europe at that time.

The most interesting feature of Bright's visit to Buda Pest is his account of the medical institutions. At this time, the University was frequented mainly by Hungarians and Transylvanians, young men who, in earlier days, sought an education in Germany or Italy. The lectures were delivered in Latin, and it is of interest to note, in this connection, that while Cullen, about the middle of the eighteenth century, had already begun to lecture on medicine in English, it was not until the advent of Schönlein at Berlin, in 1840, and of Frerichs at Breslau in 1851, that medical lectures were delivered in German. The medical course at Buda Pest extended over five years, and is outlined by Bright as follows:

First year.-Anatomy, chemistry, botany, natural history, general pathology, and surgery.

Second year.-Physiology, more minute anatomy, the theory of operations, surgical instruments, and midwifery.

Third year.-Pathology, materia medica, and diseases of the eye.

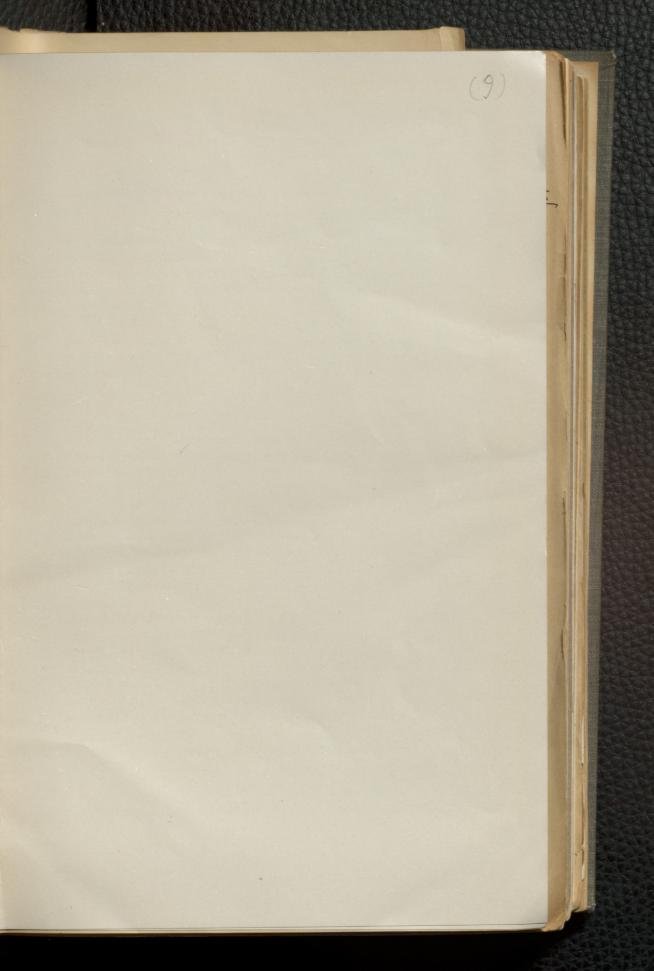
Fourth year.-Therapia of acute and chronic diseases, with clinical lectures both in medicine and surgery; and lastly, the veterinary art, which, however, may be postponed till the fifth year, or till the course is completed, but must be pursued before a diploma can be granted.

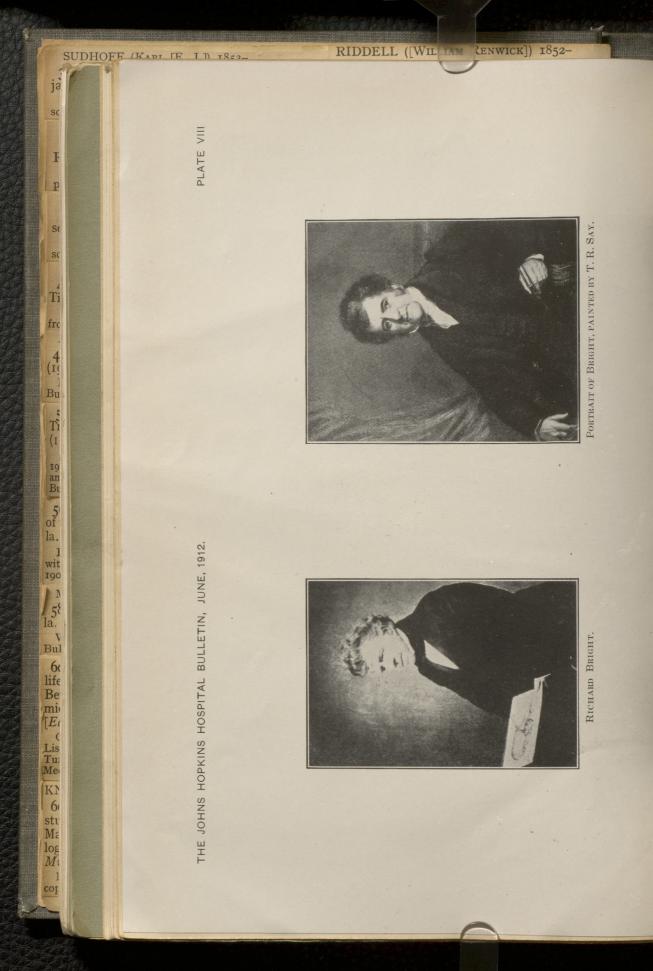
Fifth year.-The particular therapia and the clinical studies are continued, to which are added, medical jurisprudence and medical police.

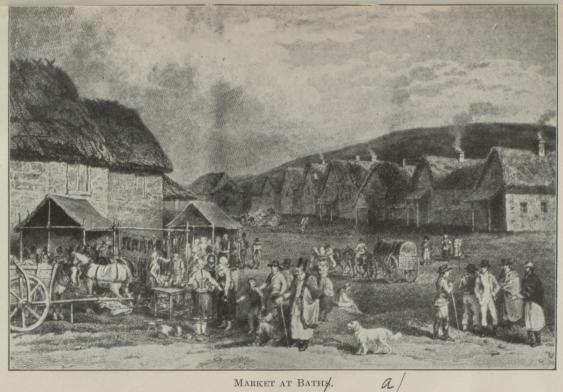
The University Hospital at Buda Pest consisted of several wards of six beds each, one each for medical, surgical, and gynecological cases, one for diseases of the eye, one for lying-in women and one for syphilis. Another ward was wisely set apart for the instruction of young surgeons in internal medicine. The fourth and fifth year students attended the patients in the different wards, and each was required to report his cases in Latin and to make a separate monthly report of everything he had seen. One special duty of the pupils was to keep "a thermometrical and barometrical register," and these studies in medical meteorology, a distant reflex of the influence of Sydenham, were regularly checked up from observations made by the professor of astronomy.

Skoda, 1847.

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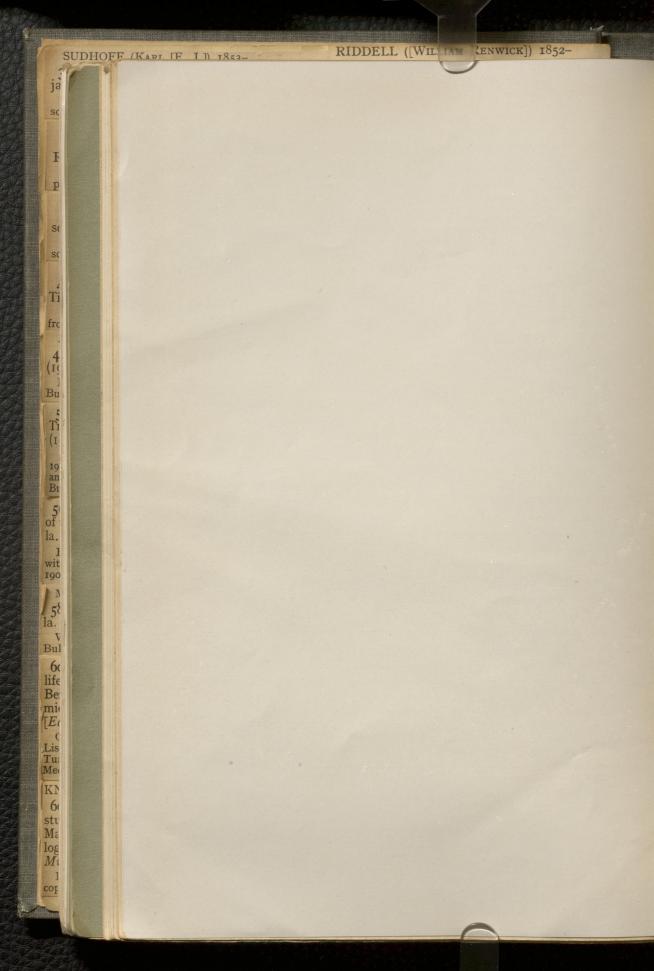






MARKET AT BATHS. (Original Drawing by Bright.)

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He goes on:

I was much pleased with the order and regularity with which this hospital is conducted, and am not sure that more celebrated institutions might not gather hints from the proceedings of this distant and almost unknown medical school. It must, however, be owned that the whole is more manageable from its small extent, as there were not above eleven students in their fourth and fifth years, nor above thirty in the earlier years of their medical studies.

With the exception of Kitaibel, who showed Bright through the hospital, there were no medical men of consequence in Buda Pest at this time. But Hungary has given to medicine some unique names: first and foremost, the noble, self-sacrificing Semmelweis; the almost forgotten Stephan Weszpremi, whose Tentamen de inoculanda peste, published in London in 1755, outlined a plan of preventive inoculations against the plague; Hyrtl, the anatomist and Mikulicz, who described a new form of disease (simultaneous inflammation of the parotid and lachrymal glands) and was one of Billroth's most brilliant pupils; and, in more recent times, Robert Barany, who, only the other day, in his clinic at Vienna, went far towards clearing up the hazy subject of Menière's disease by showing, through successful operations on the internal ear, that the rotary movements, nausea and dizziness obtained by having a patient point at an object with eyes shut after previously touching it constitute a true index of labyrinthine affection (vestibular nvstagmus).

While in Buda Pest, Bright paid several visits to the public warm baths of the city, many of which, he says, were "very ancient buildings, some supposed to be of Roman, others of Turkish construction." His impressions of the public baths, evidently frequented by those in the lower walks of life, may be summed up in the early Victorian epithet—Shocking! The interest of his very realistic description is that it tallies exactly with what we see in the pictures of the sixteenth century artists, Lucas Cranach, Hans Sebald Beham, Aldegrever, Hans Bock and the rest of the German *Kleinmeister*.

On entering from the open air, the room, filled with steam, was so insufferably hot, as almost to oblige us to retire. In addition to this, it appeared dark; but in a few moments both our bodies

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[178] and eyes became accustomed to their new situation. The apartment was spacious, the center being occupied by a circular basin under a dome supported by pillars. The descent into this is by two steps ranging round the whole of its circumference. Here we beheld ten or twenty persons of each sex, partially covered with linen drawers and the long tresses which fell loosely from their heads, amusing themselves by splashing in the hot sulphurous water. Disgusting as this was, it formed the least disagreeable part of the scene. On the outside of the pillars, the floor was paved, and there lay, at full length, numerous human creatures, indulging, amidst the fumes, a kind of lethargic slumber; others lay upon the steps, and submitted to the kneading practiced upon them by old women employed for the purpose; some, as if resting from their labors, lay stretched upon benches; and in different corners were groups of naked families, enjoying their mid-day meal, sour crout and sausages, amidst all the luxury of a profuse perspiration. To complete the scene, there was a row of half-naked figures, like those in the bath, on whom a poor miserable surgeon was practicing the operations of cupping and scarification, studiously inflicting wounds, and making as much show of blood as possible, in order to satisfy the immoderate appetite of the Hungarian peasant for this species of medical treatment. With such a mixture of disgusting objects it never before happened to me to meet, and, almost faint with heat, I was glad to make my escape; yet my curiosity led me to several others; but in none was the construction of the chamber so [179] picturesque. The enjoyments of the baths, however, were the

same.

Even as a youth of five and twenty Bright was a man of extraordinary thoroughness, with an almost Germanic passion for classification and tabulation, and his mind saw everything in categories. One instance of this will suffice, his synopsis of the course of instruction for women at the Georgicon or public school on the estate of Count Festetits-a relic of pre-suffragette days which bears the superscription:

OBJECTS OF FEMALE INDUSTRY.

In the first year. 1. Plain and ornamented knitting, the commencement of the sampler. 2. Hemming and seaming, quilt stitch, overcasting, and Hungarian sewing. 3. Music. In this year the pupils are expected to produce a pattern piece of knitting, a sampler, a plain knit stocking, a child's cap, and a shirt.

In the second year. 1. Continuation of the samplers, knitting a common frock for a child, and an open-work cap; together with clothing and gloves. 2. Sewing a pillowcase with buttonholes, sewing a shirt and a pair of drawers and a fine shirt with

frills. 3. Spinning on the wheel. 4. Care of silk-worms and the [179] winding of silk. 5. Music.

In the third year. 1. Fine stockings with clocks; lace-making; a lace cap and a purse; knitting a woman's cap. 2. Sewing a great coat with lace; sewing women's clothes and corsets; cutting out and practice in making up caps. 3. Washing, plaiting and ironing. 4. Drawing, as connected with female work. 5. Cooking, and other economical employment. 6. Music.

We will leave the scene of Bright's travels with a parting glance at the Hungarian enjoying his lazy gypsy life in the sunshine:

If any thing could show a want of reason, or of domestic connection and civilization, it was these groups of men, not with their families—not with their wives—not in conversation with each other—but herding together, merely because the same sloping bank invited each of them to the enjoyment of basking in the sunbeams. There they might be counted by tens, stretched out at length, wrapped in greasy sheep skins, and dreading the trouble of entering the church, where the priest had already begun to read the prayers. Arriving upon the borders of a forest, my companion quitted me, and I proceeded alone. The day was delightful; the forest was chiefly birch; the flowers were richly spread upon the ground; and I was surrounded by blackbirds and nightingales in full song. I saw two or three fine green, and several grey lizards, enjoying themselves in the warmth of the sun.

It has been a matter of comment that this Hungarian journey was of immense value to Bright in after life, in that the experience increased his faculty of vision and sharpened his powers of observation, while in the record itself he had already perfected his gift of literary expression. The style, at times a little ornate and stilted to moderns perhaps, yet still, as Lowell said of Washington, "the habitual full-dress of his well-bred mind," is a remarkable achievement for a young man of twenty-five.

The illustrations in Bright's book, his own handiwork, will go far to show that his genius as a clinician was of a piece with this priceless artistic faculty. Long afterwards, at Guy's Hospital, Wilks observed that "Bright could not theorize, but he could see." Stevenson once said of a prospective traveller: "Tell him it is the mark of a parochial gentleman who has never traveled, to find all wrong in a foreign land. . . . Let ja

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[179] him resist the fatal British tendency to communicate his dissatisfaction with a country to the inhabitants. 'Tis a good idea, but it somehow fails to please." These random notes will have failed of their object if they presented Bright as other than an ideal traveller in this respect. It is true he grumbles a little more here and there about his indifferent lodgings, as most of us would, and his ethical sense is aroused by the sorrows of the peasantry; but the hardest things he has to say are usually about his own country, and the extension of his sympathy to objects so remote has all the attractive selfsurrender of youth. He puts up with the boggy roads, the squalid hovels, the wretched accommodations, the ignorance and indifference of the natives with supreme good temper and that Saxon strain of humor which consists in mantaining an attitude of extreme gravity or self-possession in the face of almost any queer thing that may happen. Even as a young man, Bright never steps out of his dignified rôle to be consciously humorous, but a few sentences here and there may show his manner of dealing with a humorous situation. Passing through the Hungarian countryside, he observes that "Nature had done much in forming a strong race of men, however deficient the cattle may be in beauty or size"; and, in another place "As the carriage passed, the men bowed respectfully; the salutation of the women was less discernible." It was his ambition to write a special chapter on the Hungarian literature, but he soon found, for Hungary (as for our own country) in the year 1815, that as the March-Hare said to Alice in Wonderland, "There isn't any."

Bright paid another visit to the continent in 1818, spending some time in Germany, Switzerland, Italy and France, but his time for writing travels was over and he was now settling down to the serious business of his life. He commenced private practice in 1820, after passing through an almost fatal attack of fever in connection with his duties as assistant physician at the London Fever Hospital, and in the same year he accepted a similar post at Guy's Hospital. He became an F. R. S. in 1821 and in 1824 was appointed full physician at Guy's, Addison having been made assistant physician at the same time. Three years later he published the work which was to make his name famous all over Europe, the first of the two splendid volumes [179] of "Reports of Medical Cases" (1827), elaborately illustrated with full-page plates from water-color drawings, and, apart from its scientific interest, a unique monument of that sportsmanlike devotion to their profession which so many physicians have shown in a field of literary venture which is costly but never remunerative. In 1832 Hodgkin published his original paper "On Some Morbid Appearances of the Absorbent Glands and Spleen"; 1 and in 1855 Addison's book "On the Constitutional and Local Effects of Disease of the Supra-renal Capsules" appeared, his preliminary communication on the subject having been read before the South London Medical Society in 1849.² Bright's disease, the original correlation of inflammation of the kidneys with dropsy and albuminuria, immediately made its fortune, as the French sav. [180] on account of its immense importance in medical practice. The discoveries of Hodgkin and Addison were slurred over as mere curiosities, and although we find Virchow reporting upon Addison's disease and upon the chemistry of the suprarenal capsules in 1857,³ it was due to the equity and loyalty of Sir Samuel Wilks, the zealous, but not jealous, guardian of the honor of Guy's Hospital, and to the fair-minded and generous Trousseau, that these diseases were given their permanent place in modern medicine.

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The remarkable original work done at Guy's Hospital is properly a subject for the pathologist and the clinician, but it may be worth while in passing to glance at these discoveries from the bibliographic angle in their historic sequence, particularly as a flood of light has been shed over the whole matter in the "Biographical Reminiscences" of the late Sir Samuel Wilks (1911). It was here that Sir Astley Cooper did some of the earliest work in experimental surgery after the time of John Hunter (1836); ⁴ here Addison, Golding Bird and Gull first tried the effects of static electricity in disease (1837); ⁵

¹ Med. Chir. Tr., Lond., 1832, XVII, 68-114.

² Lond. M. Gaz., 1849, XLIII, 517.

⁸ Deutsche Klinik, Berl., 1857, 441, and Virchow's Arch., 1857, XII, 481.

⁴ Guy's Hosp. Rep., Lond., 1836, I, 457, 654.

⁵ Ibid., 1837, II, 493.

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[180] here Pavy did his first experimental work in diabetes (1853); here John Cooper Forster performed the first gastrostomies in England (1858-9); and here occurred what might be regarded as an event in the history of obstetrics, the first findings of albuminous urine in cases of puerperal eclampsia by Lever in 1843,^s the most important outcome of Bright's teaching in albuminuria. But the special achievement of the men of Guy's was in the department of original descriptions of disease.

The eighteenth century was especially rich in new descriptions of diseases, many of which, as Friedrich Hoffmann's account of rubella (1740), Watson's description of scleroderma (1754), Robert Whytt on tubercular meningitis (1768), Sæmmerring's case of achondroplasia (1791), or John Haslam's account of general paralysis (1798), have only been brought to the front in recent years. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, we have Otto's description of hæmophilia (1803), Vieusseux's sketch of cerebro-spinal meningitis (1805), Badham's little book on bronchitis (1808), Hildenbrand on typhoid fever (1810), Bayle on phthisis (1810), Wells on rheumatism of the heart (1812), Sutton on delirium tremens (1813), Blackall and Wells on albuminuria (1814), Hodgson's book on diseases of the arteries, containing his account of dilatation of the aortic arch (1815), Parkinson on paralysis agitans (1817), Bostock on hay fever (1819), Bouillayd's 4 description of aphasia (1825), Louis on phthisis (1825), and Bretonneau on diphtheria (1826). Laënnec, in the first and second editions of his treatise on mediate auscultation (1819-23), aside from his classical pictures of bronchitis and pneumonia, described and differentiated almost every pathological occurrence inside the chest-bronchiectasis, pneumothorax, hæmorrhagic pleurisy, gangrene of the lungs, emphysema of the lungs, œsophagitis, and one form of cirrhosis of the liver. Sir Clifford Allbutt refers to "the spacious times of Bright and Addison," and there was indeed a mighty sweep to the clinical work of these two men which can only be paralleled by what Laënnec and Louis, Corvisart and Bouillaud, were doing across the channel, or in some measure by the work of Graves, Stokes and the physicians of the Irish school.

The physicians of those days had no instruments of precision except their five senses. Even as late as 1870, Wilks tells us the clinical thermometer was considered a curiosity at

⁶ Guy's Hosp. Rep., Lond., 1853, 2. s., VIII, 319.

⁷ Ibid., 1858, 3. s., IV, 13; 1859, V, 1.

⁸ Ibid., 1843, 2. s., I, 495.

Guy's and Dr. Weir Mitchell points out that it was " under the [180] influence of the great Dublin school, that the familiar figure of the doctor, watch in hand, came to be common-place."

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Bright's economy of means in testing urine for albumen, only a candle and a spoon, reminds us of Virchow cutting sections all his days with an old every-day razor, or of Sharpey demonstrating kymographic tracings to his class with the aid of a rusty, well-worn beaver hat as a cylinder.

In addition to the diseases called by their names, Bright, as far back as 1833,° had described cases of pancreatic diabetes and pancreatic steatorrhœa, and is to be credited with early accounts of acute yellow atrophy of the liver (1836)," unilateral convulsions or Jacksonian epilepsy (1836)," and acute Hodgkin's disease or "status lymphaticus" (1838)."

Addison, in 1849 (London, M. Gaz., 1849, XLIII, 517), twenty years before Biermer, described acute pernicious anæmia, and in 1851 (Guy's Hosp. Rep., 1851, 2. s., VII, 265), with Sir William Gull, the skin disease known as xanthoma (vitiligoidea); and Hodgkin described aortic regurgitation in 1827 (Lond., M. Gaz., 1828-9, III, 433-443-read before Hunterian Society, February, 1827), five years before Corrigan's classical paper was published. In 1856 Sir William Gull (Guy's Hosp. Rep., 1856, 3. s., II, 143) gave perhaps the earliest account of the degenerations of the posterior columns of the spinal cord in the locomotor ataxia, and in 1873 described myxedema (Tr. Clin. Soc. Lond., 1873-4, XII, 180-185), to which Ord gave the name in 1877 (Med. Chir. Tr., Lond., 1877-8, LXI, 57-83). Finally, Sir Samuel Wilks himself made important and elaborate studies of Bright's, Addison's and Hodgkin's diseases, to the latter of which he gave the name in 1865, described linear atrophy of the skin (lineæ atrophicæ) in 1861 (Guy's Hosp. Rep., Lond., 1861, 3. s., VII, 297-301), necrogenic (dissecting-room) warts ("verrucæ necrogenicæ") in 1862 (Ibid., 1862, 3. s., VIII, 263-265), published one of the earliest papers on visceral syphilis in 1863 (Ibid., 1863, 3. s., IX, 1-64, 4 pl.), and, in 1869, gave interesting accounts of the external manifestations of osteitis deformans (Tr. Path. Soc., Lond., 1868-9, XX, 273-277) and acromegaly (Sir S. Wilks, Biographical Reminiscences, Lond., 1911, pp. 188-189). Perhaps the most important original contribution which Wilks made to medicine was the description of alcoholic

⁹ Med. Chir. Tr., Lond., 1833, XVIII, 1-56 (Case 1).

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 36-40.

¹² Guy's Hosp. Rep., 1838, III, 437.

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¹⁰ Guy's Hosp. Rep., Lond., 1836, I, 604-637.

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- [180 paraplegia in his lectures of 1868 (Med. Times & Gaz., 1868, II, 470), which, as Osler points out (New York Med. Jour., 1904, LXXIX, 570), "was the foundation of English teaching on the subject, and, as describing the mental symptoms, contains all that is implied in the useless eponym "Korsakoff's insanity." Even as far back as 1786 Lettsom, in what is perhaps the earliest paper on the drug habit (Mem. Med. Soc., Lond., 1779-87, I, 128-165), had already outlined the pathological effect of alcoholism. The cases of priority discussed by Wilks are of little importance in relation to the time of their publication but are of unusual interest in confirmation of well authenticated modern discoveries. In the same sense, Velasquez's dwarfs, the pictures of rhinophyma by [181] Ghirlandajo in the Louvre and by the younger Holbein in the
 - Prado, or Lucas van Leyden's portrait of Ferdinand I. of Spain in the Uffizi, giving the "adenoid face," might be regarded as instances of priority, antecedent to Romberg, von Hebra, or Wilhelm Meyer.

In the case of Bright, as Wilks said, "we are struck with astonishment with his powers of observation, as he photographed pictures of disease for the study of posterity." In the introductory address to his classes for the year 1832, there is an often quoted sentence which is a remarkable example of his power of visualizing these things:

By the EYE you will learn much; many diseases have the most distinct physiognomy. The sunk and shrivelled features derived from the long-continued disease of the abdominal viscera, the white and bloated countenance often attendant on changes in the functions or structure of the kidney, the sallow and puffy cheeks of the liver diseased from habitual intemperance, the squalid and mottled complexion of the cachexia dependent upon the united effects of mercury and syphilis, the pallid face of hæmorrhage, the waxen hue of amenorrhæa, the dingy whiteness of malignant disease, the vacant lassitude of fever, the purple cheek of pneumonia, the bright flush of phthisis, the contracted features and corrugated brow of tetanus—all these shades of countenance, and very many more which I might enumerate, with all their varieties of combination, are distinctly recognized by the experienced eye.¹³

¹³ The minor discoveries of Bright afford most interesting correlations with modern work, but he himself, so rich in knowledge and so generous towards his colleagues, would have attached the least importance to priority. In the case of those original contributions of lesser men which have become buried by the dust of time, the question of priority is of capital importance, and some of the best historical research in recent times has been employed Bright's associates at Guy's Hospital were, all of them, men [181] of strong and striking personality. At this period Sir Charles Bell and Sir Benjamin Brodie, Travers, Liston and Pridgin Teale, were prominent figures, but Hodgkin and Addison were hardly ever heard of, and Bright, although he became in time the leading consultant in London, was little known outside of Guy's.¹⁴ Ashton Key, another brilliant and able surgeon of Guy's, imposing in manner, but autocratic and quicktempered, stalked through the wards, always wearing shepherd's plaid trousers, extending a forefinger for his dressers to shake. (9)

Addison, a man of commanding appearance and imperious temper, was probably the ablest clinical lecturer of his time. He is described by Wilks and Bettany as

erect, with coat buttoned up very high, over which hung his guard and eyeglass. He wore a black stock with scarcely visible shirt collar, and this further elevated his head. He had a well-proportioned, good head, with dark hair and side whiskers, large bushy eyebrows and smallish dark eyes, nose thick, as were also the lips which enclosed his firmly knit mouth. His features were not refined, but belonged to a powerful mind, and showed no trace of any kind of sentiment. His penetrating glance seemed to look through you, and his whole demeanour was that of a leader of men, enhanced by his somewhat martial attitude. It is not surprising that the students worshiped him, and feared him rather than loved him; in fact, many thought him unapproachable, and never became closely attached to him. Many a student felt aggrieved, when bidding farewell to his master, that he failed in reciprocating the pupil's painful feeling of separation.

Yet Addison's manner, at times cold, haughty, blunt or even

in bringing their work into prominence again. Sir William Osler rescued the obscure name of Hezekiah Beardsley from oblivion, and, as Dr. H. A. Kelly has shown, as far back as 1759, Mestivier, a forgotten French surgeon, performed an operation for appendicitis, the subsequent findings showing that not the cæcum, but the appendix alone was inflamed, the cause being a rusty pin inside the latter. As Dr. Billings said of the pioneer American surgeons in the backwoods "*les petits prophets*, as Verneuil styles them, are worthy of all honor," and one of the objects of the history of medicine is "to keep their names at least from being forgotten."

¹⁴ I am indebted for these facts to Dr. Robert Fletcher, of Washington, D. C., who, about the time of Bright's retirement from practice, was a student at the London Hospital, and is, in fact, its oldest living graduate.

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[181] rude, was, he himself declared, only a cloak for nervousness. "It was only to some of his nearest friends that he disclosed some of the secrets of his life, his awful fits of despondency associated with some fearful circumstances which made him wonder that he was still alive to tell the tale." Wilks gives several anecdotes of his generosity and kindness of heart, and relates that he once checked a disparaging statement about an eminent physician with whom he had severed relations, by saying abruptly, "He is my colleague." Addison was, like Skoda, a diagnostician of extraordinary ability, but he attached so little importance to treatment that he sometimes forgot to prescribe. He died June 29, 1860.

Hodgkin, a member of the Society of Friends, always wearing their characteristic dress, was intended by nature for a philanthropist and social reformer and had the touch of eccentricity which often goes with that type of character. "On one occasion," it is related, "after sitting up all night with a man of very large fortune, Dr. Hodgkin offended him by filling up a blank cheque with the sum of £10, and made the offense still greater by telling him that ' he did not look as if he could afford more.' Dr. Hodgkin was never again sent for by the gentleman. It was difficult to make Dr. Hodgkin take the fees he had earned, and for this reason alone many of his friends would not consult him." Hodgkin left Guy's in 1837, having incurred the strong dislike of the autocratic treasurer, "King" Harrison, who, says Wilks, "would have no officer of the hospital who drove about with a North American Indian." He eventually dropped out of practice and devoted the rest of his life to the cause of persecuted Hebrews, emancipation, and similar philanthropies. He died at Jaffa, April 5, 1866, while travelling in the East with Sir Moses Montefiore, who erected the monument over his grave.

Of the three, Bright, who died December 16, 1858, was by far the best-balanced, a solidly built man of medium height, with a fine Thackerayesque head, a man of remarkably firm, even, self-contained character, and of cheerful, generous and unprejudiced disposition. Yet, in the days of Wakley's antagonism to Guy's even Bright did not escape the following, in which we recognize the familiar, testy ring of professional

jealousy: "Bright and Addison give medicine; but Dr. [181] Williams of St. Thomas's is far superior; for Bright is a heavy, conceited person and Addison a blustering bundle of loquacity. He will lecture for an hour on the causes of catarrh, and the distinction between lepra and psoriasis." In similar strain, Addison is elsewhere described as "a fine, dashing, big, [182] burly, bustling man, proud and pompous as a parish beadle in his robes of office. Dark, and of a sallow complexion, an intelligent countenance and a noble forehead, he is what the ladies would pronounce a fine man. He has mentally and physically a tall idea of himself." Addison, in the light of what has been said, needs no defense, but the phrase "a heavy, conceited person" has been sometimes cited as a sort of halftruth in connection with the name of Bright. Of the character of the man who did so much to make internal medicine worthy of being called a "science," there can be no doubt. All his contemporaries agree that truth and honor, generosity and fair play were the essence of Bright's nature, and in the record of his travels, as in the story of his life, we do not find a trace of that over-estimation of self which we call self-conceit, the hallmark of intellectual dishonesty. His character reminds us of the truth of Emerson's aphorism that "Great men do not work for show." He was, as Wilks tells us, somewhat oblivious of the importance of his own work and incapable of anxiety about its future fortunes. But that this trait was far removed from priggishness is plain when we glance over his writings and see how he constantly delights in referring to the work of his colleagues, however obscure. In spirit he was no less than the "high-minded man" of the Nichomachean Ethics, but, at heart and in his private feelings, the old-fashioned Christian gentleman. His scientific work, like Addison's, reaches far out into the medicine of the future; and in the hundreds of pathological reports which he has so carefully recorded, it is probable that the physicians of to-morrow will find correlations as yet unthought of, an impression which the Reminiscences of Sir Samuel Wilks have amply and happily confirmed for the present time.

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