SIR PATRICK DUN, M.D.

AN ADDRESS

delivered in the Chapel of Trinity College on Trinity Monday, 1945

T. PERCY C. KIRKPATRICK, M.D., LITT.D.

Fellow and Registrar of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland



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SIR PATRICK DUN

WE meet to-day in accordance with the behest of the son of Sirach "to praise famous men and our fathers that begat us." It has been the tradition of the College, on this her festal day, to choose for special honour some one of her sons from amongst the many who have shed lustre on her, either as "leaders of the people by their counsels," in the world at large, or as having stamped their individuality on her domestic life. In the first group there have been many, such men as Ussher, Berkeley, Burke and Swift; in the latter there are also many, although perhaps not so widely known, men who were "furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations" in their College; men like Stearne, like Baldwin, and like Barret, whose works still bear fruit. One such man I desire to bring before you to-day who, although not bred in this house, was adopted by the University, and who by his wise foresight still influences our daily work, more than two centuries after his death.

Patrick Dun, a Scotsman, born in Aberdeen in January, 1642, and there bred at the Grammar School and the Marischal College, came to Dublin as a physician about the year 1677. His family had a long and notable connexion with Aberdeen. His great-grand mother, Christen Mitchell, relict of Charles Dun, litser of Aberdeen, had, on March 9, 1597, been condemned to be burnt as a witch, on the charge of causing the death by witchcraft of her son Andrew Dun and her daughter-in-law Mary Johnston. Further, she was charged with having danced with the witches "on Allhalloweven last past," and of having received on the back of her hand

the mark of the devil, as proof that she was of his service. These charges the unfortunate Christen acknowledged to be true. The epidemic of witch hunting was at its peak in Aberdeen during that year, and it is interesting to find it recorded that one William Dun, Dean of Gild. was allowed £47 3s. 4d. as a recompense for his extraordinary pains in burning a great number of witches, and hanging four pirates this year. Dun's grand-uncle, Patrick Dun, M.D., was Principal of the Marischal College from 1621 to 1648; he was a munificent benefactor both of the College and of the Grammar School in Aberdeen, where his portrait still hangs. His uncle, Robert Dun, M.D., on December 2, 1657, bequeathed his library of 258 books to the College. Patrick's father, Charles Dun, a litser, or dyer, was a burgess of Aberdeen. On December 30, 1638. Charles Dun had married Catherine Burnet, and they had seven children, three sons—Andrew, Patrick and Hugh, and four daughters-Kathrine, Jane, Bessie and Rachel. The second son, Patrick, was baptised on January 13, 1642, one of his god-fathers being his grand-uncle, Patrick Dun, the Principal.

There can be little doubt that Patrick Dun had his schooling in the Aberdeen Grammar School, and that from there he entered the College, having been admitted to the first class in 1658, but the date of his degrees. either in Arts or in Medicine, has not been recorded. It is almost certain also that he studied medicine in the Marischal College, but of this we have not got direct evidence. We are told that his father, Charles Dun, died in 1667, and it may be that shortly after that Patrick went abroad either for further study or to earn his livelihood in some service. We lose sight of him altogether for some eighteen years, till, in a letter from Sir John Hill, addressed to John Forbes of Culloden, dated from Dublin Castle, February 14, 1676, we are told "here is one Dr Dun, an Aberdeensman, who is physician to the state, and to my Lord Lieutenant, desires to have his services remembered to your son, Duncan, with whom

he had acquaintance in Paris." The Lord Lieutenant referred to was James Butler, first Duke of Ormond. How Dun came to have a place in Ormond's household we do not know, but evidently it was a secure place, for the Duke, who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, wrote from Dublin Castle, on January 7, 1677/8, to John Nicholas, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, asking "on behalf of Dr Dun, who has very good testimonials from the Universities of Aberdeen in Scotland, Valentia in Dauphiny and Trinity College, Dublin, also the degree of Doctor of Physick, grace to admit him to the same degree in the University of Oxford, and to signify so much under your public seal." Dun was incorporated M.D. at Oxford on February 16, 1677/8, the degree being conferred in absentia, as he was then physician in ordinary to the Duke of Ormond. The date of his M.D. in Dublin is not recorded, but probably it was about the year 1677, for at that time, again the exact date is not certain, he was admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians, his admission fee of £10 having been paid sometime between the Feast of St. Luke, 1677, and that of St. Michael, 1678. From the time of his admission as a Fellow Dun took a prominent part in the affairs of the College; and on June 24, 1681, he was elected President of the College, to which high office he was afterwards elected many times. He was one of the original members of the Dublin Philosophical Society, founded in 1683, where he was associated with such men as Sir William Petty, William and Thomas Molyneux, St. George Ash, Narcissus Marsh and Dr. Charles Willoughby. To that Society he read a paper on the Analysis of Mineral Waters. That paper has not been printed.

For some years Dun lived in Skinner Row, now Christ Church Place; later he moved to the Inns Quay, near the building which afterwards housed the Charitable Infirmary, now Jervis Street Hospital. In Skinner Row he had many distinguished neighbours, and he enjoyed a fashionable practice. On June 2, 1683, the Earl of Arran

wrote to the Duke of Ormond to tell him that Dun was attending Lord Lanesborough, who was seriously ill: his Lordship died before the end of the year. In March, 1685, there was an interesting letter from Dun to Lady Michaelmie, wife of the Earl of Arran, in which he thanked her Ladyship for the present of a "fine beaver hat," evidently the gift of a grateful patient.

We have not found any record of when Dun retired from the service of the Duke of Ormond. He does not seem to have gone with him when he left Dublin in April, 1682, nor to have been with him during his serious illness in the following February. The Duchess died on July 21, 1684, and after that the Duke returned to Ireland; but he was recalled to London shortly after the accession of James II in February, 1685. He was then relieved of his office of Lord Lieutenant, and retired to Dorsetshire. Richard, Earl of Arran, died in London in 1686, and the Duke died on July 21, 1688. Dun does not appear to have been then in attendance on any of the family.

In Dun's time the practice of medicine had not made much progress. Disease was still looked upon as an entity which the physicians attacked with the grossest polypharmacy. One celebrated preparation, the theriaca of Andromachus, included in its composition over sixty ingredients, including the flesh of vipers. Till well on in the eighteenth century the London Pharmacopæa continued to be disfigured by the inclusion of the most unsavoury preparations. Physicians at the time relied largely on bleeding, purging, sweating, blistering and salivating their patients; and they did not spare them. Dun seems to have favoured a more rational practice, and he was fond of recommending the Spa treatment and the use of the natural mineral waters. In a letter dated June 2, 1683, to the Rev. William King, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, who was then at Tunbridge Wells, he advised the use of the waters there and of those at Bath, and he supported his recommendations by the authority of Sir Thomas Millington, F.R.S. Later, when

King was at Wexford in 1686, drinking the waters there, Dun wrote to tell him to take half an ounce of the syrup of buckthorn in the first glass, if his waters did not pass, and he begs him to write regularly and to report progress. "If," he says, "your stingle scant waters cannot inspire you in a morning, I hope after dinner, when you have drunk a glass or two of good claret (if the town can afford it), you may find some matter to write." The prescription which he sent to George Clarke, who was Secretary for War from 1690 to 1694, is pleasingly described in the following letter dated July 18, 1691:—

"Sir, On Monday last I sent from Dublin a box containing two dozen of bottles of the best claret, and two dozen bottles of Chester ale. This box hath a lock and key, and is corded. I have sent the key enclosed to Dr Cummyng in a letter to Athlone, at the same time I sent a lesser box in which there is a dozen and a half potted chickens, in an earthen pot, and in another pot four green geese. This is the physic I advise you to take. I hope it will not be nauseous or disagreeable to your stomach, a little of it upon a march." The boxes were delivered at Athlone, and Dun adds, "I hope they are there before this time." It is no wonder that such treatment gained for Dun the good will of his patients.

Dun remained attached to the Vice-Regal Household till the Duke of Ormond vacated that office in 1685; but, as we have said, he did not follow his patron to England. In 1683 he wrote to Ormond to ask for the post of Physician to the new Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. The Duke was sympathetic, but he thought that the duties at the Hospital could be efficiently discharged, and at less cost, by the Surgeon General, and although Dun acted as Physician there during the war, he was not officially appointed till 1705.

A long and interesting letter from Dun to the Rev. William King has been preserved, in which he describes the serious fire that occurred in Dublin Castle in April, 1684. A large part of the residential quarters of the

Castle was destroyed, and at one time there was great danger of the fire spreading to the magazine, the explosion of which would have caused much destruction in the city. Fortunately, the fire was got under control in time to save the magazine, but the Earl of Arran lost most of his clothing.

In 1689 Dun was in England; and on August 20 of that year he wrote a letter from Chester to James Hamilton of Bangor, who was then in London, in which he described the landing in Ireland of the Duke of Schomberg with thirteen regiments of foot. Dun had seen these troops set out from Chester, and he heard of their landing when the ships returned to take over the cavalry and artillery. In the war which followed Dun served as Physician to the Army in Ireland; but we do not know whether he was present at the Battle of the Boyne. Indeed, there is some evidence that he was not; for in George Story's list of general officers present with King William's army in that battle Dr. Lawrence is named as Physician General, and Charles Thompson as Chirurgeon General. Story does not mention Dun in connexion with the battle. Subsequent to his letter from Chester we lose sight of him for a year, till August 26, 1690. On that day he wrote to William King from the camp at Carrick-on-Suir when he was with the army on his way to the south. On September 20, 1690, he wrote from Limerick, and he gave a long account of the failure of the assault on the city during the first siege. This failure was attended with the loss of many lives; and. Dun says, the proportion of officers killed and wounded is more than "the soldiers." He gave the names of some of those who were killed and wounded, as well as of some friends who have come through safely. The weather, he said, was very bad, and for a day the water in the trenches was knee deep. There were, he said, plenty of guns, in spite of Sarsfield's brilliant action at Ballyneety. When the army went into winter quarters Dun returned to Dublin, where he was in medical charge of the sick and wounded in the hospitals.

While in charge of the sick and wounded in Dublin in 1690 and 1691 Dun had a strenuous time. The provision made for the care of the men was very insufficient. In August, 1691, Dun tells us that "the hospital was so full of sick and wounded that we could not get beds for them, all the rooms, the great hall, most of the garrets and second gallery were full, the men grumbled mightily for want of beds." Dun was accused of starving the soldiers, but he had at his command little credit and less money with which to pay for bread. Some of the less seriously wounded men were quartered in the town, but they had to find surety that they would return to duty when they were well. "The Purveyor was ordered to pay them a groate per diem for their subsistence," but Dun adds, "Mr Goodwyn, the Purveyor, hath no money." At the time, he said, that although "we have at present in the Hospital 858 sick and wounded, most wounded. we have not a Master Chirurgeon with us." He was told also that in addition 200 or 300 sick and wounded were to be sent from Athlone. By frequent letters and by many piteous appeals to the Lords Justice and War Secretary Dun was just able to carry on; but neither he nor his colleagues succeeded in getting their own salaries, and the arrears of pay due to him for war services were still unpaid at the time of his death. Colonel Venner, Commandant at the Hospital, appears to have been particularly unsympathetic, and he obstructed Dun in many ways.

When the country settled down after the war Dun returned to the practice of his profession in Dublin, yet, although that practice was a large one, it by no means occupied all his time. He changed his address from Skinner Row to a house on the Inns Quay, where he lived for the rest of his life. In 1705 he was officially confirmed by Queen Ann as Physician to the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, and to the Army in Ireland, with the pay for the latter post of ten shillings a day. In 1692 he was returned as member of Parliament for two consti-

tuencies, Killileagh, Co. Down, and Mullingar; he elected to sit for the former. In 1695 and again in 1704 he was elected member for Mullingar, but he is not recorded as having taken any very prominent part in the proceedings of the House of Commons. It is interesting that he is recorded as present in the House on June 1, 1709, when the Commons recommended that a grant of £5000 should be made towards the building of the College Library—the first of several such generous grants.

On December 11, 1694, he married Mary, daughter of Colonel John Jephson: their only child, a son, Boyle, was baptised on November 24, 1697, and buried in St. Michan's Church on October 7, 1700. By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1697 (9 Wm. III, c. 16), for the division of the Parish of St. Michan's into three distinct parishes, St. Michan's, St. Mary's and St. Paul's, Dun was nominated as Churchwarden for St. Michan's Church; he held office for several years. As we have said, Dun, and the other medical officers who served during the war, in spite of many petitions, could not get payment for their services. Dun was not altogether forgotten; for on January 26, 1696, he was dubbed a knight bachelor by the Lords Justice-an empty honour, with which Governments at times have tried to discharge their more inconvenient obligations.

In 1692 Dun accomplished a most important thing when he secured from the King and Queen a new Charter for the College of Physicians. In order to appreciate the significance of this, both for the Physicians and for Trinity College, it will be necessary to review shortly the development of medical teaching in the University.

Although in its original Charter the University of Dublin had been given power to grant the degrees of bachelor, master and doctor in all faculties, yet the study of medicine in Trinity College was of late growth, and after more than a quarter of a century of College life the Provost was able to describe it as "one poor College of divines." By the end of the seventeenth century the

names of not more than twenty-eight medical graduates are recorded on the rolls of the University. In 1654 John Stearne, one of the first recorded Medical graduates. and a Fellow of Trinity College, founded the Fraternity of Physicians, which was housed in Trinity Hall. a building then belonging to Trinity College. This Fraternity later became the College of Physicians, and in 1667 was incorporated by Royal Charter. In Trinity Hall, John Stearne, the President of the College, lived, and there some medicine was taught and anatomy was practised. An account for a dissection held there in 1676 is preserved in the College of Physicians, in which it is stated that "ye whole sum spent on ye same bodie £2. 4s. 10d." Although occasional lectures were delivered, and public dissections were held, there is no evidence of any systematic teaching, and before 1700 the great majority of those who were Fellows of the College of Physicians had studied medicine abroad, and had been incorporated in Dublin on degrees obtained elsewhere. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that, after the death of Stearne in 1669, the close connexion which at first existed between the two Colleges gradually loosened, and in 1681 Trinity Hall was given up by the Physicians, the Colleges separated, but Trinity reserved the right of veto on the selection by the Physicians of their President, if that person were not "a protestant of the Church of Ireland." In 1687, and again in 1688, the Physicians nominated as their President one of their Fellows, John Crosbie, but the Board would not accept the nomination, as Crosbie was not a Protestant of the Church of Ireland. Neither body would give way, and it seemed that the work started by Stearne would come to an untimely end. The occupation of Dublin by the troops of King James put an end to the dispute, and during the war Crosbie either died or left the country, for his name does not occur again in connexion with either College.

On St. Luke's Day, 1690, Dun was elected President of the College of Physicians. It had become obvious that the Charter granted to Stearne in 1667 had proved to be unsatisfactory, and Dun set himself the task of getting a new Charter with more ample powers. In 1692 he succeeded, and by that new Charter there was incorporated the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland, a body entirely separate from Trinity College. Although in their government the Colleges were to be entirely separate, yet Dun so planned that in their work they should be, if possible, in closer union than before. A cordial agreement between them to all intents and purposes made the College of Physicians the Medical Faculty of Trinity College. The President and Fellows agreed to recognise without further examination the medical graduates of the University, and the Board handed over to the Physicians the conduct of the examinations, which were to precede the grant of a grace for those degrees. In all the negotiations and plans which led to this agreement Dun was the moving spirit.

That Dun's interest in medical education was of early growth is shown by the deed which he drew up and signed on June 8, 1704. In that deed he expressed the desire that, after the death or remarriage of Lady Dun, the bulk of his fortune should be used "to make provisions for one or two professors of Physick to read public lectures on the several parts of the human body or the body's of other animals." In his will, which he signed on November 11, 1711, he confirmed this desire, and he appointed the College of Physicians as trustees to carry it out. To the College of Physicians also he bequeathed his splendid medical library. At the time that Dun was maturing his plans for medical teaching the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College determined to build a house in the College grounds, which should be used as a medical school. This building, which was opened on August 16, 1711, was situated at the southeast corner of the Library and the north-east corner of the Botany Garden. The staff of the school consisted of Thomas Molyneux, Regius Professor of Physic; Richard

Hoyle, Lecturer in Anatomy and Chirurgery; Robert Griffith, Lecturer in Chemistry; Henry Nicholson, Lecturer in Botany; and Richard Helsham, Lecturer in Natural Philosophy, all of whom were Fellows of the College of Physicians except Nicholson, who, although a candidate, was never admitted a Fellow.

Although at that time Dun was in regular attendance at the meetings of the College of Physicians, and was actively interested in the teaching and examination of candidates for medical degrees in the University, we have not found any mention of his name in the records of either College in connexion with the foundation of the Medical School. The deed which set out his wishes with regard to the endowment of medical teaching was executed in 1704, and his will, which endorsed the wishes expressed in that deed, was signed in November, 1711, yet in neither deed nor will does he mention the new school. The chair which he proposed to found was to be for "a Professor of Physic established in the College of Physicians in Dublin," and those who were to select the candidate for that chair were "to be the Provost and Professor of Physic in Trinity College together with the President and two eldest Censors of the College of Physicians." It seems that by his endowment of the Professor in the College of Physicians, who was to lecture in Trinity College, he hoped to give permanence to the connexion which he had so actively fostered between the two Colleges. If that were his desire he succeeded amply; as, although for a time, like stars, the Colleges dwelt apart, the connexion between them for over half a century remained intimate, and has never been broken. The Physicians, with the help of the Provost, still appoint some of the Professors of the School of Physic, and the President of the Physicians assists Trinity College in the appointment of others. In the 232 years which have passed since Dun's death the connexion has, no doubt, become somewhat formal, but the formality is strictly observed. As a symbol of that close connexion the arms

of the two Colleges were carved together over the entrance to the latest building added to the Medical School—the Dixon Hall.

In the later years of his life Dun seems to have had a good deal of ill-health. In December, 1705, Lady Dun wrote to Archbishop King, "my spouse has been this five days very ill, I believe by a great cold, though he has had an apprehension of the small pox, which is much in town and which he has had many to visit in, but he seeming better to-day and no spots appearing. I hope it will go over." A month later she wrote, "he is now pritty well again." During the year 1712 he was regular in his attendance at the College meetings, and he missed two meetings only, out of nine which were held. He was present at the meeting on January 19, 1713, when he paid his fine for absence at the previous meeting, and he was present again at the next meeting on April 20, 1713, the last which he attended. On May 23, 1713, John Stearne, Bishop of Clogher, wrote to Archbishop King, who was then in Bath, to tell him of Dun's illness. He said Sir Patrick is "much disordered; he fell into a fever on Tuesday last, and I think him in a very dangerous condition. They were clapping on blisters when I was with him this evening; his friends apprehend the worst . . . We have an ugly fever in the town, which takes off a great many, and I am heartily glad your Grace is out of it." Dun died on the following day, and on May 27, 1713, he was buried in St. Michan's Church. On June 6, Lady Dun wrote to the Archbishop; she said: "I have parted with ye best of husbands and one of ye most sincerely just men yt ever breathed." King wrote back a few days later: "I little thought when I parted with the dearest and oldest friend I had in the world that I should never see him more . . . if I were to buy any annuity during life I shou'd value the purchase much less on the loss of such a friend, in whose hands I trusted it many years with success. Tis impossible I shou'd meet with any in whom I can have the same confidence." Later on he added: "Our dear friend was one of the honestest men I ever had the happiness to know." A high tribute to Dun's character as a physician, as a man and as a friend, and to it we need not add anything.

Dun was dead, but his work lived after him. That work has formed a dominant theme throughout the whole subsequent history of the Medical School. The King's Professors on the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun have included some of the greatest teachers in that school. Whitley Stokes, John Thomas Banks, Robert James Graves, John Malet Purser, Aquilla and Walter George Smith, William Fetherston-Haugh Montgomery and Arthur Vernon Macan are names which any school of medicine might rejoice to have on its roll. The great Hospital which bears his name, and which has been so intimately associated with the College, was opened in 1808 and built by his money. Surely Sir Patrick Dun has won his place with those great benefactors of our city and our College-John Stearne, Richard Steevens and Bartholomew Mosse. Like them, he is "A workman that needeth not to be ashamed."

