



## Topics of Interest-

### A Thistle Planted in America

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*The Scottish Thistle – National Emblem of Scotland which adorns the John Morgan Building on the Campus of the University of Pennsylvania.*

JOHN MORGAN AND THE NEW SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

#### Abstract:

**The early history of the medical school at the University of Pennsylvania was born as an idea in Edinburgh, Scotland, transmitted to the west, molded by rebellion and forged in the fire of a war for independence. Its central actor, John Morgan was in turn, a hero, a scapegoat, and then forsaken.**

Each week, the American medical students in Edinburgh met to discuss their studies, compare letters from home, -- and to criticize the practice of medicine in America, where any “uneducated fool” could call himself a doctor, prescribe treatment and deceive the public.<sup>1,2</sup> In Britain, by contrast, doctors were now licensed the Royal Academy and had to meet prescribed standards.<sup>3</sup> The Virginia students, in particular, were very vociferous and went so far as to draft a series of complaints to the House of Burgess, demanding medical training as a pre-requisite for the title of Doctor.<sup>3</sup> John Morgan, newly arrived in Edinburgh in 1760, went even further. He said, there should be an examining body that licensed all doctors in America.<sup>2,3</sup>

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Morgan, like most of the American Edinburgh students, had some medical training as an apprentice before he left America.<sup>4</sup> After attending Dr. Finley’s Academy; he completed his classical education at the College of Philadelphia, established by Franklin in 1749, and already one of the most prestigious schools in America. He then served an apprenticeship with Dr. John Redman and, with the outbreak of the war in North America between Britain and France, he joined the army as a lieutenant in the medical department with the British forces before sailing for Edinburgh.<sup>5</sup>

William Shippin, Jr. also had considerable medical experience before his arrival at the Edinburgh school. He had been an apprentice with his father and he had studied anatomy with the celebrated John Hunter, whom he later accompanied on rounds in the London hospitals in a clinical rotation.<sup>6</sup> Before matriculating at Edinburgh, Morgan and Shippin had a common background, both were from Philadelphia, both had served an apprenticeship, both were interested in medical education, and between 1760 and 1762, both were students in Edinburgh. Both saw the need of a medical school in America, and discussed courses to be given, requirements for entry and degrees to be conferred.<sup>7</sup>

Shippin returned to Philadelphia, in 1762 and showed his interest in teaching by giving a series of lectures in anatomy and midwifery in 1762 and 1763, which were so popular that 250 students attended the course in 1763.<sup>8</sup>

The Americans from the Colonies impressed the teaching staff at Edinburgh with their studious, no nonsense attitude. They banded together to form the “American Club” for study and leisure. Classes began at eight in the morning and continued until seven in the evening. In addition, time must also be allocated for clinical teaching in the Infirmary where for the first time, bedside teaching was part of the medical course.

Socially, they were in great demand by the townspeople who invited them to their homes to learn about the opportunities in America and American life. Tales of the wide open land expanses, the small towns, and the remote farms were a breath of fresh air to those crowded in the squalid cities of Britain.

The medical school at Edinburgh was preferred for education as courses were no longer taught in Latin, although a thesis and its defense were still demanded in Latin to get the M.D. degree. The staff was world famous; Cullen in medicine, three generations of the Monro family taught anatomy and surgery, Benjamin Bell had just written his multi-volume textbook of surgery which was reprinted and the standard text in surgery, Joseph Black, chemist and discoverer of carbon dioxide lectured in chemistry.<sup>8</sup>

In the more established, older universities such as Oxford and Cambridge, admission for the study of medicine required seven years of classical education, including courses in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and the attainment of a Master of Arts degree. When a student overcame these admission requirements, he was taught medieval medicine following the dictates of Galen and Paracelsus. There was no surgical training, at such schools, surgery was to be done by the barber surgeons. Empiricism and research could not penetrate the hallowed halls of these institutions.

By contrast, entrance requirements to Edinburgh were modernized. Courses of natural history and botany were required but an entrance examination could be taken even if no formal courses were taken. Once matriculated, three-year courses were prescribed with lectures in anatomy, chemistry, pharmacy, and the theory and practice of physics; during this training at least one year must be spent in the infirmary. Three months before the final medical examination, the student must pass an examination on literary knowledge and medical preparedness. Then the examination for the Baccalaureate in Medicine was given after three years of training. To get an M.D. degree, the student must then present a thesis and defend it. John Morgan's thesis was on "pus" and he showed it to be derived from blood.<sup>4</sup>

After graduation, many students did not directly make the transatlantic voyage home but "walked the wards" of St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew's and Guys Hospitals in London or journeyed to the Hotel Dieu in Paris or hospitals in Rheims or Leyden as a sort of internship.<sup>4</sup>

At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War there were three million people in America, thinly spread over a thousand miles of coastline between

Maine and Georgia, and extending westward several hundred miles.<sup>9</sup> Three-thousand "doctors" or healers served this population of which 117 doctors graduated from Edinburgh and perhaps another hundred took courses but never graduated. There were also doctors who had taken courses or earned degrees in Paris, Leyden, Bonn and Vienna. There were others who served an apprenticeship but most doctors in America had no training; they assumed the title after having "cured" someone in their community after which others sought their advice.<sup>10</sup>

*The Independent Reflector*, a newspaper in New York, complained, "Few physicians amongst us are eminent for their skill. Quacks abound like locusts in Egypt. The profession is under no kind of regulation. We have no laws protecting the King's subjects from malpractice of the pretender."<sup>2</sup>

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After finishing his medical school at Edinburgh, Morgan made the grand tour of Europe. His many friends in Britain provided him with letters of introduction to some of the most important people on the continent. In Padua he visited Giambattista Morgagni, the pathologist, who linked the pre-mortem symptoms of a patient with the post-mortem pathological findings. Morgagni received Morgan warmly, claiming kinship to him by virtue of the similarity of their names. His route included visiting medical centers in Paris, Geneva and Leyden, as well as Padua.<sup>11</sup>

A letter of introduction addressed to Voltaire allowed him to visit the Philosopher at the Chateau de Ferney in Geneva. Morgan's journal recounted the visit. "As our coach drove into the courtyard, M. Voltaire, himself, received us on the steps and addressed Morgan and Powell (his American Companion) in English." Voltaire scolded them for not staying for dinner, saying, "You know, gentleman, that sitting together at a table opens ye heart and makes one more sprightly and sociable." Voltaire talked about the soul ("does a dog have a soul?") and admired English Authors. "The English have some fine authors and they are, I swear, by God himself, the first nation in Europe... They are not satisfied with mere appearance, they love investigation and truth and despise superstition. I commend you gentlemen – go on, love truth and search diligently after it. Hate hypocrisy, hate masses, and above all hate the priests."<sup>11</sup>

As the carriage sped down the road, a sign on the roadside at the entrance of an inn read:

“Deo Erexit Voltaire  
Behold the Pious Work of Vain Voltaire  
Who never knew a God or said a Prayer”

His European tour over, Morgan set sail for America having been showered with honors. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a Fellow of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh, a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in London, correspondent to the Academie Royale de Chirurgiens in Paris, and a member of the Bells Lettres of Rome. When he finished his courses in Edinburgh, his thoughts again dwelt on a new medical school in Philadelphia and he recalled his discussions with Shippen and the famous English physicians Fothergill, Hunter, Cullen and Watson.

He met with Thomas Penn, a patron of the College of Philadelphia, who was in London at the moment and who gave full approbation to the idea of establishing a medical faculty at the College of Philadelphia. Penn, in turn, wrote to the board of trustees of the College urging them to approve of Morgan’s plan and even suggested that Morgan be appointed first professor of Physic.<sup>12</sup>

It would appear that Morgan decided to go it alone and in a sense deserted Shippen. Benjamin Rush was a witness to the fact that Morgan and Shippen were to launch this project as a partnership. Rush writing of Morgan states, he concerted with Dr. Shippen the plan of establishing a medical school in the city.<sup>13</sup>

Additional evidence that discussions of establishing a medical school in Philadelphia took place is recorded in a letter from John Fothergill, who regarded both Morgan and Shippen as his protégés. In a letter to John Pemberton of Philadelphia on 7 April 1762, Fothergill suggested that Shippen, upon returning, would teach courses in anatomy while awaiting the return of Morgan.<sup>7</sup>

Later, in his letter of acceptance of the professorship of anatomy and surgery, Shippen stated, “I would long ago sought the patronage of the Trustees of the College, but waited to be joined by Dr. Morgan to whom I first communicated my plan in England and who promised to unite with me in every scheme he might think necessary for the execution of so important a point.”<sup>7</sup>

Morgan was so confident that his idea would be embraced by the College of Philadelphia that he wrote his commencement speech, “A Discourse Upon the Institution of a Medical School” while still in Paris. He saw himself as professor of medicine and he recorded his thoughts about the type of practice he would pursue. He decided his fees would be moderate, equivalent to

those charged by others. He would not deal with patients who demanded a cheaper fee. “*Si Populus vult decipi decipiatur*. If people chose to be deceived, let them be deceived.” He would give free advice to friends and their families, and their servants. Having studied medicine for fifteen years (apprenticeship, military service, medical school), “under the most celebrated masters in every branch of medicine, such fees are deserved.” Also, I must conserve my time for preparing a course of lectures, leisure time and an undisturbed mind.<sup>14</sup>

He decided to confine his efforts to the practice of medicine and do no surgery, nor would he engage in pharmacy.<sup>7</sup> He made one exception, in that he would inoculate to prevent smallpox. Inoculation consisted of transferring smallpox matter from a victim to a well person for the prevention of the disease and was regarded as a surgical procedure. Vaccination with cowpox had not yet been discovered. Interestingly, Morgan expressed his willingness to diagnose and treat and charge patients he never saw, if he was presented with a good case history. Such were his ruminations on the way to America.<sup>14</sup>

His achievements since he left the colonies were impressive. He had a medical degree from the leading medical school, his friends included the best known physicians in Europe, he had been assured that he would be supported in starting a new medical school in Philadelphia, and that he would be appointed the first professor of medicine. Morgan was now at the crest of his career. It is at this juncture that we become aware of some personality traits which contributed to his downfall later. He excluded Shippen from sharing the honor of establishing the first medical school. Why did he proceed without Shippen after they had discussed such a joint venture? Later, as Director-General of the Continental Army, Morgan unsuccessfully attempted to dominate those doctors under his command and failed to show a spirit of compromise. In his military career he was often tactless and self-serving.

Soon after he arrived in Philadelphia, Morgan met with the board of trustees of the College of Philadelphia, and overpowered them with his many honors, his letters from the leading doctors in Europe, his well organized plan for the medical school, and his enthusiasm for the project. He was returning to his native country showered with worldly accolades. The board of trustees of the College held a special meeting and approved the medical faculty on May 3, 1765, the first medical school in America. In the minutes of the meeting of the board, it is stated, “entertaining a

high sense of Dr. Morgan’s abilities and the high honors paid him by different learned societies” the board approved the medical school to be part of the College of Philadelphia. They took the extra step and appointed Morgan the first professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine.<sup>13</sup>

On May 30 and 31, 1765, Morgan delivered his commencement address.<sup>10</sup> (The weather in Philadelphia was so hot that the talk was interrupted and completed on the morning of the 31<sup>st</sup> of May.) In the audience were many of the important people in Philadelphia, including Benjamin Franklin, the trustees of the College, including Thomas Penn and Thomas Bond, physician to the Pennsylvania Hospital, John Redman for whom Morgan had been an apprentice and Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, both later presidents of the College of Physicians in Philadelphia. Dr. William Shippen, was also in the audience crushed by Morgan’s initiative to take full honors and not on the platform beside him where he felt he belonged.<sup>8</sup> In Edinburgh, in his many discussions with Morgan about founding a school, he envisaged himself as co-founder. Now Morgan, basking in his many conquests, was going it alone.

\*\*\*\*\* Shippen:

Morgan addressed his audience:

Introduction: “What I am about to Propose is a scheme for Transplanting Medical Science into the seminary.” “The Various branches of medicine which compose the science of medicine are; Anatomy, Materia Medica, Botany, Chymistry, The Theory and Practice of Medicine.

The order which I would recommend in the study of medicine is to begin with Anatomy, then... Materia Medica and Botany; Chymistry should follow, the Institutes come next; and the Study and Practice should complete the work.”

Premedical

Education: “...that young men ought to come well prepared for the study of Medicine by Having their minds enriched with all the aids they can receive from languages and the liberal Arts...Latin and Greek are necessary...the latter contains the rich original treasures of the ancient medical science...the former

contains all the wisdom of modern literature. It is the vehicle of knowledge in which the learned men of every nation in Europe choose to convey their sentiments...and acquaintance with mathematics and natural philosophy.”

Apprenticeship: “Medical apprenticeship fails because it depends on the person you are working with, and it lacks communication with other doctors and students.”

Why

Philadelphia?: “The hospital (Pennsylvania Hospital) is already in place in Philadelphia and will provide teachers and allow students to increase their knowledge.”

It is the largest city, centrally located in the Colonies. A library is established in Philadelphia. Graduates should be asked to contribute to this library.

Morgan addressed himself to Shippen sitting in the audience. “It is with the highest satisfaction that I am informed from Dr. Shippen, Jr. that in an address to the public as introductory to his first anatomical lecture, he proposed some hints of a plan for giving medical lectures amongst us. But I do not learn that he recommended at all a collegiate undertaking of this kind. What lead me to it...was the desire I have of presenting...a full and enlarged plan for the institution of medicine in all its branches. ...should the trustees establish a professorship in Anatomy, Dr. Shippen...teaching that branch of medical science is favourable to our wishes.”

Separation of Medicine and Surgery:

“If Physic, Surgery and Pharmacy were in different hands, practitioners would enjoy more satisfaction...be less burdened.”

Future of the

School: "Perhaps this Medical Institution, the first of its kind in America, though small in the beginning, may receive a constant increase of strength and annually exert new vigour. It may collect a number of young persons of more than ordinary abilities and so improve their knowledge as to spread its reputation to distant parts."<sup>10</sup>

As Morgan delivered his address, an uncomfortable Shippen heard him speak condescendingly about his efforts to found a school, and deny that it was a joint effort. The evidence is clear that Morgan and Shippen did discuss the project on several occasions.

The seeds of discontent were sown in this talk, witnessed by the notables of Philadelphia, and a chagrined Shippen became an implacable foe bent on destroying Morgan, which he finally did. Morgan spent the last years of his life trying to vindicate himself. As we shall see, this young graduate returning from Europe loaded with honors, who swept into Philadelphia as a hero, died forlorn and friendless.

*The Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 26, 1765, informed the public of a new faculty and described the lectures to be given. These were triumphant days for Morgan. In 1766, John Sargent, a merchant of London, offered a prize of a gold medal for an essay on, "The Reciprocal Advantages of a Perpetual Union between Great Britain and the American Colonies." Morgan's essay was selected as winner, and further honors accrued to him.

The faculty of the new school was quickly rounded out. In 1765, Shippen wrote the trustees for a position as Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, which was granted. In his request, Shippen reiterated that he had long considered a medical school and had discussed it with Morgan. He also told how he had mentioned the formation of a school during his anatomical lectures in Philadelphia. Shippen also had an interest in midwifery and gave lectures on this subject.<sup>6</sup> Adam Kuhn was made professor of Botany and Materia Medica. Before Benjamin Rush returned to America and had been assured by Morgan that the position of Professor of Chemistry would be held open for him, and he was given the chair as soon as he returned. Thomas Bond continued his clinical teaching at Pennsylvania Hospital, but did not seek, nor was he offered a professorship. Each of these physicians had attended the medical school at Edinburgh.

The manner of granting degrees was also modeled after that of Edinburgh. A Baccalaureate in Medicine was granted after three years at the Medical School, an apprenticeship to some practitioner for a variable period, and attendance at the Pennsylvania Hospital for one year for clinical instruction was also required. The M.D. degree was gained by presenting and defending a thesis in Latin three years or more after the B.M. degree. The first class of ten graduates received their B.M. degrees in 1768, so that hospital attendance and clinical lectures must have been accomplished simultaneously. Most students had an apprenticeship before entering school.<sup>4,15</sup>

In 1767, Morgan wrote to his friend William Hewson in London, "I have twenty pupils this year at about five guineas each. Next year we shall confer the Degree of Bachelor in Physic upon several of them and that of Doctor in three years after. New York (Kings College, later the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University) has six professors, three of whom you know, to wit Bard, Professor of Physic, Tennant Midwifery, and Smith in Chemistry; besides whom are Dr. Jones of Surgery, Middleton Physiology, and Clossy of Anatomy." Referring to the rivalry of the schools and the fact that Kings College would grant the first M.D. degree in America, although the school in Philadelphia was older he said, "Time will show in what light we are to consider this rivalry; for my part, I do not seem under great apprehension."<sup>6</sup> The first M.D. degree in America was granted in 1769, not in Philadelphia but in New York, by Kings College which did not require a thesis for this degree. The medical faculty of Kings College was chartered in 1767.<sup>9,14</sup>

In the first graduating class of the College of Philadelphia was Jonathan Plott, who was awarded by the Continental Congress the first congressional commendation to a physician for his treatment of casualties at the Battle of Saratoga. Also, in the same class was James Tilton, later to become Director General of the Medical Department after the War, who wrote on military sanitation and hospital construction.

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#### COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA

#### The Pennsylvania Gazette, June 28, 1771

This being the day appointed for the Anniversary Commencement of the College, the trustees at Half an Hour past Nine o'clock proceeded from the Apparatus Room followed by the provost,

Vice Provost and Professors with the different candidates in the Gown, the Band of Music by the Royal North-British Fuzileers playing during the whole procession. ....An English Forensic Dispute – “whether the Preeminence in Works of Genius and Useful Arts is to be ascribed to the Ancients or Moderns.

Doctor of Medicines was granted to Jonathan Elmer, Jonathan Plotts, and James Tilton and Nicolas Way.

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At this time Rush was twenty-six years old, Kuhn thirty, Shippen thirty-five and Morgan thirty-six. Bond was fifty-two years old. The medical school in Philadelphia was the legitimate offspring of the Edinburgh School, which itself, was modeled after the school at Leyden.

The College of Philadelphia and its medical faculty prospered during the pre-war years, but with the advent of hostilities, the College was on the defensive. Student enrollment dropped, inflation sapped its finances, worthless paper money and depreciation of investments struck hard. The final blow came from the provincial assembly in 1777.

The patriots of America looked with distrust on the School. The provost was born in England and was said to show British partiality. The trustees who formerly had pledged to the king were looked upon as traitorous. Some were vowed Tories. The assembly revoked the charter of the school and appropriated the lands of many of the trustees which were sold to support the American military forces. Franklin was in Europe and it is doubtful that this action would have been taken, if he had been present to defend the school he had organized.

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Summer was turning to Fall in 1775; American Militias assembled at Cambridge were threatening Boston, held by the British when Washington arrived to take command. There was little resemblance to any army; it was more like a mob. Men followed orders when they wanted to, sanitation was non-existent and smallpox and dysentery were taking their toll. Washington, the new Commander-in-Chief, looked on this ragamuffin army in dismay, and decided it was back to basics in order to mold an army from such material.<sup>15</sup>

The first Director General of the Medical Department of the Army, Benjamin Church, was court-martialed for spying, and John Morgan was appointed Director General of the Medical Department by appointment of the Continental Congress on October 6, 1775.<sup>15</sup>

American regimental commanders in Cambridge held sway controlling their fiefdoms with a jealous hand. Regimental surgeons appointed and supported by their commanders acted independently and scorned the Continental Hospital set up by Morgan. They kept their own medical supplies and refused to send the sick and wounded to the hospital, or cooperate in any way with the new Director General.

With energy, Morgan tackled his first priority which was to secure supplies. He appropriated drugs from loyalist apothecaries, and received donations from privateers returning to port with their prizes, as well as contributions from the populace.

His second task was to organize the Medical Department. On his arrival in Cambridge he demanded of each regimental surgeon an inventory of their supplies, enacted regulations regarding sending very sick patients to the Continental Hospital, and insisting that all medical equipment needed in the regimental hospitals be draw from a central storehouse under his command. They refused to comply.

He then retaliated and tried to control the rations of each hospitalized patient to force the regimental surgeons to conform to his orders. Again, they resisted. Morgan again was demonstrating his lack of tact, diplomacy and compromise. The struggle intensified in widening circles. Commanders complained to Washington and directly to Congress. The Medical board of the Continental Congress was besieged with complaints of the autocratic behavior of the new Director General.<sup>12</sup> Shippen in Philadelphia with his friends in Congress added to the clamor. Throughout this trying period, Washington continued his support of Morgan.

The army in Cambridge partially trained by Washington now moved to Brooklyn, Long Island for an upcoming battle with the British who occupied Manhattan. In their defensive position, 6500 of the 17,000-man American force were listed as disabled, many for trivial causes.<sup>15</sup>

The defeat and rout of the Americans at the battle of Long Island saw them scattered in northern Manhattan, some crossed into New Jersey and some arrived in White Plains. If the army was disorganized, the Medical Department was even more disorganized.<sup>16</sup> Terrified militia regiments

seized medical supplies, wagons and food as they deserted. Three-thousand patients were in hospitals in Newark, Hackensack, Fishkill, and Peekskill. Morgan lost control of the department as his contentious surgeons refused to obey orders.<sup>15</sup> Congress dismissed Morgan summarily without charges in January 1775.<sup>16</sup> He was a scapegoat for a defeated army but he had never obtained the loyalties of those under him.

Following the dismissal of Morgan, Shippen's friends in Philadelphia convinced Congress to appoint Shippen as Director General. It was not much later that Morgan began his attacks on Shippen. In this, he was supported by Benjamin Rush, who, himself, was for a brief period a member of the Congress. Morgan spearheaded an attack on Shippen which was joined by others and he was charged with dereliction of duties during the Battle of Brandywine, remaining comfortably accommodated in Bethlehem, while some of the wounded lay on the battlefield unattended for three days, and then had to be transported in wagons over rut carved roads to the overcrowded hospital in Bethlehem nearly a hundred miles away. He was accused of conduct unbecoming an officer, selling of government hospital supplies for his own profit, overstocking hospital supplies and falsifying the number of patients admitted to the hospital. He was court-martialed and acquitted, but Congress in reviewing the verdict, characterized his conduct as "reprehensible". Shippen remained Director General of the Medical Department until 1778 when he resigned.

Morgan repeatedly petitioned Congress for an honorable discharge. Finally, on June 12, 1779, Congress passed a resolution fully exonerating Morgan from any wrongdoing. He returned to Philadelphia his spirit broken by his long ordeal, his practice had dwindled in his absence, he rarely attended meetings and his friends no longer sought his company; his medical school was closed.<sup>13,16</sup> In 1785, after his wife died, he became a recluse, completely withdrawn from society.

To fill the void left by the closing of the College of Philadelphia, a new school was organized by the Provincial Assembly and given the name of the University of Pennsylvania. The school was funded with land and investments expropriated from the Tories.<sup>9,17</sup> The board of the new university consisted of members of the Assembly, senior ministers from the six religions in Pennsylvania, as well as other persons in the Commonwealth who had been supportive of the revolution.<sup>17</sup> Franklin was asked to be a trustee but

refused to take his seat until the College of Philadelphia was again established. The trustees of the new university had their first meeting in December 1779 and there were two competing medical schools in Philadelphia.

Although the trustees of the College may have had a dim view of the revolution, the medical faculty wholeheartedly supported the war effort. Morgan and Shippen were Director Generals, Rush was made chief surgeon of the middle hospital department and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence as well as a member of Congress. The school's graduates served in the medical department of the armed forces in the field and in hospitals.

With the peace treaty with Britain signed in 1782, cooler heads prevailed, and the College of Philadelphia and its medical faculty were reinstated in 1789, due mostly to the influence of Franklin. If Franklin had not been in Europe, it is doubtful that its charter would have been revoked in the first place. The decision of the court that heard the evidence for the revocation of its charter described the revocation verdict as "reprehensible".

In 1789, with the reopening of the College, Shippen, Kuhn and Rush were reappointed and Morgan was also invited to accept his old position as Professor of Physic, but he did not respond, brooding over the events of his military career. Caspar Wistar in Chemistry, Samuel Griffiths in Materia Medica, and William Barton in Botany, joined the faculty.<sup>13</sup>

The two schools now coexisted, competing for the few students and for faculty some of whom taught at both schools. Medical Students often attended some lectures at one school, and others at the rival school.<sup>9</sup> The University of Pennsylvania did not grant a B.M. degree, granting only an M.D. degree, and the College followed suit, as few of its students ever returned to get the M.D. degree. The faculty of the College regarded the new school as a usurper and medical education in Philadelphia bordered on chaos.

On September 30, 1791, the Commonwealth, after receiving petitions from both schools, united the two schools. It stipulated that the name should be the University of Pennsylvania, that it would be located in Philadelphia, and that all professors would be reappointed. The Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine was Adam Kuhn, Rush was appointed Professor of the Institute of Medicine and Clinical Medicine, Shippen professor of Anatomy, Surgery and Midwifery, Caspar Wistar

Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine, Samuel Griffiths was Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy, and Benjamin Barton Professor of Botany. John Hutchinson, the last faculty member arrived from Edinburgh during the war and was appointed in Chemistry.<sup>18</sup>

Hutchinson had been studying in Edinburgh when the British-American crisis developed, and anxious to get back to America, fearing he would be trapped in Britain for the duration of the war, he fled to France. Before sailing for Philadelphia he was entrusted by Franklin to deliver important state papers to Congress. As his ship approached the American coast, it was fired upon and chased by a British vessel. Fearful that his dispatches would fall into the hands of the British, he departed his ship in a small open boat and rowed to shore under heavy fire. After he left his ship, it was captured by the British Man-of-War.

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On October 15, 1789, Rush went to Morgan's house and found him dead. Rush, now Professor of Medicine in Morgan's place, opened his series of lectures with an eulogy of Morgan on November 2, 1789, which was delivered to the assembled students of the College of Philadelphia.<sup>5,19</sup>

Very simply, he recapitulated Morgan's successes here and abroad and glossed over the latter part of his life, so tragic and bitter.<sup>5</sup>

The THISTLE struggled to survive and in the future it was to flower.

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