Robert Jackson, M.D., late inspector-general of army hospitals / [Le Roy Crummer].

ROBERT JACKSON, M. D., LATE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF ARMY HOSPITALS

By
LE ROY CRUMMER, M. D., Omaha

(WITH FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS)

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WHILE stationed at Camp Greenleaf in 1918, as instructor in the School of Military Medicine, I found by chance in an old bookshop in Chattanooga, "A Treatise on the Fevers of Jamaica, with Some Observations on the Intermitting Fevers of America, and an Appendix, containing Some Hints on the Means of Preserving the Health of Soldiers in Hot Climates. By Robert Jackson, M.D., Philadelphia, 1795."

As I sat on the cool porch of my lecture room, where I could watch my colleagues drilling in the heat of the parade ground, it was a great delight to read from Jackson's book, a century and a quarter old, such observations as these:

Exercises which might inure the body to hardships, have not been sufficiently enforced. . . .

But as I have just mentioned, that spirituous liquors have little claim to be considered among the number of those things which contribute to the preservation of health. . . .

It would be proper perhaps that the surgeon reviewed the men daily. . . .

Round white hats would be the most proper covering for the head; and dowlas might be substituted with advantage in room of the thick cloth of which the coats are usually made. There can be no grounds for supposing that a soldier will not fight as well in dowlas as in scarlet: and there is certain proof that he will perform duties, which require exertion, with greater safety and effect, as the nature of his clothing will preserve him cooler by some degrees. . . . In the present rage for military shew, it will be a difficult task to convince men to lay aside an uniform, which adds much to the brilliancy of his appearance. . . .

I should incur a charge of presumption, perhaps of ignorance, did I attempt to point out the exercises which are the most proper for the forming of soldiers. Those only which contribute to the preservation of health belong to this place. I may however remark that the essential part of the art of disciplining troops consists in imparting sentiments of heroism and virtue to the minds of the men, and improving the exertions of their limbs, and in acquiring knowledge of the correspondence of their exertions when called into action. If I durst take so great

a liberty, I should be inclined to say that our ordinary exercises are flat and insipid in their nature; they occasion no exertions and excite no emulation: they neither improve the active powers of the body nor inure the soldier to bear fatigue and hardship. . . .

Sloth and indolence are the bane of a soldier in every climate; exercise and action are the greatest preservatives of discipline and of health. . . .

But everyone knows that walking, running, wrestling, leaping, fencing and swimming, are often called into actual use in the practice of war. These are such exercises likewise as excite emulation, and are practiced with pleasure by the individual. They harden the body, increase the power of the limbs, and by furnishing the officer with a view of the different degrees of activity, may often enable him to place his men in the ranks, according to the uniformity of their exertions: a more useful mode of arrangement in time of action, than uniformity of exterior form. . . .

Handling a knife in reality is the least part of a regimental surgeon's duty. . . .

And as I read, I realized that here before me, and also in all the other training camps in America, the ideas of Robert Jackson on army discipline were being carried on for the first time in the entire history of wars. Naturally, a keen interest was aroused in the personality of this prophetic army surgeon, and my inquiry disclosed a man of wonderful personality, with a broad comprehension of the duties of a military surgeon; an author of no mean repute in his day, but one who had been quickly forgotten; a hygienist who had made many innovations and advances in medical science, most of which have since been erroneously attributed to other authors; a gentleman who had come in contact with the brightest minds of his day, and not to his own disadvantage. Dr. Jackson was rather pugnacious in disposition and at times insubordinate, but in the long run he was generally on the right side of his controversies. I am sure that some of the details of his life and achievements will be of interest to others who are amateurs of the neglected incidents of medical history.

Robert Jackson was born in Scotland in 1750. At the age of eighteen he matriculated in the medical school of the University of Edinburgh and remained there for three years. This was at the time of the height of the popularity of the university, when Monro, primus, Cullen and Black were all teachers. In 1774 he went to Jamaica as assistant to Dr. King at Savannah-la-Mar, where he first came in contact with the British Army, in which Dr. King was then serving as contract surgeon. He left Jamaica in 1778, going to New York, where he became attached to the 71st Regiment (British). He served through the southern campaign until captured and paroled in 1782, when he returned to

Edinburgh. He was mustered out with his regiment in 1784, and in the same year married the well-dowered daughter of Dr. Stephenson. He then went to the Continent to continue his medical studies and in 1785 was graduated at Leyden. Returning to Scotland, he was in private practice until 1793, when he again entered the army, continuing his military career with occasional interruptions until his return from Jamaica in 1815. He died in 1827.

Dr. Jackson was possessed with a strong *wanderlust*, and while in these days of convenient traveling facilities it would be easy to repeat his journeys, a slight consideration of his odyssey will show the broad foundation he had for training his powers of observation, which were by nature unusually accurate. The two summers intervening during his course at Edinburgh were spent as a surgeon on a whaling vessel in Greenland waters. In 1774 he went to Jamaica, as before mentioned, where he had his first opportunity to study fevers intensively. In 1778, desiring to embark for New York, he walked across the island of Jamaica. On reaching New York he joined the 71st Regiment. At the time, the regiment was stationed in and around New York, but was soon ordered south, and went through the entire campaign, which embraced Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. During this time, Jackson carefully studied the fevers of the southern states. He was taken prisoner in 1782 and, after his parole, walked to New York and sailed for Edinburgh. After but a short stay he went on foot to London, making the same trip which his countryman, Dr. Smollet, made some years before. After a few weeks spent in London he decided to visit the Continent, and so, like Goldsmith but without the flute, he made a walking tour of many countries which lasted for some seven months.

His *wanderjahr* took him from Calais to Paris, to Geneva, through Switzerland by way of Moret, Berne and Shaffhausen, then across Germany into Austria. At Gunzburg he was arrested as a vagrant and almost impressed into the emperor's army, but through the efforts of the local commandant was released and continued his trip to Augsburg, Munich, and thence south through the Tyrol, to Innsbruck and Primolana on his way to Venice. He crossed Italy, visiting Padua and Volta; he went through Lombardy to Genoa. From here he walked to Albenga, Toulon, Marseille, Aix, Montpellier, Rochefort, Rochelle and Nantes, then to San Maleo, thence by boat to Guernsey and Southampton—a trip of some 5,000 miles in all.

Arriving in London, he learned that his old regiment was about to be disbanded at Perth, so went there and was mustered out. He then made a pedestrian tour of the highlands before returning to Edinburgh. It was during this visit to Edinburgh that he was married, and almost

immediately he returned to Paris, where he studied for several months, working particularly at the Charité. He continued his medical studies at Brussels and finally took his degree of Doctor of Medicine at Leyden in 1785. For eight years he was established in private practice at Stockton-on-Tees.

In 1793 he rejoined the army on the promise of being again sent to the West Indies, but his regiment, while stationed in Jersey, was ordered to Flanders. Dr. Jackson accompanied the regiment there, taking part in the full campaign until he was ordered to take charge of the sick who were to be returned from Bremen to England. In 1796 he was again ordered to the West Indies, where he served until 1798, when, with his friend and biographer, Dr. Borland, he returned to England, traveling via America, the avowed object of the trip being to visit Dr. Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia. He entered the service again in 1800, being assigned to home duty, but in 1802 was forced to retire as a result of a controversy with Mr. Keate and Sir Lucas Pepys. In 1811 he again joined the army and was sent to the West Indies, where he remained until 1815, when he returned to England and private practice. In 1819, intrigued by the report of yellow fever at Cadiz, Jackson offered, through the Director General of the Army Medical Department, to make an investigation of this epidemic, to determine if it was the same disease he had so carefully observed in the West Indies. He was, however, unable to proceed from Gibraltar on account of an insurrection in Spain, so he determined to visit the Levant, proceeding from Gibraltar to Malta, thence to Constantinople, to Smyrna and Athens, visiting many of the surrounding islands before returning. Anticipating a fresh outbreak of the epidemic in the late summer at Cadiz, he so timed his return trip that he arrived there on the very day that yellow fever was officially reported. He remained two months at Cadiz, going from there to Xeres to complete his studies before returning to England.

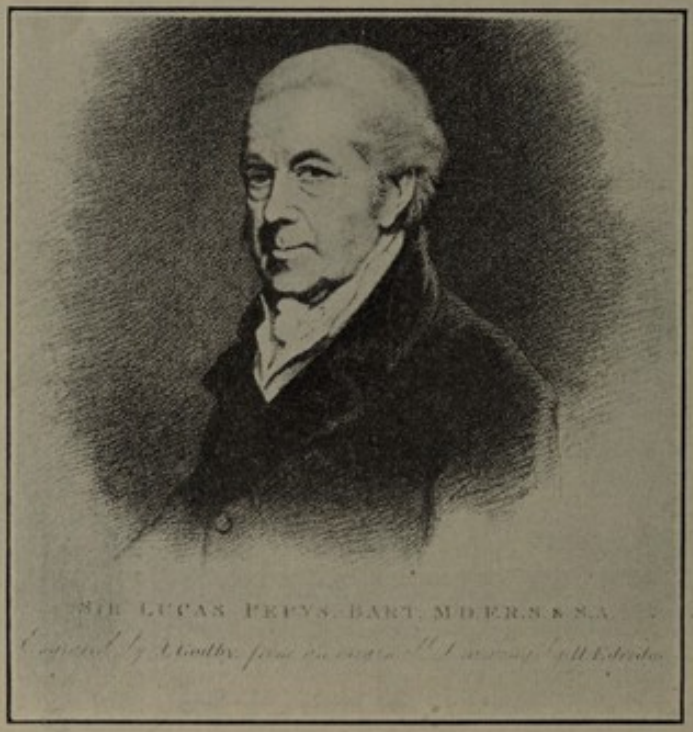
It might be interesting to note that, under almost the same circumstances in 1842, Larrey solicited the Minister of War for an appointment to inspect the hospitals at Algiers. Larrey at sixty-seven was still interested in his hospitals as Jackson at sixty-nine was interested in fevers. Both sought the object of their quest along the shores of the Mediterranean, but Jackson was more fortunate, since he was able to return and finish his report, while Larrey died at Lyons before he could reach Paris.

Dr. Jackson possessed an inherent gift for languages. On the Greenland whaler he spent all his spare time in his small and grimy cabin studying the Fathers of Medicine in the original Greek and Latin. He was intensely interested in the Gaelic language, and while with his

To face p. 110.

Copy of Caricature Published in London, 1810, Signed by T.

Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke



regiment at Perth he found a Gaelic grammar and gained sufficient knowledge of the language to read Ossian in the original, and even to take part in the controversy then raging over McPherson's alleged discovery. Thus he, a Lowlander, acquired the Highland dialect. His years in Jamaica were sufficient to teach him Spanish, and during his trip on the continent he learned to speak French, German and Italian. While in Paris in 1784 he studied Arabic and thus, at one time or another, obtained a reading knowledge of most of the vernacular languages of Europe as well as the languages of science. He prided himself on reading all books in the original, and after his final retirement from the army it was his great pleasure to compare the translations of the Bible into the different languages with the original. He was quite a bibliophile and had reason to be proud of a large and carefully selected library, which included most of the Masters of Medicine from Hippocrates down.

His professional interests from first to last were devoted to the study of fevers, and his accurate observations are astonishing even today. As one reads his description of the fevers of Jamaica, or the intermittent fevers of America, one constantly expects to see upon the printed page the word "mosquito." Looking back over the long history of intermittent fevers, it is surprising how many medical men have almost made this great discovery. Dr. Jackson studied yellow fever intensively at many times and in many places. His interest in this subject began in Jamaica in 1774, and in 1819, at the age of sixty-nine, he went to Spain to investigate the epidemic raging there—nearly a half century of intensive Sydenham-like study of fevers. In his very first accounts he states that he had none of the classical authorities at hand and so was forced to record only his own observations. He states in his preface to "Fevers of Jamaica":

> It may appear, perhaps, that I have treated the opinions of great names with too little respect; but if facts have at any time occurred to me, which contradict established theories, I hope that these facts will be examined before they are rejected. No medical authority ought to prevail over the certain evidence of truth.

His accuracy of observation and his defiance of authority were characteristic traits throughout his career. No better example of the latter need be given than his attitude toward Sir John Pringle, at that time the highest possible authority in matters of military sanitation. Again quoting from "Fevers of Jamaica":

> Nor perhaps should I have thought it necessary even to have mentioned the subject, were it not to take notice of some opinions of the late Sir John Pringle, which appear to have been formed too precipi-

tately; and which, I can affirm from experience, have been pernicious to the health of thousands. . . .

The opinion of Sir John Pringle on this head (which, in fact, is an opinion of theory rather than of observation) has been followed too long without examination.

His professional reputation rests in the main upon his advocacy of the treatment of fevers by cold water. Even as late as our Civil War he was recognized as the discoverer of this form of treatment, and his opinions are quoted some fifty times in "The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion."

James Currie usually has had credit for originating the water cure of fevers, an idea which he first presented in his "Medical Reports on the Effects of Water as a Remedy in Fevers and other Diseases, Liverpool, 1798." Jackson very properly disputes this claim and points to much earlier contributions of his own which presented the same idea, and also claims greater precision of method in application of this severe hydrotherapy. This point of priority is now only one of historical interest, but it aroused a considerable controversy in the early years of the nineteenth century. As near as one can come to the truth of the matter, it seems that a mysterious ship captain suggested this form of treatment to both Currie and Jackson and demonstrated its efficiency by sousing buckets of cold sea water over a poor sailor in the height of a malarial paroxysm.

While Jackson's observations on the water cure of fevers had a definite bearing in the development of the proper treatment of fevers, certain other of his therapeutic suggestions seemed absurd even at the time. He insisted that cobwebs made into ten-grain pills were more efficacious in the treatment of ague than bark, and at one time while in the West Indies, when the treatment with cobwebs from the dark cellars of the tropics seemed not to have the proper curative effect, he demanded that a supply of nice dry ones be sent him from England. Such recommendations, of course, did not escape the criticism of contemporary medical men, and even the caricaturists of his time took a sly dig at this idea, as may be seen in the frontispiece.

The usual hero stories are associated with his military career, and his biographers have of course endowed him with all the glamor of military valor. The account of his first enlistment reads like a romance. Suddenly tiring of his work in Jamaica, and realizing that his country was at war with America, he decided to proceed to New York to enlist. He hurriedly embarked without properly complying with the customs regulations, and after sailing the captain discovered that his passport was not properly certified, so Jackson was put ashore at the extreme

end of the island. Without money, his chance of reaching New York seemed hopeless, but he remembered that there was a small vessel at Lucca on the opposite side of the island, ready to sail for New York, and his only alternative was to walk to Lucca. This feat had never been attempted by a white man, and there was a tradition among the natives that no white man could accomplish it. Nevertheless, after completing the necessary formalities at Kingston, Jackson started to make the trip. Buoyant in spirit, he traveled so rapidly that he overexerted himself, and in the middle of his journey, after drinking a quantity of lemonade was seized with cholera morbus which was almost fatal but after five or six days rest he was able to proceed, and finally reached Lucca where he obtained a berth on the boat for New York. This incident was undoubtedly the foundation for his many subsequent warnings against overindulgence in food and drink while traveling.

When he reached New York he was practically destitute, and attempts to find professional employment either in the military or naval hospitals were futile, so he determined to enlist as a volunteer in the line. Even here he met with great difficulty, but with the influence of a friend whom he had met on his trip from Jamaica, he endeavored to join the New York volunteers, a provincial company. There was some delay in his enlistment, and meanwhile his financial condition forced him to make other efforts, so he presented himself to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, of the Frazer Highlanders, and the colonel, finding that he had had medical experience, suggested that he join as an ensign and take an assignment as hospital mate. Soon after this, his Jamaican friend notified him that his commission in the New York volunteers was available, but Jackson was already satisfied with his assignment in the 71st Regiment, and this determined his career as a medical rather than as a line officer.

During the campaign in Virginia he was taken prisoner by General Morgan. The story goes that when General Tarleton, commander of the forces, had his horse shot from under him and was about to be taken prisoner, Jackson rushed up, yielded his horse to his general, and then under a flag of truce surrendered to General Morgan, and after being taken to the rear begged to be allowed to assume care of the British wounded. His offer was accepted. The next morning, during an interview with General Washington, Dr. Jackson offered to aid in caring for the American wounded, which request was readily granted, and so pleased was Washington with the conduct of Jackson that soon afterwards, when an exchange of prisoners was arranged, Jackson was one of the first to be paroled.

Practically all that we as Americans have been taught in school

of the conduct of the British troops during the Revolution, concerns the atrocities of the hired Hessians; Jackson's conception of discipline and morale was not of this type at all, but indeed was far ahead of his ime, as will be seen by the following quotations:

The heart must be warm with charity, the mind clear with knowledge, for no other class of men are more dexterous in probing the rotten part of the heart and in unmasking the weak mind of their superior officer than the common soldier.

The soldier who is consoled by words of friendship, as he lies feeble and dejected in a hospital bed, will be given courage to the arm when he is on the field again and restored to the vigour of health, which will enable him to conquer like a hero, or fall by the side of his officer and friend, with his wounds in front and face towards the enemy.

He was always opposed to the Prussian system of discipline which survived in the British Army until as late as 1846. It is, of course, impossible in the development of such a reform to give total credit to any one man, as the viewpoint changes as we are led to consider the efforts of different individuals in a thing which requires cumulative experience for perfection.

Flogging in the British Army was finally abolished in 1846, as the result of the death of a private named White of the 7th Hussars, who died after receiving one hundred and fifty lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails, pursuant to a court-martial sentence. This is spoken of as the Hounslow incident. Thomas Wakley, editor of *The Lancet*, was at the time coroner of Middlesex. Always ready to make a record, Wakley seized upon this incident and developed it into a *cause célèbre*. The editor and coroner was also a Member of Parliament and so could actively forward the investigation instituted in the House of Commons. All this attracted such interest that public opinion vetoed the practice of flogging in the army from this time on, although it was not until the act of 1881 that it was formally abolished.

Scriggs, in his "Life of Thomas Wakley," gives entire credit to him in bringing about this change in discipline in the British Army. On the other hand, Dr. John Brown in his essay on Dr. Henry Marshall fails to mention Wakley, and gives the credit to Dr. Marshall and Dr. Ferguson, who were aided by pertinent articles on this subject in the *London Times;* but forty years before, Robert Jackson had said, and he continued to repeat both by precept and example all these years: "There is not one instance in a thousand that a cat-o'-nine-tails has made a soldier what he ought to be."

Even while eulogizing Marshall in this connection, Jackson is quoted by Dr. Brown, as among the men who had been medical military worthies as follows: "R. Jackson, whose 'System and Arrangement of the Dis-

cipline of the Medical Department of the Army' is most valuable and judicious, and far in advance of his date" (1805).

Brown here quotes "Discipline of the Medical Department of the Army," but Jackson by no means limited his observations and recommendations to the Medical Department. In 1804 he published "A Systematic View of the Formation, Discipline and Economy of Armies," of which there was a second edition in 1824 and a third in 1845. This book displays a wide knowledge of military affairs in general and even today is of great interest. From a historical standpoint, Jackson goes back to the military affairs of the Spartans and in turn considers the predominating traits of the various nations successful in war, down even to his own date. From his own individual observations he gives what would now be considered an accurate sociological survey of the classes from which the armies were recruited, and he adds to this a careful analysis of the methods of drill and discipline in these different countries. He even adds comments on the ability of the commanding officers with whom he had been thrown more or less directly in contact. His estimate of these officers is remarkably well balanced and, even today, fits in much more accurately with the consensus of historical opinion than the usual expression of his prejudiced times. Even while Napoleon was considered throughout England the ogre of Corsica Jackson speaks of him so:

> Napoleon, who was a man of genius—imposing and imperious, not wise and not candid—appears to have had a systematic head. He was active, indefatigable in labor, and working on principles of science which the early periods of the Revolution had brought to light, he organized the Empire of France in all its departments on a systematic basis, and did so with a skill and precision which proved that, while a man of wide scope in design, he was also a superior energy in execution.

His analysis of the American Army as he saw it during the Revolution rather surprises those of us who have received our information from the popular histories, but certainly confirms Mr. Owen Wister in the analysis of this situation which he gave us at the time of our entrance into the World War.

These two books were written after Jackson's forced retirement from the army, but before the Parliamentary Inquiries into the state of army affairs, and these books must have been consulted quite frequently by those who were instrumental in presenting the case before the committee of investigation.

The climax of Dr. Jackson's military career was his quarrel with Mr. Thomas Keate, Surgeon General, and Sir Lucas Pepys, Physician General, which had a very important bearing upon the medical reorganization of the British Army and which is a story in itself.

After Hunter's death the Army Medical Department was reorganized, and Mr. Thomas Keate, who had been prominent in the opposition to Hunter in the St. Bartholomew Hospital controversy, was made Surgeon General, and Sir Lucas Pepys, Physician General. Immediately following this change, much of Hunter's good organization, founded on his own personal experience of the necessity of real worth and military training, was torn down and reconstructed so that the Army Medical Service was more or less dependent upon the whims, fancies and prejudices of the Royal Colleges. The separation of medicine and surgery so deplored by Albutt in his St. Louis address was never more pronounced than at this period, and since the Royal Colleges claimed equal rank, the Army Medical Department was organized with a Surgeon General, a Physician General, and an Inspector General of Hospitals, constituting a board in control of army medical affairs.

Scriggs in his "Life of Thomas Wakley" clearly describes the general condition of medical practice in London at a time slightly subsequent to this period, but while the Royal Colleges dominated the Army Medical Department and controlled all civil appointments of importance not only in London but throughout England.

Early in 1793 Hunter had promised Jackson an appointment as army physician, but Hunter's rule had been that a previous service as regimental surgeon was requisite before such an appointment could be made, so Jackson accepted the minor appointment and was assigned to the "Buffs," expecting to be sent to the West Indies, but instead the regiment was made a part of the expedition against Cherbourg, which was a complete failure, as the troops did not even land in France.

In a personal interview in March, 1794, after Hunter's death, Jackson approached Sir Lucas Pepys for confirmation of his appointment as regimental physician, but Pepys insisted upon the regulation so recently adopted and rebuffed Jackson with the statement: "Had you the knowledge of a Sydenham or a Radcliffe, your request could not be granted: you are a surgeon, and the surgeon of a regiment can never be allowed to be physician to His Majesty's Army." Although Jackson was quite willing under the circumstances to resign, his regiment was on the point of embarkation for Flanders, and, anxious to see real service upon a large scale, he pocketed his pride and remained in the service, but this circumstance probably started the feud which terminated later in his attack on the organization of the Army Medical Service.

While in Flanders, Jackson met a comrade of the American campaign, Major Calvert, afterwards Sir Henry Calvert, Adjutant General to the British Forces. Through this chance meeting, Jackson was brought in contact with the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, and made

such a favorable impression that the duke was ever afterwards a staunch friend and strong partisan. This is at least one instance where the efforts and intervention of Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke were not needed.

The campaign in Flanders was disastrous from a health standpoint, and the army physicians were so inefficient that the mortality was enormous.

General Harcourt, who had been left in command on the Continent. when the Duke of York returned to England, appointed Jackson as Physician to the Forces, and, much to the chagrin of the Army Medical Board, the duke approved the recommendation and insisted that the Medical Board confirm the appointment.

In this rank, Jackson had charge of the embarkation of the sick at Bremen, and while so employed, Dr. Kennedy, Inspector General of Hospitals, died and Jackson was promoted to his position, which in fact made him senior medical officer of the forces on the Continent, but his official communications to the Medical Board in London remained unanswered.

When the troops were finally returned to England, Dr. Jackson was ordered home. Almost immediately an opportunity was offered him for service in his favorite field, the West Indies. Jackson felt that he was entitled by experience and service to be chief medical officer of the expedition, and such duty was originally assigned to him, but in some way the offer as made injured his pride, and he declined the appointment. Later, however, he accepted an assignment as second in command This perhaps was fortunate, as it gave Dr. Jackson opportunity to visit and inspect all the military hospitals in the West Indies and there study intensively the various fevers in which he was so much interested.

From 1794 to 1796 his advancement in rank had been rapid. He undoubtedly was competent and efficient, but his promotion had not been upon the initiative of his superior officers in the Medical Department, but was forced by the Duke of York. In fact, Jackson seems to have been the center of a controversy such as has been known in other times and in other armies between the line and the staff.

In 1798 the forces in the West Indies were reduced, and Jackson took the opportunity to return to England. In company with Dr. Borland, he then visited America, spending some time with Dr. Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia. His "Fevers of Jamaica" (London, 1791) had been republished in Philadelphia, 1795, and Jackson was pleased to find it "considered a standard work and in the hands of every respectable practitioner." This pleasant trip, with the formation of so many friendships in America, was the lull which preceded the storm.

Soon after returning to England, Jackson was placed in charge of

the Russian sick which had returned from the Continent with the English forces. In 1800 the Duke of York nominated him Physician and Head of the Army Depot Hospital at Chatham, the scene of so many of Samuel Pepys' pleasant junketing trips.

A slight digression might be sanctioned here, to mention one of the factors of great importance in Jackson's career. Almost immediately upon assuming the duties of hospital mate in New York in 1778 he arranged for a form of commutation of rations for the sick, in that he took the daily allowance per soldier in kind or in money and expended it for proper hospital diet. It is spoken of throughout his career as the change from salt to fresh rations. It worked so well in a small way in this early assignment that it was instituted in all the hospitals in his charge subsequently, so far as might be. Of course this aroused opposition among the contractors and profiteers who furnished supplies to the army, in that it was such a direct saving along all lines. In fact, in a royal warrant in 1806 adopting this plan of Dr. Jackson, it is calculated that it saved eighty thousand pounds per year on the colonial contract alone.

Unfortunately, a severe epidemic with a high mortality visited the hospital at Chatham in 1801, and this offered Keate and Pepys the long-looked-for opportunity. They preferred charges against Jackson sufficiently pertinent to necessitate a board of inquiry, which was ordered by the Commander-in-Chief. The findings of the board were on the whole favorable to Jackson, but he felt that his exoneration was not complete, so he resigned and was retired on half pay. Jackson always thought that the contractors, disgruntled at his commutation arrangement, had an influence in this verdict.

Dr. Jackson then took up private practice at Stockton-on-Tees and began a very active literary career. From 1803 to 1809 his bibliography contains nine items, and in addition there were numerous protests and arraignments of the Army Medical Department, addressed to the home government.

Jackson claimed that it was only when Mr. Pitt "did not deign to acknowledge his communication even by one of his undersecretaries that recourse was had to the hands of a printer." In other words, he now grasped the time-honored prerogative of the native Britisher and became a "pamphleteer," addressing his activities to Mr. Thomas Keate and Sir Lucas Pepys in a series of pointed pamphlets.

While Dr. Jackson's resignation from the army was entirely voluntary, his enemies contrived to spread the impression that it was forced, and that he was unfit to perform the duties of army physician. Jackson met this situation by publishing, in 1803, "Remarks on the Constitution

of the Medical Department of the British Army," and in 1805 he published "A System for the Arrangement and Discipline of the Medical Department of the Army."

In 1808 Parliament had appointed a commission to inquire into the conduct of the various departments of the army, and in so doing did not neglect the Medical Department. In the course of their investigation this commission must have seen and studied Jackson's books and pamphlets, since in the celebrated Fifth Medical Report, which came out in 1808, changes were suggested directly in line with the recommendations which Jackson had offered in his various contributions.

The Fifth Medical Report created consternation in the minds of the Physician General and the Surgeon General, and Mr. Keate published his "Observations upon the Parliamentary Report" in which he attacked Jackson's character. Jackson then made request for a public investigation before a military court, which request was refused by the Judge Advocate General upon the technical ground that Jackson was retired upon half pay and could not make such a demand. Jackson met this situation by writing open letters to Keate, which were far from being politic or diplomatic; in fact his accusations were vitriolic in character.

This was just at the beginning of the Peninsular campaign, when things in Spain were so serious that everyone was anxious to get into the service. Dr. Jackson intimated to the Duke of York that his services were at his disposal, regardless of any rank to which he might be assigned. The duke referred this offer to the Army Medical Board, which practically consisted of Keate and Pepys, and they informed the duke that there were insurmountable objections to Jackson being employed in any capacity in the Medical Department. The controversy then waged furiously again, mainly concerning Dr. Jackson's medical diploma, the board contending that he did not have a diploma, and Jackson offering proof that it had been lost in the campaign on the Continent in 1794, and stating that a certified copy could be obtained from the University at Leyden. The board further brought up the Chatham incident of 1801 and questioned Jackson's practice and method of treating the sick.

As a sample of Jackson's open communications in the controversy, the following aspersion on Sir Lucas Pepys, Physician General and the court favorite, may be of interest:

> If my doctrines and practices be erroneous, it is time that they should be publicly proscribed; but it would be unfair, and it might be injurious, to proscribe them on the bare assertion of the president of the college, who never saw me treat a single case of disease, and who appears himself never to have treated a patient of the class upon which my practice was tried. The illness of the soldier and those of the ladies

of the court are often of a different character; and I am aware that any man of common sense may conceive it, that means which seem harsh, and which might be even dangerous on the delicate conditions of those persons who ordinarily fall under Sir Lucas' care, though powerful in effect, are perfectly safe as applied to violent diseases in the more robust subjects with whom I have been chiefly concerned.

History records many interesting disputes between prominent medical men. Foote made an unfortunate attempt to besmirch the honor of Hunter, a genius already dead. Bidloo made a direct charge of plagiarism against Cowper, of which, for the time being, there was absolutely no defense, but in his later elephant folio Cowper succeeded in demonstrating that he did have a proper knowledge of anatomy and art. The Blondell-Turner dispute was a battle of words at long range, and the Sharpe-Pattison a fight with the same words, but at less distance. The Abernathy-Wakley trial was a marvelous exhibition of polemics in a court of equity, but the Jackson-Keate controversy finally led to a direct personal assault.

Soon after the exchange of pamphlets, Jackson, incensed at his humiliation, met Keate upon the street, and after a stormy interview he struck his superior officer across the shoulders with a cane. A court-martial, of course, followed. Jackson technically had no defense, and he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

The pamphleteering between Jackson and Keate had attracted considerable attention, and in his imprisonment he was not without his friends. Following the parliamentary investigation which resulted in the Fifth Medical Report, the very next year, 1809, Colonel Wardle's charges against the Duke of York and Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke were presented in the House of Commons. The case was bitterly fought and attracted great attention, and while in the final report the duke was seemingly vindicated, nevertheless he was forced to resign as Commander-in-Chief.

In 1810 occurred the disastrous Walcheren Expedition which caused another parliamentary investigation. In the report of this investigation, the Medical Department of the Army, and particularly Sir Lucas Pepys, was severely censured. The effect of this series of parliamentary activities was to bring about a fundamental reorganization of the British Army. In this reorganization, the changes in the administration of the medical department were practically along the lines that had been laid down by Dr. Jackson. The tripartite board ceased to exist, and the entire Medical Department was put directly under the charge of a Director General with three principal assistants, so that finally Robert Jackson was vindicated and his plan of arrangement adopted. The

attitude of the British public to the result of the controversy may be seen through the eyes of the caricaturist in the frontispiece.

This vindication completely outweighed the court-martial sentence and reestablished Jackson in the estimation of the new military authorities, so he was able to return to military duty in 1811, with a pleasant assignment which required him to visit again the West Indies and enabled him to continue his first hand study of fevers, and when he returned to England in 1815, at the end of his military service, he published "A Sketch of the History and Cure of Febrile Diseases, more particularly as they appear in the West Indies, among the Soldiers of the British Army."

Jackson's military career was practically coextensive with the Napoleonic wars, but, save for the brief campaign in Flanders in 1794, he was not brought into direct contact with the main events of this era. He was on a friendly footing with the Duke of York, but had no such standing as had Larrey and Corvisart with Napoleon. Jackson is not remembered as a hero or a genius, as are M'Grigor and Larrey, but nevertheless, in the quietude of the outposts, he had time to study and analyze the conditions of medical military service and make suggestions concerning discipline, training and morale which were at least a century ahead of his time.

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