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is the only object of their extreme solicitude, and I am represented as an incendiary, a sort of barbarian disposed to destroy the house I have taken such pains to build up, and this for the diabolical gratification of thereby destroying, or distressing those whom I hate! - I more than suspect that such a representation has been made to several and to Ward Nicholas Boylstone among the rest; a man to whom our Medical School owes more than to any other that can be named. But he shall not remain long in his delusion -

I have, before this Rev.^d & Hon^{ble} Body challenge each & every one of the Professors to produce a single word that I ever said, or any writing I ever penned expressive, or indicative that I was endeavouring to raise up a Medical School the counterpart of our^{own} Medical School, or to do any thing to embarrass, or impede its progress, or to eclipse its lustre. Let them produce a single instance.

See the publication in the Chronicle signed "Moderation". See Certificates.

I take it that Harvard College has no more to do with the Mass. Med. Society than with the American Academy of Arts & Sciences; or the Historical Society, and that if I had a mind to contribute to the formation of similar Societies, this Corporation would have no good reason for calling me to an account for it, as infringing the promise I had made

when I was inducted into office. By parity of reasoning, they have no right to consider my advocating a new Medical Society as encroaching on my allegiance to the University. I certainly never viewed it ⁱⁿ that light. —

Instead of considering the Mass. Med. Society as an auxiliary to our Medical School, I have long viewed in a directly opposite light. I consider it as injurious to us Professors, in point of interest (provided we had what we ought to have, graduation fees) and a diminution to our reputation in point of the numbers. — Every officer of the Medical Society is no more than a private practitioner, and yet under the name of censors & examiners they have been in the practice of giving a sort of minor Diploma, or licence for practice, which has diverted great numbers from passing regularly through our Harvard College Medical Institution. The gentleman now at the head of the Med. Society is now perfectly reconciled to a practice, to which he was once most vehemently opposed. So differently are the feelings of men when in office, and out of it!

I find that when I was inducted into the office of professor, "I promised" to discharge the trust reposed in me, with diligence & fidelity, & to the advantage of the Students, in my particular department.

2^{dly} I promised that I would not only endeavour the advancement

ment of Medical knowledge in the University, but consult its prosperity in every other respect.

3^{dly} I promised to demean myself as a good citizen of the United States of America; and to use every endeavour to perpetuate their union, and promote their happiness.

4^{thly} I promised to support, according to my best abilities, the present Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; & to conduct in conformity to its wholesome laws.

Which of these promises have I broken? —

Have I ever been deficient in my duties as a professor? I will compare my labours with any Professor you have, or ever had at Cambridge.

As early as 1786 I did what no Professor ever did there before my time or since. I published an ample Synopsis of the physiological part of my Medical course, that you might all see my plan & my principles. I was unpatronized, unassisted, ~~unfettered~~ & disheartened. I sent into the Corporation my resignation of my professorship. They would not receive it. They said every thing that was kind & encouraging to induce me to retain it, especially Dr. Wigglesworth & Judge Lowell. I resumed my function & they promised to support me, or rather to assist me to support myself. I remember with gratitude their exertions, yet I remained there about ten years afterwards

without one farthing of a Salary, suffering more privations than ever I before endured.

During this space of time, beside fulfilling my duties as your Medical Professor, I brought forward three things which had for their end public utility more than private emolument. — The first was a system of Lectures on Natural History, being the first attempt of the kind in the United States. The second which followed after this period was the formation of an extensive Cabinet of Minerals and the 3^d which followed 10 years after, The introduction of Vaccination, & depending it amidst in its disputed march through an host of enemies for nearly ten years more. — ^{And} ~~How~~ how have I been rewarded for these extra labours. I shall be very brief on this ungrateful subject. As soon as my Nat^l History became an object of much conversation & general approbation, you took it away from me. As to the Collection of Minerals, but — What has been my treatment for my labours in vaccination? — The worst of treatment from this Medical Society, for whom you testify such keen sensibility; & whose conduct towards me personally has been a disgrace to physic & a scandal to the profession. —

Having cleared myself of the 1st. charge I go on
 To the 2^d charge viz^d "In his intercourse with us that Pro-
 fessor has, we believe, been guilty of duplicity, & of want of
 "veracity."

Upon examining the written evidence to sup-
 port this charge, I would remark that I have not a very clear
 recollection of the accidental conversation in a visit to Mr.
 Johnson. * I only remember expressing my wishes to do some-
 thing to start forward our Medical Institution, for that Dart-
 mouth College seemed to be outstripping us, and that I fell in
 with the idea of removing the Lectures to Boston. One thing I
 remember very distinctly, & that was the earnest manner &
 the apprehensive tone with which Dr. Warren expressed
 to me the movements of the Medical Society; for said he
 if we (the Medical Professors of the Cambridge Medical
 School) do not remove the Lectures from Cambridge to Bos-
 ton the Medical Society are determined to set up a Sys-
 tem of Lectures, which will supplant us. He represented
 to me that there was such a design actually brewing in ^{the} Mass.
 Med. Society distinct from himself, Dr. Dexter, & myself;
 & that we must therefore hasten the removal of our Lec-
 tures, or others would be set up in opposition to us.
 I do not believe that Dr. Warren then proposed to me to
 join Dr. Dexter, & himself in a petition to the Corporation;

* This must have been about Feb 7th 1810 - C.P. died the 15th 1810.

If he had, I am confident that I should have acceded to it, as I had expressed my wish to remove our Lectures to Boston to Dr. Spooner a considerable time before this conversation, I deny having said that I would not sign a petition to the Corporation for the removal of the Lectures, or that I ever said that "there were some points unsettled between that body & myself, & that I would not ask anything of them until they were settled." I repeatedly turned over in my mind who of the Medical Society could be brought out as Lecturers against Dr. Warren, Dexter & myself, & I concluded thus, that Dr. Rand Jun. would take anatomy & Surgery - Dr. Jackson Theory & Practice of Physic & Dr. T. Danforth Chemistry. I concluded Dr. Jackson would take the practice of Physic from his having borrowed of me at several times, and kept for several months together, my manuscript Lectures which I had taken in England from Fordyce, I had fairly transcribed & bound up; which has led me to believe for four or five years past, that Dr. Jackson was preparing himself to give Lectures in my department.

I however, asked three members of the Medical Society, one of whom was a councillor, whether the Society did not contemplate a system of Medical Lectures in Boston when I found neither of them ever heard of such a plan. I thereupon began to suspect the sincerity of this representation. I was soon after pretty well convinced that the story told me once & again by Dr. Warren that the Mass.

Med. Society had in contemplation a system of Lectures independent of us was without foundation; and this uttered by a man who now comes forward to charge me before you with duplicity & want of veracity!

In the early part of Feb'y. / 1810 / as I conjecture, I conversed with D. Warren again in School Street, near his own door, upon the subject of removing the Lectures to Boston. In this short conversation, I told him in an unequivocal manner that I was desirous to have our Lectures removed to Boston; for that a large town & not a village was the proper place for a Medical School. I told him ^{that} I would fall in with any plan which he & D. Dexter & the Corporation should deem judicious. I said to him thus, which was the prominent feature of the conversation - I deputed you to say yea & amen for me to any plan which you & D^r. Dexter & the Corporation shall agree on, to be best for the advancement of our Medical School as you are here on the spot with the members of the Corporation, & see them often, while I cannot; but whatever you & D. Dexter should agree on, I stipulate it as a point of confidence & honor between us, that no step be taken in this business of altering our Medical School, nor even a plan devised for the consideration of the Corporation, without it being frankly & entirely communicated to ~~them~~ me, previously to its being communicated to them; and D. Warren promised me

that he would, & this in ~~an~~ emphatical manner as that in which I had requested it; & having thus deputed him my proxy, I told him that I shall look to him alone for information of whatever he & the Prof^s of Chemistry should devise, or any of the College Legislature suggest.

I deemed this conversation to be so important that I resolved to give the principle point in this conversation a more durable form, & accordingly a few days afterwards wrote the most pithy part of it to Dr. Warren, & carried the letter myself. (see copy c) — The reason that I carried myself was to be certain that he received it. The letter did not require any conversation upon it, & therefore I did not seek it. The reason for writing it was because my suspicion was awakened, not only by the story that the Medical Society contemplated to rival us three Professors, but on account of a report, which, if true, would affect my professorship, and which realized itself before the close of the year, & which I shall speak of here after. — [February 1810]

— In this letter to Dr. Warren I say to him — "I am disposed to listen to & adopt any plan that shall be deemed on all sides best. Something certainly ought to be done to make the Lectures, at least keep pace with similar institutions in other parts of the Union. I am therefore ready to fall into any plan that the wise & the judicious of our College Legislature shall recommend, but with this express condition, that no plan be devised, or sketched by you, or Dr. Dexter,

"with out its being frankly & unreservedly communicated to me,
 "before it goes beyond us three. I mean by this, that no plan
 "shall be considered as matured, or even offered to any of the
 "College authority without the knowledge, and consent of each
 "of every one of the three Professors, viz yourself, Dexter and
 "myself. On this point, I shall look to you alone for infor-
 mation" [Why? because I have made you my Proxy in
 this business.] See my Letter (A.) -

I had no particular inclination to talk with Dr Warren
 upon the contents of a Letter evidently written under the
 suspicion, of his sincerity. I intended that my Letter should
 speak my sentiments & not my tongue. These expressions
 of the latter might be perverted by himself or connexions
 but "black & white never lies" [Memorandum to commit
 to paper H - I's communication as well as Mr B's] Feb. 1810
 The conduct of Dr. Warren in the first formation & organization
 of the Humane Society in this town in 1785, & which I have
 glanced at in a late publication of mine, the Botanist, had
 ever after left a suspicion on my mind not very favourable
 to his character. Perhaps the Rev. Dr. Eliot may remember what
 I refer to. - #

The written evidence adduced to prove my duplicity,
 goes on to say - "As Dr. Waterhouse had peremptorily refused to
 "unite in any application to the Corporation, Dr. Warren & Dexter
 "had proposed a memorial in behalf of themselves only!"
 # Dr Eliot says that he has often heard this mentioned, but that it is a mistake.

I do ^{peremptorily} deny the fact, and beg that the Corporation would patiently & candidly examine this ungenerous accusation. I beg they would not confine their judgments to a word, or a single phrase, but to judge of the whole of my conduct in connection.

I ~~think~~ think it proper to declare that I never read attentively the Memorial presented to the Corporation by Dr. Warren & Dexter for the removal of the Lectures to Boston before this present day viz Saturday Feb^y 15th 1812. [NB. There is no date to the Memorial] When Mr Clapp brought it to me, I merely run my eye over it, & put it again into his hand, saying to him "that I believed I was possessed of the substance of it." But I never pretended to read it, as a prudent man reads an important paper previously to making it his "act & deed."

Now let us examine this charge of duplicity; and see on which side of the account = book it lies.

It was I conjecture about the 10th of Febr^y. that I conversed with Dr. Warren, as before related, & it was on the 19th that I recapitulated that conversation in the form of a letter, and then it seems the Memorial to the Corporation lay on Dr. Warren's table ready for my signature, [see written evidence no 2.] and the next day it was sent out to Cambridge to me. Hence the Corporation all perceive, without my assistance, that the stipulations between Dr. Warren & me was violated; for he had been making his arrangements, consulting with individuals in the College Legislature, & procuring legal advice, as he afterwards

told me, & all this without giving me the least intimation. My letter intimated to him that I had some suspicion, to say the least of it, of his conduct. He thereupon was in great hurry to shew me his Memorial, & accordingly sent it out to Cambridge in the evening by one of his pupils, who testified great haste to return directly to Boston, for that the memorial was to be presented to the Corporation the next morning at nine o'clock. The whole of this proceeding appeared to me extraordinary. I told Mr Clapp that I wished to read the memorial with attention & consider it deliberately, before I expressed my approbation of it. But he said it was to be delivered into the Corporation the next morning. ^{The young gentleman} I walked ~~and~~ ^{manly} was too much in a hurry to sit down. I told him that I would see Dr. Warren in the morning. I called accordingly at Dr. Warren's house at an early hour, ^{but was informed he had gone to Cambridge - I had written to the Corporation, which I intended to shew the memorial} it was as follows -

Feb. 20th 1810.

" Last evening after candle light, Dr. Warren sent a Memorial up to me, the purport of which was the removal of our Lectures to the town of Boston. The young gentleman who brought it said, that it was to be presented tomorrow [this day].

" As I had neither seen nor heard of such a memorial before, nor had I ever spoken with any of my colleagues on this subject; a minute or two with Dr. Warren excepted, it cannot be supposed that I have considered the subject of it

A line is drawn through the line in brackets

sufficiently. I therefore write this to beg the Corporation not to act upon the said memorial until adequate time be given me to consider the matter in all its relations". — "Every wise man knows that no plan is so likely to be satisfactory & durable as that which is taken up with due deliberation; & as this arrangement will effect one more than the gentlemen in Boston, I beg that it may be postponed. At the same time I would observe that I will endeavour to conform to any arrangement that may make the Lectures more extensively useful to medical Students, and the least injurious to the Undergraduates".

NB. The above is a copy of the rough sketch). B. W

On this letter I remark 1st that there is not the least indication of an opposition to the main object of the memorial viz. the removal of the Lectures to Boston, for on that subject I had already made up my mind.

2^d. I do not say that I never before heard of the design of removing the lectures, for I had spoke of it to Dr. Warren, & to divers of the members of the Medical Society. I only say that I never heard of such a memorial! and when it was sent to me for perusal, I had it not in my hand I believe two minutes. I returned it, saying "I will see Dr. Warren in the ^{morning} ~~evening~~!" My meaning in the letter was this: Here is a lengthy memorial sent to me, in great haste for perusal, but not to be left with me long enough to examine it; & which I was told was to be presented next morning to the Corporation. This memorial Dr. Warren & Dexter had in

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hand probably for weeks, & had doubtless examined in all its relations, while I had not. Had Dr. Warren thought proper to have left the paper with me until until morning, I should probably not have written that letter to the Corporation. Had I been allowed an half an hours conference with my colleagues, it might have been sufficient, & yet my going to Boston for this purpose, has been spoken of by Dr. W. as an evidence of my eagerness to defeat their memorial, and my letter to the Corporation called a Protest! And adduced here as an instance of my duplicity!

I was made to believe that the Corporation was going to act on this memorial immediately, the very next morning; which was a mistake; there was no Corporation convened or intended to be convened on that day (20th Feb. 1810)

The written Evidence (N: 2.) says "Previous to this time it had been arranged with the President, (Webber) that Drs. Warren & Dexter should call on him in the morning of the 20th with the Memorial". From which it appears that they had thought proper to consult the President about the Memorial, but not me; and the President had been made acquainted so particularly with the memorial that he had had a conference or conferences, with Mr. Boylstone on the subject, yet, the Professor of the Theory & Practice of Physic had it presented to him in a manner that sufficiently betrayed that it

was a mere empty ceremony, merely sufficient to say that it had been shewn to me, & that I had not signed it.

The fact is I never was asked by Dr. Warren to sign it, and I am more & more convinced that Dr. Warren never wished me to sign it. It was sent to me in that hasty manner, that I should return it as I did — Why else all those words, to prove that they sent after me, & sought me every where to shew me the memorial? I never could trace that they sent any where after me. —

The letter from Dr. Warren to Dr. Waterhouse
Boston Feb. 9. 1810.

Dear Doctor

"As nothing is asked for but merely permission to deliver the Lectures in Boston, there can be nothing compulsory in the affair. I was sorry that you did not come in this morning, as I was at home, & had the memorial before me. I sent all over town to find you, but as I did not succeed, I send a messenger up with it on purpose."

"Please to peruse it & return it by the bearer to your friend & humble servant.

Dr. Waterhouse

J. Warren"

His letter contains but two requests, both of which I promptly & literally complied with viz

"Please to peruse it, and return it by the bearer."

Dr. Warren never asked me to sign the memorial, and I am more & more convinced that if I had signed it, he would

have been disappointed. From that period, I have never ceased to wish that I had signed it. It would have deprived the Prof^r. of Anatomy & of Chemistry of their first & leading pretext of acting without me. A line of conduct, which I hope the Legislature of the University [at large] will take under their consideration before our next course of Medical Lectures. —

From this time Feby. 1810 Dr. Warren & I frequently conversed on the Memorial, & on the removal of our Lectures to Boston; & I as frequently ^{assured} answered him that my letter to the Corporation was not meant to prevent that plan. I more than once told him ^{since} that he & I had conversed on the subject, I meant to recall that letter, lest it should be construed into an oppugnation of the plan of removal of the Lectures. During the Spring of 1810, I asked him, & he asked me, as often as we met, whether the Corporation had ever taken up that business, & we both of us lamented their neglect of it. The last time I asked him was at President Webbers funeral. — But he returned me no answer, but appeared not to hear to me, & when I repeated it, he waved the question. — All this time, there was not, I believe, any thing on Dr. Warrens mind like my having treated him with duplicity. The only thing, with which I reproach myself, is the neglecting to recall or explain

farther my letter to the Corporation of Feb. 24th [1810] I was satisfied however, that Dr. Warren knew full well that I was ready & willing, at any time, to sign the memorial, & of course that the letter in question was not wished by me to be considered as having the force of an objection to the plan in which we were all of one mind.

[I would remark here that although, I was ready to declare to my colleagues that I had determined to remove to Boston, I was not ready to make that declaration to the Corporation. This arose from a business not connected with Medical Lectures]

In July 1810 President Webber died; from the day of his funeral, I was confined by indisposition about a fortnight. During this time Dr. Warren called upon me twice, if not three times, when we conversed very fully on our medical affairs. I told him that I had fully determined to remove my family to Boston. He said in the hearing of my family, that he was glad to hear it, & he thought it would be for my advantage.

He then give me a minute account of the arrangements making & to be made in Malborough Street for the conveniency of giving all our Lectures, of the conveniency of the Anatomical & Chemical Departments, & told me that I should be accommodated with a room for delivering my Lectures at a reasonable rent, and give me such a picture of his plans & prospects that I was very well pleased with the whole narrative. I thought I saw our Medical School starting afresh on fairer ground

(Mineral Cabinet)

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and with brighter prospects than ever.

Dr. Warren's free & friendly conversation gained my confidence. I never was before so well satisfied by an interview with him as on that day. — I was not backward in letting him know that he had gained my confidence, & thereupon I made him acquainted with some things I had endured within the five preceding years, which I should not have related to any man whom I did not think my friend. I then told him that I was pleased with the idea of bringing forward his Son & son in law; for it coincided with a favourite idea of my own. I informed him that I had a Son of respectable talents & uncommon industry, who meant to pursue Physic, & that I was disposed to indulge the fond idea of his being able to take my place, when I arrived at that age, when it would be proper for me to relinquish it. And in order to give him some idea of the industry of the Youth, I gave him a cursory & partial view of his collection of Minerals — of Plants — of Fishes, and of Insects; and told him that I hoped to turn his talents for system & observation, & his remarkable industry into the channel of Physic. Dr. Warren appeared to be almost as well pleased with the idea as myself. I never, since the first establishment of the Medical School in 1783 felt so much satisfaction. I thought there was now a fair

prospect of its going on during the rest of my life pleasantly & prosperously, and our path widening before us as we advanced in it. I viewed my removal to Boston as a happy period of my life; and had Dr. Warren fostered these feelings in me, and cherished similar ones in himself, we should not have found ourselves here this day in our present humiliated situation, adding one more instance in the eyes of the public of Physicians treating each other worse than any other profession! — I would beg leave here to ask Dr. Warren, if when he visited me, & conversed with me, & of mine, as just related, whether he then harboured in his mind any impressions of duplicity of conduct in the affair of the Memorial & the letter, which occurred six months before? If he did not, why did he bring it up a few months afterwards? — This is a natural question that I have a right to ask.

It is clear that the cause of this extraordinary denunciation must have arisen not anterior to President Webber's death, but since that period. This narrows considerably the circle of our enquiry. —

Not many days, it might be the next day, or the day after this visit of Dr. Warren's, in which there appeared such agreement & mutual satisfaction, he came again, and it appeared to me a visit "en passant," as if passing through the town. I however noticed a degree of embarrassment. I do not pretend to relate the conversation. It was desul-

tory. Dr. Warren spoke of the Alms house, & that he and all the other Professors had obtained permission to give Clinical Lectures in it. and then he told me of the new Clinical Professorship. I enquired why I was not included in this privilege of the Alms house? How came the Prof^r of Chemistry to have the privilege & not the Prof^r of the Practice of Physic? I enquired who was the originator of the plan? for he must remember that I stipulated with him that neither he nor Dexter was to take any step, in which any interest or reputation were concerned without being previously informed of it. He said that the Alms-house & the Clinical Professorship were the doings of the Corporation, & that as it was the doings of the corporation, he wondered that I had not been made acquainted with it. He might have perceived that I was surprised, as easily as I perceived that he was embarrassed.

The very next day after this visit, some account of the plan appeared in the Newspaper, all of which had been concealed from me, notwithstanding our very recent conversation, by the man who comes here before you to charge me with

Duplicity!

Boston Feb. 24th 1812.

In my Memorial to the Board of Overseers, I stated that I was kept in total ignorance of the new arrangements, respecting a Clinical Professor, and that I had no suspicion that the Corporation contemplated such a subtraction from my Professorship; and that I learnt there

things, for the first time, only the day before they appeared
in the News-papers - And yet Dr. Warren knew of them
when he paid me the visit already spoken of. -

I at the same time informed the Overseers "that
I had conferred professedly & repeatedly, in the course of the
Summer with the Prof^r of Anatomy on the best measures to be
pursued for widening the basis of our Medical School, & extend-
ing its usefulness, & that as one mean of it, I readily acqui-
esced in the plan of removing the Lectures to Boston; and
even of my readiness to change my residence to that town;
and that I had commissioned the Prof^r of Anatomy
to say this whenever he should happen to converse with any
individuals of the College government on the subject; but at
the same time, I strictly enjoined on Dr. Warren to take
no step in the business without my knowledge & par-
ticipation; & to make this still more emphatical, I express-
ed ^{it} to him in writing. - In all these conferences not a word
was ever uttered respecting a division of my branch, nor
a syllable dropt relative to a distinct clinical professor-
ship" (Query did I W & Dr. J. petition the Corporation
for this change?)

It was not until after President Webber's
death and funeral that I heard for the first time that the
Corporation had subtracted from my Professorship,
the clinical part of it.

I am certain, very certain, that I never
heard a list of the business of the Almshouse & the

Extract from my memorial to Overseers

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Clinical Professorship until after the funeral of President
Webber, I had never heard of it when Dr. Warren & his
Son & Dr. Jackson & myself were together in the examina-
tion of the body of the President, in order to discov^{er} ~~er~~
the cause of his sudden death. Notwithstanding the
doubts expressed to the contrary, I am thoroughly convinced
of the fact, not merely from my own recollection, but
from corroborating facts & circumstances in my own
family. Some of whom heard me say to Dr. Warren who gave
me the first information of the business of the Almshouse &
the Clinical Professorship at ^{my own} ~~your~~ house. "This pro-

"Professorship will operate to the injury of my interest. To which
"he replied - no it will not; & if it should the loss will be
"made up to you"

AMT'S



