

WHITMAN'S MEDICAL TRAINING

Marcus Whitman returned to Rushville in 1820, when he was eighteen years old, with the hope that his family would approve his plans to study for the ministry. To his great disappointment, they did not. His niece, Mary Alice Wisewell, commented: "His heart was set on studying for the ministry, but he was opposed by his brothers who thought his limited means would compel him to be a charity scholar, and persuaded him against his will to take up the study of medicine. My mother says many a time she has seen the big tears on his face as he thought of his disappointment in his course of life."¹

Both the Congregational and the Presbyterian denominations, with which Whitman had contacts, frowned upon an uneducated ministry. Both churches required a full four-year college course followed by three years in a theological seminary. A few exceptions to this general rule were occasionally made and some scholarship aid was available. Seven years in college and seminary were expensive and it is evident that the Whitman family could offer little or no financial assistance to Marcus in the fulfillment of his cherished dream.

In addition to the financial problem, another influence was his mother's unsympathetic attitude. In Whitman's first letter to the American Board, he wrote: "My Mother is living and professes a hope but is

not attracted to any church." Beza and Alice Whitman were not among the charter members of the Congregational Church of Rushville when it was organized in 1802, even though they were then living in Rushville, nor did they join later.² On the other hand, Captain Henry Green, Mrs. Whitman's brother, was one of the organizers and later became a deacon. Other Whitman relatives also were members. Many years later, Marcus was to write from the Missouri frontier to his mother, on May 27, 1843: "I feel most desirous to know that my Dear Mother has determined to live the rest of her days witnessing a good profession of godliness. What keeps you from this? Is it that you are not a sinner, or if not that, is it that there is no Saviour of sinners, or is it that you have not too long refused & neglected to love & obey him. Has not his forbearance & his mercy been very long expended towards you?"

In spite of his deep disappointment, Marcus was obedient to the wishes of his family. For the next three years, until he attained his majority in 1823, he lived in his mother's home and rendered such assistance as he could in his stepfather's business, the tannery and shoeshop.

When Marcus returned to his home, he learned that the village Congregational Church had in 1814 united with the Presbytery of Geneva and that it was then being served by the Rev. Joseph Merrill, a Presbyterian. In order to meet the spiritual needs of the expanding frontier, the Congregational Association of Connecticut and the Presbyterian General Assembly had adopted a Plan of Union in 1801. According to this agreement, members and ministers of both denominations cooperated in small communities. Both ministers and congregations moved rather freely back and forth in their regional denominational affiliations. Such congregations were often called "half-and-half" or "Presbygational" churches. Although the Rushville church retained its membership in the Presbytery of Geneva until 1855 and often had Presbyterian pastors, it retained its local Congregational polity. The church still continues its Congregational affiliations and hence will be referred to as such in this book. The Plan of Union accounts in part for the cooperation of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in the American Board.

The Rushville congregation erected a new brick "meeting house" in 1818. This building served the community until it was burned on the night of January 31, 1971, as the result of an incendiary fire. A new, and somewhat smaller sanctuary, in the same architectural style,

has been erected on the same site. Unfortunately, the minutes of the church for its early years have been lost, but in a record book kept by Samuel Whitman, a brother of Marcus, we find the following: “Nov. 1870. Fifty years this Month Since I Profest to love God and to love his People. Brother Marcus Whitman Profest to love God the same time. S. Whitman.”³ This confirms Whitman’s statement in his first letter to the American Board: “I did not unite with the Church until I returned to Rushville, (my native place).”

Merrill was followed in the pastorate of the Rushville church by the Rev. David Page in May 1821. Both of these men were graduates of Dartmouth College. According to one report, Marcus continued his Latin studies under Page. The history of the Rushville church, written for its centennial in 1902, states that upon his return to his home, Marcus “immediately interested himself in the welfare of the church by conducting sunrise prayer meetings with two other young men.” The church’s extant Sunday school records list Marcus as a teacher in 1822 and again in 1823. He taught a class of boys whose ages ranged from eight to sixteen.

The Rushville church was not without missionary enthusiasm although at that time the foreign missionary movement had touched but few American churches. On October 23, 1819, the brig *Thaddeus* sailed from New York with a party of seven missionaries and their wives, all appointees of the American Board, to begin missionary work in the Hawaiian Islands, then known as the Sandwich Islands. The party reached Hawaii, the largest of the Islands, on March 20, 1820, and Honolulu on April 19. Among those pioneer missionaries was Elisha Loomis, 1799–1836, of Rushville. Loomis was a printer and took with him a printing press valued at \$450.00. He was helpful in reducing the native language to writing and in printing the Gospel of Matthew in that tongue. Because of his wife’s ill health, he returned to Rushville in 1827.

Loomis had left Rushville before Whitman returned to his home in 1820, yet it is possible that the two knew each other as young boys. Certainly, they were friendly after Loomis returned from the Islands, because when Whitman sent in a list of references to the American Board in the summer of 1834, he included the name of Elisha Loomis, “former Missionary Printer to the Sandwich Islands” [Letter 4]. In 1838 the Hawaiian Mission sent a small printing press to the Oregon

Mission, and it is possible that this was one of the presses which Loomis had used during his residence in the Islands.

In tracing out the reasons for Whitman's interest in foreign mission, we should not overlook the possible influence of Elisha Loomis. There is evidence that Whitman was in Rushville at times during 1827, the year that Loomis returned from the Islands. Possibly the two met again then and that Whitman spent hours listening to the wonderful tales that Loomis could have told of the far-away islands set in the warm Pacific where the natives had accepted Christianity with great eagerness. If such a surmise be true, then this would have awakened in Whitman the old longing to be a minister and perhaps go as a missionary to the "benighted heathens" in some distant land.

RIDING WITH DR. BRYANT

Marcus Whitman celebrated his twenty-first birthday on September 4, 1823. He was then free to follow his own inclinations. Frustrated in his plan to enter the ministry, Marcus turned his attention to the medical profession as a promising field for altruistic service. In that generation, training to be a doctor did not demand the extensive educational background which is now required. A medical course was short and comparatively inexpensive. All that was needed as basic preparation was a fair literary education and this Whitman had. Indeed, he was much better prepared than the average medical student as he had studied both Latin and Greek. In those days when a young man aspired to be a doctor, he usually began his studies under some local physician, who would take the student with him when visiting his patients. In a colloquialism of the time, this was referred to as "riding with the Doctor." From the meager evidence available, it appears that Marcus Whitman began riding with Dr. Ira Bryant, Rushville's doctor, sometime in the fall of 1823.

Dr. Ira Bryant, 1786–1840, reported to have been a distant cousin of William Cullen Bryant, had settled in Rushville sometime prior to 1818 and practiced his profession there until his death. In his letter of application to the American Board, Whitman wrote: "In my profession I studied and practiced regularly with a good physician" [Letter 3]. Whitman did not indicate how long he had ridden with Dr. Bryant. Since he entered a medical school in the fall of 1825 and received a

license to practice medicine the next spring, the assumption is that he must have had at least two years experience with Dr. Bryant.

One of Whitman's boyhood playmates, later a schoolmate, was Jonathan Pratt, Jr., 1801–1880. In the summer of 1936, while searching for material bearing on the life of Marcus Whitman, I called on Carleton Pratt, the son of Jonathan, at his home in Hopewell near Rushville. With me was Robert Moody of Rushville. In his old age, Canton Pratt was sick and infirm. Shortly before we called, he had sold an antique desk which had once been used by his father. The contents of the drawers had been dumped on the floor when the desk was taken away, and this debris was still there at the time of our visit.

Looking through the papers, we found two letters written by Marcus to Jonathan in 1827 and 1828. These are the oldest Whitman letters known. Jonathan's diary was also discovered covering the period, with irregular entries, from January 1, 1824, to May 2, 1828. The name of Marcus Whitman does not appear, but twice the initial letters "M.W." are given which seem to refer to him. Since both Marcus and Jonathan were riding with Dr. Bryant at the same time during parts of 1824 and 1825, the experiences which Jonathan records throw light upon some obscure years in the life of Marcus. The old Pratt home burned on November 19, 1936, and Canton Pratt lost his life in the fire. The Whitman source material there discovered was rescued none too soon.⁴

From the documents found in the Pratt home, we learn that Augustus Whitman on November 10, 1823, had signed a letter recommending Jonathan to be a school-teacher. It appears that Jonathan alternated between teaching school and riding with Dr. Bryant. There is evidence that Marcus Whitman did the same. In 1845 Newton Gilbert, 1818–1879, of Rushville migrated to Oregon and called on the Whitmans at their mission station at Waiilatpu. Writing shortly after that visit, Whitman referred to Gilbert as being "formerly my day & Sabbath School Schollar" [Letter 178].

On July 17, 1936, Mrs. Isaac Lee Patterson of Portland, Oregon, wrote to me saying: "When I was a young girl, my grandmother, Lavina Lindsley, born in Middlesex, New York, told me several times that she had been to school to Marcus Whitman."⁵ There is also evidence that Marcus, in addition to teaching school for a time, assisted his brother Henry in the operation of a sawmill.⁶ Here he learned a skill which was

of great value to him after he had arrived in Old Oregon.

On April 4, 1824, Jonathan Pratt noted in his diary: "Saturday finished Anatomy & was pleased to get through for I found a great part of it verry [sic] dry study, but think of the different parts of which it is composed, viz. Muscles, Bloodvessels, Lymphatics and Nerves, that the Muscles is the most perplexing. When shall I get through my studies; two long years (if I live) before I can attend a course of medical lectures, one course of which being three months will complete my studies." Here Jonathan clearly states that a medical student was expected to study two years under a local physician and then take a three months' course in a medical school before receiving his license. This was the program followed by Marcus Whitman.

WHITMAN'S FIRST TERM AT THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

Having completed his two-year period of riding with Dr. Bryant, Whitman was ready for the medical college. He enrolled in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York at Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York, on or before October 3, 1825, when he was about a month past his twenty-third birthday.⁷ At that time this school was one of the best medical colleges in the nation, having some distinguished teachers on its faculty, including Doctors Westel Willoughby, Joseph White, T. Romeyn Beck, James Hadley, and James McNaughton.⁸ According to the custom of the school, the students paid their tuition by buying tickets of admission to the lectures of the individual professors. Among the extant documents regarding Whitman's medical training is the ticket given by Dr. Willoughby to Marcus Whitman October 3, 1825, upon the payment of ten dollars as tuition for "Lectures on Midwifery."⁹

The Fairfield College of Physicians and Surgeons grew out of an academy which had been established at Fairfield in 1802. The Medical College was chartered in 1812 and continued until 1839; during this time 555 students were graduated. The academy continued alongside the medical department. In 1839 the academy was reorganized as Fairfield Seminary and conducted on a coeducational basis until 1891 when it became a military academy for eleven years. Of the five buildings which once stood on the campus, only the chapel remains and it is now deserted and in a dilapidated condition.¹⁰

Dr. Willoughby, one of the founders of the Medical College, served as its head for nearly thirty years. Under his leadership the school reached a peak enrolment of 217 in 1833–34.¹¹ In the sixteen-week session of 1825–26, when Whitman was a student, 130 were enrolled. The Fairfield Medical College was a most logical choice for Whitman as it was nearer to his home than any other institution of this kind. Moreover, the costs were reasonable. The catalog for 1825–26 advertised: “The whole expense for Tickets, Board, Wood, during a course, not to exceed 100 dollars.” The cost of the tuition tickets for the courses offered that term amounted to \$54.00. Although textbooks were available to students on a rental basis, the catalog recommended that the students “furnish themselves with some of the most approved works on each branch of instruction, as a sufficient number of copies may not be at hand to supply a large class.”¹²

Among the graduates and faculty members of the Medical College were several who won fame. Asa Gray, 1810–1888, received his M.D. from Fairfield in 1831 and afterwards lectured there on botany. Possibly Whitman, when he returned for a second term in the fall of 1831, had an opportunity to become acquainted with Gray. Daniel Brainard, once a student at Fairfield, founded Rush Medical College in Chicago with a faculty consisting almost entirely of Fairfield men in 1837. One of these professors was Dr. W. S. Davis, who organized the American Medical Association in 1847. Many of the former students of Fairfield served as doctors in the Civil War and many went West to become doctors in frontier communities.

The late Dr. F. C. Waite, for many years a member of the Medical Faculty of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, and a recognized medical historian, summarized the importance of the Fairfield Medical College in a letter to me dated in July 1935: “I say advisedly and with much familiarity with all the medical schools of that period that *no other school in the United States* could have trained Whitman for the work he was to do as a frontier physician as could Fairfield, for that was the purpose of the school, namely, to train men for frontier work.”¹³

The popular prejudice against the use of human bodies for dissection by medical students was still strong in the days of Whitman’s preparation. Sometimes the students would resort to robbing graves for newly buried bodies. This practice was referred to as “resurrection.” The

public naturally resented such indignities and oftentimes the medical schools as well as individual students became involved in trouble over the practice. The Trustees of the Fairfield College in 1819 took the following action against any student who should be guilty “of digging up or in removing from any cemetery or burying ground any dead human body to be used as an anatomical subject in said College, he shall forthwith be dismissed from the College.”¹⁴

The New York State Legislature, by act of March 30, 1820, gave to Fairfield College the bodies of convicts dying in the Auburn State Prison which were not claimed by relatives or friends. Dissection of a human body was, therefore, dependent upon the success of the faculty in securing an occasional cadaver. Even so, Fairfield College was the only medical school in New York State at that time where cadavers could legally be studied. Anatomy was largely taught by lectures, accompanied by charts or demonstrations on a skeleton. One of the buildings on the campus was called the laboratory, but in spite of the name, the students had virtually no laboratory facilities as we now know them.

Since the College was located in a village which had fewer than two thousand inhabitants, there was no hospital or clinic nearby in which the students could gain practical experience. Usually not more than one of the faculty members lived in Fairfield. The others came from a distance, often from New York City, to give a series of lectures extending over several days before returning to their homes. In all probability, William H. Gray, who later was associated with Marcus Whitman in the Oregon Mission, was a fifteen-year-old youth living in Fairfield when Whitman was a student at the Medical College in 1825–26. No evidence, however, has been found that the two ever met at that time.

THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, 1826–1831

Students who completed a sixteen-week session at Fairfield Medical College were qualified to be licensed to practice medicine. New York State had no licensing medical board before 1841, so the only license a doctor could have in Whitman’s day was that issued by that county medical society which would receive him. Whitman finished his term at Fairfield on January 23, 1826, and on the following May 9th was licensed to practice medicine within the State of New York by the Herkimer County Medical Society.¹⁵ Since the Medical College at Fairfield

was located in Herkimer County and since Dr. Willoughby, one of Whitman's professors, was then president of the Society, it was logical that Whitman should have applied to that body for licensure.

By courtesy such a license as that granted to Whitman was usually accepted anywhere in the United States or Canada. Although licensed physicians did not have the Doctor of Medicine degree, they were usually called "Doctor."

The M.D. degree could then have been earned by taking a second sixteen-week course at some recognized medical school. It has been estimated that not more than one-half of the medical students of that period ever returned to a school to complete the requirements for the degree. Some practical difficulties discouraged a student from going back to the same institution from which he had been graduated. To do so meant that he would be listening to the same lectures that he had once heard, unless there had been changes in the faculty. Those who coveted the M.D. degree often attended a different school or waited several years until some changes had been made in the faculty or the curriculum of the school where they had first studied. There were no graduate courses in American medical schools until after the Civil War.

The next authenticated dates in Whitman's life are found in the correspondence that he had with Jonathan Pratt who, after winning his licensure, opened an office at Sugargrove, Warren County, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1826. In the following August, Pratt complained in his diary about his ill health. Sometime during the latter part of that month or during the first part of September, Pratt wrote to Whitman begging him to take over his practice at Sugargrove for a short time. In Whitman's reply, dated September 11, 1827 (the oldest Whitman letter extant), he indicated that he was still looking for a place to settle where he could practice medicine. Just what he had been doing during the sixteen months after completing his work at Fairfield is not known. Whitman wrote: "Friend Jonathan: I received your letter yesterday; it probably lay in the office several days, I being absent to the east. I have been making preparation for going into practice: had calculated to go westward but not as soon as you require, but as your health is so ill & you wish me to come and assist you, I will endeavor to get ready the latter part of this or by Monday of next week. I wish you to stay till I come. I have a horse and probably shall ride..."

The authors of a history of Warren County included a chapter dealing with the early doctors who practiced at Sugargrove and mentioned Dr. Jonathan Pratt. They stated that he was followed by “another bachelor physician, Dr. Marcus Whitman.”¹⁶ Pratt in his diary tells of his return to Sugargrove on December 13 of that year. Hence it may be assumed that Whitman practiced medicine in Sugargrove for about two months when he was substituting for his friend who needed a vacation.

The reference to Whitman being a bachelor raises the interesting question: Why was he not married by 1827 when he was twenty-five years old? He and Narcissa Prentiss were not married until February 1836 when he was in his thirty-fourth year. Why the long delay in getting married?

According to a surprising family tradition among the descendants of Thomas Saunders, a pioneer resident of Rushville, Whitman was married sometime in the 1820s to Miss Persia Saunders.¹⁷ Such a report is erroneous as Persia’s tombstone in the French Cemetery at Rushville gives her maiden name and the dates: Born, July 12, 1807, and died, March 28, 1830. It is possible that Marcus and Persia were engaged and that her ill health delayed a marriage. With the passing of many years, the memory of an engagement might have become the tradition of a marriage. The possible romance ending by the death of the young lady may have been the reason Whitman did not marry during his twenties.

WHITMAN IN CANADA

Following Whitman’s return from Sugargrove, he visited Upper Canada¹⁸ in search of a promising community. He called on a former classmate, Dr. James Hunter,¹⁹ who was practicing in the Niagara Peninsula. In Whitman’s second letter to Pratt, also written from Rushville, dated February 5, 1828, he reported: “I had a good journey with some exceptions but found it necessary to stay longer than I expected in Canada. I found my friend well and ready to assist me as far as I could wish. I intend going to Canada but as to what particular place I shall occupy, I do not know, or whether I shall take license this spring or go into copartnership with Hunter. I intend to return to Canada in a few days. As to the prospects in Canada, I cannot say precisely but I think they are better than at Sugargrove.”

After due investigation, Whitman selected a village called St. Anne

in Gainsboro township, located about twenty-five miles west of Niagara Falls. The 1829 census of Upper Canada shows that the County of Lincoln, in which Gainsboro and the present County of Welland were located, then had a population of less than twenty thousand. Whitman was licensed by the Upper Canada Medical Board in July 1829.²⁰ He was listed as being from “Niagara District.” It is evident that Whitman had been practising his profession in Canada for more than a year before he received this official permission.

WHITMAN RETURNS TO THE MEDICAL COLLEGE

During the spring and summer of 1830, Whitman passed through a period of uncertainty, as he debated whether he should give up medicine and study for the ministry. Ten years earlier, when he returned to Rushville from Plainfield, he had dreamed of becoming a minister. Circumstances, probably largely financial, had directed him into medicine. Now, when he was twenty-eight years old, he seriously considered changing his profession. What was the reason for this discontent? Perhaps he had been engaged to Persia Saunders so that her death on March 28 of that year was a contributing factor to this yearning to follow through with his youthful dream.

This we know: Whitman was back in Rushville in the fall of 1830, for he reunited with the Congregational Church there on November 6 by letter from “the Presbyterian Church in Gainsboro, Upper Canada.” Thus Whitman’s residence in Canada did not extend to much more than two years if indeed it was that long. Whitman’s pastor at Rushville when he rejoined was the Rev. Joseph Brackett, 1781–1832, under whose direction he began his theological studies. In his letter to the American Board dated June 27, 1834, Whitman summarized what had happened: “In the fall of 1830 I gave up the practice of my profession and entered upon a course of study preparatory to the ministry.”

Little is known of Whitman’s activities for the year following his return to Rushville. We learn that he studied theology for a time and that he suffered from ill health. Of this he wrote in his letter to the Board of June 27: “I had not continued long [in the studies] when for want of active exercise I found my health become impaired by a pain in the left side which I attributed to an inflammation of the spleen. I immediately resorted to remedies with apparently full relief, resumed study so soon

that it caused a return of the pain & again I used remedies with partial relief. Then I used exercise & continued it for a number of months when I found I was not able to study & returned to the practice of my profession.”

The question arises: If his health prevented his continuing his theological studies, how was he able to return to his medical practice? It may be that Whitman had come to realize that it was not wise for him at his age to change his profession and spend years in study to meet the educational requirements for the ministry of either the Congregational or the Presbyterian Churches. So he decided to return to the Medical College at Fairfield for another sixteen weeks’ course and thus earn his M.D. degree.

When Whitman reenrolled at the College in the fall of 1831, he found that the institution then ranked third in size among the medical schools of the country with 205 students in attendance.²¹ During his five-year absence, one of his former professors, Dr. White, had retired and had been succeeded by Dr. John Delamater, an eminent physician and a successful teacher.²² On the whole Whitman was highly favored in being able to study under some of the best medical professors of that generation.

Whitman returned to Fairfield with a new zest for learning that often comes after one has been away from an academic schedule for several years. Now he had definitely and finally dismissed the idea of being a minister. With more maturity and several years of practical experience, he was receptive for further instruction.

The records of the Board of Trustees of the Medical College give the thesis subjects of each of the thirty-nine graduates of the class of January 1832.²³ Whitman wrote on “Caloric.”²⁴ The term was then used to denote “some subtle influence that causes the heat of the body.” Strange as it may seem to us today, the doctors of that generation failed to appreciate the importance of fever in the diagnosis of disease. Since we do not have a copy of Whitman’s thesis, we are unable to learn just how far he was probing into this important subject. The very choice of such a topic for investigation indicates that he felt that there was some connection between fever, or “caloric,” and disease.

The minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Medical College for January 24, 1832, contain the following: “After the reading of the

Theses by the candidates for graduation, and it being certified by the Registrar that they had individually complied with the requirements of the Laws of this state and the ordinances of the college, it was resolved that they be recommended to the Regents of the [State] University for the Degree of Doctor of Medicine.”

Thereafter Marcus Whitman could rightfully, and not merely by courtesy, be called Doctor Whitman. He was a well-trained physician, and much better qualified than the average doctor of his day. His academic work had been preceded by a two-year apprenticeship, riding with a country doctor. He had studied under eminent professors. He had spent several years practicing medicine in frontier communities, having been licensed in both New York State and in Canada. Finally he had earned the M.D. degree which was granted by the University of the State of New York. Thus at the age of twenty-nine, Dr. Marcus Whitman found himself equipped for his life's work, but the stage on which he was to play a major role was not then ready for his entrance.

CHAPTER 3 FOOTNOTES

- 1 Wisewell letter, Coll. W.
- 2 *Centennial Celebration*, 1902, Rushville Congregational Church.
- 3 Original record book now owned by Mrs. W. Merle Wheaton of Cohocton, N.Y.
- 4 See Appendix I for location of Whitman letters 1 & 2. The Pratt diary is in Coll. Wn.
- 5 This Levina Lindsley, a married woman, is not to be confused with the Levina Linsley of Prattsburg to whom H. H. Spalding is reported to have been engaged. See Drury, *Spalding*, p. 39. The reported dates of birth, 1810 and 1799, also indicate two different women.
- 6 Eells, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 23.
- 7 Mowry, *Marcus Whitman*, p. 62, erroneously states that Whitman attended the Berkshire Medical Institution at Pittsfield, Mass.
- 8 Drury, Whitman, gives pictures of six of Whitman's professors at Fairfield and copies of pages from the catalog of the Medical College. Most of the information concerning Whitman's medical education used in this chapter was furnished by the late Dr. F. C. Waite.
- 9 Original ticket in Coll. B. See picture in Drury, *Whitman*, p. 44.
- 10 Thomas C. O'Donnell, Tip of the Hill, Boonville, N.Y., 1953, gives a history of the Medical College and of the Academy.
- 11 *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York*, Vol. IV, p. 160.
- 12 A copy of the catalog is in the New York State Library, Albany. Photostat copy in Coll. Wn.
- 13 Dr. Waite in a letter to me dated July 1935. The file of my correspondence with him, together with other papers, has been deposited in the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane.
- 14 Information supplied by Dr. Waite.
- 15 Original certificate owned by Mrs. Dudley Voorhees, Middlesex, N.Y. See Drury, *Whitman*, p. 53.
- 16 J. S. Shenck and W. S. Rann, *History of Warren County, Syracuse*, 1887, p. 435.
- 17 Persia was pronounced Per-sigh-a, with the accent on the second syllable. This tradition was called to my attention by A. L. Saunders of Canton, Ill. The tombstone dates were supplied by Robert Moody of Rushville.
- 18 Canada was divided into Lower Canada and Upper Canada by the Ottawa River. The Province of Ontario is in Upper Canada.
- 19 Hunter was registered in the 1825-26 term at Fairfield as being from Niagara, Upper Canada.
- 20 William Canniff, *The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, Toronto*, 1894, p. 56.
- 21 Waite, "The Medical Education of Marcus Whitman," *O.H.Q.*, XXVII (1936): 192 ff.
- 22 See Waite's article on Dr. Delamater, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Academy of Medicine*, May 1930.
- 23 Dr. Waite discovered the original records in 1935 in the New York State Library, Albany.
- 24 See picture of page with name of Whitman's thesis in Drury, *Whitman*, p. 53.