ILLNESS AND LOSS

The Sad History of Christchurch General Practitioner

Samuel Alexander Patrick MD (1836-1894)

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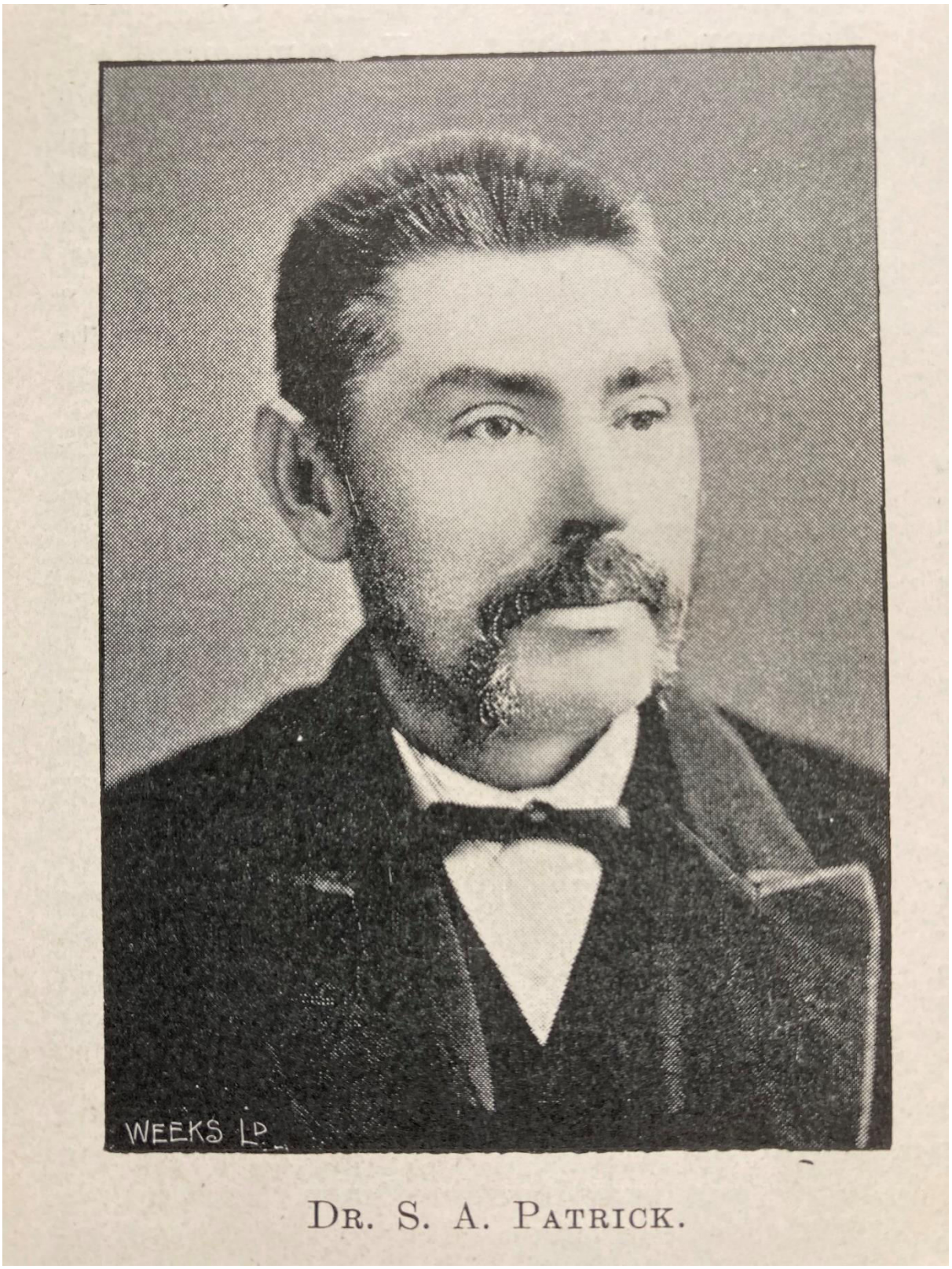

DR. S. A. PATRICK.

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PREFACE

In the course of writing about other Christchurch doctors of the nineteenth century I often encountered Dr Patrick in disagreement with one or another of his medical brethren and sometimes in very public dispute through exchanges of letters to the editors of the local newspapers. Yet he remained a shadowy character about whom not much was known beyond a brief obituary and his entry in the Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies at the Canterbury Museum. It was not until I undertook a systematic search of his name through that invaluable resource *Papers Past* of the New Zealand National Library that I discovered what illness and losses he had suffered. No wonder he was often sharp with his comments on fellow doctors and sarcastic about their claims to prominence.

In 1871 his mother died in England and his seven-year-old daughter Margaret Jane drowned while gathering watercress in the Avon River. Then his sister Jane died in England. Three deaths in one year. In 1872 two of his children died from diphtheria. Two others had died in infancy. One of his sons was born a paralytic. Then his first wife died in 1880.

These were grievous losses for any man to bear. But Dr Patrick himself was never a well man. At the age of 18 he had gone out to a sugar plantation in the West Indies where he caught malaria. There was no cure for this disease in the nineteenth century apart from temporary relief obtained from quinine or Jesuit's bark. He suffered recurring bouts of fever for the rest of his life. One of the many complications of malaria is liver damage, which may explain why Dr Patrick was an advocate of total abstinence from alcohol.

Unlike some of the other Christchurch doctors, Patrick was not a prominent public figure. He never sought public office until late in life when he was persuaded to stand for the city council. But he rarely spoke and lasted only one term. He was a lodge surgeon but this may have been simply to supplement his income. His bedside manner may have been too austere to develop a successful general practice. If his patients thought he rarely smiled, they may not have known that he had little to smile about.

Patrick was a well-educated man of wide reading habits. He had a good knowledge of modern literature as well as the classics. He once said that he had read every issue of the *Lancet* for nearly twenty-five years. Selwyn Bruce recalled seeing him reading a medical textbook as he walked to the home of a patient.[1]

Patrick was also a religious man and attended the Wesleyan Church in Durham Street, but he was critical of organised religion and sympathised with the Freethought Movement of his day. When challenged, he replied that he was 'a Christian of the Apostolic stamp'. His knowledge of geology led him to accept Darwin's theory of evolution and he was a passionate advocate of vaccination against smallpox. He was also ahead of his time in opposing the execution of criminals

His arguments with other doctors began with his criticism of the Coroner, Dr Coward, who occupied this important post with only the LSA (Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries), the basic qualification for a pharmacist. Patrick had a spectacular

newspaper argument with Dr Frankish over medical registration and insinuated that Frankish had bought his St Andrews MD. In this Patrick was mistaken, but he never apologised. He sided with Prins and the older doctors in their scorn for the 'young doctors with MD degrees'. But he must have felt his own lack for in 1884 he took leave to visit Vienna and returned with his own MD.

Patrick was one of the co-founders of the Canterbury Medical Society in December 1880 and served as treasurer for several terms before becoming president in 1885. The society's minute books now preserved at the Cotter Medical History Museum detail his involvement far better than the newspapers. Patrick helped Dr Hacon to revive the society after its virtual collapse over the McBean Stewart medical libel case in 1886. Patrick also gave first-aid lectures for the St John Ambulance Association in the 1880s.

Christchurch was visited by numerous quacks and faith-healers in the 1880s and Patrick was brave enough to challenge one of them. In 1883 he offered Milner Stephen 20 guineas to cure his bunion and £1,000 in freehold property if Stephen could cure his son's paralysis. Stephen never replied. Patrick encouraged the father of a deaf girl supposedly cured by Stephen to take him to court to recover his fee, but the magistrate pointed out that Stephen had only promised treatment, not a cure, and that doctors still charged a fee even when they failed to cure.

Patrick's fees were generally above those of his fellow doctors, especially Dr Townend who got himself established by charging only half the agreed fee. (Townend was ostracised by the other doctors, especially Turnbull.) But Patrick was often the doctor of first resort in accident and suicide cases because of his central location in the city in Armagh Street and then in Oxford Terrace.

Patrick once described himself as a quiet man of 'retiring disposition'. Not seeking public office, his name appears in the newspapers far less than the major Christchurch medical figures of his day such as Nedwill, Turnbull and Frankish. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to reconstruct the outline of his career and his interaction with other doctors.

PART ONE

GETTING ESTABLISHED

Though newspaper obituaries say that he was born in 1840, Samuel Alexander Patrick was in fact born in Belfast, Northern Ireland, in 1836, the son of John Patrick and his wife Margaret (née Forsythe). His father was then 46 and his mother 40. He was fourth in a family of five. His siblings were Margaret Jane (1828-1915), Mary Eleanor (1830-1916), William Hugh (1836-94), and Josias Wilson (1840-1891).[2] The family may then have moved to Manchester for Samuel was educated at Owen's College Grammar School (later Victoria College, the ancestor of the University of Manchester). At the age of 18 he went out to a sugar plantation in the West Indies and there caught malaria, which gave him recurrent bouts of fever for the rest of his life. He returned to Manchester, where his parents wanted him to enter the ministry, and he studied theology for some time at Trinity College, Dublin.[3]

Samuel Patrick was married to Mary Elizabeth Elliott on 30 August 1860 at Deansgate, Lancashire. She was two years younger than him and came from County Antrim in Northern Ireland. She may have been pregnant already as their first child, Clifford, died before the end of 1860. A second son, James Forsyth, was born in 1861 and lived until 1887, but was paralysed at birth and remained a cripple for the whole of his life.[4]

Samuel had by now decided against the ministry and instead studied medicine at Manchester under Dr Dumbell. In 1862 he passed his examination to become a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons (MRCS) and a year later qualified in London as a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries (LSA), the standard qualification for a doctor in general practice at this time. The LSA demanded a comprehensive knowledge of the pharmacopeia and required the candidate to 'walk the wards' at a London hospital observing a wide range of cases and their symptoms. [5]

Samuel Alexander Patrick was registered as a medical practitioner on 16 February 1863 and was soon appointed medical officer to the Chorlton Hospital and surgeon at the Salford and Pendleton Royal Infirmary. He was also honorary visiting surgeon to the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary (later Ancoats Hospital), and honorary surgeon to the Manchester City Mission.[6]

Two daughters then followed, Margaret Jane in 1863 and Hannah Matoaka Mann in 1866. This last daughter's second name is intriguing, as it is a Māori name. Had Patrick already been thinking of emigrating? He had a growing family and his income may have been small as honorary visiting surgeons were not paid. The decision must have been made in 1866 as the family sailed later that year on the ship *Matoaka* and arrived in Lyttelton on 10 January 1867. However, it is more likely that Hannah was born and died at sea. Hence her unusual second name. The shipping notice has 'Dr and Mrs Patrick, Marie [Mary] Margaret and Eleanor', but has no mention of Hannah or son James.[7] Genealogical records make no mention of an Eleanor until 1875. Mistakes were

not uncommon on shipping lists of this period but Hannah's death date is recorded as 1866. Infant deaths on migrant ships were also not uncommon.

It may therefore have been a sad and subdued family that took its first look at Lyttelton in 1867. Patrick presented his diplomas to the magistrate and was duly registered as a New Zealand medical practitioner on 30 January 1867. On the very next day he signed a partnership with Dr Edmund Henry Marshall who came from Essex and had been practising in Christchurch since 1863.

Patrick's first reported case was an attempted suicide in July 1867. Fortunately the cut the man had made on his throat was not deep and had missed the vital vessels. Patrick sewed up the wound and hoped he would recover.[8] That same month the *Press* reported that a new private hospital had opened in Cashel Street next to its office in Armagh Street. The resident medical officer of the Christchurch Private Hospital was Samuel Alexander Patrick MRCS LSA.[9] However, no further mention is made of this hospital and it seems likely that it was an ambitious venture that did not pay. Christchurch already had a public hospital, opened in 1862, and the town was 'over-doctored', having at least 16 doctors for a population of only 7,000. Patrick was called to an accident a week later. A drunken drayman had fallen and a wheel of the dray had passed over him, but there were no broken bones.[10] In August Patrick amputated a finger from a man injured in a foundry accident, using chloroform as an anaesthetic.[11]

We have no evidence for Patrick's daily lists of patients. Indeed, there may have been some days when he saw nobody at all while he was getting established. He had to rely on satisfied patients telling their friends that he was a good doctor. Doctors guarded their reputations jealously, because it was on the basis of their reputation and qualifications as professional men that they could charge professional fees. Pre-natal care and delivering babies must have formed a significant part of Patrick's practice.

Christchurch was a young settlement with a steadily growing population. Sickness and accidents would have brought most patients to a doctor's door. In the 1860s Christchurch was notorious for its 'low fevers' in winter. Most of these were probably enteric fever or typhoid, from contamination of wells by nearby cesspits. Diphtheria, scarlet fever and whooping cough were common childhood diseases at this time, contributing to a high infant mortality rate. Among adults, tuberculosis was a common infection, and in winter many would suffer from bronchitis and rheumatism. Fortunately, New Zealand never had cholera, and smallpox was rare, thanks to Jenner's vaccination.

What could a doctor do for infectious diseases in the 1860s? Since the causes of infection were still unknown, doctors could only treat the symptoms, attempting to reduce fevers and ease pain. Traditional methods still held sway in medical practice in the 1860s. Blood-letting and purging were standard responses to most illnesses, followed by the individual practitioner's personal preferences among a vast and bewildering pharmacopeia of herbal and mineral-based pills and potions. Some of these were actually harmful, based on arsenic, lead, mercury or antimony, but patients were reassured when medicine tasted bitter that it must be doing them some good. Asafoetida was routinely added to medicines to bind them together and give them a bad taste. Jesuit's Bark or quinine was often prescribed for intermittent fevers. Pain

relief was most often given by opium-based mixtures such as laudanum, though alcohol was also much favoured, especially as a stimulant for convalescents. Digitalis derived from foxglove had long been recognised as an effective treatment for persons suffering from heart disease, but was also used for many other ailments, especially dropsy.[12]

Accidents in the working population would bring patients with cuts and bruises, and the occasional broken collarbone, arm or leg. Setting bones was one of the commonest interventions for a doctor in this period and, provided the skin had not been broken, these cases usually had a successful outcome. However, if the skin had been broken and infection set in, very little could be done. Amputation was the only way to save life in the case of a badly crushed or mangled limb, or when gangrene had developed. Usually only one in three amputees survived. Such serious cases were usually taken to the hospital, but most minor surgery still took place in the patient's home.

People on poor diets were often susceptible to digestive upsets, boils and rashes. Constipation would be treated with a purgative, while diarrhoea would be treated with chalk or charcoal. In cases of food poisoning, vomiting could be induced by a variety of emetics. In young children, convulsions were a common cause of death, usually resulting from high fever and dehydration after an infectious illness. Infants unable to breast-feed were especially vulnerable, as the usual substitute was powdered arrowroot mixed with cow's milk or water. If the water was contaminated, diarrhoea followed, and the poor mite simply 'wasted away' or died from dehydration. Doctors would attribute such deaths to athrepsia, inanition, marasmus or 'want of breast milk'.[13]

The new doctor had evidently let it be known that he had an interest in theology for Patrick was invited to chair a public lecture by the Reverend A. Reid in August 1867. Reid's lecture was on the eighth book of Revelations in which he attempted to show that the fall of Rome to the Lombards and the stopping of the Arab conquests by Charles Martel at the Battle of Tours in 732 AD were all in fulfilment of Bible prophecy.[14]

Patrick was also evidently interested in education for he not only attended a public meeting about a proposed university scholarship for New Zealand students but he also spoke. Dean Henry Jacobs was in the chair and the lawyer Henry Cotterill moved the main proposal to establish such a scholarship. However, he warned that the proposed £500 would not be enough to support a student in England: without family support a student would need £800 or even £1,000 to survive. Reverends Fraser and Wilson also spoke, and another lawyer, Henry Wynn Williams, agreed that it was premature to talk about a future University of New Zealand. It was better to foster grammar schools first.

Patrick's contribution was to suggest that a collegiate university after the style of the University of London was 'not impossible'. But he thought it was 'hardly judicious' to send such a large sum out of the colony: 'they ought to import rather than export learning'. This remark was greeted with 'Hear, hear' from many present. Dr Coward the coroner seconded the main motion which was easily passed.[15]

Barely eight months after entering into partnership with Dr Marshall, Patrick announced in September 1867 that he was dissolving the partnership because Marshall had failed to observe articles 3 and 5 of the document. Marshall at once inserted ads in the newspapers to say that Dr Patrick had no power to dissolve their partnership as he had not been guilty of any breach of the agreement. As far as he was concerned, the partnership would continue until dissolved by an order of the Supreme Court or by 'the effluxion of time'.[16] However, Patrick apparently resolved to go it alone and advertised in November 1867 that he could be consulted at his residence, next to the *Press* office in Cashel Street.[17]

What had gone wrong? It may well have been a dispute over the division of the practice's income. As the established partner, Marshall presumably had a larger practice and wanted to keep most of the income for himself. But Patrick would have expected the practice to support him and his family while he developed a practice of his own. In March 1868 a civil case at the Magistrate's Court was listed as 'Marshall and Patrick v Pepperill', to recover unpaid medical fees. Patrick objected to having his name included, and said that the partnership had been dissolved. But the magistrate saw no evidence of dissolution and ruled that Marshall had to sue in the name of the firm.[18]

Marshall went ahead and a week later brought another civil action against one Jeffs in the name of 'Marshall and Patrick'. The defence lawyer produced a receipt from Dr Patrick for £12 which the defendant said had been in full settlement of his account. Marshall objected to this and insisted that the debt was actually £22. 5s. He added that he thought Patrick had issued the receipt because he did not want to appear in court. The magistrate accepted the receipt as valid, and added, 'If Dr Marshall was dissatisfied with the action of Dr Patrick he had his remedy'.[19] But no more was heard from Marshall and he seems to have accepted that the partnership had ended. The Christchurch doctors had already been critical of Dr Coward's decisions as coroner in preferring Dr Powell to conduct autopsies: was there now another pair of doctors not on speaking terms?

Marshall went back to England and returned to Lyttelton as surgeon of the *Matoaka* with 121 government immigrants in February 1869.[20] He then left Christchurch and settled at Wanganui.

Many of the clergy in Christchurch were concerned about the amount of alcohol consumed in the colony and the dire social effects drunkenness had on family life. Patrick's commitment to the temperance movement was demonstrated in April 1868 when he was elected secretary of the Canterbury Alliance for the control of alcohol. Its president was the Reverend J. O'Bryan Hoare, who devoted the rest of his life to the cause. Dr Florance was the only other doctor present at this annual general meeting, but it was attended by a long list of clergy.[21]

Later that same month Patrick was elected to the committee of the Wesleyan (Methodist) Sunday School in Durham Street. The school had over 300 pupils on its roll, though the average weekly attendance was only 175. The pupils were taught by sixteen female and nine male teachers.[22] Methodism was an eighteenth-century off-shoot from the Anglican Church as a protest against bishops and ritualism. Its

followers were also called Wesleyans because they sang the hymns of Charles and John Wesley, the movement's founders. Methodists were also known as Non-conformists, as they did not conform to the governance or rituals of the established Church of England. They formed the bulk of the temperance movement in England.

In June 1868 Patrick was appointed one of two trustees for the Canterbury Temperance Brotherhood at its meeting in the Temperance Hall in Manchester Street. H. Bennetts was the president and J. C. Baker was the secretary. The other trustee was A. Scott.[23] However, as the newspapers make no further mention of such a body, it may have been a short-lived affair.

A man named Mansfield attempted suicide in July 1868 by cutting his throat at a coffee house in High Street and Drs Patrick and Prins were called to the scene. Prins had to go home for his medical bag, but Patrick saw that there was little hope for the man. He was still alive, but he could not speak and he and the floor were covered in blood. Patrick administered brandy and wrapped him in a blanket, but he died within the hour.[24] It was odd that at the inquest Dr Coward the coroner heard his friend Prins but refused to let Patrick speak.

In May 1868 Patrick attended a woman giving birth and had to use forceps to deliver her baby. The child lived for two months and then died. A police constable called on Patrick in late July and ordered him to attend and give evidence at an inquest that same afternoon. Patrick protested at the short notice and asked if he had an order from the coroner, but the constable said he did not have one. The constable went away but soon returned and said that as Dr Coward was busy he would postpone the inquest to Monday.

Patrick then received a curt note from Coward claiming that the parents attributed the baby's death to injuries received during its delivery. Coward had asked Dr Nedwill to perform an autopsy and Patrick could attend and observe if he wanted to. Patrick attended both the autopsy and the inquest, but Coward refused to let him say anything. Nedwill told the inquest that the baby had died from anaemia and 'general debility'. He saw no marks or bruises on its body. Both parents strenuously denied ever having said anything about injuries at birth. When Patrick asked if he could question them further Coward refused. Patrick then asked Coward to explain his letter, and Coward again refused and threatened him with contempt of court.[25]

Patrick laid out all of these facts in a letter to the *Press* on 1 August, asking the coroner to explain his conduct. Coward ignored the letter and there is no further mention of the episode in the newspapers. Perhaps Patrick did not appreciate that the coroner had complete control over an inquest and would not allow questioning by a third party: only the coroner could ask the questions. But Coward had clearly misheard the parents and got something seriously wrong here. Patrick was entitled to defend his professional reputation against the suggestion that he had injured the baby during a forceps delivery. Whether or not Coward ever made a private apology to Patrick is unknown, but even if he did this episode probably helped push Patrick into the more conservative faction of the Christchurch doctors, alongside Prins, and to confirm his dislike of Coward's friends Powell, Nedwill and Frankish, 'the young doctors with the MD degree'.

Christchurch at this time had a resident 'curative galvanist', Captain George Wilson, who used electricity to relieve pain, especially from rheumatism and arthritis. The doctors regarded him as a harmless quack but he made a good living from treating hopeful people who had given up on their doctors' drugs. In December 1868 Patrick criticised Wilson for claiming that galvanism was 'a most potent remedy for poisoning by laudanum'. Wilson wrote to the *Press* and accused Patrick of ignorance of the effects of electricity or galvanism. Wilson claimed that galvanism could empty the stomach as well as any drug, and that doctors who slapped their patients' feet and chest with a wet towel to revive them from poisoning might try electricity instead.[26] Patrick made no reply.

Patrick's wife Mary gave birth to another son in 1868 and named him after his father, Samuel Alexander Patrick.

Patrick attended a succession of accident and assault cases in early 1869 and then announced that he could be consulted two days a week in Lyttelton, at Mrs Derry's in Winchester Street.[27] The Lyttelton doctors would not have appreciated this attempt to intrude on their patch, and it may suggest that Patrick was finding it hard to make a living in Christchurch.

Another accident concerned one of Patrick's medical brethren. Dr Willis's horse shied at the departing Leeston coach in Cashel Street and threw him to the ground where his head hit the stone kerbing. Patrick was first on the scene and had Willis taken to his own house in Cashel Street. Dr Prins came to assist but Willis remained unconscious and died next day in Patrick's house. Patrick performed the autopsy and found a badly fractured skull. Willis was one of the oldest practitioners in Christchurch, having arrived in 1851.[28]

The Christchurch doctors were concerned about the defects of the 1869 Medical Registration Act which still provided a loophole for quacks and pharmacists to be registered as doctors. Dr Turnbull called them all to a meeting at Dr Deamer's house on 16 June 1869. Drs Christy, Deamer, Earle, Florance, Mottley, Nedwill, Patrick and Rouse elected Turnbull as chairman. (Prins was conspicuous by his absence.) The main resolution, carried unanimously, called for the repeal of Clause 14, which had allowed the registration of persons who had neither received a medical education nor even been in actual practice. There was nothing to stop any chemist or druggist's assistant being registered as a medical practitioner if he had been 'following his trade' before 1857. Nedwill moved, and Patrick seconded, a blunt resolution 'that the Medical Board [had] failed in its duty towards the medical profession' in allowing such persons to be placed on the Register. Rouse proposed that Drs Christy, Deamer and Nedwill form a committee to draft a petition to government explaining the reasons which led them to adopt these resolutions. The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to Turnbull, whose feelings must have been mixed, as he was a member of the Medical Board so roundly condemned by the meeting.[29]

After chairing another lecture in the Wesleyan Schoolroom later in June Patrick suffered an accident of his own.[30] While riding home after dark he collided with

another horse. This was described as a 'spirited' beast being ridden at speed by a Mr Thompson from Oxford. The other horse's head struck Patrick on the side of his head, causing 'a rather severe contusion'.[31] Patrick was taken to his home in Armagh Street where he recovered, though this accident may have left him with concussion.

There was no mention of Patrick in the papers for another month, when he was admitted one of eleven new members of the Acclimatisation Society.[32] Several other doctors were already members, and were actively supporting the importation of fish and birds from Europe. Patrick would have recalled that the *Matoaka*, the ship that brought him and his family to New Zealand, had also carried a large number of caged birds, blackbirds, thrushes, starlings and larks, imported by the Acclimatisation Society for release in Canterbury.[33] However, Patrick does not appear to have taken much further interest in the society as his name does not appear in subsequent reports. By contrast, Drs Frankish and Campbell both took leading roles.[34]

Patrick's horse was stolen in late August 1869. It had been tied to a railing outside the house of one Mr Slade in Kilmore Street but was gone when he emerged. He offered a £5 reward for any information leading to a conviction of the thief. He described the horse as a dark bay cob mare with a brand 'M'. Along with the horse he had lost a saddle and bridle.[35] As there is no further mention of this matter in the papers it may be hoped that the horse was found. If not, it was a serious loss for a doctor, who needed a horse to reach his patients quickly. Later that year, however, Patrick was fined for obstructing a footpath in Armagh Street with his horse. He protested that he had been visiting a sick patient and there was nowhere else to tether the horse. The magistrate was sympathetic but the city council by-laws were strict and he had to pay the 5s fine.[36]

Newspaper reports of Patrick's attendance at accidents and births often remarked that he arrived too late. One such case occurred in September 1869 when he was called to a woman in childbirth. She was described as one of 'the unfortunate class', a Victorian euphemism for a prostitute. It had been a difficult delivery, with no medical attendant, and the baby died. Patrick conducted the autopsy and at the inquest testified that the baby had died from natural causes.[37] A month later he was called to a domestic incident in which a man had assaulted his wife. Patrick attended to her cuts and bruises, and gave evidence at the Magistrate's Court. The woman admitted that she had been very drunk at the time and now wished to withdraw her charge of assault. Magistrate Bowen dismissed the charge, but reminded the couple that they still had to pay Patrick his one guinea fee for attendance.[38]

If Patrick was only charging one guinea he was undercutting the other doctors, whose agreed fee at this time was two guineas. He may have done this to attract more patients, but this had the disadvantage that the sort of patients he attracted were less likely to be able to pay. It looks as if he was still struggling to make a living.

Another assault brought him out later in October. Mrs Sharpe had an argument with the wife of one of her tenants, whose husband told her to leave. He grasped her arm and pushed her out, stepping on the hem of her dress and tearing it. Mrs Sharpe was pregnant and Patrick told the Magistrate's Court that in her condition excitement and rough handling could have been 'dangerous'. However, the defence lawyer Wynn

Williams said it was a justifiable expulsion from the rented property, and the magistrate agreed, dismissing the charge of assault.[39]

Patrick happened to be in Sumner, the seaside suburb, when a body was found on the beach in December 1869. It was taken to Day's Hotel where Patrick performed an autopsy. There was a round hole in the forehead and Patrick found a flattened bullet at the back of the skull. He told the inquest that he had to 'gouge it out'. The man was identified as Edward Hamilton, a gunsmith in Christchurch. A note was found in his shop, detailing his assets, and ending with the sad phrase, 'Tired of life'. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of death by suicide while in a state of temporary insanity.[40]

Another would-be suicide later that month survived, however, as Patrick arrived in time to restrain him. He had been attending the man for the past two years for epileptic fits and these worsened when he was drinking. Attempted suicide was still a crime, however, and Patrick's testimony helped the magistrate to dismiss the charge with a caution.[41] As a stanch temperance advocate Patrick may well have added his own caution to the man to avoid alcohol in future.

There is clear evidence of Patrick's financial struggles in the second half of 1870 as he sued a succession of patients for unpaid medical fees. Most doctors could afford to ignore small debts, especially if the people were poor, but would sue for large amounts if they knew the patient could afford to pay. However, these were mostly small amounts of two and three guineas. The largest was £7.[42] Such actions may have given Patrick a reputation for meanness, and would have sent poorer patients to more affluent doctors. But he had a family to feed.

Another indication of Patrick's lack of money is found in a notice by the auctioneer Aikman in September 1870. Apparently Patrick had successfully bid for Lot 155 at an auction sale in July, a nine-volume set of *Ranking's Abstracts of Medical Sciences.* However, Patrick had never paid for them or come to collect them.[43]

In the latter part of 1870 Patrick was the keen observer of a protest by a group of doctors against the Provincial Government's staffing policy at Christchurch Hospital. When Dr Powell resigned in 1869 to travel to England to improve his qualifications, his place as superintendent was taken by Dr William Phillips, but he lasted only a few months before departing for the West Coast goldfields. In desperation the government appointed 39 year old Burrell Parkerson jnr as superintendent. He had been trained by his namesake father but he had no degree and had never travelled to England to complete any qualifications. By all accounts he was a popular and highly capable physician, but the prospect of an unqualified man heading the hospital staff outraged most of the Christchurch doctors, who felt they were far better qualified for such a position.

The doctors sent a letter to the Canterbury Superintendent, William Rolleston, in April 1870, requesting an increase in the medical staff of the hospital. He was busy with an election campaign at the time, but verbally assured them that he was sympathetic to their request. However, after he had been returned to office on 10 May he appears to have had second thoughts, and the official reply to the doctors' petition in June was deeply disappointing. The existing staff was confirmed and no new appointments were made. Turnbull, Nedwill and Frankish accused Rolleston of a breach of etiquette in

doing this before replying to their petition, and rejected his figures for bed occupancy compared with the rates for Australian and English hospitals. They strongly objected to Parkerson's retention as resident medical officer when he had no qualifications and no surgical experience beyond the simplest of procedures. The doctors politely requested a Commission of Inquiry.[44]

It was then revealed that Dr Prins had influenced Rolleston's decision, objecting 'most strongly' to any increase in the medical staff. While the Provincial Council agreed to appoint a committee of inquiry, Prins wrote to the papers early in October refuting and even ridiculing the claims made by Frankish, Nedwill and Turnbull. Prins had observed Parkerson's work and found him 'entirely capable and reliable'. The present arrangement was working well, and Prins objected to appointing a fully qualified man from England as he would then compete with the other medical men in private practice. In time, of course, as the population grew, the hospital staff would have to be increased, and in a forecast of a future staffing structure Prins named Frankish and Nedwill among the physicians. This was either a joke or an insult as both regarded themselves as surgeons.[45]

Frankish, Nedwill and Turnbull responded quickly to Prins, accusing him of pre-empting the work of the select committee and of stirring up 'this most disagreeable controversy'.[46] Prins replied at once and at length, claiming that he had never pledged himself to remain neutral 'under any circumstances', but that when Rolleston had asked him for his opinion in writing he had felt bound to give it. Just because Nedwill, Frankish and Turnbull had thought he had promised not to oppose their petition was no reason to refuse Rolleston's request. Prins added, 'I cannot consider that it is at all conducive to the dignity of the profession that opposition should be met with the schoolboy's cry, "It isn't fair" '. [47]

The committee of inquiry reported at the end of October 1870. While stressing that the existing staff had performed their duties 'satisfactorily', the committee agreed that the staffing level was 'insufficient'. They recommended the appointment of two visiting physicians, two visiting surgeons, an oculist, a pathologist and a resident surgeon. They also looked forward to the establishment of a medical school in Christchurch. The report ended with an expression of regret at the 'unnecessarily strong language' used by Drs Turnbull, Nedwill and Frankish in their petition.[48] Rolleston was in no hurry to capitulate to the doctors' demands, however, and nothing was done before the summer recess. Nor was anything tabled in the opening session for 1871.

Dr Frankish grew impatient with the long delay over hospital appointments and in March 1871 he wrote a long-winded letter to the *Lyttelton Times* that was highly critical of Rolleston's performance as Superintendent. He reviewed each step in the debate over hospital staffing and pointed out that it had started well over a year before, when Turnbull and Powell had first raised the issue. Rolleston had asked for a written request and Turnbull and Nedwill had supplied it. They twice went to the Provincial Government about it but no reply was made. A year before, Frankish had gone to see Rolleston, who had asked him to put a plan on paper, and Frankish had done as he was asked. When he waited on the Superintendent, Frankish was told that it was an

impressive plan, but the government already had additions to the buildings in hand and the staffing situation would be reviewed when they were complete. Then Rolleston had told Frankish that he thought the existing arrangements were sufficient.

A petition signed by nearly all the leading medical men (except Prins) was then submitted, and Rolleston expressed sympathy with its aims, but the election intervened, and after he had been returned to office Rolleston reappointed the existing staff and said there was no need for further changes. Frankish wrote that in doing so without first replying to the doctors' petition Rolleston had 'broken faith with us'. Then came a public meeting at White's Hotel and a committee was appointed to demand a public inquiry. That inquiry had made its recommendations, but to date nothing had been done.

The doctors thought that the matter had been settled months before, with the report of the inquiry. The issues had been 'well-ventilated' and they trusted to the good sense of the authorities to implement the recommended reforms. Rolleston had accused them of 'harshness', but after such a long delay the time for mildness had passed. This was not the only issue on which the Superintendent was at odds with expert advice or public opinion: Frankish cited the Bank of New Zealand, the Rakaia Bridge, the Northern Railway, etc. Rolleston seemed stubbornly set on economy and keeping Christchurch Hospital just as it was. Frankish thought that Rolleston should resign and be judged by all sections of the community.[49]

However, Patrick now entered the debate and condemned Frankish's letter as 'rambling' and 'impertinent'. He pointed out that the doctors' famous petition had not been signed by him, or by Prins. [50]

Frankish replied at once to Patrick in a characteristic letter which is worth quoting in full:

> Sir, -- When at any time appealing to the public through your columns to assist me in correcting what may have seemed to me to be a public grievance or abuse, I have always endeavoured to lay claim to a favourable consideration of my case by adhering closely to the truth – plain, unvarnished, and possibly unpalatable – but still the truth. In my letter of the 28th ult. I stated that the petition presented to His Honor the Superintendent was signed by every "registered practitioner" in Christchurch save one.
>
> In your issue of to-day, your correspondent, who signs himself "S. A. Patrick", attempts to impugn my veracity by denying my assertion.
>
> In reply, I wish it to be understood that I have carefully examined the Register of Medical Practitioners, published by the New Zealand Government, and find that your correspondent's name is not on the list. The correctness of my statement, however, is proved by an advertisement in the *Press* of to-day, which I presume emanated from your correspondent. It is as follows, --
>
> "I, S. A. Patrick, do hereby make application to be registered under the Medical Act, 1869, &c."
>
> If "S. A. Patrick" were a registered practitioner, why ask to be put upon the Register?

Your correspondent is perfectly right when stating that he did not sign the petition, and for good reasons – he was never asked.

Your obedient servant,

J. D. Frankish, M. D.

Patrick's reply to Frankish was deemed 'too personal' by the editor of the *Lyttelton Times*, so Patrick inserted it in the *Press* as a paid advertisement. Patrick began by stating firmly that Frankish was 'in error' to claim that the petition was signed by every registered practitioner in Christchurch save one, namely Prins, for Patrick had not signed it and he was undoubtedly a registered practitioner. When he came to Christchurch he submitted his diplomas to Magistrate Bowen and was allowed to practise as he was already on the Imperial Register. He objected to the New Zealand Act of 1869 and refused to register under it. Patrick then said that Frankish reminded him of the verbose individual narrating battles of the past as if he had been there, when in fact his grandfather had a second cousin who fought under Wellington. Patrick was not asked to sign as he opposed the views of those organising the petition. He then asked his readers, 'Does this doctor really tell the truth?'

Patrick concluded by saying that he was 'a man of peaceful disposition, and somewhat timid and retiring', but would at some future date 'respond to the ramblings of "Humanity" and "MRCSE" (ought to be LRCSE)'. He knew that both of these men lived in Colombo Street. He challenged Frankish to apologise to him and donate £50 to the hospital. [51]

Patrick was perfectly correct here: Frankish was wrong to suggest that he had not been properly registered to practice medicine. A letter from 'An English Barrister' in the *Press* pointed out the facts of registration and confirmed that Patrick's English registration entitled him to practice anywhere in the British Empire.[52] But to save himself from any further slurs by Frankish, Patrick registered again, under the 1869 Act, on 15 April 1871.[53]

PART TWO

THE McLEOD INQUEST

A major dispute among the Christchurch doctors erupted early in 1871 over the post-mortem examinations of Jane McLeod, who had been stabbed in the chest by her husband. They were both drunk at the time. He had been outraged to discover that she had been entertaining other men in her bed while he worked in the country. She had even been sending her children out to buy brandy. Jane had been a notorious prostitute, a 'rowdy woman', who had spent three months in prison in 1870 for assaulting her meek and long-suffering husband. Patrick was the first doctor on the scene and found two stab wounds on her chest and breast. He found that he could pass a finger between the two incisions. Jane was taken to the hospital, as she had lost a lot of blood. There she slowly declined and died five days later. Hugh McLeod was then charged with her murder, a crime that carried the death penalty at this time. The Coroner asked Dr Prins to conduct the autopsy, observed by Drs Patrick and Deamer. However, the defence lawyer asked Drs Turnbull and Powell to examine the body independently on the Monday afternoon. (Powell had returned from his trip in 1879 with an MD degree from Heidelberg University.) Their report differed from that of Prins, so the lawyer asked for a second opinion from Drs Nedwill and Frankish. After this third autopsy Prins conducted a fourth and changed some of the details in his first report.[54]

Nedwill was surprised to find almost no inflammation around the wound in the lung. Given the victim's drinking habits, and the five days that had elapsed since the stabbing, he expected to see much more inflammation. He surmised that the bleeding had come from the intercostal arteries cut by the knife, and that the accumulation of blood in the chest cavity had collapsed the lung. This need not have been fatal, as he had known patients to survive for years with only one working lung. There was definitely a cut in the lung, but Nedwill suggested that this could have been caused by a slip of the knife during the autopsy by Prins.

Frankish agreed with Nedwill's analysis. A cut in the lung would be sure to inflame quickly from the air admitted through the wall of the chest, starting decomposition. Under questioning by the judge, Frankish said that such a wound might accelerate death but not necessarily cause it. In view of the victim's dissolute habits, death may have been caused by kidney or liver failure or a clot in the brain.

However, the defence had not argued for provocation or manslaughter, so the jury had to decide between guilty or not guilty. Hugh McLeod was found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. Within days a petition was circulating in Christchurch signed by Dean Jacobs and Reverend Fraser and many other worthies, arguing for a pardon on the grounds of extreme provocation. The petition was successful and McLeod was released from prison later in 1871. There is no further mention of him in New Zealand, so he probably took his children to Australia to make a fresh start.

But this was not the end of the matter. For the doctors, it was only the start. In March 1871 Frankish and Nedwill had a long letter published in the *Lyttelton Times*

refuting various rumours that had been circulating, that they had been animated by dislike of Prins and had only taken up the case to promote their cause to reform the staffing at Christchurch Hospital. The medical evidence had been published in full in the papers, and they disagreed with Prins on four main counts.

First, they alleged that Prins had miscounted the ribs: the cartilage had been divided between the fourth and fifth ribs, not the fifth and sixth as Prins had claimed. Second, Patrick had testified that he saw 'no marks of inflammation' in the collapsed lung. Turnbull and Powell had noted that two thirds of the right lung had collapsed, but like Patrick they saw no signs of inflammation. They agreed with Nedwill and Frankish that such a wound could not exist for four days without developing inflammation. Thirdly, Prins had found the heart healthy but had not bothered to examine the other vital organs. He just assumed that the knife wound had been fatal. After his second examination, Prins admitted to the judge that the heart was 'flabby' and the liver diseased and enlarged. Fourthly, Prins admitted that he had not examined the brain closely because he did not believe anyone could have a clot in the brain and remain conscious. Jane McLeod remained conscious up to her death. But Nedwill and Frankish cited various authorities to show that a person could survive for years with a clot in the brain and be unaffected by it. In short, Frankish and Nedwill confirmed the findings of Turnbull and Powell. Jane's liver was enlarged, highly fatty and 'friable', and her kidneys were 'decidedly diseased' and studded with cysts. Either of these organs could have failed and caused death. It looked as if Prins had conducted a hasty autopsy and that his knife had slipped and cut the lung by accident.

Prins was extremely angry and responded a few days later. He accused Nedwill and Frankish of 'childish attacks' on his competence and 'foul charges' against his honesty and anatomical knowledge. Prins hotly denied having 'corrected' his evidence. He waved away miscounting of the ribs as a minor detail, but ignored the lack of correspondence between this wound and the cut in the lung. He had not examined all of the vital organs because he thought the cause of death was obvious and the Coroner would not want a lot of irrelevant detail. He entirely rejected their claims about inflammation, and countered that all the authorities recommended bleeding (venesection or phlebotomy) to reduce inflammation. Prins attacked the lawyer for selecting two young doctors to contradict the evidence of older more experienced doctors. (In fact he and they were all in their thirties!)

Frankish and Nedwill responded to Prins on 28 March.[55] They declared his letter full of 'egotistical braggadocio, cunning insinuation, and virulent abuse', on the courtroom principle of 'no case, abuse the plaintiff's counsel'. They noted that Prins was in error when he said he could have refused to give them to key to the dead-house: 'the Coroner alone was the officer to give or refuse permission'. The remark by Crown Prosecutor Duncan that their testimony was 'not worth a rap' probably meant that Prins having said that such a wound 'might have accelerated death' made any further evidence valueless for the defence. Prins had strained to give the words a meaning that Duncan had not intended.

They noted that Prins 'constantly harps upon his mature age' yet he was only a few years older than Nedwill, and obtained his MRCS (his only qualification) just one year before Nedwill. Frankish and Nedwill both had the MD degree (which Prins lacked) after 'prolonged study in leading English hospitals'. Prins could scarcely compare their education with his own in an Anglo-Indian hospital in Calcutta. Frankish and Nedwill concluded by noting that Prins had failed to address any of the points made in their 20 March letter, and that his 'malignancy' justified them in withdrawing from the discussion. Nedwill and Frankish then decided that their only course of redress was to ask the Provincial Council to hold an inquiry into the inquest on the McLeod case, and they wrote to that effect to the Provincial Secretary in April 1871.

Patrick was not yet done with Frankish, however. Early in May he sent an extraordinary letter to the *Press* in which his anger was palpable and sometimes made the letter almost incoherent. Throughout it he referred to Frankish sarcastically as 'J. D. Frankish M. D., University of St Andrews'. Patrick began by quoting from Gonsalvo's *Don Gildo Salverano*, translated by the Reverend A. E. Noble: 'True – he does not lie – and yet he does not speak the truth'.

Patrick had looked up the New Zealand Medical Register and found the names of three Christchurch practitioners who had not signed the petition, yet Frankish still refused to apologise or to donate £50 to the hospital:

> I abhor medical puffery in all its forms, whether it appears in writing ridiculous, I had almost said ludicrous, letters to newspapers, or employing two horses in a vehicle which a respectable donkey could draw comfortably, but now and again you are dragged into doing things which you dislike simply in self-defence.

Frankish had been the very first medical man Patrick spoke to on his arrival in Christchurch, and since that time they had attended each other's patients when necessary, and they had met in consultation over difficult cases. Frankish had treated Patrick as an equal, as a fellow medical colleague, yet now seemed to have turned against him: 'I won't believe, until he says so, that he intended to give the public the impression that I was not qualified – if that was his intention, let him say so, that our misunderstanding may be settled at the Supreme Court.' [Patrick here seems to confuse qualification with registration.]

After giving extracts from the Imperial Medical Register and the New Zealand Medical Register, Patrick asked 'Why take the trouble of registering twice?' He explained that it was simply to stop the mouths of such impertinent busy bodies as 'J. D. Frankish M.D., University of St Andrews'.

In the face of such irrefutable evidence as the medical registers, Patrick suggested that Frankish might adopt one of several courses of action:

> I hope he won't ask me into 'a small room with a strong lock', although I am told Mr White of Cathedral Square has such an apartment at the service of one J. D. Frankish M.D., University of St Andrews.
>
> I hope he will not threaten me with a civil action, assessing his damages at £10,000 as he will be obliged to be an adept in the Laputan chemistry of extracting 'sunbeams from cucumber' before he can extract that sum from me.

> I hope he won't threaten me, as I am told I am threatened with a criminal prosecution, as hanging is very unpleasant to look forward to, and then think of my family!
> I do hope, however, that he will either show that I am wrong, or admit that he is, and apologise like a man.[56]

Frankish chose not to make any response to this bizarre letter, which would have suggested to most readers that Patrick was either slightly unhinged or under the influence of alcohol when he wrote it. But Patrick did not drink alcohol.

The Canterbury Provincial Council finally had a debate on hospital reforms in July 1871 in which several speakers expressed sympathy for Dr Prins. Ironically it was the lawyer Thomas Joynt who moved that the recommendations of the hospital inquiry report be implemented, and Colonel Brett seconded this motion. Cr Fisher remarked that they 'should not pay too much attention to doctors' squabbles' and Cr Inglis moved an amendment that approval of the resolution did not indicate any criticism of Dr Prins. The amended motion passed by 23 votes to 12.[57] Prins had many friends in the Provincial Council: most of them were his own patients.

Patrick contributed several readings to the winter meetings of the Mutual Improvement Association at the Wesleyan Schoolroom in Durham Street, and attended several accident cases in June and July. He was called to a strange case of infant death at Prebbleton in July where he found the mother in a highly excited state, wailing and kicking about, and beating herself. It emerged that her husband had been a patient in Christchurch Hospital for the past year, but she had somehow become pregnant and had concealed both her pregnancy and the birth. She may have been terrified that her husband would question who the father could have been. The neighbours said that she had shown signs of insanity in Scotland before emigrating to New Zealand. Patrick noticed finger marks on the baby's neck and ordered her to be taken to the Sunnyside Asylum for her own protection. Turnbull came to perform the autopsy and concluded that the baby had died from suffocation.[58]

Patrick had his own family tragedy in August 1871. His seven-year-old daughter Margaret Jane drowned in the Avon River while gathering watercress. She and her younger sister Eleanor had been to visit their grandfather in Chester Street West and had decided to take some watercress home with them. But Margaret slipped and fell into the water, becoming entangled in the weeds. Eleanor ran back to tell her grandfather and he raised the alarm. Patrick, Turnbull and Barker all rushed to the scene and administered artificial respiration, but to no avail. Her body was then removed to Patrick's house and an inquest was held next day at the Zetland Arms. The jury quickly concluded that her death had been accidental.[59]

After the deaths of their sons Clifford in 1860 and John in 1869, and the loss of Hannah in 1866, the Patrick family must have felt that they were somehow cursed. Patrick's grief and sadness did not prevent him from giving another reading for the Mutual Improvement Society in September, and chairing another meeting, but his

grief may have taken the form of a deep anger that his new life in New Zealand was not turning out as well as he had hoped.[60] His recent spat with Frankish still rankled, and the doctors' disputes were far from over.

In October 1871 the Provincial Government announced the appointment of Dr Powell as visiting physician at the hospital and Dr Parkerson snr as visiting surgeon. Parkerson jnr remained as the resident house surgeon, though he had no surgical qualifications. The other positions promised by the hospital inquiry had been left vacant. Prins had prevailed, and let it be known that Nedwill and Frankish were not to be admitted to the hospital.

The Provincial Secretary, Walter Kennaway, had advised Nedwill and Frankish that their request for an inquiry into the McLeod inquest 'could not be entertained', as Judge Gresson had accepted the testimony of Prins at the time and had made no criticism of his post mortem examination. Holding an inquiry would have implied lack of confidence in the judiciary. Kennaway had asked Prins to comment and Prins had replied that in straightforward cases such as that of McLeod it was not necessary to extend the post mortem into 'useless minutiae'.[61] Prins had also threatened to resign from the hospital staff if either Nedwill or Frankish were to be appointed. The doubts raised by Nedwill and Frankish about Prins's competence had been swept under an official carpet.

October 1871 saw a final flurry of anonymous letters to the newspapers, both for and against Nedwill and Frankish. 'Observer' accused them of 'jealousy of the worst description': the public should be glad that they had not been appointed to the hospital staff.[62] From the other side, letters from 'Medicus (Retired)' and 'Fair Play' accused Prins of starting the controversy by breaking his word to remain neutral.[63] The *Press* editor declared the correspondence closed, but Frankish persisted with a paid ad in reply to 'Observer'. Frankish pointed to Prins as the 'sole cause of the quarrels'. He had promised that he would not oppose an increase in hospital staffing, but when they saw Rolleston he gave them a cold reception and told them that Prins 'decidedly opposed the increase'. As for the McLeod post mortems, Prins had accused them of not telling the truth under oath, 'a very serious charge'. He then threatened to resign if any of them were ever appointed to the hospital. The three doctors then asked for a public inquiry, which Rolleston refused. Frankish asked: which then was the more manly course?[64]

'Observer' responded with another paid ad, an extraordinary rant entirely supportive of Prins and accusing Frankish, Nedwill and Turnbull of 'conceit, arrogance and self-sufficiency'. He knew that Prins had by a 'kind and brotherly action' saved one of their medical friends from 'a fearful exposure' in court, and this was how they repaid that kindness.[65]

Those readers who suspected Patrick of being 'Observer' may have changed their minds when Patrick surpassed 'Observer' in vitriol with another paid ad on 20 October 1871. He poured scorn on Frankish, Nedwill and Turnbull for whining 'piteously' for sympathy from their fellow settlers, when exclusion from the hospital was 'very mild punishment' for their 'illiberal and ungentlemanly behaviour towards Dr Prins'. He would challenge them to a debate, but refused to engage with 'J. D. Frankish, MD,

University of St Andrews' until he apologised for his previous 'wilful and deliberate lying'. This was an extraordinary claim and laid Patrick open to an action for libel. But he then went further.

Patrick insisted that Prins made no mistakes or slips during the autopsy on Jane McLeod, as he and Dr Deamer watched what he did and were 'perfectly satisfied'. Nedwill had referred to Taylor on jurisprudence, but Taylor was a mere compilation, 'the chief use of which is to enable sharp lawyers to puzzle timid doctors'. Patrick then made a deliberate attack on Frankish's medical qualifications, suggesting that he was one of the 300 degrees hastily awarded by St Andrews in 1862 at £25 a head before the new regulations came into force.[66]

Frankish made no response to these serious allegations, but one of his patients did, in both of the leading dailies. John King of Cashel Street had come out on the *Zealandia* and in a letter headlined 'VERACITY' he paid tribute to Frankish's abilities as a doctor, and the 'golden opinions' expressed about him by other passengers. King had asked about the St Andrews examinations and found that Frankish was one of 47 candidates under the new regulations of 1862. He listed all thirteen examining professors. The examinations occupied five days and Frankish was one of only 13 candidates who passed for the MD degree. His name appeared on the list of St Andrews graduates in the *Lancet* of 10 January 1863. The *Medical Circular* had remarked that the special examination was, if not equal to, second only to that of the University of London. King challenged Patrick to repeat his gibes about 'the gallant 300' or £25 degrees in the face of these undisputed facts.[67]

Patrick took a week to assemble his ammunition and then launched a counter-blast in another paid ad in the *Press* on 16 November. He thought King's letter should have been headed 'MENDACITY'. He commented on King's letter under a series of eleven numbered headings, characterising some statements as 'the puff oblique' or 'the puff direct'. He repeated his accusation that Frankish had engaged in 'wilful and deliberate lying' and added that any suggestion Patrick had been at fault was 'an impudent falsehood'. If Frankish felt injured, 'let the galled jade wince'. Diogenes was once asked what sort of wine he liked best, and he had replied 'that which is drunk at the expense of others'. Patrick thought that Frankish likewise had 'a special taste for enjoying a reputation at the expense of others':

> Why, Sir, when I came to Canterbury he was the *Enfant Terrible* of the medical profession. If a medical brother happened to annoy him in any way, "J. D. Frankish" straight way gibbeted him in the public prints; and it is not pleasant, while tapping the matutinal egg, to read in your morning's paper an attack on your professional character. I am the fourth medical man whose professional status has been assailed by "J. D. Frankish" and I am determined to be the last.

Frankish had made 'a sneaking, sinister use' of the fact that Patrick's name was not on the current medical register, and some people concluded from this that Patrick was not legally registered, whereas he was on the English Register and therefore entitled to practise medicine in any part of the Empire.

Patrick derided the 'disgusting toadyism' of John King's letter. King was a mere soap and candle manufacturer with a grocery shop in Cashel Street, where Frankish's buggy and pair 'would stand for hours': how else had he obtained his information about the St Andrew's examinations? Yet King now counted himself among 'the most influential passengers' on the *Zealandia*, who had remained Frankish's patients, thus passing over all the older resident doctors of Christchurch.

Patrick then listed Frankish's failures, skating close to libel along the way. He accused Frankish of driving his buggy 'at accident pace' past churches on Sundays when the worshippers were leaving. He was often late in attending accidents, arriving when another medical man had taken over, or the patient had died. [Yet the same could be said of Patrick!] His drainage scheme had been dismissed by the mayor. He had bullied the government, and had only himself to blame for his exclusion from the hospital. He had gone out to Leeston to spout politics at a social meeting, and had been snubbed by the 'cockatoos': on that occasion 'he went for wool but came back shorn'.

As for the list of examining professors at St Andrews, Patrick claimed to have looked them up and found that only two were real professors: the others were in private practice in Edinburgh or Glasgow, and only one in St Andrews. Two of them were not medical men at all. [This was true: but they were professors of Chemistry and Biology.] The London exam cost only £22. Why should Frankish travel all the way to St Andrews and pay £3 more? 'Queer behaviour in a Yorkshiremen, was it not?'

Patrick rehearsed all of his previous accusations, at great length and repetitively, suggesting that Frankish had written the letter and persuaded King to sign it. He advised King not to meddle in medical matters but to stick to making candles, where he will be 'a great light'. He advised Frankish of the true path to popularity, 'not by charioteering and malevolent letter-writing' but by steady, constant and honest practice of 'our noble profession'.[68]

This was a very extraordinary and revealing letter. Its tone was sarcastic and belittling, full of bile and bitterness. Patrick continued to cast doubt on Frankish's medical qualifications, despite convincing evidence to the contrary, a much more serious matter than Patrick's absence from the current medical register. Patrick's obsessive pursuit of minute details, attempting to cast doubt where none existed, suggests an eccentric if not an unbalanced mind. His scattering of literary quotations was no doubt intended to show that he was a more highly educated man than this young Yorkshireman with a bogus MD. Yet there are also clues scattered throughout the letter which suggest that Patrick was motivated by bitter jealousy of a more successful young practitioner who cut a dashing figure around town with his expensive buggy and pair. It looks as if Patrick had failed to pick up any new patients from the *Zealandia*, and blamed Frankish for keeping them all to himself.

Remarkably, Patrick had not yet finished. He inserted another paid ad in the *Press* on 19 December offering 'First Instalment of Documentary Evidence for John King', but this turned out to be yet more old stories about the £25 St Andrews degrees, with yet more personal slurs against Frankish. He likened Frankish to the London Fire

Monument as described by Pope: 'Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies'. After quoting more poetry, with no relevance to Frankish, Patrick concluded by repeating his offer of £50 to anyone who could disprove his claim that Frankish lied. He would not call Frankish a poltroon, but left him to the judgement and contempt of the public.[69]

Frankish finally made a dignified response to Patrick on 20 December. Patrick was the only local medico to question his qualifications, and had failed to bring forward any proofs to support his accusations. Frankish said he had nothing to fear from competition, for every professional man had to face it, and the public would judge them by their results:

> To enter into a controversy with Mr Patrick would be to reduce myself to his level – in other words, the tone of his communications renders it impossible for me to take any further notice of him.[70]

Patrick at last fell silent, and the year closed on this long and very personal quarrel. It may have done Frankish harm in some quarters, but equally it had revealed Patrick as a cantankerous sore loser. It is said that there is no such thing as bad publicity, and Frankish had seen his name in the newspapers far more often than would normally have been the case. But he may have learned a lesson from this, not to let his pen run away with him. Frankish went on to have a prominent role as a public figure in Christchurch while Patrick retreated into relative obscurity. The other doctors would have been wary of him after this affair.

This memorable medical squabble was to send long shadows across the medical profession in Christchurch for the next two decades. The Christchurch doctors were now divided into two or three camps: Prins and his supporters such as Patrick and Deamer; Nedwill and Frankish and their friends, including Powell and Turnbull; and the rest, who kept their heads down and refrained from writing letters to the newspapers. Earle had never forgiven Powell for his youthful attack on Earle's 'cerebrine' theory, and Turnbull had never exchanged cards with Campbell or Townend, refusing to regard them as members of the medical profession because they had advertised their services in the newspapers like tradesmen. Coward's work as Coroner had been sharply criticised by Prins and Patrick. It became notorious that some doctors were not even on speaking terms with certain others, and would pass in the street without acknowledging the other's presence.

The doctors' feud was graphically demonstrated in January 1872 when a father sought medical assistance for a child who was having convulsions. Neighbours had lost their dogs to poison and his wife was 'almost mad with fear' that the child had somehow picked up poison. Turnbull was their usual doctor but he 'couldn't come'. The father went in turn to Prins, who was about to go out on a call of his own, then to Powell and Patrick. The latter two 'could not dream' of attending any one of Dr Turnbull's patients. At last Dr Campbell attended, under the impression that he was acting for Dr Patrick. But he later said that if he had known that Turnbull was their usual doctor he would not have come, as that gentleman had never exchanged cards with him. The letter-writer 'W. M.' then asked, 'Are people to be allowed to die because Dr This is not on speaking terms with Dr That?'[71]

Turnbull later wrote to say that he knew this family well and that the mother was an excitable person who had often called him in the middle of the night for trivial complaints or non-existent ailments. But he made no comment about Campbell's charge.[72]

PART THREE

OXFORD TERRACE AND DIPHTHERIA

Apart from a few accident cases the newspapers have few references to Patrick in the early months of 1872.[73] Christchurch was visited by a travelling circus in late March known as Murray's Circus Troupe. This was a largely equestrian event under a big tent, with acrobatic and trapeze acts and riders performing balancing acts on horseback. One of the riders, a young man named Eugene Beda, fell and broke his leg. Patrick's house was nearby in Cashel Street and he was the first doctor called. He set the bone and had the man taken to the hospital on a litter.[74] The circus had lost one of its star performers and held a benefit performance for him. This raised £14 and a public subscription was opened to which Patrick donated £2. A long list of smaller donations soon rose to £70.[75] However, the young man tried to walk on his broken leg and the bone pierced the skin. Infection developed and the doctors at the hospital finally decided to amputate the leg on 16 April.[76] The benefit fund soon reached £100. Unable to perform, Beda opened a small tobacconist's shop in Christchurch.[77] But he sold this business when he had trained himself to perform balancing acts on one leg and continued to appear with the circus as 'the only one-legged trapezian in the world'.[78]

Another broken leg in May brought Patrick to the scene of a serious accident near the North Belt (now Bealey Avenue). A man named Ainslie had slipped into a deep creek, breaking his leg and dislocating his ankle. Patrick set the bone and took the man to the hospital.[79] One may hope that Ainslie made a better recovery than Beda. Later that month Patrick gave another of his readings at a winter entertainment held at the Oddfellows Hall in Lichfield Street.[80] In June he was a medical witness in a complicated assault case in which Henry Mierhoff charged T. C. Mullins with grievous bodily harm. He had been struck on the head with a thick stick and bled copiously from his ear. He went to Patrick who sewed up his ear and later testified to the extent of his injuries. Mullins was landlord of the Junction Hotel in Lincoln Road and had refused to serve Mierhoff because he was drunk and had previously caused a disturbance there. After being ejected Mierhoff had broken down the door, claiming that he wanted to recover his hat. It was then that Mullins had hit him with a stick. The testimony from a large number of witnesses was so contradictory that the magistrate had some difficulty in finding the truth. He fined each man 10s and cautioned them against losing their temper in future.[81]

After giving another reading in early July Patrick and his family had to pack all their belongings for a move.[82] They left the house in Armagh Street and shifted into an older house on Oxford Terrace, between the Montreal Bridge and the vicarage of St Michael and All Angels. This was an old cob cottage that had had timber extensions. It had originally been built by Henry Phillips in the early 1850s before he took up the Rockwood Run. It was a large and rambling house with stables and out-buildings at

the rear, and a second entrance from Tuam Street. It had the advantage for a doctor of being much closer to the hospital. Patrick named his new home 'Ardwick House', recalling his brief appointment as honorary surgeon to the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary. [83]

Patrick made an important post-mortem examination in August 1872. A woman known as Mrs Birmingham was found dead by her husband but he was so drunk he made no sense to either the constable or Patrick when they were called. It was well-known that she had been waiting on the result of a civil case in the Supreme Court involving payment of a large debt. The decision the day before had gone against her and the constable suspected it may have been a case of suicide. She was found lying on a sofa in a state of undress, with a normal expression and eyes and mouth closed. Patrick observed that her body was warm but her hands and feet were cold. He also noticed a bruise behind her left ear. However, his autopsy found no traces of poison. Instead, her heart was badly diseased and crumbled under his fingers. She was 'a very stout woman' and he attributed her death to heart failure. The jury agreed on a verdict of death from natural causes.[84]

Yet more tragedy was in store for the Patrick family in October 1872. Patrick's namesake second son died from diphtheria on 5 October, aged only 4 years and five months. On 22 October his eldest daughter Mary Elizabeth, named after her mother, died from the same cause at the age of 10. [85]

Christchurch was notorious as New Zealand's 'fever-capital' in the 1870s. The city had been built on a flat swampy site and had poor natural drainage. Artesian wells allowed to run freely had made the ground soggy, and cross-contamination from cesspits caused recurrent outbreaks of typhoid fever. Diphtheria was also attributed to poor sanitation and along with scarlet fever accounted for many childhood and infant deaths in this decade. High infant mortality was one of the things migrants had hoped to escape by coming to a new land, but they were soon disillusioned by Christchurch's epidemics.

Nothing could be done for diphtheria in the 1870s. This was a horrible disease to die from, as the bacterial infection caused a thick membrane to grow in the throat, gradually blocking the passage of air to the lungs. The patient finally dies from asphyxiation. Patrick would have watched his children dying, unable to do anything to cure their disease or relieve their suffering.

That they were among many families to suffer the loss of young ones was small comfort for Patrick and his wife. They had now lost five of their offspring and were left with only James, who was a cripple. They had moved to a larger house to accommodate a large family, but now there were only three of them in a rambling old house. No wonder that Patrick was rarely seen to smile. He had very little to smile about.

Yet as a doctor Patrick had dedicated himself to saving lives and he did just that for others early in 1873. A seven-year-old girl was swinging on a railing outside Mr Bishop's store in the Market Place (now Victoria Square) when she fell off and struck her head on the ground. Patrick was sent for and he found her having convulsions. He

immediately applied 'restorative remedies' and calmed her. She was still conscious and he assured her parents that he expected a full recovery.[86] A few days later Patrick was up early one morning and noticed an elderly woman walking slowly beside the Avon River near St Michael's Church. His suspicions were aroused and he followed her. She suddenly jumped into the river, obviously bent on suicide. Patrick waded in and rescued her. A constable was called and she was taken to the police station, as suicide was a crime. Taken before the magistrate, it soon became apparent that the woman was mentally ill and she was committed to the Sunnyside Asylum.[87] Who knows what personal tragedy she had suffered to unbalance her mind?

Another loss in 1873 was Patrick's former employee, James Martin Harris. He had been dismissed for habitual drunkenness, which Patrick could not tolerate. Harris was his pharmacist, making up medicines to Patrick's prescriptions. Patrick could not risk a drunkard making mistakes with potentially lethal drugs. Harris's body was found in a paddock near Wilson's Road in Phillipstown. Patrick identified the body and Dr Turnbull conducted the post-mortem examination, in which he found an overdose of Prussic acid. It had been a suicide. There was no mention of Harris's family, so he may have been a single man. His funeral left Patrick's house on Oxford Terrace on 25 February.[88]

In the city's review of property valuations in May 1873 the value of Patrick's house was reduced from £60 to £50.[89] It was unusual for a valuation to go down in the 1870s for these were boom years for the Canterbury economy, riding high on growing exports of wheat and wool. Land tended to hold its value, but this reduction may reflect the age and condition of the cob house.

Patrick would have taken a keen personal interest in a paper on diphtheria read by Dr Turnbull to the Philosophical Institute in July 1873. Turnbull based his paper on the report of a Royal Commission on diphtheria in Victoria, Australia, and concluded that diphtheria was not to be feared as an infectious disease. Dr Powell commented that the paper had told them nothing new, but Patrick wrote to the *Press* with much stronger criticism. He accused Turnbull of committing 'a grave indiscretion' in reading a medical paper to a non-medical audience. This would not have been allowed in England: in Christchurch he thought 'We are at the Antipodes in more than a geographical sense; we are at the Antipodes of professional etiquette and medical propriety'. Patrick concluded that in his opinion Turnbull's paper had included 'many things that were true, and several things that were not new; but unfortunately those that were true were not new and those that were new were not true'. [90]

Patrick described Turnbull's talk as being full of long words and 'thundering sound' but his reasoning was of a 'crude and unreliable character'. Turnbull had dismissed the views of Sir Thomas Watson, saying he was the oldest practitioner in England, but two of Patrick's teachers at the Manchester Infirmary had been in practice before 1815. Watson's *Principles and Practice of Physic* (1848) stated that he had seen only a few diphtheria cases in his practice, but in the 1855 edition he noted several more, and diphtheria had 'raged' in London after this, so he must have seen hundreds of cases. Patrick went on: 'I know where Dr Turnbull got his information. Dr Aitkin's *Science and Practice of Medicine*, p.564, on diphtheria said it afflicted the

Empress Josephine and General Washington'. But Wardlow's *Life of Washington* (1860) merely said that Washington died from 'a painful disease of the upper part of the windpipe'. Watson had called this 'acute laryngitis'.

Patrick was astonished that Turnbull had recommended diphtheria patients to inhale the fumes of white arsenic 'whenever they please': he condemned this as dangerous advice: 'I am sorry to trouble you with so much extraneous matter, but I thought it right to do so for the purpose of showing how thoroughly unreliable Dr Turnbull's statements are'.

A few days later Patrick wrote a second and more damaging letter about Turnbull and diphtheria. Turnbull had said that he had not found a single case where diphtheria had been communicated by contagion, and Powell had said 'Hear, hear'. Gresson had asked Turnbull to clarify, and Turnbull said he had treated a large number of diphtheria cases in children, but never a mother or a nurse. Powell had said that he did not believe it was infectious to a high degree in Canterbury. Patrick wrote that he would not quibble with the words infectious or contagious, but he had spoken to four other doctors and they all agreed that diphtheria was 'decidedly catchy'. Patrick cited the Kelly family of New Brighton Road, where a sister and niece had been nursing a boy seriously ill with diphtheria. Turnbull had sent the other children to an aunt in Addington, and Mrs Kelly to her daughter's home a mile away. Jane Kelly took ill but recovered, while two other children of the family died. Mrs Kelly also caught it and recovered. Then the children at Addington became ill, and later their nurse and another young woman in the house came down with diphtheria. Patrick therefore concluded that Turnbull's denial of contagion was 'utterly untrue'. He then cited one of Dr Campbell's diphtheria cases where two young ladies in the same house caught it from a child. Prins had asked Patrick to take over one of his cases in Whately Road where the child died and the aunt who had come to nurse it was now in hospital with diphtheria. Patrick wrote that he had read very widely on the subject of diphtheria, having lost two of his own children to the disease. He added that his wife had caught the disease from the children but had fortunately recovered.[91]

It is now known that diphtheria is usually spread by direct contact between persons or through contact with contaminated objects such as clothing. Different strains of the bacterium mean that symptoms may range from mild to severe, and while most cases are mild, in some outbreaks mortality can rise to ten per cent of cases. Diphtheria in its early stages would have been difficult to diagnose in the nineteenth century, as the sore throat and fever could be mistaken for other infections, but the distinctive symptoms were a barking cough and the growth of a dense grey pseudo-membrane on the tonsils, which can obstruct breathing.[92] It is a sad irony that Powell's own wife Fanny died from diphtheria on 14 July 1874. Powell and Nedwill were unable to save her.[93] She was one of 138 victims in Christchurch's diphtheria outbreak that year, when the city accounted for half of all New Zealand victims of the disease in New Zealand. Turnbull had been shown to be spectacularly wrong about the infectiousness of diphtheria.

PART FOUR

TEMPERANCE AND THE HOSPITAL STAFF

Patrick had been attending an elderly woman in Waltham known as Mrs Finlay in late 1873. She suffered a stroke in September and he had prescribed for her, but there was little else he could do. She had been living with a drunken German man named Grasman for two years and neighbours had heard her cries when he beat her. Police Sergeant Willis knocked on their door in October to ask Grasman about another matter, and was shocked to see that Mrs Finlay was now thin and helpless. She had lost her voice and the use of her limbs on one side. Willis reported this to Inspector Pender who in turn informed Magistrate Bowen. He asked Patrick to see her and make a report.[94] There is no further mention of Mrs Finlay in the papers, and whatever Patrick reported about her, this was one of those difficult cases for which there was no obvious remedy. The Charitable Aid Board could make her a living allowance, but there was nowhere suitable for a handicapped elderly woman to go. If she showed signs of mental illness she would probably have been sent to the Sunnyside Asylum.

Patrick was still having to pursue people through the courts who failed to pay his fees. The amounts ranged from £2 to £7.[95] People who failed to pay after a court order risked being sent to prison for a week or two, so there was strong motivation to pay up, even if that meant borrowing from family or friends. These actions could be evidence that Patrick was still struggling to make a living.

Patrick attended another case in February 1874 that might have looked like a stroke. Reverend Buller was about to preach at the Waltham Wesleyan Church when he suddenly staggered and 'dropped insensible in the pulpit'. Patrick was summoned and applied the usual methods to revive somebody from a faint. Smelling salts or slapping and pinching were often used. Reverend Buller soon revived and seemed none the worse for his fainting fit. Patrick told the newspapers that he was now 'doing well'.[96] In April Patrick attended an attempted suicide in Lincoln Road and succeeded in reviving the woman. She had swallowed Barber's Phosphorous Paste which her husband had bought to kill rats. Patrick probably did not carry a stomach pump, but by making the woman vomit she would have expelled most of the poison. In this case he told the newspapers that she was 'still not out of danger' but he was hopeful of a full recovery.[97] However in May he was too late to help one John Manton who also lived in Lincoln Road. He died before Patrick arrived.[98]

A quarrel between two fish-mongers at the White Hart Hotel in August 1874 resulted in injuries to both of them and Patrick was summoned to assist. Samuel Dobbinson had a serious cut on his scalp and Patrick later told the magistrate's court that he thought it could have been caused by a kick to the head by a boot. Peter Pasche was cautioned to keep the peace.[99] A funeral in October 1874 nearly led to a second funeral. Two young ladies were joining the funeral procession in their trap when the horse bolted and threw them both into the roadway. One was seriously injured and

removed to the hospital. The other young lady, Miss Cunningham, was taken to her home where she was soon 'under the care of Dr Patrick'.[100]

Another assault case brought Patrick to the magistrate's court in December 1874. Two neighbours, Mrs King and Mrs Boardman, had accused each other of drinking, name-calling and being a nuisance. Patrick had attended Mrs King after their altercation and found a bald patch on the back of her head. She produced a loop of hair in court and claimed that Mrs Boardman had pulled it out by the roots. Mrs Boardman asked Patrick if he thought the hair produced had come from Mrs King. He replied, 'I cannot say whether the hair produced in court is Mrs King's chignon'. This produced a ripple of laughter in court. Patrick was often cautious in his testimony in court, unwilling to jump to conclusions. Magistrate Bowen struggled with the contradictory testimonies from the two women and bound them over to keep the peace after dismissing Mrs King's charge of assault.[101]

Patrick's financial situation must have become desperate by the end of 1874 for he put his house up for sale. The private sale was on behalf of the trustees of the No.2 Christchurch Land, Building and Investment Society, so it looks as if Patrick had been unable to meet his mortgage payments. The house was described as a 'valuable freehold property' with frontages on both Oxford Terrace and Tuam Street, near St Michael's Church. The house had nine rooms and the property included stables and out-buildings.[102] But there were no buyers, and in the meantime Patrick and his family stayed on at Oxford Terrace. He may have asked the Building Society for more time, or redoubled his efforts to get old debts paid. In March 1875 his accountant and attorney James Mc Haffie inserted a notice in the *Press* advising that all accounts of 12 months' standing due to S. A. Patrick, surgeon, must be paid within 14 days or the debtor would be sued without further notice.[103] There followed a cluster of civil actions by Patrick in May and June 1875 for amounts ranging from £2 to £20.[104]

Patrick refused to say what he thought was the cause of death in a curious case in March 1875. A man had fallen into a well and neighbours heard his cries for help. They saw him doubled up at the foot of the well with his head above the water. Patrick was called, but by the time he arrived the man had been pulled out and was now lying on his back, quite dead. He had not drowned for his hair was still dry, but he had a bleeding wound on his forehead and other abrasions. These might have been caused by the sides of the well as he fell. The shock of falling and hitting his head may have caused a heart attack. But Patrick refused to speculate. He left it for the inquest jury to agree that it had been an accidental death.[105]

Patrick may have been short of money but he was not tempted when the accused in an assault case tried to bribe him. John Henry Hart had been charged with an assault on his wife Harriet. He had knocked her down and kicked her until she lost consciousness. Patrick was called and later described her injuries to the court. He added that the defendant had attempted to bribe him: if Patrick did what Hart wanted in court, Hart assured him he was 'not without a fiver or two'. Hart was sentenced to two months in prison.[106] One can only hope that Harriet was able to leave her brutal husband, but many women in her situation had no alternative but to stay and put up with marital abuse, especially if there were children depending on her.

Doctors' fees were the subject of a letter from Archibald Stewart of Papanui Road in October 1875. He had done some research and found three very similar cases, of a simple fracture 'with attendance'. Deamer and Doyle charged 3 guineas; Turnbull charged £7 2s 6d; but Patrick charged £8. 4s 6d.[107] There was much public criticism at this time of variations in doctors' fees, but the doctors pleaded in reply that every case was different. Some required more 'attendance' than others, especially if dressings had to be changed frequently, and some accounts included medicines whereas others were given prescriptions to be obtained at a pharmacy. Skilled surgeons such as Prins and Nedwill could charge more for their skill and reputation. In Patrick's case, he certainly needed the money, but a reputation for high fees would deter prospective patients and leave him with a lower income overall.

For the first time in several years, Patrick joined a committee at the end of 1875. This was the inaugural meeting of the Total Abstinence Society of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand, meeting in the schoolroom of St Andrew's Church, opposite the hospital. This was a large national committee, with representatives from all over the country. John Lamb from Auckland was elected president and Reverend Gillies claimed that three-quarters of the ministers in Otago were abstainers.[108] However, this initiative seems to have failed, as there is no further mention of this society for another year, and then Patrick's name was not mentioned.[109] The Christchurch Total Abstinence Society was revived in 1877, but again Patrick's name was not mentioned.[110]

Though the exact date is not known, as there was no birth notice or birth registration, Mary had another daughter in 1875, Eleanor Emily Patrick. She survived to adulthood and died in 1920.

Early in January 1876 Patrick reported to the city council that he was attending seven cases of 'undoubted scarlet fever', one of which was a severe case. Until recently he had seen no such cases in the district, and thought that cases called scarlet fever were often mistaken for a comparatively trivial ailment known as roseola. His letter prompted discussion about the need for the council to nominate a local board of health and to appoint a medical officer.[111] Another meeting was held, and the council set up the first Christchurch Local Board of Health, with Dr Deamer as its first medical officer.[112]

However, these moves were overtaken by the formation of the Christchurch Drainage Board in that same month which then commissioned a comprehensive report on the future drainage of the city. A new Public Health Act in 1876 enabled local authorities to form local boards of health with wide powers, and the city council promptly handed this task to the new Drainage Board. The first meeting of the second Christchurch Board of Health took place in November 1876 and Dr Llewellyn Powell was appointed its medical officer in January 1877.[113] The next five years saw a major public health initiative in Christchurch aimed at cutting the city's appalling typhoid death rate by banning cesspits in the central city and replacing them with a pan and night-soil collection system. The Drainage Board also pushed ahead with plans for New Zealand's first underground pumped sewerage system which was completed in

1882. Powell died in 1879 but his role as medical officer of health was taken over by his friend Dr Nedwill, who pushed even harder to reduce the typhoid death rate.

Patrick was an observer of these developments, but never took a leading or active part. He may have been influenced by his closest medical friends, Prins and Turnbull, who were not convinced by the 'germ theory' of Louis Pasteur or the bacterial explanation for infectious diseases. They clung to the traditional miasmatic theory that infectious diseases were caused by 'miasma' or bad smells emanating from rotting organic material. Turnbull actively opposed the sewers, claiming they would be 'elongated cesspools' and spread disease. Prins even opposed Lister's aseptic surgery and delayed its adoption at Christchurch Hospital by almost a decade. Patrick had aligned himself with the conservative and reactionary side of the doctors' squabbles in Christchurch.[114]

Yet the need for radical solutions to Christchurch's drainage problem was abundantly plain in the late 1870s. Patrick himself reported two more cases of scarlet fever in Waltham in February 1876 and Dr Park was attending a typhoid case in Gloucester Street. [115]

The newspapers had very little to say about Patrick in 1876. He gave medical evidence in a court case in June involving an assault on a police constable who had responded with his baton, inflicting a deep head wound on a drunken and disorderly Michael Duggan. Patrick was sent for and found a long scalp wound that had exposed the bone. This had caused profuse bleeding. Patrick continued to attend Duggan for five days and finally charged him 3 guineas. In court the lawyers argued for both sides but Magistrate Mellish preferred to believe the constable's version of events, convicting Duggan on all charges. He said that the constable's use of the baton was fully justified. But Duggan's civil action against the constable for wounding him also succeeded and he was awarded £20 in damages.[116] At least that meant he could afford to pay Patrick his fee.

Patrick was back in court in October to give evidence in a case of escaping from custody. Timothy O'Connor had been summoned for failure to pay Patrick his medical fee but while waiting he had evaded the bailiff and gone home to see his wife. He had given Patrick £1 a few days before with a promise to pay the rest when he could. Back in court on the more serious charge of escaping from custody, O'Connor said he had been concerned about his wife's state of health. At this point, his wife, in court, fainted. Magistrate Mellish accepted his story and discharged him, but warned that if he ever did it again he would go to prison.[117]

At the start of 1877 Patrick was appointed surgeon-accoucheur to the Christchurch Women's Refuge, and would have been glad of this small addition to his income.[118] The Refuge was where unmarried mothers came to have their babies and was regarded as a haunt of prostitutes and beneath the dignity of most doctors. But Dr Nedwill was the honorary visiting physician, another instance of his public-spirited attitude. Patrick would have been wary of this friend of Frankish and Powell, but Nedwill would have been polite and professional.

Another son was born to Samuel and Mary in January 1877. He was named after his father, and Samuel Alexander Patrick II survived to adulthood and died at the age of 76 near Wanganui.

Patrick's financial woes continued in 1877 and in July it was announced that his house on Oxford Terrace would be let. The family moved to Dr Parkerson's old house near the hospital. (This 1852 wooden building survives as the Pegasus Arms.) The ads were repeated well into August and then ceased.[119] At least Patrick had retained ownership, so he must have appeased the Building Society once again.

In August 1877 Patrick chaired a lecture by the Reverend George Barclay of Geraldine about 'The Turkish Empire: Its Rise, Progress and Religion'. Barclay said that he had been surprised to hear conflicting views in Christchurch about the vexed 'Eastern Question', with one gentleman crediting the Turks with bringing peace and civilisation to the Balkans and another as vehemently defending Russia as the only champion of Christianity in the region. Barclay gave a succinct history of Islam and the conflicts between Russia and Turkey, concluding that there were gross faults on both sides and the only solution would be the imposition of a British royal family at Istanbul backed by the Royal Navy. The audience politely applauded this bizarre suggestion and moved votes of thanks to the speaker and the chairman.[120]

Early in 1878 Christchurch lost two of its oldest medical men, Drs Earle and Parkerson snr. The *Times* obituary for Parkerson credited the construction of the 'famous cob-house on Oxford Terrace' now 'the present residence of Dr Patrick' to the Parkerson family.[121] However, other sources say that the house was built by Henry Phillips before he took up the Rockwood Run.[122] There is scope for confusion here, as Parkerson had lived at two addresses in Oxford Terrace, the cob house at No.50 and the wooden cottage now known as the Pegasus Arms. This obituary suggests that the Patrick family had moved back to No.50.

However, in July 1878 newspaper ads reappeared offering 'comfortable private board and residence' in the large house on Oxford Terrace, 'late residence of Dr Patrick'. The proprietor was named as T. W. Barker. These ads were repeated almost daily for many months, as far as March 1879.[123] Had Patrick leased the house to Barker to run as a boarding house? If so, the family may have remained at the wooden cottage, almost next door to Dr Nedwill's large house.

Living near the hospital may have given Patrick hopes of joining the staff there. Christchurch Hospital was still being run by a board of trustees appointed by the Canterbury Provincial Government, but the abolition of the provincial system in 1876 had left this body in limbo. They could not afford to pay a good salary for a resident house surgeon and had great difficulty keeping staff. In March 1878 the government appointed a medical board to run the hospital, comprising Drs Nedwill, Powell, Turnbull, Deamer, Doyle, Frankish and Hay. Later in the year Prins and Symes were added, thus bringing together close friends and sworn enemies. They were issued with a minute book but kept no minutes, and when the government later asked to see the book it could not be found. Such a divided body could never agree to do anything useful. As the hospital's historian remarks, 'This was perhaps the most naïve of all

schemes in the history of the hospital'.[124] Or perhaps it was designed to fail, for in December 1878 the government cancelled the medical board and appointed the first Hospital and Charitable Aid Board for Canterbury. There was no election, and the only medical member was Dr Turnbull, who had been a member of the Canterbury Provincial Council. The others were government nominees, and included the mayors of Christchurch and Sydenham.

It is significant that Patrick was never considered for the medical board of 1878. He seems to have become something of a recluse after his vitriolic exchanges with Frankish and the other doctors may have been wary of him. His views on alcohol and temperance were exceptional for a medical man of this period. Dr Florance was the only other Christchurch doctor to share them, and he was regarded as a herbalist and a bit of a crank. Doctors saw brandy as a favoured stimulant for weak hearts and port wine was often recommended for convalescents. In January 1879 Patrick was elected to the committee of the Christchurch Total Abstinence Society.[125] This had been revived in 1877 by J. T. Smith who often lectured on the evils of alcohol.[126]

However, an opportunity to apply for a hospital post appeared in early 1879. There had been a stern clash between the doctors and the new hospital board during 1878 in which Turnbull had openly defied the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Whitmore, claiming that the doctors should control the hospital. The board advised Whitmore to cancel all the honorary staff appointments and call for new ones. The staff got in first and all resigned. The board then advertised for three positions and received eleven applications in March 1879. Thus encouraged, the board decided to appoint five of them. The envelopes were opened and five were valid applications, from Campbell, Ellis, Patrick, Prins and Mark. The other six contained sheets of blank paper. The five valid applicants were appointed, but four of them (including Patrick) later resigned because they refused to work with Dr Campbell, who had been found guilty of an ethical breach by a Royal Commission in 1877. In the meantime Patrick was at last a member of the honorary hospital staff.

In March 1879 Patrick claimed from the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board for medical attendance on a destitute woman, but as he had not been sent for by the board his claim was disallowed.[127] One doctor at least trusted Patrick to look after his patients. Dr John Charles Durham had been medical officer at the Akaroa Hospital in 1874 and had since practised in the Leeston district as well as in Christchurch. Durham was going on a trip to Australia and let his patients know that Patrick would look after them during his absence. He would arrange a different locum for the Leeston practice.[128] Durham decided to stay in Australia and in April 1879 he advised that all monies due to him should be paid by 18 April or he would sue. Dr Patrick's receipt would satisfy his agent.[129]

Temperance matters occupied Patrick again in April 1879 when he attended a public lecture by the Hon William Fox on behalf of the New Zealand Alliance, with Bishop Harper in the chair. Dean Jacobs was also present, with the runholder politicians John Hall and John Studholme. Reverend Fraser was one of three Presbyterian ministers named as present, along with Patrick. Fox called for legislative changes to curb the abuse of alcohol, and as a start suggested a ban on sales of alcohol on Sundays.[130] A

week later Patrick was elected to a committee formed at a second meeting in the Provincial Council chamber. Their first task was to liaise with the Dunedin committee and to coordinate public meetings and speakers to arouse public support for the cause.[131]

One of the new hospital board's first acts had been to appoint Dr Moritz Mark as Resident House Surgeon and Dr Maurice Chilton as assistant surgeon. Chilton had Edinburgh qualifications and had worked in a large London hospital but had no degree. On paper Mark was quite a catch as he had an MD from Berlin, but he practised a German form of homeopathy and clashed with Chilton, who said he would not be responsible for the patients' outcomes. An inquiry was to be held, but Mark wrote to the board to say that Chilton had shown 'a cunning hand' in misrepresenting him.[132] Only a few days later Mark committed suicide by poison on 10 May 1879. He was only 35.[133] Prins and Patrick were the first doctors called by Mrs Mark, and they found empty bottles of morphia and chloral beside the body. Patrick later cautiously told the inquest that the symptoms of the body, very relaxed and peaceful, would be consistent with the use of such drugs.[134]

Chilton's complaint about Dr Coward as coroner for releasing to his friends the body of a man who had died in the hospital triggered a debate at the hospital board in May 1879 which revealed that Patrick was now acting as secretary to the staff. His friend Prins had very likely arranged this, as Prins still controlled much of what went on at the hospital. The staff supported Chilton, and termed the coroner's action 'unprecedented and unusual'. The board chairman thought Chilton had been right to refuse a death certificate, as the man's injury had been caused by an accident, and the body should have remained at the hospital for an inquest. But Chilton had complained to the Minister of Justice when he ought to have consulted the board chairman. So there were faults on both sides.[135]

The board had hurriedly appointed Chilton to replace Mark as house surgeon but he was soon in more trouble for repeating confidential matters outside the board. Chilton resigned in July 1879 and returned to England. In desperation the board appointed Richard Pridgeon, who had been the dispenser in 1873 and a veterinary surgeon at Prebbleton. None of the Christchurch doctors was willing to reapply.[136]

Now in search of income, Patrick joined the Oddfellows Court Star of Canterbury Lodge No.2300 in June 1879 and was appointed its surgeon.[137] The lodge had about 70 members and in return for a modest subscription they would expect Patrick to attend them for free as lodge members. Patrick would now have a small but assured annual income. In September 1879 he joined another lodge, this time the Druids Mistletoe lodge, and was elected surgeon by secret ballot.[138] In August 1879 Patrick was appointed public vaccinator for Christchurch.[139] Smallpox was still a major threat to public health, especially as a number of immigrant ships during the 1870s had carried smallpox cases. These had usually been quarantined until all risk of infection had passed, but New Zealand law required all new-born babies to be vaccinated. The fee was very small but it added to Patrick's income. He was an enthusiast for vaccination, even if he was still a dedicated miasmatist.

The New Zealand Alliance for reform of the liquor laws met again in Christchurch in July 1879 and Patrick was one of a small list attending. Most of the rest were clergy. They agreed on a 5s subscription and a campaign of meetings, tracts, essays, handbills and petitions to government and local authorities. Local committees would also keep a close eye on the decisions of the magistrates sitting as Licensing Courts and oppose renewal of licences for hotels that were known to be little more than grog-shops.[140]

The rift between Campbell and the other doctors deepened in August 1879 when Patrick and Ellis resigned from the hospital staff. They refused to work with Campbell because he had been accused of stealing patients from another doctor during an absence from Christchurch. They specifically cited the case of a man named Shepherd and described this as a breach of professional etiquette.[126] Apparently Shepherd had been injured in a railway accident and his doctor had recommended amputation, but Campbell's more conservative treatment had saved the man's leg. The breach of etiquette was that Campbell had failed to notify Patrick and Ellis that the man Shepherd had put himself under Campbell. Campbell knew he would get no support in Christchurch, so he asked for opinions from the leading Dunedin doctors Bachelor, Blair and Ferguson. They could see no breach of etiquette, but Patrick and Ellis remained obdurate, and their resignations were accepted by the board.[127]

Campbell wrote a long letter of self-justification to the *Press* early in October. He had been censured by Prins and Ellis, Patrick having abstained, and then Prins had withdrawn his share in the censure, leaving Ellis as his sole accuser. Yet the Hospital Board had accepted this as 'unanimous censure' by the medical staff ! Years before, a vote of censure had been passed on Dr Turnbull for unprofessional conduct towards Dr Nedwill. On that occasion Powell was the mover, Campbell was the seconder, and the other voters were Prins, Deamer, Frankish and Nedwill. That was more like a 'unanimous censuring', yet the Government was not told about this precedent.

Campbell wrote that the 'old staff' argued that the hospital needed a larger staff yet the institution was performing perfectly adequately with just three doctors. For many years Prins and Turnbull had run the place by themselves. The public saw no need for a larger staff. Nor was the government told that the three present staff had the largest practices in Christchurch, they being Campbell, Prins and Townend. They had been accused of advertising, but they were not the only ones. Turnbull himself had put his own name on remedies sold by his pharmacy as 'Turnbull and Hilson'. These doctors said they could not work with him, yet some years before Patrick and Frankish had had a bitter newspaper war, and swore they would never work with one another again, yet now they were again on speaking terms.

Campbell concluded his letter by accusing the 'old staff' of wanting to crush and expel him, but they should not make the hospital their battle ground. It was a benevolent institution and their malevolence was out of place there: 'There are

principles higher than medical etiquette, and these principles are grossly outraged when malevolence uses benevolence as a cloak.[128]

The doctors were all saddened by the death of Dr Powell on 4 October 1879. He was only 36 but had been suffering from TB for at least a decade. He had lost his wife to diphtheria in 1874 so their daughter was now an orphan. She would be brought up by her maternal grandparents. Powell was a notable scientist as well as an ophthalmologist and gave the first lectures in biology and chemistry for the Collegiate Union, the predecessor of Canterbury College (the ancestor of Canterbury University). Powell's role as medical officer to the Board of Health was taken over by his friend Dr Nedwill. Patrick was probably one of the ten doctors who applied for this post, but Nedwill was easily the best man for the job.[129]

PART FIVE

THE CANTERBURY MEDICAL SOCIETY

Having lost his hospital post, Patrick was once again reliant on his lodge fees and vaccination work. His commitment to the temperance cause remained strong, and he was present at a meeting of the Canterbury Temperance League in December 1879 chaired by Reverend Charles Fraser. However, there were only 28 men present. Patrick moved the vote of thanks to the government for their use of the Provincial Government Chamber.[141]

The new decade began dismally for poor Patrick. His wife Mary Elizabeth died on 12 February 1880 at the age of 43.[142] She had lost two sons at birth, and a daughter Hannah had (presumably) died at sea in 1866. Her daughter Margaret had drowned, her daughter Mary and son Samuel had both died from diphtheria in 1872, and her son James was a cripple from birth. James was now 19, Eleanor was only 5. Her youngest son Samuel was only 3.

This latest and worst loss probably distracted Patrick from the latest controversy to preoccupy the Christchurch doctors in 1880. Nedwill had plunged into his new work as medical officer to the Board of Health with all his characteristic energy and determination. He was an active and zealous medical officer of health, who encouraged his fellow practitioners to report all cases of infectious disease to the Board of Health, especially typhoid, so that premises could be inspected and 'nuisances' corrected. Frankish reported several cases of typhoid from Heathcote Valley in January 1880.[143] However, personal differences ran deep among the doctors by now. Prins and Patrick refused to report typhoid cases, and Campbell refused to cooperate with Nedwill at all. He had not forgotten the list of doctors who had sought his removal from the hospital over the Mackay legacy in 1877.

Nedwill noticed that the hospital had stopped reporting typhoid cases and instead was labelling suspected typhoid deaths as 'gastro-enteritis', which was not a notifiable disease. He suspected a deliberate plot to thwart his work as medical officer and asked the hospital board to investigate. His enemies Prins and Turnbull dominated this inquiry, which found nothing amiss. Nedwill was now certain of his evidence that four deaths had been wrongly registered as to cause, and appealed to the Colonial Secretary in Wellington, who appointed Dr Skae to head another Royal Commission to investigate Christchurch Hospital. The official inquiry was held in October 1880 and while the nurses would not repeat what they had told Nedwill

(that all four cases had been admitted as typhoid but the deaths registered as gastro-entritis or phrenitis), other witnesses left no doubt that Prins and Campbell had been falsifying death certificates to frustrate Nedwill in his work. Skae upheld Nedwill's complaint and was severely critical of the hospital's lax record-keeping. The hospital chairman, Henry Thomson, along with Campbell and Prins, never forgave Nedwill and Frankish and their friends for holding them up to public ridicule.[144]

One important outcome of the 1880 hospital inquiry was the formation of the Canterbury Medical Society on 10 December. Its first members were the doctors who had supported Nedwill in his fight with Campbell and Prins over the non-reporting of typhoid cases. The first members were Drs Anderson, Brittin, Deamer, Doyle, Ellis, Frankish, Hacon, Hunt, Nedwill, Patrick and Symes. They were soon joined by Drs Coward, Ovenden, Preston, Rouse and – finally – James Somerville Turnbull. They comprised the great majority of the doctors then practising in Christchurch in 1880.[145]

Patrick had clearly changed his tune after the Skae inquiry. Having previously refused to report typhoid cases he now supported Nedwill in his efforts to reduce the death rate. He attended this first meeting of the Canterbury Medical Society and signed up as one of the foundation members. His regular attendance over the next few years suggests that he found the fellowship of other doctors helped to fill the gap left by the deep emotional loss of his wife's death.

Prins and Campbell never joined the Canterbury Medical Society. Campbell resigned from the hospital in April 1881 in order to take his family on a trip back to England and they sailed on the *Tararua*, calling briefly at Port Chalmers on 28 April. Hazy conditions may have caused the captain to miss a lighthouse near the bottom of the South Island and the ship turned too soon, running onto Waipapa Point on 29 April. The ship broke up on the reef in a heavy surf. About twenty passengers and crew managed to get ashore to raise the alarm, but the remaining 131 all drowned, including Campbell and his family. He was last seen trying to assist a man with a broken leg. News of this tragic loss of life in one of New Zealand's worst shipping disasters caused a sensation in Christchurch. Newspaper tributes to Campbell made no mention of his condemnation by two Royal Commissions, but stressed his popularity as a GP and his services to the hospital. A public subscription raised enough money to erect a tall memorial obelisk in the Addington Cemetery. The wave of sympathy for Campbell and his family may have deepened dislike for Nedwill, who was seen as his persecutor in the 1880 Royal Commission.[146]

At the second meeting of the new Medical Society, held at Nedwill's house on 19 May 1881, Frankish was elected treasurer, with Frederick Hunt as secretary and Turnbull as president. For all his radical politics, and his sudden changes of allegiance (he was also known as 'Turncoat Turnbull'), the latter was now regarded with Prins as the senior medical man in Christchurch. Patrick was appointed to a sub-committee to draw up rules. [147] At the third meeting on 26 May 1881 the rules were adopted with a few minor amendments. The sub-committee had settled on one black ball in three to exclude applicants from membership (black for no, white for

yes) and the subscription was set at one guinea annually. According to Rule XIII a two-thirds majority would be needed to censure any member for misconduct that would 'lower the status of the medical profession'. If the person censured refused to resign they could be struck off.

The fourth meeting was also held at Nedwill's house and was entirely devoted to membership issues. Patrick proposed two classes of membership, Honorary and Ordinary, while Ellis proposed a third class for country members living more than ten miles from Christchurch. Turnbull proposed four honorary members, Drs Donald, Dudley, Back and Stacpoole, and Nedwill seconded this proposal. Four new country members were proposed and seventeen ordinary members. The society would very soon include nearly all of the registered practitioners in Canterbury.[148] Dr Doyle hosted the next meeting of the society on 9 June which confirmed Patrick's motion concerning Honorary and Ordinary membership, but Dr Ellis withdrew his motion about country members. Having outgrown private houses, the society next met at the public library on 23 June and Patrick was among those present. Membership now stood at 38. However, he was absent from the first annual meeting on 14 July 1881 and from the next few meetings.

In July 1881 Patrick wrote to the *Lyttelton Times* to endorse a comment by the Dean that medical men should be compelled to report cases of infectious diseases: 'Your correspondent will be glad to learn that the members of the medical profession are as anxious for compulsion as they. All respectable practitioners do report'.[149] Here was a direct challenge to Prins and Turnbull, who still refused to report typhoid cases.

This prompted a letter from James Edward Parker who had taken the rouble to ask at the office of the Board of Health about the case of Robert Gerald Ellieul, who was admitted to the hospital suffering from typhoid fever and died on 14 July. His death was not reported to the Board until 19 July. Parker then argued that if a public institution such as the hospital failed to assist the public health by reporting promptly, there should be legislation to compel all cases to be reported at once, not five days later, when the information was of little practical use.[150]

The Christchurch newspapers have no mention of Patrick for the latter part of 1881, even though the marriage register of the Durham Street Wesleyan Church recorded that he married Jane Elizabeth Clifford on 4 October.[151] His obituary in 1894 says that he left a widow and two daughters and three sons. By then his crippled son James had died, and the only survivors from his first marriage were Eleanor, born in 1875, and Samuel Alexander Patrick III, born in 1877. But online genealogical sources have no information about his second family apart from the birth of a son, William Hugh Clifford Patrick, in 1883. His names recalled her father, master mariner William Clifford of Lyttelton. Her mother had died in childbirth when Jane was only 2. At her marriage Jane was only 24 and Dr Patrick was now 45.

Smallpox vaccination became a big issue in the latter part of 1881 but Patrick does not appear to have taken any part in the sub-committee or the report which the

Medical Society made public in September. Prins had circulated a pamphlet deploring the current practice of making three or four scratches and insisting that one was enough. He also deplored the health officer's request for doctors to report infectious diseases as an intrusion into the confidential relationship between doctor and patient. Nedwill responded vigorously, labelling Prins's opinion about vaccination as 'straight out of Jenner'. Much had been learned in the half-century since Jenner and there was international agreement on the need for at least four scratches. Nedwill sent a copy of Sir John Simon's report on vaccination to the chairman of the Board of Health and the newspapers concluded that he had won the argument. Nothing more was heard from Prins.

Patrick was back for the first meeting of 1882 and the newspapers reported his attendance at several accidents so his health may have improved enough for him to resume a more active life.[152] He was present at two meetings in March and at the second he objected to a motion asking the government to forbid private practice by the superintendents of lunatic asylums. However, the motion was passed by a majority of those present.[153] He gave evidence at a trial for infanticide in April at which he said he had attended the birth of a healthy child to one Mrs Nelson, also known as Elizabeth Harris, on 18 September 1881. He came back twice to see the baby and apart from inflammation of the eyes it seemed quite healthy. When he called again on 4 October 1881 the neighbours told him that the mother and child had gone to stay with friends in Lincoln. Soon after that the baby was found dead and the police suspected infanticide. However, Mrs Nelson was defended by a rising young lawyer Walter Stringer (later a judge) who addressed the jury for an hour and a half, arguing that the police had failed to prove their case. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty.[154]

The second annual general meeting of the medical society was held on 8 June 1882 and treasurer Frankish reported that the society had spent 24 guineas and had a bank balance of £12. Dr Turnbull delivered his presidential address, congratulating the society on having enrolled nearly all of the doctors in Canterbury. Nedwill moved and Patrick seconded a vote of thanks to the officers, which was carried with acclamation. Frankish was then elected president for the coming year and Patrick was elected treasurer in his place. Patrick then tabled a notice of motion that would require a two-thirds majority for the election of new members and that the quorum at meetings should be nine. However, at the next meeting it was agreed to keep the quorum at six.[155]

The death of an infant in Caledonian Road in July 1882 was reported by the *Star* thus: 'Dr Patrick happened to be passing at the time and was called in, but his services were to no avail, as life was extinct'. The mother said she had fed the baby at 11.30 and laid it on the bed before going to visit a friend, but when she returned at 2 pm it was dead. Patrick would not speculate on the cause of death and left that decision to the inquest jury, but there was no subsequent report.[156] He was asked to perform the post-mortem on another infant death later that month, in Spreydon, but this time he had no doubts: the death was from exhaustion caused by 'excessive diarrhoea'.[157]

Patrick responded vigorously to a report in July that the physique of the average British soldier had deteriorated due to a decline in the consumption of 'good sound ale'. One Mr Baird had cited a *Lancet* article in support of this opinion, but Patrick cast doubt on this claim: 'I have been a careful reader of the *Lancet* for nearly a quarter of a century, and have no recollection of such an article'. On the contrary, Patrick said that he could point to a dozen *Lancet* articles warning against the use of alcohol even in moderation. A recent article in May 1881 advocated total abstinence for the 'highest vigour of mind and body'. Most medical men agreed that alcohol should be taken with food, and that spirits should always be diluted. But Patrick's own view was that whatever use it had as a stimulant was far outweighed by the 'sum total of evil' alcohol consumption caused in the community.[158]

Later in 1882 Patrick commented on a fatal case of food poisoning. A family had all fallen ill after eating heart of beef with suet pudding and one child had died. Professor Bickerton had analysed the meat and the remains of the pudding but found no poisons therein. Patrick suggested that the fat used to make the suet may have been contaminated and that this was the likeliest cause of the family's illness.[159]

Yet again, Patrick's house was advertised to let in December 1882 and the ads were repeated until the end of January 1883.[160] It was an odd time to advertise, just before Christmas, and he clearly had no takers for a month. Was he short of money again? Though the exact date is unknown, as there is no birth registration, his second wife Jane gave birth to a son in 1883, William Hugh Clifford Patrick. There is no New Zealand death record for him, so he may have died overseas.

Early in 1883 Christchurch was visited by the well-known Australian faith-healer George Milner Stephen. While in Wellington in January he had 'cured' a girl of paralysis by using a silver tube to blow on her leg through 'magnetised flannel', and she walked across the stage to her father. In February Stephen held public séances at the Gaiety Theatre in Christchurch where he treated up to 25 people per session, charging two guineas each. Not all of his attempts were successful and he did not charge for these. He advised all of his patients to use magnetised oil and flannel, so his faith-healing was combined with electro-magnetic treatment.

The Christchurch doctors condemned Stephen as a fraud and Patrick offered him 20 guineas to cure his bunion and £1,000 in freehold property if he could cure his son's paralysis. Milner made no response to this offer, but in March he published an ad with a long column of local testimonials from people who claimed to have been cured by him. The covering letter poured scorn on the doctors, 'Dr Patrick and gentlemen of his way of thinking'.[161] This sparked a lively correspondence in the newspapers. Patrick persuaded John Jones, a tinsmith, to sue Stephen for failing to 'cure' his daughter's deafness. He had treated her in the past and knew that she could hear loud or sharp noises such as the ticking of a clock. Charles Hoddinott of Linwood wrote to the *Times* to say that he also had a deaf daughter and was curious to see the outcome of Stephen's 'treatment'. Jones's daughter could hear his watch ticking and a small bell rung behind a curtain in Jones's shop. Hoddinott told Jones that the doctors were 'frightfully down' on Stephen and wanted to expose him as a fraud. Patrick then drove up to Jones's shop and Jones went out to talk to him.

Patrick urged him to take his daughter back to Stephen and to expose him as a fraud. The mother called out to Patrick to come and hear the child's statement but Patrick drove away without examining her. Stephen had suggested that Patrick had bribed Jones to lay a charge, but Hoddinott did not hear any mention of money.[162]

Jones was not the only one to take Stephen to court to sue for the recovery of his two guinea fee. George Collier also sued for the alleged 'cure' of his child's contracted leg. Stephen had told Collier to bandage the girl's leg with magnetised flannel and feed her bananas. Patrick told the court that he had previously prescribed for Jones's daughter and could see no improvement since Stephen's treatment. He had also seen Collier's daughter and declared that no amount of bananas or magnetised oil would do her any good: 'No such thing as magnetised oil existed'. He denied that Mrs Jones had told him her daughter had improved, and added that he sometimes saw patients who only imagined that they were ill. He did the best he could for them. Such people were very susceptible to the suggestions of faith-healers.

Stephen was defended by local lawyer Thomas Joynt, who argued that Stephen had not promised a cure, but only offered treatment. In some cases a temporary benefit had been admitted. Magistrate Beetham agreed with Joynt. He had no doubt that Stephen honestly believed in his power to help people and they had voluntarily offered him money to help them. There was nothing strange in taking a fee: medical men still charged even when no cure was effected. The charges were dismissed.[163] Stephen moved on to Dunedin then sailed back to Australia.[164]

The Druids Mistletoe Lodge held several entertainments for the benefit of one of its members, Eli Tims, in May 1883 and Patrick was named with W. B. Campbell, the manager of Heywood's carriers, as one of the trustees for the fund. For someone short of money it must have been tempting to receive so many donations, but Patrick was an honest man and duly issued receipts. The fund stood at £72 in mid-May but was expected to exceed £200 after a concert, ball and torchlight procession.[165]

Patrick's caution in issuing death certificates was again demonstrated that month when he was called to the Female Refuge where a baby had been found dead. The mother was still weak from giving birth. He was told that the infant had suffered convulsions but he also noticed an injury to its head. The first inquest was adjourned for a week until the mother was well enough to appear. Patrick had declined to give a death certificate because of the head injury, but Dr Hunt said that such contusions were not uncommon after a difficult delivery, and the jury returned a verdict of death from natural causes.[166]

The annual meeting of the Canterbury Medical Society was not without some drama. Frankish's presidential address had been printed at the Caxton Printing Works and Nedwill moved that it be circulated to all members. Turnbull seconded this motion, but then, quite out of order, he proceeded to voice his disapproval of Nedwill's insistence on reporting of infectious diseases, which Turnbull considered 'insulting to the profession'. Here he was speaking for Prins and the older doctors who saw reporting as a breach of patient confidentiality. But the meeting ignored his outburst and proceeded to the election of officers. Frankish nominated Nedwill

to be president and Patrick seconded his motion. There were no other nominations and Nedwill was duly elected. Frankish and Patrick were then elected vice-presidents, with Doyle as treasurer and Hunt as secretary. After Frankish's valedictory address they all went off to have dinner at Coker's Hotel in Manchester Street.[167] It was now clear that Patrick had changed camps in the doctors' feud, and had abandoned Prins and Turnbull to sit with Frankish and Nedwill on the committee of the Canterbury Medical Society.

Later in 1883 Patrick pursued a substantial debt for medical attendance on one Mrs Earnshaw, claiming £28. The defendant claimed that he was no longer part of the firm Earnshaw Brothers, and that Patrick owed him £17 for saddlery supplied by the firm. However, after lengthy testimony, the magistrate concluded that Patrick had good reason to believe he was still a partner, and awarded Patrick the full amount claimed, with costs.[168]

Early in 1884 Patrick was annoyed by a report that hangmen in Britain were experimenting with different lengths of rope when executing convicted murderers and wrote a long and rambling letter to the *Times* about it. He began by noting that the Anti-Vivisection Society was only too ready to prosecute a skilled and humane scientist who tried the effect of a new drug on a cat before giving it to humans. So too the Anti-Vaccination Society had for many years done its best to spread smallpox without refuting the beneficial effects of vaccination. Now there were hangmen experimenting on criminals. Patrick claimed that the 'long drop' did not sever the spinal cord, and that death was nearly always by strangulation when the air supply was cut off. As for capital punishment, Patrick looked forward to its abolition: 'Till then let us kill our culprits as mercifully as possible'.[169]

Patrick then went on to remark that 'we are not only a brutal but also a very comic people … sudden transitions can have a pleasing effect on the mind, from grave to gay, from lively to severe, as rhetoricians claim'. Patrick said he could give classical examples, but a modern one would be Byron hastening us from the ballroom to the battlefield at Waterloo:

> I was led into this train of thought by observing near your extract on 'The Art of Hanging' a communication headed 'Day of Prayer' and signed by 'Christian Common Sense'. I thought for a little time, and at last concluded that it indicated a rhetorical ruse of the editor. Beside an article on hanging he places the supposed-to-be-witty suggestion of some so-called free thinker. Of course, no Christian could write such nonsense. What if anyone were to ask the Governor to set aside a day of prayer against an epidemic of smallpox? What would be the reply? "Protect yourself by the means God has placed in your power – be vaccinated and you can laugh at smallpox".

Patrick noted that some people pray for rain:

> Now, God in his wisdom has sent us more rain than we think we require. But we are but of a day and know nothing: He is forever and knows all things. Instead of asking God, the omniscient and compassionate Jehovah, to do as we

> think right, let us reverently follow the guidance of Him who never errs, knowing that in carrying out his plan, "Whatever is, is right".

This strange letter prompted a response from the Reverend Samuel Slocombe at St Peter's Manse. He confessed that he found it hard to trace a connection between the head and tail of Patrick's letter, but the last part seemed to express unbelief blended with fatalism. According to Patrick, prayer could have no effect on atmospheric conditions. Slocombe maintained that to believe the biography of Jesus was to believe that He had power over nature, 'far beyond what scientists have yet attained to'. He asked Patrick to state his position with regard to Freethought.[170]

Patrick's reply began by stating that Methodist teaching held that God wished every man to be saved, and if he was lost then it was his own fault. Slocombe had started as a Methodist but had switched to the Presbyterian Church, so he had to subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith. [This was the statement of Anglican theologians in 1646 which laid out the beliefs and practices of Calvinist Anglicanism, also adopted by the Presbyterian Church.] Patrick continued that according to this Confession, God had foreordained everything that happened. He had sent his son, the second person of the Trinity, to earth to provide a complete sacrifice to save all those who wished to be saved by faith alone. According to this doctrine, prayer was useless. Slocombe had asked if Patrick was more of a Freethinker than a Christian: 'He is wrong. I yield to no man in freedom of thought, but I am, figuratively speaking, millions of miles away from modern "Freethought". I am a Christian of the Apostolic stamp'.[171] Patrick wrote much more than this, but in similar vein.

Slocombe found Patrick's reply 'amusing'. He pointed out that there was 'a great gulf' between Calvinists and Arminians, and that Methodists and Congregationalists were 'poles apart' as regards doctrine. Slocombe wrote that he was not aware that he was a follower of Arminius until Patrick pointed this out. Even so, the Shorter Catechism was not identical with the Westminster Confession. Slocombe was sorry that Patrick had referred to his own journey of faith: 'Personalities and abuse are not arguments'. It seemed as if Patrick had retired from the scene, 'after the manner of an octopus, under cover of a great splatter of ink'.[172]

Patrick responded with an even longer letter, starting with reference to Slocombe's likening him to an octopus:

> I resemble an octopus in more respects than one – I have not only an "ink bag" in common with the cephalopodous molluscs but I have "tentacles" and "suckers" and I will stick to Mr Slocombe till he has almost as great a dread of me as the South Sea bêche-de-mer fisher has of the octopus.

He also corrected Slocombe's grammar, suggesting he should have said 'widely' rather than 'wide'. Patrick had not said who he was or what church he attended, but the editor would have pointed out to him the difference between the correspondence columns and advertisements:

> My professional brethren with whom I am now on terms of friendship, would have passed me in the street without recognition. Medical men, who consider

themselves respectable, look askance on every practitioner who puffs himself in the newspapers, whatever diplomas he may possess.

Patrick then wrote that he believed in the value of prayer just as much as Mr Slocombe, and could worship God in any church, or in none, and find 'sermons in stones' and good in everything. The Shorter Catechism still stated that God made the world in six days, but the pious men of the sixteenth century were unaware of the discoveries of modern geology which suggested otherwise. Yet Slocombe had still to believe this, 'a belief which is not held by any educated men of my acquaintance'. Patrick said that some prayers he had heard in church were more like demands than requests, like 'the order for the week's spiritual groceries'. He had no desire to provoke bad feeling, and longed for the time when bickerings and feuds among Christians shall cease. But he would continue to bait Slocombe with the seventh and twentieth questions of the Shorter Catechism until he 'howls with unpitied pain'.[173] However, the editor of the *Lyttelton Times* declared the correspondence closed and readers never learned what Patrick thought about those two questions of the Shorter Catechism.

One of the new members of the Canterbury Medical Society in late 1883 was Dr William George McClure. He was an older man with an 1847 MD from Glasgow. He had been coroner and provincial surgeon for Southland since 1861 and was an outspoken critic of the 1875 Health Act. Like Prins and Turnbull, he opposed the reporting of infectious disease cases as a breach of confidentiality between doctor and patient. He expressed this view in a letter to the Board of Health in which he suggested that Nedwill's salary as medical officer could be abolished or greatly reduced.

Patrick drew attention to this letter at the next meeting of the society on 14 February 1884. Nedwill left the chair and Frankish took over as vice-president and asked McClure to explain himself. McClure said he had written the letter 'in a moment of pique', and that he had been badly treated by Nedwill when asking him to act as his locum. Writing the letter had seemed his best means of retaliation. Nedwill told the meeting that he had never agreed to act as a locum for McClure and McClure was wrong to assume this. McClure's letter now made it impossible for him to offer any concession. It was agreed to postpone discussion of the matter until the next meeting.[174]

That meeting was held on 13 March 1884. Frankish said he was surprised to see McClure there, at which McClure got up and left, never to return. Frankish then proposed two resolutions which were passed without dissent: That having heard Nedwill's account the society was satisfied that Nedwill had not behaved ungenerously, and that he had acted in accordance with the custom of the profession in Christchurch, and that the society viewed with 'great dissatisfaction' the letter McClure had written to the Board of health.

McClure's letter could not have come at a worse time for Nedwill. After four years of hard struggle to get rid of cesspits and improve the city's sanitation, the Drainage Board had run out of money from building the sewers and voted to disband the Board of Health, dismissing Nedwill. This caused a public outcry, and Nedwill was reinstated at a lower salary (though not as low as McClure had suggested). Nedwill had then been

given three months' notice, but he chose to resign immediately. He carried on his inspection and reporting work for another year without pay.

These events caused great turmoil among the doctors, and almost caused the collapse of the Medical Society. No meetings were held between March and August, and the minutes resumed with Doyle as president, Guthrie as secretary and Anderson as treasurer. There were no vice-presidents and Frankish and Nedwill – and Patrick – were conspicuous by their absence.

PART SIX

THE McBEAN STEWART SCANDAL

Patrick's absence is easily explained. He had departed on a trip to England and Europe as ship's surgeon of the *Doric*.[175] He was away for six months and returned with a Vienna MD degree, no doubt obtained by submitting a thesis. The title cannot be traced, but it is a fair guess that it was about diphtheria. He also visited a number of hospitals during his travels in England and the Continent. James and Eleanor were now aged 23 and 9 respectively and presumably stayed with his new family in the cottage in Oxford Terrace, as it is unlikely that Patrick could have afforded to take them with him.

He was welcomed back by the Druids Mistletoe Lodge as 'Our Brother Dr Patrick' at the end of August. In reply he gave 'a concise history of the countries and medical departments visited during his travels'. Songs and recitations followed, and Patrick himself contributed a reading. The meeting ended at 11 pm with the singing of the Druids' Farewell Ode.[176]

His old house at 50 Oxford Terrace was still being advertised as 'To let' for boarders -- 'Terms moderate, Pleasant aspect' – and as 'formerly the residence of Dr Patrick'. These ads were repeated well into December.[177] There was no mention of him at meetings of the Canterbury Medical Society. In October he attended the Druids' 50th anniversary banquet at the Star and Garter Hotel. Brother Ryan was in the chair, flanked on either side by the lodge surgeons Patrick and McBean Stewart.[178] But nothing else was said about him in the newspapers that year. Little did he know that his fellow lodge surgeon was about to unleash a major scandal that would further divide the city's doctors.

In December 1884 Dr Francis McBean Stewart operated on a man named Strickland at Christchurch Hospital to repair an inguinal hernia. Patrick, Hunt and Nedwill observed the operation, which was assisted by Dr Mickle. Stewart had ignored Rule 6 of the hospital's operations procedure which required consultation among the surgeons before any major operation. Strickland had requested the operation, so it was not an emergency. Stewart had never performed this operation before. Nedwill had done it six times and three of his patients had survived, an average result for abdominal surgery at this time. Stewart had chosen to follow the 'radical cure for hernia' of Professor Annandale at Edinburgh, which he had read about. He had never seen the operation performed. As the operation proceeded there was a great deal of bleeding, and Nedwill suggested using a clamp to arrest it. Stewart ignored him and carried on. A mass of intestines spilled out of the incision and Stewart made three attempts to push it back inside. He then cut away part of the omentum which had also protruded, causing more bleeding. Nedwill suggested using a tenaculum [pointed

hooked forceps] to secure the stump of the sac. Again Stewart ignored him, so Nedwill washed his hands and left the room. Stewart sewed up the wound and the patient was returned to his ward, where bleeding was observed on his sheets next day. Strickland sank and died on the following evening. Stewart conducted his own port-mortem at the unusually early hour of 7 am next day. No other doctors were invited apart from the house surgeon Dr Robinson. Stewart saw that one of his ligatures had slipped, allowing the patient to bleed to death. Robinson filled out the death certificate: 'Hernia haemorrhage'.

Nedwill informed the hospital board chairman, Henry Thomson, that a major operation had been performed in breach of Rule 6 and called for a meeting of the staff. Thomson ignored his request. Thomson had never forgiven Nedwill for embarrassing the board in the 1880 Royal Commission on typhoid deaths at the hospital. Nedwill asked Dr Deamer, chairman of the hospital staff, to call a meeting before the autopsy, and Deamer called a meeting but the autopsy had already been done. Nedwill moved that the matter be referred to the hospital board, but nobody would second this. Nedwill then sent in his resignation, refusing to work with a staff which ignored basic rules.

Prins and Turnbull were members of the hospital board and said there was no need for an inquiry as it was purely a medical matter for the staff to decide. Other board members disagreed, pointing out that the man had died, and the public would demand an investigation. The board accepted Nedwill's resignation and voted by five to three to hold an inquiry. Nedwill objected to the presence of Prins and Turnbull at this inquiry, as both had been antagonistic and obstructive to his work as public health officer, but Thomson allowed them to stay. The hospital inquiry in January 1885 was absurdly one-sided, as the staff closed ranks to support Stewart. Patrick was one of the least helpful of the medical witnesses. At first he refused to answer any questions, and the chairman had to insist that he answer. Patrick had assumed that the operation was for a reducible hernia, as he had asked Stewart and got a muttered reply. But the inquiry revealed that it was clearly an irreducible hernia, a much more serious operation, and Patrick said that he must have misheard Stewart. In answer to Nedwill's questions Patrick said that he saw a large coil of tissue cut away but he did not know what was in it. He had taken a course in anatomy while he was overseas, but would not call himself an expert anatomist. He would not say if it was a serious operation or not. Patrick also declined to answer Stewart's questions, saying that he could not follow all steps of the procedure. Nedwill read from the *Lancet* the essential steps in such an operation, and said that it was risky, but Patrick said he did not agree with that opinion.

Mickle had been struck by the large amount of bleeding during the operation. He agreed with Nedwill that it was a new operation and he had never seen it done before. But consultations about operations were often perfunctory. He thought that the operation had been 'skilfully performed'. Hunt had done several hernia operations himself, and thought this one was extremely grave and a matter for

consultation. A tenaculum as suggested by Nedwill would have secured the arteries more tightly. None of the doctors present expected the man to live.

Nedwill recalled Patrick to ask him if he could remember anything more about the operation, and Patrick asked for his previous evidence to be read out, but Thomson refused this request. Patrick said he was quite neutral, and was neither for the prosecutor or the defendant. Nedwill then told the inquiry that Patrick had said something quite different to him after the operation from what he had told the inquiry. Patrick now clammed up and said that there was so much blood that he could not distinguish the tissues. He did not expect the patient to survive. He denied saying that the operation had been performed in 'a rough and clumsy manner'. [179]

Stewart defended his actions with great force, and accused Nedwill of being motivated by 'professional jealousy'. Nedwill said that he simply wanted the inquiry to arrive at the truth. Stewart now changed his tune about the cause of death, and said that Robinson had been mistaken to write 'Hernia haemorrhage', insisting that the patient had died from shock and 'want of vitality'. This astonishing contradiction prompted Nedwill to suggest that a second autopsy might be needed.

After further lengthy exchanges, Nedwill asked Stewart if he had ever done this operation before, and Stewart had to admit that he had not. Nedwill's patience gave way at this point and he expostulated, 'This man makes himself out to be an expert and myself to be a fool, yet he has never performed this operation before. I never heard a greater piece of bounce!'

At the next day of the inquiry Stewart tried to show that the radical cure for hernia was not a new operation but had been performed with success by several leading surgeons in Britain. Nedwill wanted to show that Stewart had not followed Annandale's method correctly, but Thomson cut proceedings short before Nedwill was able to call all of his witnesses. Nedwill protested against having his mouth shut by such an abrupt end to the inquiry and the people in the public gallery applauded him. When Thomson said again that the inquiry was closed they hissed.[180]

The hospital board was deeply split by the Stewart affair but Prins and Turnbull were loud in their support for Stewart and persuaded a thin majority to express its confidence in Stewart. The board later appointed Dr Symes to replace Nedwill. Newspaper editorials were highly critical of these proceedings and the illogical decision to retain Stewart. Letters to both Christchurch papers favoured a Royal Commission of Inquiry. Nedwill complained to the Colonial Secretary and asked for a formal inquiry but the government declined his request.

The Canterbury Medical Society was also deeply split. The March meeting lapsed for lack of a quorum and a replacement meeting in April tabled a letter of resignation from Nedwill. Apart from his friends Frankish and Hunt, Nedwill was now isolated as most of the other doctors were willing to give Stewart the benefit of the doubt. Most were physicians rather than surgeons. After all, patients still

died even after the most successful operations. Frankish and Hunt did not send letters of resignation: they simply stopped attending. Stewart and Robinson turned up for the May meeting, which barely had a quorum and Nedwill's resignation was accepted.

Only a week after this meeting a short article was published by Wellington's *Evening Press* newspaper with the sensationalist headlines: 'EXTRAORDINARY HOSPITAL SCANDAL: REVOLTING DISCLOSURES: MANSLAUGHTER OR WORSE: THE GOVERNMENT TRYING TO HUSH IT UP'. The journalist predicted that most readers would react with 'horror and indignation' to what he was about to reveal. He wrote that Dr Nedwill had been trying to get the government to investigate 'irregularities and misdoings' at Christchurch Hospital for some time. Admission books and records of operations were not being kept properly and patients had been neglected. He had given the government particulars of a hernia operation which had been badly done, resulting in the death of the patient. The journalist then let his imagination run away with him and used such terms as 'torture', 'mangled', 'tormented', 'violence and butchery'. The patient had bled to death 'from a stupid blunder in the operation'.[181]

This was in fact a garbled version of what the newspaper's co-owner had heard at a dinner table. Though Nedwill had nothing to do with its writing or publication, his enemies quickly assumed that he had written it. Stewart, Prins and Turnbull were predictably outraged and called for a special meeting of the Canterbury Medical Society which met on 27 May. Frankish bravely attended to defend his friend, but he faced a solid phalanx of angry doctors, which included Patrick. They passed a motion expressing sympathy with Stewart over the 'terrible and scandalous article' in the Wellington paper, and promised him their support in whatever steps he took to obtain redress. Turnbull proposed a sub-committee to assist him, namely himself, Patrick and Prins. (Yet Prins had never joined the society!) Frankish moved that the government be asked for a formal inquiry, and Doyle seconded it, but they were the only two to vote for it. Symes proposed, and Patrick seconded, that a special meeting of medical men be called to discuss the matter. This was carried.

Patrick had once again changed sides in the Christchurch medical factions. Having joined Nedwill and Frankish in creating the medical society, he now turned against them and sided with his old friends Prins and Turnbull.

At the society's annual meeting in June 1885 Patrick replaced Doyle as president. Frankish handed in his resignation and left the meeting. Patrick later wrote to ask him to reconsider, but he never replied. The July meeting collapsed for lack of a quorum, and the August meeting likewise collapsed when Robinson was called away to attend to an urgent case. The September meeting had a bare quorum of six and Patrick read a paper on the use of ergot in cases of *placenta praevia*. No meetings were held in October, November or December. The society had virtually collapsed in the wake of the McBean Stewart affair.[182]

Encouraged by Prins and Turnbull, Stewart sued the proprietors of the *Evening Press* for libel, claiming £2,000 in damages. [Equivalent to $473,000 in 2024.] He could not sue Nedwill, as he had neither written nor published the article. The defendants' lawyers argued that a fair trial could not be held in Christchurch as the city had divided into two camps, one saying that Stewart should be hanged for killing a man, and the other saying that Nedwill should be kicked for having complained.

The Medical Libel Case was heard in Dunedin in March 1886. The Christchurch doctors took the train down to give their evidence again, but this time Nedwill was allowed to explain why he thought the operation had been bungled. He was supported by no less an authority than Dr Millen Coughtry, first Professor of Anatomy at the Otago Medical School. He had actually performed Annandale's radical cure for hernia and was able to show by diagrams that Stewart had not followed that method at all. It was plain beyond doubt that Stewart had botched the operation and caused the man's death, as Nedwill had claimed all along. However, the judge advised that a libel had been committed and the jury accordingly gave Stewart his victory, with costs. But as for damages, they awarded him just one shilling.[183]

PART SEVEN

NEWSPAPER EXCHANGES

The newspapers had very little to say about Patrick after the high drama of the hospital inquiry and before the celebrated Medical Libel Trial. In August 1885 he saved another would-be suicide from rat poison by promptly administering emetics.[184] In October 1885 he gave a lecture on human anatomy to the St Andrew's Literary Society, complete with skeleton and diagrams.[185] In November 1885 he offered to cover for Dr Robinson at the hospital while that gentleman took leave of absence.[186] (Robinson was an alcoholic and never returned.) Also in November he attended a boy who had been crushed by a falling wall at a house demolition in Manchester Street.[187] In February 1886 he was first on the scene of a tragic encounter between two neighbours in Tuam Street who had been quarrelling about an 'unsightly' fence. When blows were exchanged, the man named Midgely fell and hit his head on the kerb. Another neighbour ran to fetch Dr Nedwill but he was out. He then brought Patrick to the scene, but the man was already dead. The other neighbour in the dispute gave himself up to the police, and he was held on suspicion of manslaughter.[188]

Patrick conducted the autopsy on the dead man and found a large clot in his brain. He told the coroner this at the inquest, and the other neighbour was then questioned about his part in the encounter. Patrick intervened and said that there was evidence for long-standing brain disease. The coroner said, 'You should have given that in your evidence before. Will it affect this case?' Patrick replied that he thought it would. The man had died from apoplexy either before his fall or because of it. Since he fell in an interval of the conflict and not following a blow, it was likely that over-excitement caused the apoplexy. The jury concluded that Midgely had died from natural causes and the other neighbour was discharged from custody.[189] Here was another example of Patrick's innate caution and reticence.

After giving his evidence at the Medical Libel Trial in Dunedin in March 1886, Patrick again took the train south in April for a meeting which established the New Zealand Medical Association. Patrick and Dr Hacon were the Canterbury representatives, and Dr Hocken of Dunedin was elected the association's first president.[190] In June Dr John Guthrie replaced Patrick as president of the revived Canterbury Medical Society.

In May 1886 Patrick wrote a long letter to the *Press* objecting to an editorial which had remarked that 'professional etiquette' was a sentiment to which lawyers sacrificed their clients' property and doctors their patients' lives. Patrick wrote that this remark, even if it was a joke, insulted his profession. The editor had claimed there was a time when doctors did not charge fees, but Patrick reminded him of the

Roman Emperor Valentinian, who suppressed quacks by forbidding the charging of fees. Doctors had to wait for a donation from grateful patients. But this did not work, so Valentinian divided Rome into fourteen districts and appointed a reputable salaried doctor to each section who then had a legal right to charge a fee. After demonstrating his knowledge of Roman history, Patrick went on at some length about the high and noble ideals of his profession, dedicated to healing and saving lives. In his own practice, he tried to follow the principles of the New Testament. The editor had said that English law did not allow barristers or doctors to recover fees at law, but Patrick said this was 'quite wrong', pointing to clause 31 of the Medical Act. The editor replied that he had in fact been referring to the old Law of Contracts, before the Medical Act. He was glad to learn that Dr Patrick's ideas of medical etiquette were 'so exalted', and wished that all doctors acted on the principles of the New Testament.[191]

This was a long-winded and humourless letter in which Patrick paraded his classical knowledge and stood on the dignity of his profession. For many readers of the *Press*, recalling the bitter doctors' squabbles of the 1870s and the recent Medical Libel Trial, this would have been richly amusing. Dr Frankish had expressed exactly the same sentiments in his presidential address to the Canterbury Medical Society in 1883 yet he and Nedwill had been ostracised by their colleagues for calling out incompetence by McBean Stewart. Patrick's much-lauded medical etiquette could be seen by many observers as a cloak for medical incompetence.

The *Lyttelton Times* published an extract from the *British Medical Journal* in May which reported experiments by Sir William Roberts about the effects of alcohol on digestion. He had found that alcohol, tea and coffee all retarded the action of digestive ferments. Patrick seized on this as further support for his temperance views. He had recently attended a temperance meeting at St Paul's which heard speeches from Sir William Fox and T. W. Glover. The latter had told the story of seven doctors on a steamer who had listened to Glover's lecture on temperance in silence. One then asked if, when someone collapsed and their heart stopped beating, alcohol rather than water would get it going again. Patrick wrote, 'At this stage the lecturer was graciously pleased to laugh immoderately'. Fox then said that alcohol did not occur in nature and was man-made and therefore bad. But Patrick protested that God had made all things, including tutu [a poisonous shrub] and arsenic.

This letter drew swift responses from both Fox and Glover. The latter objected to Patrick's 'sarcastic' remarks about his lecture, and claimed that he had merely argued that doctors differed on the use of alcohol. He personally would rather die from want of it than use of it. [192] Fox wrote that Patrick had misrepresented him. He had said that there was no sign of alcohol in grapes or grain until fermented or distilled by man. Patrick might as well have said 'Porridge is made by man, ergo porridge is bad'. God made the materials for making a gun, but did not create the gun itself. Fox added, 'Even a learned doctor may be a bad logician'.[193]

Patrick could not leave this topic alone. He wrote again to say that he may not have heard Fox correctly, as Fox was a 'rapid speaker'. He apologised for putting words in his mouth that he had not uttered. But Patrick insisted on his point that

God made all things: 'I think I have seen very bad oats, though made by God'. Fox had referred to Sir William Roberts as an 'eccentric or fossilised' member of the medical profession, and Patrick was annoyed by this remark: 'I have to severely rebuke Sir William'. He thought it no disgrace to be ignorant of science or medicine, 'but he should not call men names because they differ in opinions from him when he knows nothing of their worth'.[194]

At the end of that month Patrick inserted an ad in the *Times* announcing his appointment as public vaccinator for Christchurch. He gave times when he could be consulted for free at his house, 58 Oxford Terrace.[195] This is interesting on two counts. His house had previously been numbered 50. Was this a misprint? There were certainly now more houses along this part of Oxford Terrace than when he first moved there. Secondly, this suggests that he was again living in the house. His previous ads indicated that he was taking in boarders.

That he was again living in his old cob house near St Michael's is confirmed by a curious little item in October. Recent repairs work had found a rats' nest in one of the cob walls of 'Dr Patrick's residence'. Here they had deposited a box of matches of a kind not now sold [probably phosphorous]. By the nibbling of the rats the matches had caught fire, but being surrounded by clay the fire had not spread. This showed how easily rats could cause a house fire.[196]

Patrick was reported as being present at a Druids meeting in December, but otherwise there was no mention of him until March 1887 when he attended a large public meeting to consider how the city might celebrate Queen Victoria's jubilee.[197] Also present was Dr Frankish, whose advocacy of a railway to the West Coast had made him a popular public speaker. Dr Turnbull was at the following meeting, and in the debate about who should be chairman announced that J. D. Lance had declined and therefore the decision should be postponed to the next meeting. Here Patrick intervened and protested against any further loss of time. Other names were offered, but Turnbull's motion that Mayor Ayers should chair the committee was finally carried. Turnbull and Frankish were then elected to the executive committee, but Patrick was not.[198]

Patrick seems to have lost interest in the jubilee after this. In May he was named as one of a preliminary committee for a new Shakespeare Society, but his name does not appear in any subsequent reports of this group.[199] In October 1887 he advertised for 'a smart lad, fond of horses'.[200] In November he wrote to the city council to remind them that medical men were required to report infectious diseases, but very few did. As far as he knew the Health Act was 'a dead letter'. His letter was referred to the Sanitary Committee.[201] Patrick was quite right about this. Since the demise of the Board of Health in 1885 and its dismissal of Nedwill as medical officer there had been virtually no reporting of infectious diseases in Christchurch. The board had previously paid doctors a small fee for each notification, but without this incentive most doctors could not be bothered.

Also in November Patrick attended a public meeting about the Linwood drainage ditch. Frankish was again a prominent speaker and said that the stagnant water was liable to breed and spread infectious diseases. Patrick agreed and said that the

present condition of the ditch was 'especially objectionable from a sanitary point of view'. McBean Stewart said that it was nothing better than a cess-pool and a source of danger.[202] Here were two former critics of Nedwill's work as medical health officer who had changed their minds about public health.

Patrick's eldest son James Forsyth Patrick died in 1887. The exact date is not known as there was no death notice and no death registered. He would have been aged 26.

PART EIGHT

CITY COUNCIL AND ST JOHN

Patrick again advertised his services as public vaccinator in 1888 and reported two cases of diphtheria in Lincoln Road.[203] In June he started a series of four lectures in first aid for the St John Ambulance Association.[204] In July he was sued by the stable owner F. W. Delamain for the cost of breaking in a pony, after the lessee of the Royal Stables had broken his wrist and could not do the job. It was a small sum, only £3 8s but Patrick had to be careful of his money. The magistrate decided in Patrick's favour, pointing out that Delamain should have claimed the cost from the lessee of the Royal Stables.[205]

The July meeting of the Canterbury Medical Society was more exciting than usual. Dr Guthrie drew attention to a new patent medicine on sale in some city pharmacies. Its labels declared that it was 'Dr Macbean Stewart's New Cure for Asthma, Bronchitis, Influenza, Whooping Cough, etc.' The label showed a Māori man leading a moa loaded with a case of the cure. The medical profession frowned on any sort of commercial advertising by doctors, and a special meeting was called for 19 July. Stewart sent a letter to the secretary explaining that the paralysis in his leg, caused by frostbite in his youth, was worsening and he feared being unable to provide for his wife and family in old age. He had consulted another doctor, and Dr Turnbull admitted to being the doctor consulted by Stewart. He had warned Stewart that there might be trouble, but saw nothing in his own diplomas forbidding advertising. It was a matter of convention and etiquette.[206]

Dr Hacon thought that Stewart was doing real harm to the public by distributing a secret remedy with ingredients that could be misused by overdosing. Dr Guthrie thought that while doctors condemned quack patent medicines they should not be selling the same themselves. Dr Thomas drew attention to Section IV of the *Code of Medical Ethics* recently adopted by the New Zealand Medical Association, which explicitly condemned advertising as 'derogatory to the profession and reprehensible in a regular physician'. The meeting agreed that Stewart's letter was unsatisfactory, with one dissentient: Dr Turnbull. Another motion asking for Stewart's resignation was lost. A second special meeting was held on 24 July, which Turnbull did not attend. The committee had sought legal advice and now resolved that as Stewart's 'nostrum' was in direct contravention of the *Code of Medical Ethics* he should be asked to resign. His resignation was accepted at the 9 August meeting.

Patrick attended the September meeting to ask about recent changes by the lodges and friendly societies to pay doctors one stated fee instead of the old arrangement of 30s for a married couple and 10s per single member. There was general agreement that the new fee would be satisfactory as it was in line with those

of the Druids and the Foresters. But there was still concern that well-to-do people were joining lodges or going to hospitals simply to get free medical treatment and this was starving the local practitioners of business.

Patrick then decided (or was persuaded) to stand for a seat on the city council. He had never before shown any interest in public office of this nature and he was not a confident speaker. His first meeting of supporters was in the St Michael's schoolroom in September. This was well-attended and the meeting unanimously passed a resolution that Patrick was 'a fit and proper person' to represent them in the South West Ward.[207] One of his supporters wrote to the *Star* and described Patrick as an old resident of the ward, a property owner and medical practitioner of 'ability, integrity and respectability'. [208]

However, one of his opponent's supporters wrote to the *Press* and criticised Patrick's silence on the big issues of the day, such as the tramway and the gas company: 'Does he hope to catch a few stray votes by his silence?' As a medical man, Patrick would be 'quite unsuited' to municipal office'.[209] However, this correspondent ignored the fact that several medical men had sat on the city council in the past. On election day, Patrick won with 285 votes, a majority of 99 over his rival Levoi.[210]

At his first council meeting in October Patrick would have heard Professor Bickerton proposing a series of dams on the Avon River to generate electricity, a daft idea that won no support. The Fire Brigade's report asked for the reopening of the old Lichfield Street fire station. A recent fire had seen delays at the main fire station in the Market Place, and the railway fire engine ought to have been sent earlier. Harris, the former Fire Superintendent, was appointed City Fire Inspector. A new by-law was passed to curb 'rapid driving' around street corners. But there was no mention of Patrick. New members usually said something, just to make themselves known, but his natural reticence seems to have won the day.[211]

At the next meeting of the council in November the cabmen predictably protested against the new by-law about 'rapid driving', and claimed that their members were not to blame: it was the delivery men for grocers and tradesmen who were guilty of 'furious driving'. But the by-law remained. Larrikins had damaged the public seating in Latimer Square, and more seriously had removed bolts from the Barbadoes Street Bridge. The police were asked to be more vigilant at night.[212]

In December 1888 an old offender named William Cody stole a scythe from Patrick's house and was caught trying to sell it at a shop in Montreal Street. The police knew him: he had 77 previous convictions. This time he got a month in prison.[213] Patrick ended the year advertising for 'a smart boy for stable-work'.[214]

Patrick gave two series of lectures for St John in 1889. In the first series in January he had a class of twelve men, five of whom sat the exam, but only three passed.[215] The second series seems to have been more successful as one of the participants wrote to the *Press* to say that Patrick had been 'most obliging and courteous in showing all that was considered necessary'.[216] He was faithful in his attendance at meetings of the city council but was never reported as having said anything.[217] He

was only occasionally asked to perform a post-mortem examination.[218] In November he gave evidence in the Magistrate's Court about the injuries suffered by a woman whose husband had come home drunk and turned her out of the house after assaulting her. He had threatened her with boiling water before his son restrained him.[219]

Patrick's support for St John continued in 1890 with a lecture series for ladies in February, and in May he promised his assistance to Dr Hacon when he proposed a St John Nursing Corps.[220] In March he attended an accident after a horse had bolted and thrown two women and three children from their cart. They were taken to Wallace's Dispensary where Patrick sewed up their wounds.[221] In September he sent a pamphlet to the A & P Association recommending the use of chloroform when operating on farm animals.[222] But that is all we know about him in 1890.

In February 1891 Patrick received news that his brother Dr Jonas Wilson Patrick had died at the age of 48. He had settled at Carrickfergus in Northern Ireland and was a highly respected resident, a Mason, and holder of various civic offices. His son had just completed his medical degree and would continue the practice.[223]

In May Patrick attended a special meeting of the city council to finalise the general rate for the coming year at 1s 1d in the £ but the newspapers make no mention of his having said anything.[224] In June he attended the sudden death of the publican of the Zetland Arms. He was eating Irish stew at the time and at first it was thought that he had choked on a piece of meat, but Patrick's autopsy revealed that he had suffered a serious apoplexy. The inquest recorded 'death from natural causes'.[225]

The Prohibitionists were making a concerted effort to close down hotels in Sydenham, where they felt there were far too many and that much drunkenness resulted. The meeting of the licensing magistrates in June 1891 was crowded with publicans and prohibitionists and their supporters. Despite his previous advocacy of temperance, Patrick spoke in support of the licensee of the Crown Hotel, William James, and testified that in his opinion the hotel was 'very well-conducted' and the licensee was a man of 'high character'. The leading prohibitionist T.E. Taylor wanted to cross-examine witnesses but the magistrates refused his demand. Even so, the Crown lost its licence and did not regain it until 1894.[226]

In August 1891 Patrick announced that he would not be standing again for the city council.[227] At the end of November it was announced that he would be chairing a five-day theological debate between W. W. Collins representing the Freethought Association and the evangelist R. C. Gilmour. The proceeds of each debate would go to the hospital. The Tuam Street hall was packed on each of the following evenings with an estimated crowd of 1,200. The first topic was 'That theology is the curse of the world' and the audience followed each speaker's presentation with keen interest. The debates were 'carried on with great vigour' and the audience gave full vent to their approval or dissent. The topic 'That the Christian Religion is the curse of the individual, the family and the race' was debated with even more vigour and aroused even greater response from the audience. At the close of the series nobody was declared a winner, and Patrick was thanked for his impartial chairmanship.[228]

This was Patrick's last public appearance in such a role. The newspapers made almost no mention of him in 1892 and 1893, apart from his attendance on an elderly woman who died soon after his arrival, and the discovery of a tramp in Patrick's stables in April 1893.[229]

Dr Samuel Alexander Patrick died on 30 April 1894 at the age of 53. His death certificate gave as his cause of death 'sclerosis of brain and spinal cord, 2 years'.[230] This suggests that his last two years were clouded by dementia or Alzheimer's disease.

The *Lyttelton Times* published a brief notice which said that 'he had been ailing for some considerable time', and added that he had taken 'considerable interest in municipal affairs', which was not quite correct, as he sat for only one term on the city council.[231] The *Press* was more generous, and gave him a long paragraph:

> Dr Patrick, whose death took place on Monday, was well-known in the medical profession, which he practised in this colony for about 22 years. He was born in Manchester in 1840 [Wrong on both counts: Belfast in 1836.] and was originally intended for the ministry, He, however, preferred to follow the study of medicine. He was educated at Owen's Grammar School, now Victoria College, and at the age of 18 went out to a sugar plantation in the West Indies, where he contracted ague and fever, the former disease having been troublesome to him ever since. He returned to Manchester, took his degree in medicine, and came out here. [But not straight away: he got married as well.] He was not a public man, and his only office connected with a public body was that of councillor for the South West Ward of Christchurch. He leaves a widow and a family of two daughters and three sons.[232]

There was no mention of his leading role in the Canterbury Medical Society, his connection with Christchurch Hospital, or his interest in matters theological and his long association with the Durham Street Wesleyan Church. Eleanor and Samuel were his only surviving children from his first marriage, so if this obituary is correct he and Jane had another three children between 1881 and his death. But without their names it is impossible to trace any birth records.

Samuel's daughter Eleanor trained as a nurse and in 1914 was matron of the St Andrew's Orphanage in Nelson.[233] She then became matron of the Wellington YMCA Hospital where she died on 24 March 1920 at the age of 45.[234]

Samuel's widow Jane Elizabeth Patrick died in Dunedin Hospital on 1 January 1926 after falling from a bus and fracturing her pelvis. She was visiting friends at the time. Her home address was 78 Colombo Street, Christchurch.[235]

His only surviving son from his first marriage, Samuel Alexander Patrick III, died on 13 September 1953 and was buried at the Aramaho Cemetery, Wanganui, at the age of 76.[236]

EPILOGUE

Dr Patrick was certainly one of the best-known medical men of nineteenth century Christchurch, though not always for the best of reasons. His chronic poor health prevented him from taking a leading role, yet when the time came he took his turn as president of the Canterbury Medical Society and he was a staunch advocate of smallpox vaccination. It is to his credit that he changed his mind about public health and the need to report cases of typhoid fever, but he also changed sides in the great factional split of the Christchurch doctors, not once but twice. Initially, after his newspaper war with Dr Frankish, he sided with Drs Prins and Turnbull on the more reactionary and conservative side, but Dr Nedwill's zealous work as medical officer of health persuaded him about the need for sewers and reporting of infectious diseases, and he sided with Nedwill and Frankish. However, the great scandal over Dr Francis McBean Stewart's botched hernia operation in late 1884 pushed him back into the opposing camp, and he condemned Nedwill's complaint along with nearly all of the doctors. They had closed ranks in support of Stewart because it was an unwritten rule of medical etiquette that you did not question another doctor's competence or choice of treatments.

Patrick had a large family, most of whom died, and he was always short of money, suggesting that he was not a very successful general practitioner. His austere humourless manner may have deterred potential patients. He supplemented his income by being a lodge surgeon and taking very minor posts such as accoucheur to the Women's Refuge, and took in boarders at his large house on Oxford Terrace. After his first wife died, he married a woman twenty years his junior and started another family with her. Altogether he sired 12 children, as far as we know only five of them survived to adulthood.

His letters to the newspapers on theological topics were rambling and illogical, though he claimed to have read widely. He said that he had read every issue of the *Lancet* for over twenty years and often displayed his knowledge of classical literature. Yet his medical career failed to flourish and he never figured as a public man, except for one term on the city council, during which he apparently said nothing. His health failed in his last years, and he died peacefully at home, unlike Dr Frankish, who became an alcoholic and spent his last years in and out of hospitals and asylums. It is a pity that we have no frank opinions about him from his medical brethren. Were they wary of him after his newspaper war with Frankish, or did they regard him as a bit of a loner with odd opinions? His life does not sound like a happy one, but like most of us he probably did his best, despite his many disappointments, and wondered why his life had not turned out as well as the careers of his medical colleagues.

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[48] *Press*, 28 October 1870, p.3.
[49] *LT*, 2 March 1871, p.3.
[50] *LT*, 3 March 1871, p.3.
[51] *Press*, 7 March 1871, p.3.
[52] *Press*, 15 & 22 March 1871, both p.3.
[53] Rex Wright-St Clair, *Historia Nunc Vivat* (2003), p.299.
[54] *Star*, 21 February 1871, p.2. For a full account of this episode see G. W. Rice, *Nedwill: That 'Peppery' Irish Surgeon* (2022), pp.45-52.
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[56] *Press*, 9 May 1871, p.3.
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[61] *Press*, 17 July 1871, p.3.
[62] *Press*, 12 October 1871, p.3.
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[65] *Press*, 19 October 1871, p.4.
[66] *Press*, 20 October 1871, p.4.
[67] *LT,* 8 November 1871, p.3; *Press*, 8 November 1871, p.3.
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[74] *Press*, 4 April 1872, p.2.
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[77] *LT*, 6 May 1873, p.3.
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[79] *Press*, 6 May 1872, p.2.
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[81] *LT*, 7 June 1872, p.3.

[82] *Star*, 6 July 1872, p.2.
[83] *LT*, 12 July 1872, p.1; Canterbury Museum, Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies, P 179.
[84] *Press*, 22 August 1872, p.2; *LT*, 23 August 1872, p.3.
[85] *LT*, 7 October 1872, p.2; 23 October 1872, p.2.
[86] *Press*, 16 January 1873, p.2.
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[88] *Star*, 24 & 25 February 1873, both p.2.
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[101] *Star*, 17 December 1874, p.2.
[102] *Press*, 17 December 1874, p.4.
[103] *Press*, 1 March 1875, p.4.
[104] *Press*, 5 & 12 May 1875, both p.3; *LT*, 20 May 1875, 21 May 1875, 26 May 1875, all p.3; *Press*, 5 June 1875, p.3; *Press,* 25 June 1875, p.2; *LT*, 26 June 1875, p.3.
[105] *Press*, 6 March 1875, p.2.
[106] *Press*, 3 April 1875, p.5 Supplement.
[107] *Press*, 15 October 1875, p.4.
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[114] See G. W. Rice, *Nedwill: That 'Peppery' Irish Surgeon* (2022) and *Turnbull: Christchurch's Radical Doctor* (2024) for more detail.
[115] *LT*, 8 February 1876, p.3; *Press*, 22 February 1876, p.3.
[116] *Star*, 30 June 1876, p.2.
[117] *Press*, 5 October 1876, p.3.
[118] *LT*, 7 March 1877, p.2.
[119] *Press*, 6 July 1877, p.1.
[120] *Press*, 29 August 1877, p.2.
[121] *LT*, 27 March 1878, p.2 Supplement.
[122] Canterbury Museum, Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies, P 179.
[123] *Press*, 10 July 1878, p.3.
[124] Bennett, *Hospital on the Avon* (1962), p.38. The account of the Campbell affair on p. 37 is muddled and misdates it to 1875.

[125] *LT*, 24 January 1879, p.6.
[126] *LT*, 10 October 1877, p.2.
[127] *LT*, 19 March 1879, p.2.
[128] *LT*, 27 October 1878, p.1.
[129] *Press*, 7 April 1879, p.4.
[130] *Press*, 12 April 1879, p.5.
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[133] Wright-St Clair, *Historia Nunc Vivat* (2003), p.256.
[134] *LT*, 12 May 1879, p.5.
[135] *LT*, 15 May 1879, p.3.
[136] Bennett, *Hospital on the Avon*, pp.40-2.
[137] *Press*, 18 June 1879, p.2.
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[145] Cotter Medical History Museum, Canterbury Medical Society Minute Book, 1880-91, f.2.
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[147] G. W. Rice, *Doctors Divided: Medical Societies in Christchurch* (2021), pp.12-13.
[148] Ibid., pp.14-15.
[149] *LT*, 20 July 1881, p.5.
[150] *LT*, 21 July 1881, p.5.
[151] Family Search.
[152] *Star*, 17 March 1882, p.3; *Press*, 25 March 1882, p.5; 28 March 1882, p.3; *Star*, 31 March 1882, p.3; *Star*, 4 April 1882, p.3.
[153] Rice, *Doctors Divided*, p.26.
[154] *Star*, 5 April 1882, p.3.
[155] *LT*, 10 June 1882, p.5.
[156] *Star*, 10 July 1882, p.3.
[157] *Star*, 30 August 1882, p.3.
[158] *LT*, 22 July 1882, p.6.
[159] *LT*, 2 September 1882, p.6.
[160] *Press*, 23 December 1882, p.4.
[161] *LT*, 14 March 1883, p.5.
[162] *LT*, 16 March 1883, p.5.
[163] *LT*, 21 March 1883, p.5.
[164] See G. W. Rice, *Quackery in Christchurch* (2023), pp.85-9.
[165] *Press*, 14 May 1883, p.2.
[166] *Star*, 21 May 1883, p.2; *LT*, 23 May 1883, p.4; *Press*, 30 May 1883, p.2.
[167] Rice, *Doctors Divided*, p.31.
[168] *LT*, 14 November 1883, p.3.
[169] *LT*, 24 January 1884, p.5.
[170] *LT*, 25 January 1884, p.5.
[171] *LT*, 28 January 1884, p.6.

[172] *LT*, 29 January 1884, p.5.
[173] *LT*, 2 February 1884, p.5.
[174] For this and what follows see Rice, *Doctors Divided*, pp.33-5.
[175] Canterbury Museum, Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies, P 179.
[176] *Star*, 29 August 1884, p.2.
[177] *Star*, 1 October 1884, p.2; 11 December 1884, p.2.
[178] *Star*, 3 October 1884, p.3.
[179] *Press*, 20 January 1885, p.3.
[180] For a more detailed account of the operation and the inquiry see G. W. Rice, *Nedwill: That 'Peppery' Irish Surgeon* (2022), pp.196-215.
[181] *Evening Press*, 21 May 1885.
[182] Rice, *Doctors Divided*, pp.39-40.
[183] For a full account of the trial, see Rice, *Nedwill*, pp.217-43.
[184] *Press*, 17 August 1885, p.2.
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[195] *LT*, 26 June 1886, p.4.
[196] *LT*, 12 October 1886, p.4.
[197] *Press*, 7 December 1886, p.2.
[198] *LT*, 24 March 1887, p.6.
[199] *Press*, 5 May 1887, p.2.
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[201] *Press*, 15 November 1887, p.6.
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[204] *LT*, 27 June 1888, p.4.
[205] *LT*, 20 July 1888, p.3.
[206] On this and what follows see Rice, *Doctors Divided*, pp.46-51.
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[229] *Press*, 16 April 1892, p.4; 7 April 1893, p.4.
[230] Deaths Register 1894003233
[231] *LT*, 1 May 1894, p.5.
[232] *Press*, 2 May 1894, p.4.
[233] Nelson Electoral Roll, 1914, Entry 4595.
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[235] *Otago Daily Times*, 2 January p.12. Deaths Register 1926/12123.
[236] Deaths Register, 1953/23542.

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