

**“He was an ornament to his profession, a liberal benefactor to the poor and a tender parent to the orphan . . . Weed his grave clean, ye men of genius, for he was your kinsman; tread lightly on his ashes, ye men of feeling, for he was your brother.”**

**M**edicine in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America was a low prestige profession. In 1766 a handful of physicians from East Jersey gathered at Duff’s tavern in New Brunswick to found the Medical Society of New Jersey, the first such society in the American colonies. Their goals were to raise the status of the profession within the state, share medical knowledge, set standards of professional behavior, vet new applicants, and “do all in their power to discountenance all quacks, mountebanks, imposters and pretenders to medicine.”<sup>1</sup> These men, and others like them in the colonies and the young nation, saw themselves as part of a professional brotherhood reaching back to the great physicians of antiquity, and the later masters who shaped the profession through the centuries.

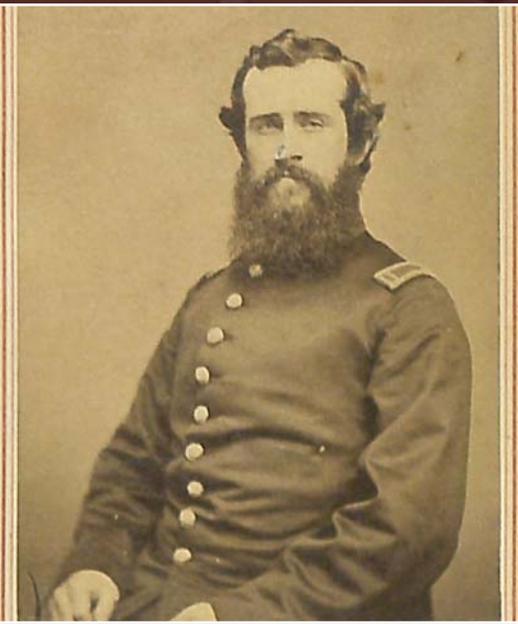
For many of these men, medical practice was exhausting, therapies primitive and largely ineffective, and remuneration meager. Their lives were threatened by the epidemic diseases they were called upon to attend. But if they served their profession well, they could look forward to the respect of their colleagues in life and a sterling reputation in death.

Of all the epitaphs honoring professional men through the centuries, none is more noble than the graceful phrase “an ornament to the profession.” In his 1676 opus, *Medical Observations*, Thomas Sydenham—“the English Hippocrates”—mentioned the “sagacious Master Walter Needham, Doctor of Medicine, an ornament to both his profession and to literature.” The gravestone of Richard Allison, Revolutionary War physician and Cincinnati practitioner, bore this stirring epitaph: “He was an ornament to his profession, a liberal benefactor to the poor and a tender parent to the orphan . . . Weed his grave clean, ye men of genius, for he was your kinsman; tread lightly on his ashes, ye men of feeling, for he was your brother.”<sup>2</sup>

#### **A NEW JERSEY ORNAMENT TO THE PROFESSION**

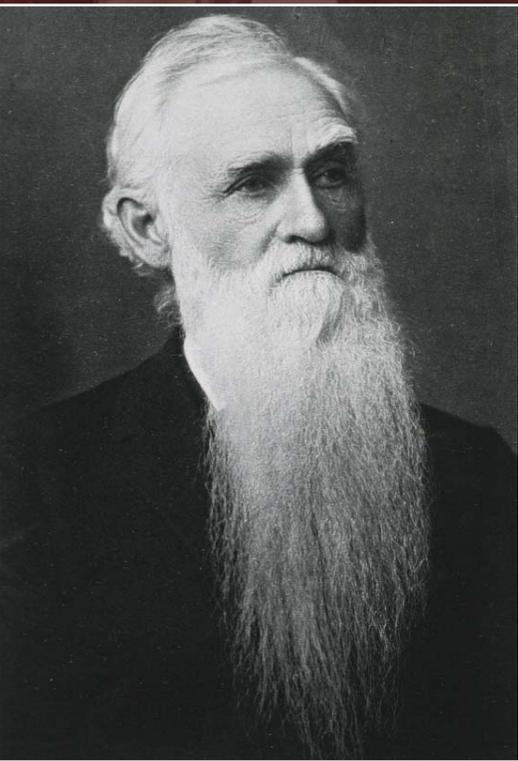
Only one New Jersey physician had the distinction of being remembered as “an ornament to the profession.” Overlooked by many historians of industrial medicine is an 1860 paper by J. Addison Freeman of Orange, a young graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. His paper, “Mercurial Disease Among Hatters” was published in the provincial *Transactions of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, and passed largely unnoticed. Hatmaking in Essex County was a major industry. Vapors of mercury nitrate, used in the production of felted fur hats, caused multiple toxicities. In what would be his sole contribution to medical research, Freeman wrote:

*During the winter of 1858–9 and following spring there prevailed quite extensively among the hatters of Orange, Newark, Bloomfield and Millburn a disease showing all the characteristics of Mercurial Salivation and Stomatitis*



**Figure 1: J. ADDISON FREEMAN**  
Freeman investigated the adverse health effects of vaporized mercury in the hatting industry in Essex County. He died of pneumonia while serving as a physician during the Civil War. He was remembered as “an ornament to the profession.”

photograph courtesy of Special Collections and University Libraries, Rutgers University, public domain



**Figure 2: STEPHEN WICKES**  
Wickes was the author of a comprehensive history of early medical practice in New Jersey, with capsule biographies of some three hundred physicians from the time of first settlement to the early decades of the nineteenth century.

National Library of Medicine, public domain

[inflammation of the mouth with copious salivation and dental deterioration] . . . tremors of the upper extremities, or a shaking palsy . . . A class of mechanics quite numerous in this county are thus seen to be exposed to a disease that is not only unpleasant, [but makes] it necessary for recovery to quit work [there was no workman's compensation] . . . A proper regard for the health of this class of citizens demands that mercury should not be used so extensively in the manufacture of hats, and that if its use is essential, that the hat-finishers' room should be large, with a high ceiling, and well ventilated.<sup>3</sup>

Sadly, Freeman died of pneumonia at age thirty-one at a Union military hospital in Nashville in 1864. A fellow member of the Essex District Medical Society wrote: “Thus has passed away in the midst of usefulness, and in the prime of life, a man of sterling character and marked ability, and one who promised to be an ornament to his profession.”<sup>4</sup> (Figure 1)

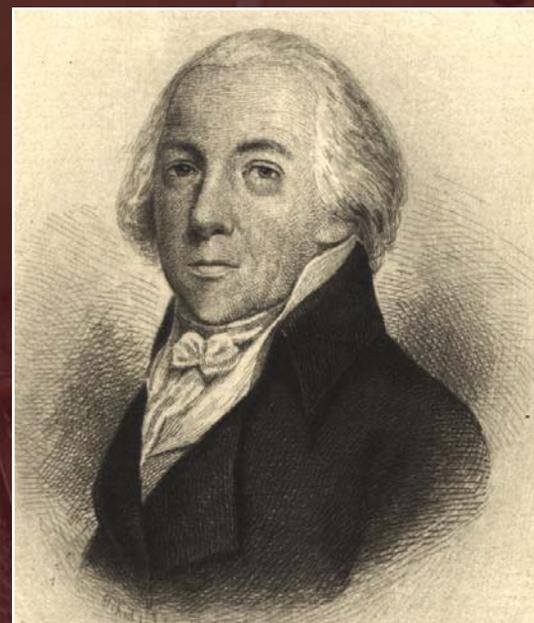
**THE MEMORIALISTS**

In 1867, J. Henry Clark of Newark eulogized members of the Essex District Medical Society at its half-century mark, to “perpetuate the lifetime acts of those who were faithful to the obligations which rest upon the honest inquirer after truths which shall bless mankind.”<sup>5</sup> In 1879, Stephen Wickes of Orange published *The History of Medicine in New Jersey, and of its Medical Men from the Settlement of the Province to A.D. 1800*. Included were biographical sketches of hundreds of New Jersey physicians, from Colonial times until the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> (Figure 2)

The biographical sketches penned by Clark and Wickes provide insight into the professional and human characteristics that nineteenth-century New Jersey physicians honored in their departed colleagues. We read of physicians who lived long and useful lives, who were “martyrs to the profession,” who were “good and faithful servants.” But we also read of others who, in one way or another, failed to meet the contemporary standards of an honorable profession.

**MAKING THE ROUNDS**

Men with busy and geographically wide practices were well regarded. A far-flung practice required fortitude and vigorous horsemanship. The “excellent and venerable Timothy Kitchell, of Whippany, at three score and ten, still lives in the saddle. May he long live on to be useful and beloved.”<sup>7</sup> John Reeve of Rocky Hill was a skilled horseman; to “shorten distance he leaped the fences, sometimes throwing off the top rail with his foot, and thus pursued his way through the fields.”<sup>8</sup> Edward Taylor of Upper Freehold “endured an almost unparalleled amount of mental and physical toil” as he rode up and down the state. “The loss of his way in the



**Figure 3: JOHN BEATTY**

Beatty exemplified the physician as a multifaceted leader: a colonel in Washington's army, New Jersey secretary of state, and president of the Medical Society of New Jersey.

New York Public Library, public domain

darkness of night in the midst of the dense forests of pines tested his courage."<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Stratton of Mount Holly had a "very laborious practice" from the Delaware River to the seashore, driving up to forty-five miles in his sulky to visit a patient."<sup>10</sup> John Darcy of Hanover was "often called to great distances to perform important operations."<sup>11</sup> John Condit of Orange "kept many horses and was perpetually on the road."<sup>12</sup>

### **GODLINESS AND (IM)MORALITY**

A moral life and the outward expression of religious faith (mainly Protestant) were linked to medical practice as God's work. Cotton Mather, the Puritan preacher, referred to the mutual sympathy of medicine and religion—healing of body and soul—as the "Angelical Conjunction." Clark observed: "During the earliest period of medical record in Essex County, we find clergymen performing the double duty of caring for the physical and spiritual interests of their flocks."<sup>13</sup>

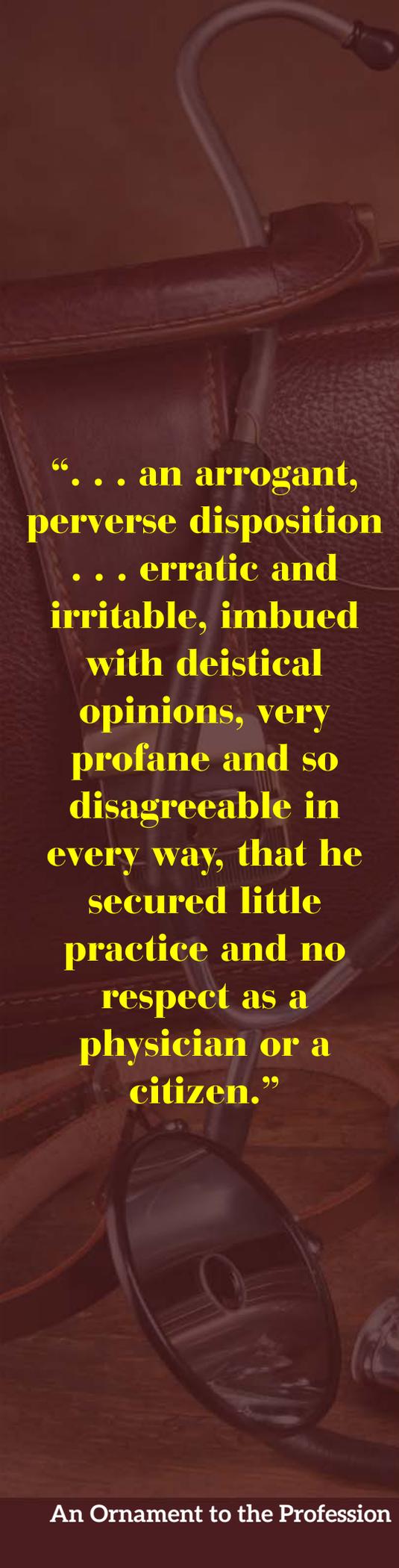
The early Quakers of West Jersey, "brought in their company physicians of education."<sup>14</sup> Edward Shippen, who practiced in Burlington, had left Boston (his birthplace) for Philadelphia "on account of his Quaker principles."<sup>15</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopedia* mentions Jesuit Father Theodore Schneider, who celebrated mass at New Jersey's iron furnaces in 1744.

*Having some skill in medicine, he was accustomed to cure the body as well as the soul; and travelling about under the name of Doctor Schneider he obtained access to places whither he could not otherwise have gone without great personal danger. Sometimes, however, his real character [i.e. Catholic priest] was discovered, and several times he was shot at in New Jersey.*<sup>16</sup>

Service to the church, alas, did not pay well. Jonathan Odell of Burlington, who had earlier served as an Anglican missionary, was rector of a local church. Odell found it necessary "to call to his aid the practice of the profession in which he was originally educated, for the support of himself and family."<sup>17</sup> John Darby of Parsippany "supplied the pulpit on Sunday, and practiced medicine during the week."<sup>18</sup> The gravestone of Edward Carroll of New Brunswick reflected Mather's Angelical Conjunction: ". . . alike eminent for the Christian graces and virtues that adorned his life, and for the medical skill and science that ranked him high in his profession."<sup>19</sup>

John Beatty of Princeton, "with all the lustre of his high character and elevated station, was not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ." Beatty was at various times a colonel in Washington's army, a member of the state assembly, New Jersey secretary of state, president of the Medical Society of New Jersey, and a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church.<sup>20</sup> (Figure 3)

But some men failed in their religious duties. Nicholas Belleville



**“ . . . an arrogant, perverse disposition . . . erratic and irritable, imbued with deistical opinions, very profane and so disagreeable in every way, that he secured little practice and no respect as a physician or a citizen.”**

of Trenton, who trained in France, was doctor to the glitterati. He attended Count Pulaski during the Revolution and Joseph Bonaparte, former King of Spain, at his mansion in Bordentown. However, in the matter of religious piety, Belleville stumbled. Despite occasional attendance at church, he was “more interested in the teachings of Voltaire than in those of Jesus Christ.”<sup>21</sup> Jabez Campfield of Morristown, served with distinction in the Revolutionary War. He lived to eighty-three and was buried in an unmarked grave, remembered as an “infidel.”<sup>22</sup>

### **MENTAL TORMENT AND A FALL FROM GRACE**

A physician's fall from grace was not glossed over. Charles Smith, an eminent and skillful physician, “acquired an ample fortune,” but in his old age he became “morbidly penurious; so much so, that he scarcely allowed himself the necessaries of life, constantly fearing that he was about to come to want.”<sup>23</sup>

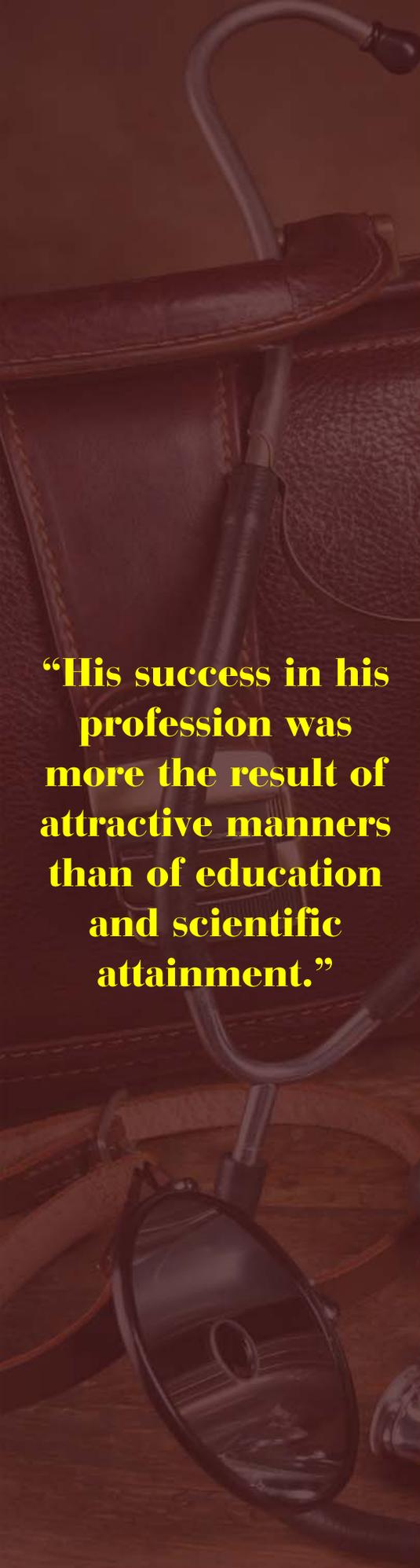
Daniel DeBenneville of Moorestown, descended from French nobility, started off well, but appears to have suffered a mental affliction, exhibiting “an arrogant, perverse disposition . . . erratic and irritable, imbued with deistical opinions, very profane and so disagreeable in every way, that he secured little practice and no respect as a physician or a citizen.”<sup>24</sup> In hindsight, both Smith and DeBenneville may have suffered from mental illness rather than failure of character.

What can be said of Henry Drake of New Brunswick, who, despite some talent as a physician, abandoned practice to become a hotel proprietor? He was a “horse racer, a cock fighter, and a hard drinker, a keeper of harlots, and noted for his profanity.”<sup>25</sup> And then there was Berne Budd of Morris County, who “fell into a most criminal deportment,” and was sentenced to death by hanging for counterfeiting bills of credit. Along with his co-conspirators, he was pardoned on the morning appointed for his execution. His death from putrid fever (typhus), while a brigade surgeon during the Revolution, was redemptive.<sup>26</sup>

Clarkson Freeman of Essex County, “on account of irregularities in his conduct” was suspended by the medical society and later expelled in 1790. This “unworthy member” was later jailed “as an accessory to a band of forgers of State certificates.” He escaped and the sheriff described him as “the infamous and notorious Doctor.”<sup>27</sup> Thomas Steele of Belleville “was boastful, rough and unattractive in his intercourse with others. Thus he failed to secure the affection of the people.”<sup>28</sup>

### **SNAPPY DRESSERS**

Some medical men attended with exquisite care to their wardrobes. Edward Shippen of Burlington was a “very handsome, stalwart young man, in powdered hair, lilac colored coat, and gold laced waistcoat. But, “in mature age he grew to be very large and corpulent.”<sup>29</sup> Benjamin Vanleer of Haddonfield, whose “habits were



**“His success in his profession was more the result of attractive manners than of education and scientific attainment.”**

what we now term *fast*, and were not promotive of his success as a medical man . . . dressed in Continental style, and was very vain of his ‘handsome leg,’ which in that day was quite a feature.”<sup>30</sup>

### **DYNASTIES AND A LONG LIFE**

Founding a dynasty of doctors was a mark of distinction. Matthias Pierson practiced in what was then known as the New Ark Mountains (later Orange). His son Isaac succeeded to the practice. Isaac’s son William enjoyed “the fruits of a long and successful practice.” His son William Jr. also joined the family business.<sup>31</sup> Josiah Hornblower of Bergen fathered two physicians and three daughters who married physicians.<sup>32</sup>

The Elmer family, descendants of a settler who arrived in 1632, “was distinguished throughout its generations for the number of the medical men which it has produced.” Philemon Elmer practiced in Westfield. His brother Moses Gale Elmer practiced as a surgeon’s mate in the Revolution and had an extensive practice in New Providence. In those pre-anesthesia days, he was “rather timid as a surgeon, his sympathies getting the better of his judgment.” Moses’ son Henry possessed “superior abilities,” but died of “intemperate habits at age twenty-five.”<sup>33</sup>

Five generations of Blachly doctors, some in New Jersey and others in Pennsylvania, bled the same patient—evidently a hardy soul—over many decades “with marked relief, and he lived to be eighty-five years old.”<sup>34</sup>

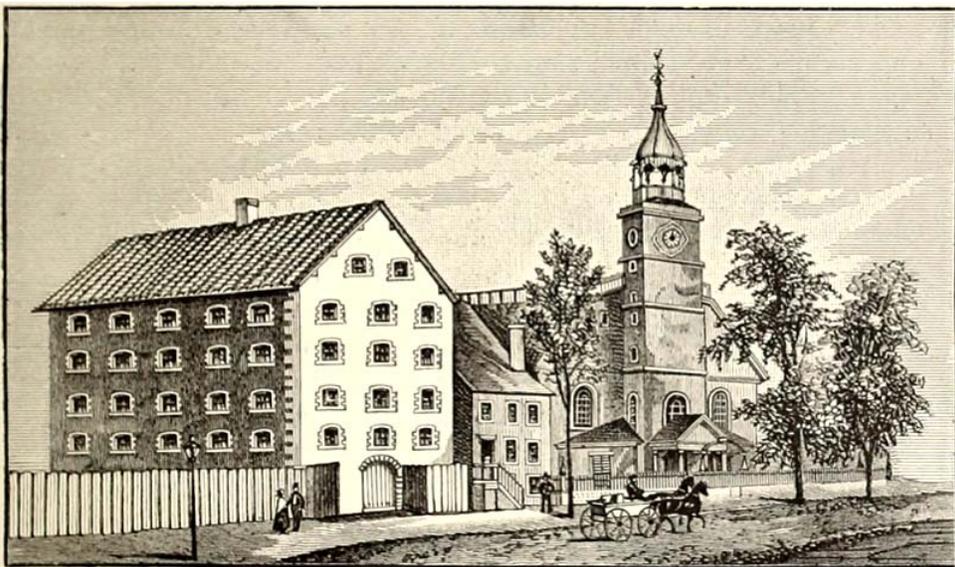
A long life spent in medical practice was another point of honor. The tombstone of Louis Dunham of New Brunswick bore the inscription: “During a practice of more than forty years he was indefatigable beyond expression. He was tender and skillful, to multitudes the blessed instrument of restored health.”<sup>35</sup>

### **KIND WORDS AND FAINT PRAISE**

Isaac Morse of Elizabethtown was “a man of great professional activity and usefulness.” Though “overflowing with mirthfulness, he had courage, constancy and perseverance.” It was said that his patients owed their convalescence more to his humor than to his learning or drugs.<sup>36</sup> James English of Englishtown enjoyed an “extensive practice and accumulated a fortune . . . His success in his profession was more the result of attractive manners than of education and scientific attainment.”<sup>37</sup>

### **LOYALIST SYMPATHIES**

Most New Jersey medical men served the Revolutionary cause either as surgeons or dressers or as military officers. Some, however, served the Loyalist cause. John Lawrence of Amboy, whose “political sympathies were with the Mother Country” was arrested and arraigned by the Council of Safety.” He fled to New York where he set up practice and commanded a company of volunteers “for the defense of the city.”<sup>38</sup> Aaron Forman of



OLD SUGAR HOUSE AND MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH.

Hunterdon County was a man of "strong conviction" and had Loyalist sympathies. He refused to "take the oath" and "being too dangerous a person to go at large, was committed to close custody in the common gaol at Trenton."<sup>39</sup>

### THE PATRIOT CAUSE

In Loyalist strongholds, patriot physicians were considered fair targets. Robert Halsted of Elizabethtown was a "leading man [doctor] in his day," but a "marked man" in the Revolution. A "notorious tory [sic]" informed against him and he was sent to the vicious "Old

Sugar House" on Liberty Street in New York, where many prisoners died of systematic neglect and starvation.<sup>40</sup> (Figure 4)

Nathaniel Scudder of Freehold, "one of the earliest and most able of the champions of the patriot cause," was a delegate to the Continental Congress and a signer of the Articles of Confederation. Hearing of captured prisoners and an impending skirmish at Long Branch in 1781, Scudder told his family, so the account goes, that he would "go down to bind up the wounds of the poor fellows." Though a non-combatant, he was killed by a bullet aimed at a nearby officer just three days before the surrender at Yorktown. His granddaughter wrote: "He went everywhere by the name of the beloved physician."<sup>41</sup>

Bodo Otto, a native of Germany, practiced near Swedesboro, and served as a colonel of state troops in the Revolution. His house and barn were torched by the British and his farm destroyed. "His constitution was seriously impaired by the exposure, privations and arduous duties of the service, and after a long illness he died at his residence in 1782 at age thirty-four."<sup>42</sup> Lewis Howell of Cumberland County served with the army at Monmouth, but "lay sick with a fever at the time of the battle." He died at a nearby tavern.<sup>43</sup>

John Cochran of New Brunswick displayed "diligence, fidelity and sound judgment" in his medical services as Physician and Surgeon General of the Middle Department, where he served Washington and the Continental Army at Morristown. He was later appointed Director General of the Hospitals of the United States.<sup>44</sup>

(Figure 5)

### THE CHARITABLE IMPULSE

Charitable sensibilities were often remarked upon. Thomas Griffith of Newark was "eminent as a surgeon and physician, and his liberality to his patients of poverty will long be remembered . . .

**Figure 4: LIBERTY STREET SUGAR HOUSE, NEW YORK**

This stone building, originally built to store sugar and molasses from the West Indies, was used by the British to house hundreds of patriot soldiers and supporters of the cause of independence during the Revolution; many died of malreatment and starvation. Dr. Robert Halsted of Elizabeth, betrayed by a "notorious tory," survived his imprisonment.

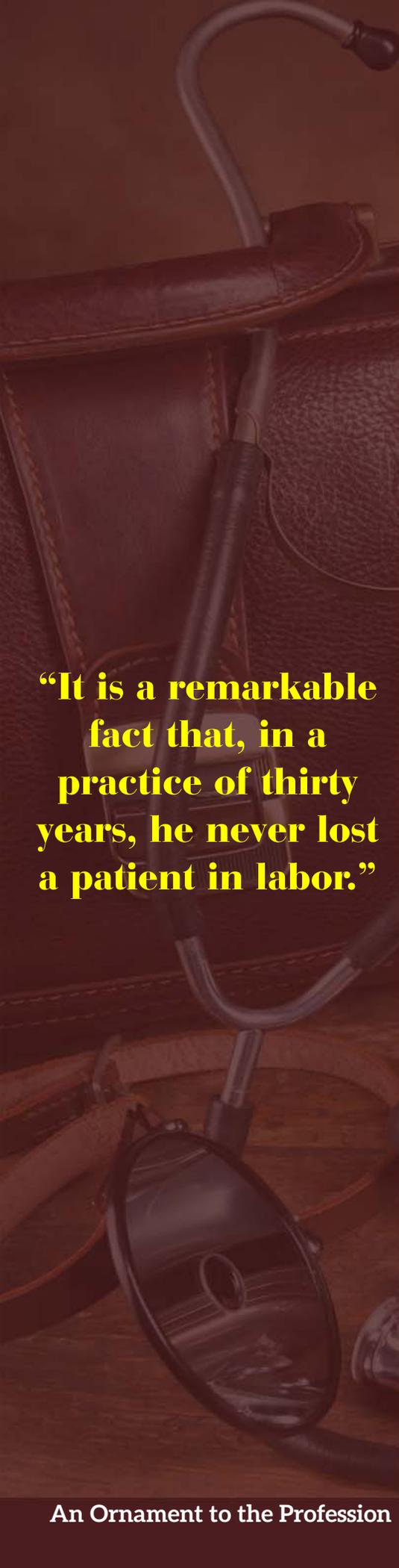
Augustine E. Costello, *Our Firemen* (1887), 93



**Figure 5: JOHN COCHRAN**

Cochran was highly regarded by George Washington, doing as much as he could to guard the health of the Continental army in the New Jersey encampments. He also served as personal physician to Washington and his inner circle.

National Library of Medicine, public domain



**“It is a remarkable fact that, in a practice of thirty years, he never lost a patient in labor.”**

he was an honor to his profession.”<sup>45</sup> Stacy Budd of Mount Holly “was much esteemed in his profession, particularly by the poor, who always found in him a friend without respect of reward.”<sup>46</sup> Of John Condit of Orange, It is said that there were enough of uncollected accounts on his books to have afforded, if made available, a fortune for a man in those days.”<sup>47</sup>

John Johnstone emigrated to America in 1685 and practiced in Amboy, “In his profession he was skillful, and availed himself of the opportunities it gave to exhibit his goodness of heart, his charity and his estimable character.”<sup>48</sup> Thomas Griffith of Newark died in his thirties, and was recalled as “eminent as a surgeon and physician, and his liberality to his patients of poverty will long be remembered.”<sup>49</sup>

### **SKILL IN OBSTETRICS**

Success in obstetrics—hours of boredom and moments of heart-stopping terror for early New Jersey physicians—was another mark of distinction. Joseph Dodd of Bloomfield had an extensive practice: “It is a remarkable fact that, in a practice of thirty years, he never lost a patient in labor.”<sup>50</sup>

### **EPIDEMIC DISEASES**

Those who died faithfully attending patients during epidemics earned the special laurels of martyrdom: Francis Bowes Sayre of Trenton, “a young physician of high promise,” died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1798, “gloriously fallen a martyr.”<sup>51</sup> In the deadly 1832 cholera epidemic, John Chetwood of Elizabeth “fell a victim to that untiring benevolence which, for more than forty years, had marked his professional course. The meridian sun found him administering to the suffering; the next morning’s beams fell upon his grave . . . He died a martyr to his profession.”<sup>52</sup> Oscar Akers of Newark attended a colleague’s three children, all mortally ill with diphtheria. Akers contracted the contagion and diagnosed himself: “All that his brethren could do was done to save him. He sunk rapidly, and we [his colleagues] bore him to his grave.”<sup>53</sup>

Consumption (tuberculosis) winnowed the ranks. James Nichols of Newark was diligent in his business, but died at age thirty-four of tuberculosis. His brother and partner, Whitfield Nichols, “went down to his grave more slowly,” two years after his brother at age forty-four.<sup>54</sup> Dayton Loomis of Woodbury, “a dashing, energetic young man, popular and efficient as a practitioners,” died at age forty-one after suffering for eight years from progressive tuberculosis “which he bore with almost unexampled patience and resignation.”<sup>55</sup>

### **APPRENTICESHIP**

Until well into the nineteenth century, practical medical education was by apprenticeship. Young men paid a fee to an established physician for several years of instruction. They lived in

NEW BRUNSWICK, July 31st, 1835.  
SIR.—In conformity with the Act of Incorporation of the Medical Society of the State of New Jersey, I hereby notify you that Henry Van Arsdalen, Jr., has commenced the study of medicine under my direction.

Recorded August 1st, 1835, by  
P. VREDENBURGH, *Recording Sec'y.* WM. VAN DEURSEN.

SIR.—You will please to file the name of O'Bryen Adams, as having commenced the study of physic and surgery under my preceptorship. He has been with me since the 2d of October last, which date you will have the kindness to register as the commencement of his pupilage.

Very respectfully yours,  
Newark, N. J., Dec. 15th, 1836. HENRY A. O'HEA, *M. R. C. S. E.*  
Recorded Dec. 31, 1836.

WM. PIERSON, JR., *Recording Sec'y.*

LAMBERTVILLE, May 10, 1839.

I do hereby certify that Richard Horace Coryell, youngest son of John Coryell, Esq., of the village of Lambertville, township of Amwell, County of Hunterdon, State of New Jersey, aged twenty-one years on the 10th of March last, did commence the study of physic and surgery under my immediate care and direction.

JOHN LILLY.  
February 23th, 1839.  
Received and entered May 14, 1839.

WM. PIERSON, *Recording Sec'y.*

his home, read his medical books, compounded his prescriptions, and observed and assisted in his practice. Some young men apprenticed with their fathers and joined his practice upon completing their studies. It was not uncommon for apprentices, bound to a master and living in his home for several years, to marry the doctor's daughter.

About the middle of the last [eighteenth] century there were a number of physicians in East and West Jersey who acquired reputation as instructors, whose offices were resorted to in considerable numbers by students in Medicine. Here they

read such works as the library of their preceptor afforded, compounded medicines for use in current demands of his practice, and received such instruction as might be afforded by his familiar intercourse with them, and by occasional opportunities for blood-letting and tooth-drawing.<sup>56</sup>

Isaac Harris of Pittsgrove "had a good medical library and had a reputation as a prominent man in his profession." His office was "the resort of students from Somerset County and elsewhere."<sup>57</sup> Rev. John Darby of Parsippany "had a reputation as a physician and as a medical instructor, pupils seeking his instruction from distant places."<sup>58</sup>

Upon entry of a student into apprenticeship, the preceptor notified the Medical Society of New Jersey in writing. In 1834, Dr. Arm. S. Skillman of Bound Brook informed the secretary of the Society that Robert Boodey "has this day entered my office as a student of medicine." Dr. John Lilly of Lambertville reported in 1839 that Richard Coryell "did commence the study of physic and surgery under my immediate care and direction."<sup>59</sup> (Figure 6)

As a supplement to the apprenticeship, fledgling medical colleges in New York and Philadelphia offered courses of lectures and some slight opportunities for observing patients. Some fortunate students followed their American training with a period of more sophisticated study in England or Scotland. Immigrant physicians arrived with their European training and credentials. Alexander Ross of Mount Holly was born in Scotland in 1713 and educated at Edinburgh University, the leading European medical college of its day. Ross was remembered as "one of the most prominent and skillful medical men of South Jersey."<sup>60</sup>

### Figure 6: NOTICES OF APPRENTICESHIP FROM PRECEPTORS TO THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF NEW JERSEY

Established physicians served as preceptors, training young apprentices in the practical aspects of medicine. Notice of apprenticeship was sent to the Medical Society of New Jersey. Some men supplemented this training with lectures at schools in New York or Pennsylvania.

Medical Society of New Jersey, *The Rise, Minutes, and Proceedings of the New Jersey Medical Society*, 734



### Figure 7: EMMA WARD EDWARDS

Edwards was one of New Jersey's early women physicians, a field closed to them until the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Her memorialist wrote that Edwards "contributed not a little to overcome this prejudice."

Landis-Foster-Hutton Family Tree blog  
<http://landisfamilytree.blogspot.com>

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## HITTING ALL THE HIGH POINTS

James Stratton of Swedesboro, seemed to combine all the best traits. After serving in the Civil War and attending lectures in Philadelphia, he "entered upon the service of his life in the practice of medicine." His practice extended from Salem to Woodbury and from the Delaware River to the interior of the state. He spent his days and far into the night riding to his patients in a "sulky without a top . . . His students, of which he had a number, were employed on his return in compounding his medicinal preparations for the next day's necessities." He possessed "genial manners and Christian tenderness." In difficult obstetrical cases, the midwives called him to assist. He arranged his medical visits to "secure for himself the privileges of the sanctuary" on the Lord's Day. He was possessed of a commanding figure, genial manners, and Christian tenderness." And at the end: "In the midst of life and usefulness, in possession of the love and esteem of all who knew him, is this amiable and respectable man snatched from his family and society by the hand of death."<sup>61</sup>

## "REMEMBER THE LADIES"

Women physicians did not appear in the county and state medical society rolls until the 1870s. In 1876, Esther Haines became the first woman elected to membership in the Essex District Medical Society. Emma Ward Edwards (b. 1845), daughter of a prominent Newark family, studied with local doctors before becoming one of the earliest students at the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, graduating in 1870 as valedictorian. She managed a successful private medical practice, attended charitable cases, and supported child welfare measures.<sup>62</sup> She joined the county and state medical societies in 1880. Following her death in 1896, the Medical Society of New Jersey memorialist wrote:

*Dr. Edwards entered the ranks for the medical profession at a time when the opinion of the medical men, for various reasons or pretexts, was almost unanimously opposed to women practicing medicine . . . Dr. Edwards contributed not a little to overcome this prejudice. She won the place by her merits . . . And so, by her faithful, earnest, skillful work, she disarmed unfavorable criticism, conquered prejudice, and gathered to herself a host of loving and admiring patients and friends.*<sup>63</sup>

Although Edwards would have scorned the notion of women as mere ornaments to wealthy or domineering men, you might say she was "an ornament to the profession." (Figure 7, previous page)

