

Homeopathy in the American West: its German Connections

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HOMEOPATHY, A BRANCH OF DRUG THERAPY based on the principle of Similars, or treatment of likes by likes, was founded in Germany two centuries ago. After its introduction into the United States in the 1820s and an impressive expansion during the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a rapid decline of this medical system at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, for the past two decades, it seems once again to have experienced a form of renaissance, especially in the American West. This recent development toward an increasing social and political relevance of homeopathy is mirrored also in medical historiography. Prior to the investigations of Joseph F. Kett, Martin L. Kaufman, William G. Rothstein, and Harris L. Coulter little scholarly research had been done on the history of homeopathy.¹ Meanwhile, medical historians have expanded significantly the scope of their field by including also historical and social perspectives of 'medical sects' of the nineteenth century. Among these, however, homeopathy seems to have been the most important. This paper traces the Germanic connections to and influences on the history of homeopathy in the United States during the nineteenth century, especially in the American West. Since homeopathy was founded and developed in Germany, it would be expected that Germans played a major role in transferring and establishing homeopathy in North America. On the other hand, however, some of the most important factors for homeopathy's eventual decline came from Germany, primarily in the form of modern laboratory science and the German medical school system.

Early German Homeopaths in the American East

HOMEOPATHY WAS FIRST INTRODUCED into the United States on its East Coast and progressed to the West Coast two decades later. Samuel Hahnemann (1755–1843), a German physician and the founder of homeopathy, was living at Köthen (Saxony) and working on his theory of chronic diseases when the essentials of his new method of therapeutics² came to America via two different paths.

The first path was the result of the efforts of Hans Burch Gram (1786–1840), who was born in Boston as the son of a Danish immigrant and educated in Copenhagen, where he received his medical degree and endorsed the principles of homeopathy. After his return to America in 1825, he opened an office in New York and began to practise homeopathy. At that time he published a small pamphlet entitled *The Characteristics of Homoeopathia* being the first publication in the United States on homeopathy. This was a translation of Hahnemann's essay *Geist der homöopathischen Heillehre*.³ However, according to Bradford, Gram's twenty years in Denmark 'gave this little missionary tract such a Danish–German–English grotesqueness and such complicated grammatical construction that it was difficult to read understandingly.' Since it was doubtful whether anybody read it, nothing further was written by him.⁴

The second path by which homeopathy made its appearance in the United States was mainly through German-speaking physicians in Pennsylvania. One of these was Henry Detwiller (1795–1887), born in Basel, who had completed five semesters of medicine at the University of Freiburg. He took the medical board examination in Amsterdam and left Europe in 1817 as an appointed physician on a ship to Philadelphia. He settled first in Allentown, Pennsylvania, where the language spoken was chiefly German and, subsequently, he opened an office in Hellertown, Pennsylvania. In the largely German populated town of Bath, twelve miles north, he met socially, as well as professionally in consultation, his colleague William Wesselhoeft (1794–1858). Wesselhoeft was born in Jena and studied medicine there, in Berlin and in Würzburg where he graduated. He became involved in political activities in the *Burschenschaften*, was imprisoned, and escaped to America in the early 1820s. Wesselhoeft received from his father and from his old fellow student, Ernst Stapf (1788–1860), German books on homeopathy and a box of homeopathic remedies. The two doctors investigated the new system and, eventually, Detwiller administered the first homeopathic dose to a Pennsylvania patient on July 23, 1828. Wesselhoeft soon began to give his patients homeopathic medicines, as did Eberhard Freytag, Christian J. Becker, and other German

physicians. A lay practitioner among the early German promoters of homeopathy was Johannes Helfrich (1795–1852), a Moravian minister in Weisenberg, Pennsylvania, who together with his pastoral work prescribed homeopathic remedies for the ailments of his parishioners. Consequently, after 1830 his house became more of a hospital than a school. Another layman was George Henry Bute (1792–1876), who was born in the duchy of Schaumburg Lippe Bückeberg. After a roving life in Europe, he migrated to Philadelphia in 1819. He became acquainted with the Moravians and in 1828 received a special commission to go to Surinam as a Moravian missionary where he became a student of Constantine Hering. After his return to the United States in 1831 he became Hering's partner and practised in Philadelphia for six years.

Constantine Hering (1800–1880) was the most important German homeopath of that period. He was born in Oschatz (Saxony) and studied medicine in Leipzig and Würzburg, where he graduated in 1826. He was sent on a botanical and zoological expedition to Surinam and after six years, instead of returning to Germany, went to Philadelphia in 1833. Hering was the principal initiator in establishing both the pioneer organisation of homeopathy in the country, the Hahnemann Society, in 1833 as well as the first college of homeopathy in the world, the *Nordamerikanische Akademie der homöopathischen Heilkunst*, founded in Allentown in 1835. As most of its professors were graduates of German universities, instruction was given entirely in the German language.⁵ Hering's address, *A Concise View of the Rise and Progress of Homoeopathic Medicine*, delivered before the Hahnemann Society in Philadelphia in 1833 (the second homeopathic publication printed in the United States) was published first in German.⁶ The teachers and graduates of the Allentown Academy, however, spread the new doctrine throughout the country. While in 1835 there were no practitioners of homeopathy in any of the States except New York and Pennsylvania, by 1840 homeopathy was established in sixteen different States.⁷

Early German Homeopaths in the American West

HOMEOPATHY ARRIVED IN THE AMERICAN WEST almost twenty years after its introduction into the country by Gram and Detwiller. In California it was referred to as a 'Forty-Niner', i.e. it came with the great wave of immigrants and adventurers at the beginning of the Gold Rush in 1849.⁸ Since between 1300 and 1500 doctors moved to California in those early years, physicians soon outnumbered virtually every other profession. The Californian El Dorado probably possessed the highest ratio of physicians to patients in the world. The doctors came from many different schools of

medicine and with different political convictions. Henry Gibbons, in his address as retiring president of the State Medical Society, in 1858 commented: 'No country in the world is supplied with physicians so diverse in character. We have all the peculiarities of all of the schools in the world. The physicians of California know less of each other than the physicians of any other land; and they care less for each other. We live in continual war with each other – internecine war, murderous and suicidal. It is so elsewhere, but more so in California.'⁹

Contrary to the large number of physicians, early Californian exponents of homeopathy were not numerous. Benjamin Ober drifted to the mines in 1849. In 1850 Moritz Richter became San Francisco's first homeopath and by 1853 five others were practising in the city: John N. Eckel, John J. Cushing, Charles G. Bryant, David Springsteed, as well as F. Kafka (1813–1893),¹⁰ a graduate of Vienna and Freiburg who claimed to have been a member of Napoleon's Russian army. In the middle of the nineteenth century, homeopathic references listed a disproportionate number of Germanic practitioners.¹¹ Benjamin Ober (1800–1867)¹² was the State's first homeopathic physician. He crossed the Rocky Mountains, arriving in San Francisco in 1849 having some twenty year's experience as a physician in Maine and Pennsylvania, where he had joined the American Institute of Homeopathy. Since San Francisco was nothing but a large mining town, he established himself in a cabin at a little settlement at the heart of the mother lode among the miners. California's second homeopath was Morgan John Rhees who came at the end of 1849 by the way of Cape Horn. He settled in Stockton where he practised for five years, but in 1855 he returned to his home in New Jersey. He also was a member of the American Institute of Homeopathy and translated numerous German articles into English. The third homeopathic physician to arrive in California was Moritz Richter, who came to San Francisco in 1850. He was born in Saxony and graduated from Heidelberg University. He was imprisoned as a political offender as some of his published articles offended the authorities and on release was deprived of his citizenship. He emigrated to America and studied homeopathy with his German friend C.F. von Hoffendahl in Boston. He then moved to Nantucket, Massachusetts, where his daughter married John N. Eckel – a homeopath – in 1852. In 1849 Richter left his practice with Eckel and established himself in San Francisco. But as his wife did not join him, he returned to Nantucket and finally settled down in Brooklyn, New York, where he remained for the rest of his life.

In 1853 John Nicholas Eckel arrived in California where he became the nester of homeopathy on the West Coast. He was born in Bavaria in

1823, emigrated to Massachusetts in 1840, where he became associated with the early German homeopaths C.F. von Hoffendahl and the elder Wesselhoeft. In 1852 he married Elise, daughter of Moritz Richter in Nantucket, and settled for a short time in Syracuse, New York. He moved to San Francisco in 1853, where he practised homeopathy until his death in 1901. He was one of the chief promoters and founders of the Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco and served on its faculty until he died. He was awarded an honorary degree from the Homeopathic Medical College of Missouri in 1871. Both Richter and Eckel received their early homeopathic training at the office of C.F. von Hoffendahl in Boston, one of the old Philadelphia homeopaths who had previously practised homeopathy in Germany for fifteen years during the time of Hahnemann.¹³ Maximilian J. Werder, a native of Württemberg, came to America in 1854. After having been cured by a homeopath, he studied medicine, graduated from the Homeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1866, and in 1868 left for California in search of a milder climate, making San Francisco his permanent residence. John H. Floto was born and educated in Prussia and came to America in 1830 as a Lutheran minister. He first attended Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, but in 1837 enrolled at the Allentown Academy where he graduated. He was a member of the Philadelphia Prover's Union, organised by Constantin Hering, and in 1843 he became the pioneer homeopath in Salem, Massachusetts. Floto spent the years 1847 to 1849 in Europe, where he met many of the pupils formerly studying under Hahnemann. He travelled to California via New Orleans in 1860, eventually becoming one of the best known physicians in California. He lived to enjoy the distinction of being the oldest homeopathic physician in the world, dying in Oakland in 1904 at the age of ninety-nine years.

After the country's first homeopathic medical college had been established in Philadelphia in 1848, the West was supplied also with American born students graduating from the eastern homeopathic colleges. Some of the first doctors came from England, e.g. Frederick Hiller, one of the pioneers in San Francisco. He had graduated from the Royal Academy of Surgeons in 1840 and practised in Europe until 1848 when he emigrated to America. The following winter he became a homeopath and established the first homeopathic hospital on the Pacific Coast, in Nevada City in 1854. There were fourteen homeopathic physicians in San Francisco in 1870, forty-eight in 1885, eighty-eight in 1890, and ninety in 1904. In addition to the physicians in San Francisco, James Mars Selfridge, a former regular medical graduate of Jefferson, began to practise homeopathy in Alameda County in 1863. He moved to Oakland in 1866 where the pioneer

homeopath was T.C. Coxhead in 1864, as was Charles W. Breyfogle in San Jose in 1872. A.O. Hardenstein introduced homeopathy to Sacramento residents in 1851. The pioneer homeopath in Santa Barbara was Edward T. Balch, and in San Diego George W. Barnes. The latter had graduated from the Western College of Homeopathic Medicine in 1851 and, because of ill health, moved to California in 1869. In Los Angeles, the first name recorded was A.S. Shorb, who opened his office in 1871.¹⁴ The sources do not allow exact determination of these early homeopaths' ancestors but names like Hardenstein, Balch, or Weisecker, however, suggest German origin. A German homeopath of a subsequent generation coming to California was P.G. Denninger who was born in Berlin in 1848. He came to America with his parents who settled in Wisconsin in 1862. He attended the Northwestern University at Watertown, entered the Hahnemann Medical College at Cleveland, Ohio in 1869, and later graduated from the Hahnemann Medical College of Chicago. He practised in Faribault in Minnesota for ten years, where for some time he was the physician to the state institutions for the deaf, dumb and blind. In 1889 he returned to Berlin and pursued his special studies under the guidance of Hirschberg and other eminent specialists. He came to San Jose in 1890 and established a successful practice for diseases of the eye, ear and throat.¹⁵

Common Features of Early Californian German Homeopaths

IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND specific career patterns typical of all early German homeopaths in California. The only common denominator of the Forty-Niners, however, was the Gold Rush. In the early years almost every physician – whether regular or homeopathic – went first to the mines to dig for gold, practising medicine on the side. It is known that some of San Francisco's German doctors, such as the early regular physician von Lehr, left their country for political reasons, especially those involved in the *Burschenschaften* of Jena or Giessen. After 1848, however, emigration to America was often due to the failure of the German revolution, with no prospect of future reforms. Probably, for many Germans their emigration to America meant leaving a certain identity. In contrast to the German-speaking colonies in Pennsylvania only six per cent of San Francisco's doctors were Germans yet in 1853 there were 5,500 German-speaking people in the city.¹⁶

In the east of the country homeopaths established themselves mainly in the affluent areas of urban centres. Most California homeopaths, having returned from the hills of gold to resettle, concentrated in San Francisco and

the surrounding cities. However, in California, its unique history can also explain this fact.¹⁷ After the Spanish and Mexican period (at the beginning of the American period) the Gold Rush created two distinctly different parts of California. On the one hand, a thinly populated cattle frontier, dominated by large ranches, extended south from Monterey to the Mexican border. On the other hand, drowsy adobe pueblo villages north of Monterey were being transformed into sprawling cosmopolitan cities due to the influx of immigration into Northern California. In 1852 the population of the state was estimated to be 260,000, while the total population of the six southern counties was less than 8,000. In the same year San Francisco had nearly 40,000 inhabitants, while Los Angeles, the largest pueblo town in Southern California, had only 1,600.¹⁸

Some early homeopaths came to California because of its mild climate, hoping for an improvement either in their own health or that of a member of their family. California's peculiarities, as distinguished from the eastern states, are the warmer winters, the cooler summers, especially at night, the less frequent (as well as less extreme) temperature changes, the more limited rainfall confined almost entirely to the winter and spring months, the dryer atmosphere, the fewer overcast days, and its less stormy winds.¹⁹

Only a few California-German homeopaths, however, were homeopaths before they left their native country. Most of them came either as students, and graduated from an American homeopathic college on the East Coast, or as regular physicians who, after some years of practice, became attracted to and converted to homeopathy. One common feature for conversion was the experience of a striking individual cure by a homeopath of a relative, a patient, or of the doctor himself. Furthermore, homeopathic treatment led to better results in treating epidemics than the heroic bleedings, purgings and leechings applied by regular physicians. In addition, homeopathy seemed to rest on both sound principles and rational theory. Contrary to the modern use of the term 'scientific', in the middle of the nineteenth century homeopathy claimed to have a scientific basis for therapeutics which regular medicine was supposedly lacking.²⁰ The medical market of America's Jacksonian democracy was much more open than that in Germany. It was much easier to found new medical schools, societies, hospitals, etc. This may have attracted liberal and unconventional Germans and facilitated their becoming a homeopath.

Living Conditions of Early Californian Homeopaths

WHEN BENJAMIN OBER ARRIVED in the State of Gold, there was only limited need for homeopathic treatment. Most of his work consisted of surgery – mining accidents, stabbings, hangings, shooting, etc. The life of a miner was much the same as that of a soldier on active duty: hard work, bad food, high mortality, and little pay. In addition, in the womanless camps, recreation and amusement meant three things: cards, drinking, and quarrelling. Whiskey was always available, although expensive, but food of any nutritional value was difficult to obtain. The diet of miners consisted of beans, flour, molasses, and coffee, often obtained at astronomical prices, as well as of meat from the animals they occasionally hunted. During the summer many people suffered from sunstroke and ‘fever’n ague’, i.e. malaria, which was common throughout central California. Rains flooded the lowlands, bursting the rivers, causing much misery to the men in the camps during the dreadful winters of 1849 and 1850. Nutritional deficiencies led to pneumonia, dysentery, scurvy, consumption, etc., followed by cholera and yellow fever. Ober, however, using his homeopathic remedies and diet lists, was able to help many of his patients.

In the 1850s, gold dust and gold nuggets were the recognised legal tender. When John N. Eckel received a patient in his office to have an abscess opened, to sew a cut, or to probe for a superficial bullet, he charged in 1853 one ounce of gold dust, or \$16. Depending upon the length and complexity of additional advice, he added between \$50 and \$100. For regular visits he received two ounces of gold dust, or \$32 and for any night visit as a consultant \$100. In comparison as an example, eggs were \$18 a dozen and coffee \$40 a pound. The doctor’s expenses were heavy as drugs and instruments in San Francisco were said to be worth their weight in gold as everything came around the Horn or over the Isthmus, and there were many more saleable things than drugs for enterprising firms to transport. The holding of a complete stock of drugs for western pharmacies in the middle of the last century was a major task and, anyway, homeopaths did their own dispensing. The early sixties saw no advances in homeopathy mainly because the Civil War (1861–64) consumed most physical and intellectual attention and doctors went to war and not to California. However, after the Union Pacific Railroad was completed in 1869, homeopathy began to flourish on the West Coast. With the increase of homeopathic physicians, however, troubles began to multiply. Homeopaths began to have serious intra-mural squabbles, a perfect parallel to the difficulties just then agitating the local regular groups (quarrels between Lane, Toland, Cole, and Gibbons, etc.).

The major issue was the homeopaths' fight among themselves over the formation of their state society.²¹

Early Homeopathic Organisations in the American West

THE ORGANISATION OF CALIFORNIA'S REGULAR PHYSICIANS took place two decades prior to that of the homeopaths. Medical leaders of the 1850s, attempting to duplicate in California the professional patterns of the eastern and southern states, succeeded in forming local societies of doctors in five of the pioneer communities. In 1858 California had eight medical societies, local and state-wide. All of these, however, disappeared within a period of twelve erratic years. Writing an editorial in January, 1865 Henry Gibbons complained that there was not a single medical society in California, nor, as far as he knew, in the other two West Coast states, Oregon and Nevada.²² One of the main forces disrupting these early medical groups was the initial admittance of 'quacks', resulting in 'quack hunting' by the society in later years which created animosities and a decline in membership. A second force was the uncertain economic conditions of the country which caused people to migrate in search of work. Furthermore, during this peak of decline, the Civil War was being fought and polemics were playing a distressing role. The new rail connection at the end of the 1860s not only brought increased economic security to the profession but also a sense of physical and mental nearness to the older educational centres. Reorganisation began in 1868 with the creation of the San Francisco County Society whose most important object was – besides the advancement of science and the promotion of the regular profession – the separation of regular from irregular practitioners in accordance with the Code of Ethics adopted by the American Medical Association in 1847.²³

In 1869 the San Francisco Society of German Physicians was formed and became a constituent unit of the State Society in 1870. Its small membership was German, largely German-Jewish, although other nationalities were admitted. This latter feature distinguished it from the German Pathological Society, whose claims for recognition by the State Society were rejected as it admitted no non-Germans. The original desire of this society of German Physicians was to create a group of well educated and honourable graduates who, in the estimation of their German fellow citizens, would rank above the level of German 'quacks'. The society finally succumbed after thirty-seven years of usefulness and good banqueting, as it was unable to overcome the dislocation of its members following the earthquake and fire of 1906 and the inevitable loss of assimilation. Many

new county societies came into existence in the 1870s and the State Society was reorganised that year. However, much impetus was provided by the general growth of the state and by the convening of the American Medical Association at San Francisco in 1871.²⁴

Initially, the homeopaths' communal and social affiliations were fully equal to those of their regular competitors but because of renewed rumours of a medical practice law in the early 1870s it became urgent for them to organise a state society from which a board of examiners could be elected. Hence, in 1871 the California State Medical Society of Homeopathic Practitioners was formed in San Francisco. As with other early California medical organisations it included members who used many different methods in an eclectic way. The society seemed to drift apart in 1874, so a second state organisation, the Pacific Homeopathic Medical Society of the State of California, was formed. Those who had led the first society formed its board with James M. Selfridge as its elected president.²⁵ A third group, the California State Homeopathic Medical Society, was organised in 1877, to reconcile disagreements between the elder eclectic and the younger stricter society. Eventually, the state formally recognised this third organisation within its amended Medical Practice Act of 1878 permitting it to have its own board of examiners. It continued to grow and by 1885 had enrolled fifty-six members from approximately 200 homeopathic practitioners in California.²⁶

In the Mexican Period a medical practice law was promulgated by Governor Micheltorena in 1844, but at that time no one paid much attention to doctors. The first attempt towards state-wide legislation was made during the formative period of the medical societies in 1856 with the introduction of 'An Act to Regulate the Practice of Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery', but it was postponed indefinitely. In 1876 the Medical Practice Act was passed and approved as an anti-quackery measure designed 'to dash the hydra-headed quackery to earth', whilst in 1878 the law was amended to include the newly created Homeopathic Board after the previous squabblings among homeopathic societies.²⁷ Contrary to the State Medical Practice Act of 1876, where 'each state medical society incorporated, and in active existence' was allowed to 'appoint annually a board of examiners', the amendment of 1878 restricted this privilege to three organisations: the Medical Society of the State of California, the Eclectic Medical Society of the State of California, and the California State Homeopathic Medical Society.²⁸

In the late 1880s in San Francisco the proportion of population to each regular practitioner was about 750, to each legal practitioner about 600,

and to each person reported practising about 550.²⁹ San Francisco encompassed a quarter of the state's population and about a third of its registered physicians whilst of the total Californian physicians in 1876 only one-sixteenth were homeopaths and one-twentieth were eclectics.³⁰

Early Homeopathic Hospitals in the American West

THE FIRST PLACES OF REFUGE for the sick from 1849 to 1851 were tent hospitals followed later by the private hospitals at a daily contract rent, the State Marine Hospital, and the hospitals of the French and German benevolent societies. By 1874 there were twenty-four county hospitals. San Francisco, the metropolis of the West Coast, was to experience the most extensive development of permanent hospitals.

The Hospital of the German Benevolent Society was established in 1855. The society resulted from a desire to alleviate the sufferings of the German-speaking people, which numbered 5,500 in 1853, and also to supply certain cultural and nationalistic needs. The society prospered from monthly dues, various donations, entertainment and hospital profits. At first, hospitalisation was arranged in the private establishment of the society's most prominent doctor, Jacob Regensburger. In 1858, the first German hospital opened its doors. Leading non-German physicians were added to the staff during the 1870s and some of the best medical work and best hospital construction in the city had been witnessed at this hospital. Gradually, its original strong German nationalism was lost and at the time of World War I its name changed to the Franklin Hospital.³¹

The first homeopathic hospital in the state was founded in 1854 by Frederick Hiller, and was called the Nevada City Hospital but the building was damaged by fire in 1862 and the hospital was not reopened. The San Francisco Surgical and Gynaecological Institute was then founded and run by the members of the San Francisco County Society of Homeopathic Practitioners, but existed only for a short span of time. The Southern California State Asylum for Insane and Inebriates in Patton near Redlands was opened under homeopathic supervision in 1893. The Fabiola Hospital in Oakland had its origin in the Oakland Homeopathic Hospital and Dispensary Association, founded in 1877 through the philanthropic efforts of Mrs. R.W. Kirkham, who had been frequently mentioned as the 'Fabiola of Oakland'. The hospital and dispensary were maintained at various sites until the erection of a permanent building in 1888, the name having been changed to Fabiola Hospital in 1886.³² The Oakland Homeopathic Hospital and Dispensary was the first hospital – regular or homeopathic – in the East

Bay of San Francisco and was founded by eighteen women. When it became the Fabiola Hospital, the new by-laws stipulated that the management of the hospital must only reside in a woman's hand. The by-laws stated also that there must always be women physicians as staff doctors. This hospital provided free as well as reduced-rate care for fifty-six years but during the Great Depression it was forced to close and the land was sold to Merritt Hospital. On the day the Fabiola Hospital closed, the Oakland Tribune headline eulogised, 'Fabiola Ends Experiment in "Feminism."' ³³ In 1896 James and Florence Ward opened the Homeopathic Sanatorium, where physicians of the homeopathic school were welcome to send patients for personal supervision and treatment. It was equipped with 'the latest surgical apparatus from Europe', and its obstetrical room included 'a Parisian incubator'. ³⁴

Early Homeopathic Journals in the American West

NEWSPAPERS WERE THE SOLE CARRIERS of medical news in the pioneering days. Regular physicians started their journals two decades earlier than the homeopaths. The *San Francisco Medical Journal*, the first in California, appeared in 1856 but ended with the first issue. However, the long line of attacks in local medical periodicals against 'quackery' had its beginnings in this editorial. The *Pacific Medical & Surgical Journal*, first published in 1858, absorbed the *San Francisco Medical Press* in 1865, merged with its rival, the *Western Lancet* in 1884 and continued until 1917. The first issue of the *San Francisco Medical Press* was in 1860 as the official organ of Cooper's new school and was edited from 1862 by Lane. The *Western Lancet* appeared in 1872 and became the outlet for the Toland School. The neutral *California Medical Gazette*, started in 1868, lasted only two years, although it might be considered as the foremost journal of its day. It gave attention to the much-discussed germ theory as well as to Lister's paper on antisepsis. However, it was obviously not the time for medical or political neutrality. The ideas on infection were speculative and inadequate and the essentially medical papers seem very confused though surgery was well covered. An international outlook was attained by reprinting translations, whenever necessary, of the writings of the great teachers. First the English and French influences prevailed, then later the German. Editorials covered medical politics, epidemics, and 'quackery' which had a considerable influence on public opinion and were frequently quoted by the public press. ³⁵

The first periodical issued in California devoted exclusively to homeopathy was the *California Homoeopathic Times*. It was an attempt to

unite the profession, but since it did not gain the needed support, it was discontinued after three issues (1877–78). Nevertheless, it contained interesting accounts of early society meetings and the actions of the pioneers of the period.³⁶ The main homeopathic journal on the West Coast, however, was *The California Homeopath*. It started in 1882 in connection with the founding of the homeopathic college and was edited bi-monthly by William Boericke, who was followed by Willis A. Dewey in 1888 and by C.L. Tisdale in 1891. In 1893 its title was changed to *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy*, under the new editor Hugo R. Arndt who again was succeeded by William Boericke in 1910.³⁷ It was the 'official organ of the state medical societies (homoeopathic) of California, Oregon, Washington, and of the Southern California Homoeopathic Medical Society'. From 1941 to 1973 it was edited by A. Dwight Smith under the name of *The Pacific Coast Homeopathic Bulletin*, and in 1974 it was renamed *Homeotherapy* and edited by Alan Naudé. In 1980 it was taken over by the editor Robert Schore, but ended publication in 1984, after an existence of over a century. Under the editorship of William Boericke this journal always enjoyed good links to German contemporary medicine and homeopathy. This tradition continued until the 1930s when, under the heading 'Abstracts from Current German Literature', German medical books and articles – regular and homeopathic – were reviewed and discussed. In 1940, however, the editor Charles C. Boericke (son of William Boericke) found that readers no longer retained interest in a journal of that size and quality.³⁸

The fact that homeopaths were always limited to their own journals and could hardly ever succeed in publishing articles in the regular medical press, sheds light on their political weakness. Lacking, or avoiding, direct and serious discussion of their therapeutic concepts, the regular physicians held distorted ideas about homeopathy. The reverse reproach obviously seems to be less justified because any licensed homeopath had to be a graduate of a medical school, thus having had to study the same scientific majors as his or her regular colleague.

Jewish Origins of Californian German Homeopaths

NAMES LIKE KAFKA, LILIENTHAL, ETC. suggest that there might have been a considerable number of Jews among the early German homeopaths in California – in particular because Jews are found frequently in social niches. In addition, although Jews never constituted more than eight per cent of San Francisco's population, San Francisco was not only the western Jewish metropolis *par excellence* in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, but

it stood second only – even if a distant second – to New York City in the size of its Jewish population.³⁹ In fact, among the first Jews that came to San Francisco in 1848 with the Gold Rush, there were Germans from Prussia, Hannover, and Bavaria, such as August Helbing from Munich, who, together with thirteen other German Jews, founded the Eureka Benevolent Association in 1850.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, there are no sources demonstrating Jewish descendency of early German homeopaths in the American West⁴¹ – with the exception of the prominent Lilienthal family.

Samuel Lilienthal (1815–1891) and his son James E. Lilienthal (1844–1895) were homeopathic physicians in San Francisco.⁴² When Samuel died, detailed obituaries appeared in more than thirty journals, both in the daily press and in most homeopathic journals, including the German *Allgemeine Homöopathische Zeitung*.⁴³ The genealogy of the family has been traced as far back as 1529 to the court banker (Münzlieferant) Loew Seligmann, who lived in the Schnaittach–Hüttenbach Valley near Nuremberg (Germany). When Jews were permitted to have second names, a descendent of the same name registered his surname as Lilienthal in 1814.⁴⁴ The following year his son, Samuel Lilienthal, was born in Munich. In 1838 Samuel graduated from the University of Munich where he had studied under Döllinger, Ringseis, Breslau, and others, and served a year of internship in the Municipal Hospital of Munich. His father and prospective father-in-law encouraged him to begin the practice of medicine in the new Republic of the United States, where his sound training would be exceptional. After receiving the promise of Caroline Nettle to follow him as soon as he was established, Samuel Lilienthal emigrated to America in 1840. Since he knew no English, he probably entered the country at Philadelphia in a German-speaking community in ‘Pennsylvania Dutch’ territory. Although he had contact with Wesselhoeft and with the new practice of homeopathy, he continued to practise according to the regular school’s doctrines after moving to Lancaster, Pennsylvania.⁴⁵ When ill health forced Lilienthal to move south, he chose Savannah River, another German community in South Carolina, where he married Caroline in 1843 but, because of his wife’s ill health, they settled in Lockport, New York in 1847.

There he became converted to homeopathy when he was impressed by the unexpected success of a homeopathic physician in a desperate case of scarlet fever. In 1850 the family moved to Haverstraw, New York, and in 1857 to New York City. Mainly through the influence of the late Constantin Hering, he became the associate editor of the *North American Journal of Homoeopathy*, becoming sole editor from 1871 until 1885. He was also a contributor to the *Chicago Investigator*, *Detroit Observer* and of almost every

other homeopathic journal in the country. He translated German, French, Spanish, and Italian articles as well as the fifth edition of Hahnemann's *Organon*. A few years after the opening of the New York Homeopathic Medical College, he was appointed to the Chair of Clinical Medicine and Diseases of the Nervous System, which he held until his departure to San Francisco in 1886. He was a visiting physician to Ward's Island Homeopathic Hospital, and Professor of Clinical Medicine in the New York College for Women. Samuel Lilienthal was one of the first to favour the admission of women into medical colleges and into the profession and he considered his work in the women's college as one of the most pleasant duties of his life.⁴⁶ After his arrival in San Francisco Samuel Lilienthal retired from practice but continued his literary work.⁴⁷ In 1888 the University of Munich honoured him by sending him a fifty-year diploma, which is considered to be a great distinction and given only in instances of most honourable practice. From 1887 until 1889 he was 'Professor of Nervous Diseases, and Lecturer upon the *Organon*' at the Hahnemann Medical College. His son, James E. Lilienthal, had a large private practice and was a consulting physician for the San Francisco Nursery for Homeless Children. He had organised also a free dispensary for the poor on Mission Street.⁴⁸ He was Professor of *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics at the Hahnemann Hospital College in 1888 and 1889, and Professor of Paedology from 1894 until 1895 when he died at the age of fifty.⁴⁹

Women Homeopaths in the American West

AMERICAN WOMEN CONSTITUTED approximately two-thirds of Homeopathy's patients and patrons and were among its most active propagators.⁵⁰ During the first years of the Gold Rush, however, it was too early to expect many female doctors. In 1849 Lydia Folger Fowler (1822–1879) and Elizabeth Blackwell (1821–1910) had just graduated as the first women in the country from a medical college at Geneva, New York, and in 1850 the world's first medical school for women was established, the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania.⁵¹ Yet, Western pioneer women exhibited considerable courage and independence.⁵²

In California in the 1850s advertisements by women doctors in the daily press were rarities. Nevertheless, a few, probably non-graduates, could be found in San Francisco and Sacramento. The first woman graduate in medicine came to California in 1857. She was the German-born Elizer Pfeifer Stone (1819–1880), who came from New York to Nevada City moving to San Francisco in 1863 becoming the city's first graduated woman

doctor. Professional prejudice against women in medicine was strong in California and the San Francisco County Society and the two existing colleges denied them admission. After a long struggle this situation ended with the Medical Practice Act of 1876, which contained no female disability clause. In the same year the American Medical Association admitted its first woman delegate, which was five years after the American Institute of Homeopathy had started to admit women (1871).⁵³ The entry of women into local medical colleges followed when the University of California took over Toland School in 1873, and the latter became automatically co-educational. In 1876 Lucy Maria Field Wanzer received her diploma, which made her the first woman graduate of the western medical schools. Local homeopathic schools were always originally co-educational since they were formed at a later period.⁵⁴

The percentage of women in the medical profession has been assessed differently in the literature. According to Mary Roth Walsh the proportion of regular women physicians in the United States rose from 0.4 per cent in 1860 to 5.6 per cent in 1900 (national average), but in San Francisco it rose from 3.4 per cent in 1880 to 14.0 per cent in 1890 and 13.8 per cent in 1900.⁵⁵ Henry Harris found 155 regular women physicians registered in California in 1901, 'representing 4½ percent of that system' and 90 homeopathic women doctors, 'representing 15 per cent of that system'.⁵⁶ Gloria Moldow describes a decline of Washington's female medical school enrolment from a high of 20 per cent of medical school students in the early 1890s to only 3 per cent by 1900.⁵⁷ William Rothstein has estimated that in 1900 women made up 12 per cent of the total number of homeopaths in the United States.⁵⁸

The *City Directories of San Francisco*⁵⁹ and the *Official Register of Physicians and Surgeons*, edited by the Board of Examiners of the Medical Society of the State of California⁶⁰ offer an opportunity to count names and numbers. In the *City Directories* the number of physicians was steadily rising from 392 in 1873 to 689 in 1900. From 1880 female physicians were listed separately, their number stood at first at about forty until 1890, when it started to climb up to 110 in 1900. The number of homeopathic physicians, however, gradually decreased from twenty-six in 1875 to nine in 1900 (with a single peak in 1896). Thus, the percentage of female regular physicians rose from about 7 per cent in the 1880s to about 16 in 1900, while the percentage of homeopathic physicians declined from about 6 per cent in the 1870s and about 4 per cent in the 1880s to 1.3 per cent in 1900 (with a single peak in 1896). The women's proportion of homeopaths fluctuated between approximately 5 and 15 per cent during the whole period. The small

numbers available, as each entry in the directory was the responsibility of the physician concerned and, thus, far from being complete may give a trend but its reliability cannot be guaranteed. In the Board of Examiners' *Catalog of Physicians and Surgeons*, however, all licensed practitioners of California were recorded and from 1880 homeopathic physicians were listed separately. Unfortunately, male and female doctors are listed together and the vast majority of entries use only the initials of the homeopaths' first names. However, if it is assumed that most, though not all, of the women's first names were given, some rough estimates may be made. The total number of homeopaths in California rose steadily from 144 in 1881 to 670 in 1899; the number of female Californian homeopaths from 21 in 1881 to 124 in 1899. The percentage of women per homeopath in California thus remained more or less stable, rising from 15 to 18 per cent. In the city and county of San Francisco, however, the number of homeopaths rose from forty-eight in 1887 to 104 in 1899 and the number of female homeopaths from four in 1887 to twenty-five in 1899. Thus, the proportion of women homeopaths in San Francisco tripled from 8 to 24 percent. It appears, therefore, that women homeopaths were attracted to urban centres more than their male colleagues as suggested by Kristin M. Mitchell that a major part of nineteenth-century women who chose homeopathy were actively involved in social reform, supporting suffrage, temperance, abolition, etc.⁶¹ Certainly, the metropolis of the American West offered more intellectual, political, and cultural opportunities than the ranches of Southern California.

San Francisco's most prominent woman homeopath was Florence Ward. She was born in the city as Florence Nightingale Ferguson in 1860 and in 1882 married 'a shadowy individual with an excellent name, Gurdon Winthrop Saltonstall'.⁶² They moved to Toledo, Ohio, where her first daughter was born in 1883. Dissatisfied with her husband, she returned to San Francisco by 1884 where she matriculated at the newly-opened Hahnemann Medical College. She graduated in 1887, went to the New York Polyclinic for postgraduate work, and acted as Clinical Assistant to Diseases of Women at her *alma mater* in 1889. In 1892 she studied surgery in Germany, Austria and France and in 1893 and 1894 she was Associate Professor of Medical and Surgical Diseases of Women at Hahnemann Medical College where James W. Ward (1861–1939) was Professor in the same subject. They married in 1895, went to Europe for further studies, and returned in 1897 as Professor of Obstetrics and Professor of Medical and Surgical Diseases of Women respectively.⁶³ Both resumed practice, although Florence took time off to have three children. Shortly before the earthquake in 1906 they separated and Florence once again went to Europe. In 1911 she

established and operated her own fifty-bed sanatorium in San Francisco – the Florence Ward Sanatorium – and in 1915 she was the first woman elected to become a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons. She died at the age of fifty-nine in 1919.

Undoubtedly, Florence Ward was an extraordinary woman.⁶⁴ However, there is little, if any, evidence that her medical practice was decidedly homeopathic for most of her publications dealt exclusively with surgical treatment of gynaecological problems. Although the articles appeared in homeopathic journals, they could have originated from any regular physician for no drugs or homeopathic remedies are mentioned, and no favourable support for homeopathy is given.⁶⁵ Possibly, she was interested primarily in a career as a surgeon rather than in becoming an adherent of any specific school. Her human qualities and postgraduate training with German and other European specialists probably were objectively convincing. Thus, in 1906 the homeopaths might even have been proud to make her Vice-President of the State Homeopathic Medical Society and of the American Institute of Homeopathy – although no woman had yet been elevated to the presidency of the state societies.

German Homeopaths and the Pharmaceutical Industry

THE EMERGENCE OF AN ECONOMICALLY and politically powerful drug industry during the nineteenth century played a crucial role in the spread of regular medicine.⁶⁶ In homeopathy this factor might have been somewhat less important, since the amount of medicines needed by a ‘true follower of Hahnemann’ is relatively small. Once a Hahnemannian practitioner has bought a set of some hundred remedies, in the form of vials filled with tiny pellets of high potencies, and administers just one pellet at a time to a patient, the major part of this original set may suffice for the doctor’s entire life. For low-potency prescribers and for laymen, however, a ready availability of specific preparations of medicines was a basic requirement for an increase of homeopathy’s acceptance by doctors as well as by the public.

It was San Francisco’s most famous German homeopath who had the closest links to the most important homeopathic pharmaceutical company in the country. William Boericke (1849–1929) was born in Bohemia and was the nephew of Franz Edmund Boericke (1826–1901), a native of Saxony who emigrated to Philadelphia after the German revolution of 1848. In co-operation with Rudolph L. and Adolph J. Tafel he founded the pharmaceutical company Boericke & Tafel in 1853 and 1869 respectively.

William Boericke came to America shortly after his birth, about the same time as his uncles Franz Edmund and Anton as well as his father Franz Oskar Boericke. In 1870 he went to San Francisco to manage the western branch of Boericke & Tafel.⁶⁷ Later he returned to Philadelphia to study medicine at Hahnemann Medical College and graduated in 1880.⁶⁸ Then he moved to San Francisco, where he practised homeopathy for almost fifty years. He was the founder and director of various homeopathic organisations and societies and the founder and editor of *The California Homoeopath* (1882–1892) and the *Pacific Coast Homoeopathic Journal* (1893–1940). He also was one of the founders of the Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco and served as Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics and ‘Professor of Institutes of Homoeopathy and the Organon’.⁶⁹ When Hahnemann Medical College merged with the University of California, Medical School in 1916, he was appointed Professor of Materia Medica.⁷⁰ In addition, he was a prolific author of books and articles on homeopathy, always keeping himself informed about developments in Europe because of good relations with German homeopaths.⁷¹ His major work is the *Pocket Manual of Homoeopathic Materia Medica*, first published in 1901, which remains a standard text book in homeopathy.⁷²

German Homeopaths and the Swedenborgian Church

THE FACT THAT WILLIAM BOERICKE had named one of his sons after Garth Wilkinson sheds light on another issue in the history of homeopathy. Garth Wilkinson (1812–1899), an English physician, had translated spiritual scientific works of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) in the 1840s before he became a homeopath. His translations were distributed with the help of Henry James, Sr. to the homeopathic and Swedenborgian community of the United States. Thus, a considerable number of American homeopaths – such as Hans Gram, William Wesselhoeft, Constantin Hering, Charles Hempel, Henry Holcombe, Ernst Albert Farrington, and James Tyler Kent – became Swedenborgians. Conversion happened in both directions: some first adopted Swedenborgianism and then embraced homeopathy, some had already been homeopaths when they became Swedenborgians. There is a striking parallelism between the writings of Swedenborg, a unique combination of an eighteenth-century mystic and scientist, and the opinions of Hahnemann at an advanced age. Principles of universal correspondence, potentiation, vitalism, spiritualism, the theory of chronic diseases, the divine inspiration of the homeopathic law, etc. had a similar counterpart in the respective doctrines. Especially Kent (1849–1916) had combined both

systems and thereby created a distinct school of American homeopathy.⁷³

The major book-seller of Swedenborgian literature in the United States, however, was also Boericke & Tafel. The history of the company began with a small business in Philadelphia that specialised in the sale of literature of the Church of the New Jerusalem in 1853 and it was only on the suggestion of Constantin Hering that it began to manufacture and to sell homeopathic remedies.⁷⁴ Ultimately, the company became also America's most important publisher of homeopathic books. When the Swedenborgian Convention took up the publication and sale of English New Church works, Boericke gave up his New Church bookstore, but still maintained the importation of German New Church books.⁷⁵ As suggested by the names of Swedenborgian homeopaths, most of them were probably of German origin. Presumably, a notorious German inclination to metaphysics may have played a role. Furthermore, the entire Boericke family were proponents of the doctrines of Swedenborg.⁷⁶ Both homeopathy and Swedenborgianism began losing influence in the early-twentieth century, a trend that has continued until just recently when the interest in both fields has simultaneously reawakened all over the country.⁷⁷

San Francisco's Homeopaths and Public Health

CALIFORNIA HOMEOPATHS and public health institutions were at times in conflict with each other, while at other times they co-operated. Early health measures were considered in San Francisco in 1849, when a 'legislative assembly' was selected and the first health officials elected. From 1850 to 1855 the city ran the State Marine Hospital, the first of California's authorised and funded public buildings. Of greatest importance was the creation of the State Board of Health in 1870. During the early years physicians appointed by the Governor were all regular medical doctors. However, in 1880, the appointment of a homeopath, Charles W. Breyfogle, caused friction. The feeling prevailed that there were too many Democrats on the Board and that although Breyfogle was a Republican doctor two Republican state senators had opposed his admission but had been outvoted. Their argument was that homeopaths were always squabbling among themselves and that they did nothing for public health.⁷⁸

In 1888, when the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco moved its first small hospital to Page Street, antagonism arose in the vicinity and the hospital was declared to be a nuisance. This led to the arrest and imprisonment of its superintendent, James W. Ward. The arrest was based on an ordinance, which the supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco

had enacted to prohibit the establishment or maintenance of hospitals within a certain distance of the City Hall. Insisting upon *habeas corpus* proceedings, Ward took the suit to the Supreme Court. Through the counsel of a prominent attorney the ordinance was found invalid and the proceedings were dismissed.⁷⁹ The hospital, however, was closed. In 1892 the Hahnemann Hospital College presented a petition to the Board of Health for a ward in the City and County Hospital, but to no avail. In 1895 a new Governor showed leanings toward homeopathy and he was asked to nominate a homeopathic representative of the Board of Health, but it was declined out of fear of 'disagreements in the board'. A new charter for the city of San Francisco was being drawn up for the forthcoming election. Among the freeholders elected to create the charter were three outspoken friends of homeopathy – all patients of James W. Ward, who determined that changes in the charter should not depart from the principles of 'liberal' medicine. This laid the foundation for the subsequent prosperity of homeopathy in municipal recognition. The elected mayor of San Francisco, a friend of homeopathy, appointed James W. Ward as a health commissioner in 1901 to represent the homeopathic school for a term of four (or six) years.⁸⁰

In 1903, through absolute control of the Department of Health of the City and County of San Francisco and by the election of Ward, president of the commission, the homeopaths succeeded in assigning just representation of their school in the various departments. Accordingly, in 1904 the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific was assigned two wards in the City and County Hospital. This included various branches of public service under the control of the Board of Health, including the emergency service, the alms house, and care of the public schools. Ward acted with merit during the plague epidemics in the city.⁸¹ San Francisco had experienced two plague epidemics, 1900–1904 and 1907–1908.⁸² As president of the Board of Health, in 1904 Ward dealt with the cleaning up of Chinatown by means of using a portable steriliser and compelling property owners to make their basements and cellars rat-proof. He had equipped also the homeopathic ward of the City and County Hospital with bacteriological instruments, thus showing his acceptance of bacteriology.⁸³

According to the annual *Municipal Reports* the number of San Francisco's hospitalised patients rose from 861 in 1860 to 3918 in 1875 and then remained between 3000 and 3500 until the end of the century. Moderate peaks in the 1870s and 1890s may be consistent with epidemics of cholera, typhoid, malaria, etc. The increase in the early 1870s may correspond to increases of both the population and the availability of

hospitals. The statistics for foreign patients show that the percentage slightly decreased from 68 per cent in 1860 to 61 per cent in 1897. The percentage of German patients, however, was around 6 per cent in the 1860s, rose to 10 per cent in 1870, and then only gradually declined to 9 per cent by the end of the century.⁸⁴ Possibly, the unification of the German Empire in 1870 affected the statistics.

The Homeopathic College of San Francisco

MORE THAN TWO DECADES BEFORE Californian homeopaths considered founding a medical college, regular professional leaders had begun to establish their schools on the West Coast, on the pattern of their homeland institutions. In 1858 Elias Samuel Cooper organised the first medical school in San Francisco, the Medical Department of the University of the Pacific. After his death in 1862 its faculty 'suspended' its function and became associated with Hubert H. Toland, who established the private Toland Medical College in 1864. In 1873, it affiliated with the university to become the Medical Department of the University of California. In 1870 Levi Cooper Lane opened a competing school, the Medical Department of the University (City) College. Since Lane was inclined to German thoroughness and research, especially after his second trip to Berlin in 1875, his faculty consisted of more German-trained teachers than that of the University of California.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, the profession at large was facing a steady increase of medical schools in the country, combined with a decrease in quality. In 1870 the American Medical Association appointed a committee for medical education and in 1871, at the San Francisco meeting, decided and agreed upon a four-year course and presented a model curriculum. Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania had led the way, but the West did not lag behind. Towards the end of the 1870s, the Toland school and the reorganised school of the Pacific both followed the proposals of the AMA. A four-year course at the University of California began with matriculation in 1894.

In 1881 San Francisco's homeopaths decided to establish a college of their own. Considering the mounting costs of medical education and the small number of anticipated students, it was rather a bold, brave enterprise.⁸⁶ In 1883 John N. Eckel and William Boericke were elected to the board of directors, who then appointed a committee to appeal to every homeopathic physician on the coast, and also to enlist the support of influential laymen.⁸⁷ In the same year it was decided to have a faculty consisting of professors of anatomy, chemistry, theory and practice, clinical

medicine, materia medica, gynaecology, obstetrics, children's diseases, ophthalmology, and otology but still no chair of pathology. Later physiology, anatomy and histology of the eye and ear, and venereal and skin diseases were included. The faculty was to serve without remuneration. In 1884 the first course of lectures was held at the Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco from June to October. In October the first students, who had previously studied at other colleges, graduated. The Pacific Homeopathic Dispensary became affiliated with the college to provide clinical opportunities to the students. The number of enrolled students varied between ten and twenty-five with a mean of eighteen students per year. Approximately seven to eight graduated every year and by 1902 the number of alumni had reached 150.⁸⁸

When, in 1894, the American Institute of Homeopathy decided to recommend a four year programme for all homeopathic colleges, the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco (the name was changed in 1887) at once inaugurated such a programme to be conducted for seven months each year. This placed them far ahead of most eastern colleges as it was the first college west of Chicago to fall into line although it had more serious consequences than for colleges in the East. The school had enjoyed always a reputation of respectability, and was aided financially by friends. However, medical education grew more costly and when the financing of the school became troublesome, the trustees were considering its closure in 1896. In the next year a petition was presented to the regents of the University of California to merge the Hahnemann College with their medical department. The regular physicians, through their county societies, individual members, resolutions, influence and other means, worked to defeat the proposition. Although the petition was considered for some months by the regents, of whom several together with the Governor were favourable toward homeopathy the proposition was defeated 'for economic reasons'.⁸⁹ Such defeat, however, stimulated rather than discouraged the homeopaths' efforts towards a home of their own. In 1898 a considerable amount of money was collected, in 1899 the cornerstone of the college building was laid and in 1902 a new corporation was formed as the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific.

Meanwhile, the nation-wide movement for reform of medical education was at its height. Johns Hopkins University Medical School was established in 1893 and endowed with a full-time teaching staff and laboratory facilities, and therefore, became the outstanding model for American medical education in competition with the Germans in their pioneer research work. Indeed, one of the requirements for admission was

a knowledge of German. The joint efforts of the AMA Council on Medical Education, founded in 1905, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, founded in 1906, towards the assessment of all medical colleges in the country on the basis of the new standards were finally published in a report by Abraham Flexner in 1910.⁹⁰ In that report, which had a detrimental impact especially on small medical colleges as well as those which catered to minorities, Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific achieved a fairly satisfactory rating.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the college merged with the University of California Medical School in 1916 and the property of the college was transferred to the university which in return established two professorships of homeopathy.⁹² William Boericke was appointed as the first homeopath to lecture at the University of California.⁹³

The need to merge with the university, however, was a sign of decline. Previously, the college had a teaching staff of some thirty instructors, half of them being professors. Most of the latter had either German ancestors or close relations to Germany. John N. Eckel, Samuel Lilienthal, James E. Lilienthal, William Boericke, and Hugo Emil Rudolph Arndt were German. Willis Alonzo Dewey, James W. Ward, and Florence Ward had undertaken postgraduate medical training in Germany. John N. Eckel (1823–1901), the nestor of homeopathy on the West Coast, was on the teaching staff of Hahnemann Medical College as Professor of Paedology since its beginning. Thus, in 1884 he had established the first Chair of Pediatrics – whether in a regular or a homeopathic school – in the American West.⁹⁴ Hugo Emil Rudolph Arndt (1849–1913), one of the leaders of homeopathy in California, was a graduate of the University of Berlin and of the Cleveland Homeopathic School in 1869. He was president of the regional Southern California State Society from 1890 to 1893. At first he practised in Ann Arbor, then he moved to San Diego, later to San Francisco, where he joined the college's teaching staff in 1895. He gained fame as the author of the three-volume *A System of Medicine based upon the Law of Homoeopathy* (1885–1886) and *A Practice of Medicine* (1899) and he edited the *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy*. He left California in 1910 to become the field secretary of the American Institute of Homeopathy but died three years later in Cleveland.⁹⁵ Willis Alonzo Dewey (1858–1938) graduated from the New York Homeopathic Medical College in 1880, then went to Berlin, Leipzig, and Paris for postgraduate medical education. He was Professor of Anatomy and Materia Medica at the Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco from 1884 to 1894, Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in New York (1893–1896), and on the homeopathic faculty of the University of

Michigan (1896–1920).⁹⁶ His major works were *Essentials of Homoeopathic Materia Medica* (1894) and *Essentials of Homoeopathic Therapeutics* (1895). James W. Ward (1861–1939) had graduated from the New York Homeopathic Medical College and Flower Hospital in 1883. He was on the faculty of Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco, as Professor of Physiology from 1885 and later as Professor of Gynecology and Obstetrics. Together with his wife Florence Ward he went to Europe for postgraduate training in 1896. From 1899 to 1916 he was the dean of the college, and it was through his efforts that the union with the university was consummated. In 1900 he was elected president of the California State Homeopathic Medical Society and in 1910 president of the American Institute of Homeopathy.⁹⁷

Even in the twentieth century homeopathic instruction at the University of California Medical School remained dominated by Germans. Otto E. Guttentag, a German Jewish physician, was appointed Assistant in 1936 and Associate Professor and Chair of Homeopathy in 1940, becoming full professor in 1962 when the title was changed to the 'Samuel Hahnemann Professor of Medical Philosophy'. He retired in 1967 but remained affiliated to his department, keeping his salary and office at UCSF until 1990, two years before he died at the age of ninety-two. The last German physician to teach homeopathy at UCSF was Frederic W. Schmid who, having acquired presidency of the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific in 1982, was allowed to lecture at the university in 1983 and in 1984 when he died unexpectedly.⁹⁸

Conclusion

THE MAIN EMPHASIS OF THIS PAPER was placed on the history of homeopathy in the metropolis of the American West – though German connections may be found also in other counties of California and other Western states. Focusing on San Francisco during the second half of the nineteenth century, a comprehensive account of the situation in which homeopaths of those days found themselves was given. The involvement of German doctors in California's history of homeopathy was considered through social, professional, educational, institutional, economic, and other perspectives as well as through critical issues, such as gender, religion, and politics. As a result, during this whole period Germans appeared to be highly influential, whether in establishing societies, colleges, companies, hospitals, etc. or in propagating their conviction through teaching, writing, and practising. However, German influence was not limited to homeopathy as

the American regular school of medicine had begun to adopt much of the model of German science and institutions which was evolving by the turn of the century.

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Notes

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- 2 On the genesis and fundamentals of the homeopathic doctrine see Josef M. Schmidt, *Die philosophischen Vorstellungen Samuel Hahnemanns bei der Begründung der Homöopathie: bis zum Organon der rationellen Heilkunde, 1810* (Munich, 1990). See also Josef M. Schmidt, 'Hahnemann's Concept of Rational Therapeutics: Principles and Problems', *Journal of the American Institute of Homeopathy* 85 (1992), 81–7.
- 3 Francesco Cordasco, *Homoeopathy in the United States: A Bibliography of Homoeopathic Medical Imprints, 1825–1925* (Fairview, N.J., 1991), p. 11.
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- 5 Ned D. Heindel & Natalie I. Foster, 'The Allentown Academy: America's First German Medical School', *Pennsylvania Folklife* 30 (Autumn, 1980), 2–8.
- 6 'Kurze Uebersicht der homöopathischen Heilkunst, ihrer allmählichen Entstehung und jezigen Ausbildung, von Dr. Constantin Hering, praktischen Arzte in Philadelphia. Vorgetragen in der Hahnemannischen Gesellschaft zu Philadelphia den 18. April, 1833. Philadelphia 1833'. See Cordasco, *Bibliography*, pp. 14–5.
- 7 Thomas Lindsley Bradford, 'Homoeopathy in Pennsylvania' in King, *History of Homoeopathy*, vol. 1, pp. 128–44.
- 8 Three years before, San Francisco had a population of 459 and only three real doctors, namely, Jones Townsend, Victor J. Fourgeaud, and Elbert P. Jones. John W. Shuman, *Southern California Medicine (A Review)* (Elliott, 1930), pp. 57–8.
- 9 James Hazelwood, 'Early M.D.s Served Their Patients Well', *Oakland Tribune*, June 16, 1974, 4. Henry Harris, *California's Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932), p. 74.
- 10 See *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Homoeopathic Physicians and Surgeons* (Chicago, 1893), p. 171.
- 11 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 197–9. James M. Selfridge, 'An Epitome of the Early History of Homoeopathy in California', *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 9 (1901), 181–95, reprinted in 46 (1935), 295–302.
- 12 See *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Homoeopathic Physicians*, p. 152 and *Transactions of the Fourth Quinquennial Session of the International Homoeopathic Congress and of the Forty-fourth Session of the American Institute of Homoeopathy, Held at Atlantic City, N.J., June 16 to 22, 1891* (Philadelphia, 1891), 125.

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- 15 *Santa Clara County and its Resources: A Souvenir of the San Jose 'Mercury'* (San Jose, 1895), p. 306.
- 16 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, p. 92 & 115.
- 17 For the history of California see Doyce B. Nunis and Gloria Ricci Lothrop (eds.), *A Guide to the History of California* (New York, 1989); Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York, 1973); Henry K. Norton, *The Story of California: From the Earliest Days to the Present* (Chicago, 1913); Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1922); Robert Glass Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire: A History of California, 1542–1900* (New York, 1944); Frank Soule, John H. Gihon & James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (Palo Alto, 1966); and Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *The Beginning of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1912).
- 18 Cleland, *From Wilderness to Empire*, pp. 255–6.
- 19 F.C.S. Sanders, *California as a Health Resort* (San Francisco, 1916).
- 20 On the changes of therapeutics and of the physicians' constitution of scientific medicine see John Harley Warner, *The Therapeutic Perspective: Medical Practice, Knowledge, and Identity in America, 1820–1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). See also Naomi Rogers, 'The Proper Place of Homeopathy: Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital in an Age of Scientific Medicine', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 58 (1984), 179–201.
- 21 Gardner, 'Flashes of Homoeopathy in Early California', 87–95. See also George W. Groh, *Gold Fever: Being a True Account, Both Horrifying and Hilarious, of the Art of Healing (so-called) During the California Gold Rush* (New York, 1966); and Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco: from the Expedition of Anza, 1774, to the City Charter of April 15, 1850* (San Francisco, 1912).
- 22 *San Francisco Medical Press* (1865), 188.
- 23 For the Code of Ethics see Lester S. King (ed.), *American Medicine Comes of Age, 1840–1920* (AMA, 1984), pp. 9–21; Stanley Joel Reiser, Arthur J. Dyck & William J. Curran (eds.), *Ethics in Medicine: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Concerns* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 26–34.
- 24 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 120–30.
- 25 *Transactions of the Pacific Homoeopathic Medical Society of the State of California from 1874 to 1876: With Constitution and By-Laws* (San Francisco, 1876).

- 26 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 197–9. See also James W. Ward, *Fifty Years of the State Society: Address, Delivered at the Semi-Centennial Gathering of the California State Homoeopathic Medical Society, Held at Long Beach, May 12, 13, and 14, 1926* (San Francisco, 1926), 3–36. Dewey, 'History of Homoeopathy in California', 222 & 231–5. The California State Homeopathic Society is still in existence today.
- 27 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 181–4.
- 28 *An Act Supplemental to, and Amendatory of, an Act Entitled 'An Act to Regulate the Practice of Medicine in the State of California.'* Approved April 3, 1876; Amended April 1, 1878. UCSF, Special Collections. In 1901 a Board of Osteopathic Examiners was added, and in 1907 all boards were combined with representation on said board in the proportion of five regulars, two homeopaths, one eclectic and two osteopaths. Charles B. Pinkham, 'Our Medical Practice Act', *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 48 (1937), 155–62.
- 29 *Official Register of Physicians and Surgeons in the State of California, who Hold Certificates from the Board of Examiners of the Medical Society of the State of California*, Jan. 31, 1887, and March 31, 1889. Revised and Published by the Board (San Francisco, 1887, 1889), pp. 14 & 7. UCSF, Special Collections.
- 30 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, p. 193 & 204.
- 31 *Ibid.*, pp. 108–15.
- 32 Bradford, 'Homoeopathy in California', p. 380.
- 33 *Oakland Tribune*, Oct. 16, 1932.
- 34 *Fifteenth Annual Announcement of the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco, Session 1897–8* (San Francisco, 1897), p. 27.
- 35 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 144–52.
- 36 Dewey, 'History of Homoeopathy in California', 235–7.
- 37 Other editors were in 1915–17 and in 1922 Edgar H. Howell, in 1918–22 again William Boericke, in 1923–24 Guy E. Manning, in 1925–26 LeRoy H. Bailey, in 1927–29 Samuel H. Pettler, and in 1930–40 Charles C. Boericke.
- 38 *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy* 51 (1940), 319 & 415.
- 39 Ruth Kelson Rafael, *Western Jewish History Center: Guide to Archival and Oral History Collections* (Berkeley, 1987), p. iii.
- 40 Jacob Voorsanger, 'A Few Chapters from the History of the Jews on the Pacific Coast', *The Pacific Jewish Annual* 1 (1897), 7–37.
- 41 Even in the archives of the Western Jewish History Center of the Judah L. Magnes Museum in Berkeley no sources were found.
- 42 E. Cleave, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Homoeopathic Physicians and Surgeons* (Philadelphia, 1873), p. 256.
- 43 Obituaries of Samuel Lilienthal (1815–91) can be found in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Daily Evening Bulletin*, *The Evening Post*, *The Daily Report*, *The Examiner*, *New York Herald*, *Jewish Times Observer*, *The Hebrew*, *The Chironian*, *The Medical*

- Argus*, *The Homoeopathic Physician*, *The California Homoeopath*, *The Northwest Journal of Homeopathy*, *The Homoeopathic Recorder*, *North American Journal of Homeopathy*, *The Hahnemannian Monthly*, *The Medical Current*, *The Homeopathic World*, *Monthly Homoeopathic Review*, *The Medical Advance*, *Southern Journal of Homeopathy*, *The Homeopathic Journal of Obstetrics, Gynecology and Pedology*, *The Medical Era*, *The Argus*, and *Allgemeine Homöopathische Zeitung*. The home of his grandson Samuel and his wife Alice Haas became a museum and a historical landmark in 1974, known as the Haas-Lilienthal House of San Francisco. Visitors today can still view a large portrait of the homeopath Samuel Lilienthal in the front hallway. Samuel's brother, Max Lilienthal (1814–82), was a famous American rabbi.
- 44 Irena Narell, *Our City: The Jews of San Francisco* (San Diego, 1981), pp. 128–30 & 137–8.
 - 45 F. Gordon O'Neill, *Ernest Reuben Lilienthal and his Family: Prepared from Family histories, Documents, and Interviews* (Palo Alto, 1949), pp. 13–18.
 - 46 Georg H. Martin, 'Remarks upon the Death of Doctor Samuel Lilienthal', *The California Homoeopath* 9 (1891), 321–5. Martin Deschere, 'In Memoriam: Prof. Samuel Lilienthal', *The Hahnemannian Monthly* 26 (1891), 51–3.
 - 47 His major literary work is *Homoeopathic Therapeutics*, published 1878, which generated many editions and is now being translated into German and edited in five volumes. Samuel Lilienthal, *Handbuch der klinischen Indikationen*, 5 vols (Ruppichterth, 1993–).
 - 48 Narell, *Our City*, p. 187.
 - 49 *Annual Announcements of the Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco, 1887–1903*. UCB, Bankroft Library.
 - 50 Guenter B. Risse, Ronald L. Numbers, & Judith Walzer Leavitt (eds.), *Medicine Without Doctors: Home Health Care in American History* (New York, 1877), p. 58. Ronald L. Numbers, 'Do-It Yourself: The Sectarian Way' in *ibid.* and in Ruth J. Abram (ed.), '*Send Us a Lady Physician*': *Women Doctors in America, 1835–1920* (New York, 1985), p. 46. Harris L. Coulter, *Divided Legacy*, p. 114.
 - 51 Geoffrey Marks & William K. Beatty, *Women in White* (New York, 1972), pp. 79–94. Esther Pohl Lovejoy, *Women Doctors of the World* (New York, 1957), pp. 8–21. Regina Morantz-Sanchez, 'The Female Student Has Arrived: The Rise of the Women's Medical Movement', in Abram (ed.), *Send Us a Lady Physician*, pp. 59–69. Ruth J. Abram, 'Will There Be a Monument? Six Pioneer Women Doctors Tell Their Own Stories', in Abram (ed.), *Send Us a Lady Physician*, pp. 71–106.
 - 52 The first generation of California's women was forced to be strong, most of them had endured an exhausting overland trail and some had worked alongside their men in the mines, dressed in work pants and flannel shirts. The scarcity of females tended to equalise the role of the sexes for in a society where, even as late as the 1870s, only one out of two men could hope to marry, women had more of a choice of partners than otherwise would have been possible. In 1860 San Francisco had

- eighty-five divorce suits, over sixty of them initiated by women. Narell, *Our City*, p. 124.
- 53 Martin Kaufman, 'The Admission of Women to Nineteenth-Century American Medical Societies', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 50 (1976), 251-60.
 - 54 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 207-16.
 - 55 Mary Roth Walsh, 'Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply': *Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975* (New Haven, 1977), pp. 185-6. In comparison, in Boston the proportion was 18.2 per cent.
 - 56 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, p. 212.
 - 57 Gloria Moldow, *Women Doctors in Gilded-Age Washington: Race, Gender, and Professionalization* (Urbana, 1987), p. 3 & 12.
 - 58 Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century*. William G. Rothstein, *American Medical Schools and the Practice of Medicine: A History* (New York, 1987).
 - 59 *The San Francisco Directory: General Directory of Residents and a Business Directory*, 78 vols., 1873-1964. Public Library of San Francisco.
 - 60 *Catalogue of Physicians and Surgeons who Have Presented their Diplomas and other Credentials to the Board of Examiners of the Medical Society of the State of California*, 3 vols. (San Francisco, 1877-1881). *Official Register of Physicians and Surgeons in the State of California*, 11 vols. (San Francisco, 1885-1899).
 - 61 Kristin M. Mitchell, 'Her Preference was to Heal': *Women's Choice of Homeopathic Medicine in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Ph.D. dissertation., Yale University, 1989), p. 18, 25, & 53-5.
 - 62 This account is based on a conversation with Florence Eykstine-Senton (b. 1918), the granddaughter of Florence Ward, on April 20, 1994, in San Francisco, and on manuscripts, in the possession of the family. See also Franklin H. Cookinham, 'In Memoriam', and Sarah Hatton McAulay, 'Dr. Florence N. Ward', *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 31 (1920), 39-41.
 - 63 *Annual Announcements of the Hahnemann Medical College*, UCB, Bancroft Library.
 - 64 As I learned from her granddaughter, she was adored and worshipped by her family. Unfortunately, one of Florence's daughters burned all her letters, but she wrote and edited a striking poetic pamphlet that gives a vivid impression of her mother's personality: her tremendous will, her sympathy, her charm, faith, dignity, as well as her greatness of soul. Although, according to the eulogy, her sister had run the household and looked after the children, Florence knew more about her children's minds than many a woman who devotes herself to her family. *For The Children: That They May Have Knowledge of Their Grandmother Florence Nightingale Ward*, M.D. (San Francisco, 1926).
 - 65 Florence N. Ward, 'Personal Experience in the Treatment of Uterine Fibroids', repr. from *The Journal of Surgery, Gynecology, and Obstetrics*; 'Plastic Surgery of the Pelvis', repr. from the *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy*, Sept., 1897; 'Observations on the Year's Work in Pelvic Surgery', repr. from the *Pacific Coast*

- Journal of Homoeopathy*, June, 1903; 'A Report of Pelvic and Abdominal Surgery for 1904', repr. from the *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy*, Nov., 1905; etc.
- 66 See Coulter, *Divided Legacy*, pp. 402–19.
- 67 The pharmaceutical company of Philadelphia, Boericke & Tafel, had branch offices in many cities including San Francisco. The latter was opened in Sutter Street in 1870 and was sold to William Boericke and E.A. Schreck in 1882. After Schreck died in 1886, a one-half interest in the business was bought by E.W. Runyon in 1890, and the pharmacy did business as Boericke & Runyon into the 1950s (Julian Winston, *A Brief History of Boericke and Tafel* [manuscript], p. 4). Finally, Arthur T. Boericke (d. 1972), William Boericke's youngest son, ran a homeopathic pharmacy at Folsom Street. Another son of William Boericke, Charles C. Boericke (d. 1965), was a homeopathic practitioner at Berkeley (conversation with Jean Barnard [b. 1919], the granddaughter of William Boericke, i.e. Arthur Boericke's niece, in Mill Valley on Febr. 23, 1992). Still another son, Garth Wilkinson Boericke, was the last teacher of homeopathy at Hahnemann Medical College in Philadelphia (Winston, *Brief History of B&T*, p. 4).
- 68 Thomas Lindsley Bradford, *Biographical Index of the Graduates of the Homoeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania and the Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1918), p. 398. The archives of Hahnemann University in Philadelphia keep William Boericke's handwritten inaugural dissertation on 'The Development of Homoeopathy' (Jan. 20, 1880), which was published later in the first issues of the *California Homoeopath* 1 (1882), 1–2 and 1 (1883), 19–21.
- 69 *Annual Announcements of the Hahnemann Medical College*, UCB, Bancroft Library.
- 70 William Boericke, 'Inaugural Lecture, Department of Homeopathy, University of California Medical School', *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 27 (1916), 172–85.
- 71 See Josef M. Schmidt, 'Drei Briefe von Richard Haehl an William Boericke aus der Zeit der frühen Weimarer Republik', *Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte* 11 (1994), 203–18.
- 72 Three German translations are being offered by different publishers. *Homöopathische Mittel und ihre Wirkungen*, übersetzt von Margarethe Harms (Leer, 1992); *Homöopathisches Taschenbuch*, übersetzt von Michael Barthel (Berg, 1991); *Handbuch der homöopathischen Materia medica*, übersetzt von Karl-Friedrich Scheible, Daniel Johannes Beha und Reinhard Hickmann (Heidelberg, 1992).
- 73 Francis Trueherz, 'The Origins of Kent's Homoeopathy', *Journal of the American Institute of Homeopathy* 77 (1984), 130–49. Anthony Campbell, *The Two Faces of Homoeopathy* (London, 1984), pp. 90–104.
- 74 Winston, *Brief History of B&T*, p. 2.
- 75 'Obituary. Francis E. Boericke', *New Church Messenger* 82 (1902), 70.
- 76 William Boericke, San Francisco, and Felix A. Boericke, Philadelphia, are recorded on the list of members of the Swedenborg Scientific Association in *The New Philosophy* 3 (1901), 149 and 9 (1906), 82. Francis E. Boericke is listed in *The New*

- Church Messenger* 82 (1902), 70. The archives of the San Francisco Swedenborgian Church hold the old register of the San Francisco Society of the New Jerusalem (incorporated in 1863). It shows the signatures of William Boericke (July 7, 1872) and his wife Kate Fay Boericke (April 7, 1914) among other Californian homeopaths, such as Florence Ward (Oct. 1, 1876). *The Constitution and Register of the San Francisco Society of the New Jerusalem*, 13, 23, notes that on Dec. 2, 1933, there was a resurrection service for Mrs William Fay Boericke, indicating that in those years the family was still adherent to that church. The first church of the New Jerusalem in San Francisco had been erected in 1865, while the actual building was designed in 1895 under the supervision of Arthur Page Brown, one of San Francisco's most prominent architects. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York, 1985), pp. 187–8; 'Consider it Poetry or Architecture', *San Francisco Examiner*, July 25, 1981, A8; Millie Robbins, 'Saga of the Swedenborgian', *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 10, 1972, 28.
- 77 Elinore Peebles, 'Homeopathy and the New Church' in Robin Larsen (ed.), *Emanuel Swedenborg: A Continuing Vision* (New York, 1988), pp. 468–72.
- 78 *Pacific Medical and Surgical Journal* (1880), 414. Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 101–7 & 164–5. In 1886, Breyfogle became mayor of San Jose. In 1893, he went to Washington, D.C., as the physician to Senator Stanford. *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 1 (1893), 84.
- 79 Ward, 'Hahnemann Medical College', p. 221.
- 80 *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 48 (1937), 270.
- 81 Langley Porter, dean of the University of California Medical School in 1927–37 and 1939–40, cooperated with James Ward during that period. In 1960 he gave an interview recalling Ward's merit during the plague epidemic in which Ward had assigned him 'Communicable Diseases'! *Langley Porter Oral History* (1960), pp. 36–9, 47, & 50, UCSF Library, Special Collections. W.E. Carter, 'Langley Porter', *The Journal of Pediatrics* 37 (1950), 437–47.
- 82 Guenter B. Risse, 'Politics, Commerce, and Public Health: The Plague Outbreak in San Francisco, 1900', in *The History of Public Health and Prevention*, (proceedings of a conference held at Stockholm, 6–8 September 1991). Guenter B. Risse, "A Long Pull, a Strong Pull, and all Together": San Francisco and Bubonic Plague, 1907–1908', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 66 (1992), 260–86.
- 83 James W. Ward, 'Report of the President Department of Public Health for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1904', in *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1903–1904, Ending June 30, 1904* (San Francisco, 1905), 311–16. See also his report in *Municipal Report, 1904–1905* (1907), 323–8. In 1902, he was still listed as a member of the Board of Health. *Municipal Report, 1901–1902* (1903), 958.
- 84 *San Francisco Municipal Reports*, 56 vols., 1860–1917, Public Library of San Francisco.
- 85 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 131–41. Albert G. Pickereil & May Dormin, *The University of California: A Pictorial History* (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 99–101.

- William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California* (San Francisco, 1895), pp. 251–60. Verne A. Stadtman (ed.), *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley, 1968).
- 86 For the following account see James William Ward, 'Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific' in King, *History of Homoeopathy*, vol. 3, pp. 214–39, reprinted in *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 26 (1915), 305–11, 390–400, & 455–60. Ward's article is based on Guy E. Manning, 'A History of the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco', *Pacific Coast Journal of Homeopathy* 7 (1899), 341–70. See also Harris, *California's Medical Story*, pp. 243–6.
- 87 This appeal was published in *California Homoeopath* 1 (1883), 39.
- 88 *Annual Announcements of the Hahnemann Medical College*, UCB, Bancroft Library.
- 89 See also Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California: 1868–1968*, A Centennial Publication of the University of California (New York, 1970), p. 140.
- 90 See Josef M. Schmidt, 'Die Entwicklung der Homöopathie in den Vereinigten Staaten', *Gesnerus* 51 (1994), 84–100.
- 91 Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada: a Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*. Carnegie Foundation Bulletin No. 4 (New York, 1910), pp. 194–5.
- 92 *H. College of the Pacific, H. Hospital* [manuscript], pp. 1–2. UCSF, Spec. Coll. *Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors of Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific*, Sept. 28, 1916, pp. 52–4. UCSF, Special Collections.
- 93 *Letter* by Herbert C. Moffit [1913–19 Dean, Univ. of Calif., Medical School] to Benjamin Ide Wheeler [1899–1919 President, Univ. of Calif.], Sept. 6, 1915. UCB, Archives, President's Files.
- 94 Gardner, 'Flashes of Homoeopathy in Early California', 95.
- 95 Harris, *California's Medical Story*, p. 200.
- 96 Fritz Donner, 'Homoeopathica Americana, II. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bewertung der Homöopathischen Medizinschulen in Amerika', *Allgemeine homöopathische Zeitung* 176 (1928), 35–6.
- 97 Charles C. Boericke, 'Born to the Purple' *The Laboratory of the Homoeopathic Foundation of California* 3 (1936), 3, 7–8.
- 98 Schmidt, 'Die Entwicklung der Homöopathie in den Vereinigten Staaten', 94–5.