

**Correspondence**  
**Henry E. Sigerist – Alan Gregg**  
**1933–1955**

Edited and annotated by

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Alan Gregg (1890-1957)

Alan Gregg was born in 1890 in Colorado Springs, CO, where he spent his youth. He earned a B.S. in Chemistry at Harvard College, an M.D. at Harvard Medical School in 1916, and then served and practised medicine for three war years with the Harvard Medical Unit in the British Army. In 1919 he began his life-long career with the Rockefeller Foundation, first for another three years as a public health officer in Brazil. In 1922 he became Associate Director of the Foundation's Division of Medical Education, heading the R. F. Paris office from 1924 to 1930. Back in New York, Gregg acted as Director of the Division of Medical Sciences for 20 years and then until his retirement in 1956 as Vice President of the Foundation. With his wife, Eleanor Barrows, he had four children. He retired to Big Sur, CA, where he died in 1957.

In his early career in New York Gregg was reviewing grant applications. In France he examined and reported on the state of medical education in European countries and suggested areas where R. F. funding programs could bring about improvements. As Division Director Gregg successfully argued in favor of projects that elsewhere were regarded as too controversial to be funded. He oversaw the expenditure of millions of dollars to physicians, scientists, universities, and departments. In his final years he spent much time consulting, lecturing, and writing on medical education and research, on public health issues, and the theory of philanthropy, writing many papers, including poetry, and four books. He traveled the world seeking opportunities to use the Foundation's financial resources for research in fields like psychiatry, public health, history and theory of medicine, voluntary prepaid insurance plans, and group practice. Gregg also served as an advisor and consultant to national organizations.

While in France, Gregg met Sigerist at his Institute in Leipzig in 1929. In the same year the Johns Hopkins University created its Institute for the History of Medicine with a Rockefeller endowment fund. When Sigerist in 1932 succeeded Welch as Director of this Institute, Gregg developed a genuine interest in Sigerist's using the history of medicine as an instrument to further systems for delivering medical care in an economical way. Thus, Sigerist in 1935 was given a 3-year R.F. grant, and in 1938 a ten-year grant of \$ 15,000 per year, an invaluable help for the Institute's functioning. Gregg even supported Sigerist when writing his *History of Medicine* during his final years in Pura, Switzerland.

For literature on Gregg's biography and publications see (Fee/Brown 1997), (National Library of Medicine catalog), (Penfield 1967).

## 1.2. The Correspondence

There is a total of about 55 letters each of Gregg to Sigerist and of Sigerist to Gregg, including some letters of their secretaries which fill gaps in the correspondents' exchange. A considerable number of letters are missing, among them longhand letters of Sigerist of which he did not make carbon copies, but apparently also letters of Gregg; presumably also missing are business letters dealing with Sigerist's grants.

Practically all letters are dated, and the majority of the letters are typed. Some of Gregg's letters are in longhand. Sigerist liked to write in long-hand, yet he used typing in order to have his own carbon-copies made. Spelling errors were transcribed as such but are followed by the sign [sic], whereas the frequent errors in punctuation were left unchanged and unmarked as long as they did not distort the sense of a sentence. Literary works are given as, e.g., (Gregg 1948) and listed in chapter 3.

The annotations are given in small print following each transcribed letter. They are meant to help understanding the contents of the letters rather than to interpret them and are therefore kept at a minimum. They also serve as links to former letters and annotations so that persons or things can be explained once only. Persons sufficiently characterized and explained in the letter may not appear in the annotations. The term "medical historian" for the characterization of persons is used in a wide sense as, e.g., members of the American Association of the History of Medicine. A few persons, most of them mentioned only once, could not be identified and are marked as such in the annotation. However, all persons mentioned in the letters are listed in the name index (chapter 4). A bibliography of all literature mentioned in the letters and annotations is given in chapter 3.

The correspondence begins in 1933 and lasts all the way to 1955, two years before Sigerist's death. In 1933 Sigerist is professor of the history of medicine in Baltimore, 42 years old, and Gregg, one year his senior, is Director of the Division of Medical Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York. From 1932 to 1947 Sigerist is head of the Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine. During this whole period there is a regular exchange of letters between Baltimore and New York, in addition to many personal encounters. The number of exchanged letters increases to a maximum in 1938 and 1940.

The letters show the mutual interest of the two colleagues, the exchange of reprints and books, Sigerist's information for grant applications, exchange of information on the correspondents' trips to Russia and elsewhere. From 1941 on the correspondence shows a more personal touch, Gregg turning from Sigerist's philanthropist and interesting personality to friend. We learn about war time in Baltimore, social medicine, or the problem of research and administration, which eventually leads to Sigerist's wish to leave the University in order to write a monumental history and sociology of medicine. Gregg becomes instrumental in providing the material basis for this plan too.

From 1947 on the correspondence continues between New York and the Swiss village of Pura, if at a lower frequency than before. Sigerist tells about his situation in Pura and his satisfaction to see Shryock as his successor in Baltimore. He reports on the initial progress of his work and later gives explanations for its slow progress. Gregg in these years writes few, but long letters, rich in original thoughts. The two friends discuss books, politics, or travels in a personal way. A total of about 30 books and papers are discussed and almost 100 persons are mentioned (see chapters 3. and 4.). The correspondence is a document reflecting the personalities of the correspondents as well as many cultural aspects of America and Europe in the first half of the 20th century including the first decade after WWII.

## 2. The Letters

*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 2 February 1933*

Dear Professor Sigerist:

I should be glad to see you on the 6th and have marked 10:30 tentatively, but could see you in the afternoon if this were more convenient.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

The letter-head reads: The Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York, (The Medical Sciences, Alan Gregg, M.D., Director).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 4 November 1933*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Dr. Lewis H. Weed thought you might be interested in seeing the Bulletin which our Institute is publishing. It gives me great pleasure to send you a copy of the numbers that we have issued so far, and I would like to call your attention to No. 6, which contains the catalogue of an exhibit on the history of anatomy, which was prepared entirely by a first-year student class.

At the same time I am sending you under separate cover my last book on American medicine. I wrote it in German, as it was principally intended for European readers, but an English edition is being prepared.

With kind regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

Lewis H. Weed (1886-1952) anatomist at Johns Hopkins University, dean of the School of Medicine. "Bulletin" of the (Institute of the) History of Medicine. *American Medicine* and English edition (Sigerist 1933).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 27 November 1933*

Dear Dr. Sigerist:

I am delighted to have the copies of the bulletin which you are publishing and I have read them with a great deal of interest. I also am so glad to have the volume on American Medicine in which I shall get further practice with German and renew the pleasure which I always have in seeing something I am familiar with through the eyes of another man.

I had the satisfaction of seeing Dr. Kast the other day and warmly seconding the proposal which he apparently has in mind of aiding your undertakings.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

“bulletin“ see S. to G. of 4 November 1933. *American Medicine* (Sigerist 1933). Dr. Ludwig Kast, philanthropist.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 21 November 1934*

Dear Doctor Gregg:

It was a great pleasure to have you here the other day, and to have had a chance to tell you what we are doing at the present time, and what we intend to do in the future.

Your interest in our work was extremely encouraging. I am enclosing for you all the figures, and the budgets of the last few years.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

S. and G. talked about the possibility of a \$ 15,000 grant for S.'s Institute by the Rockefeller Foundation's Division of Medical Sciences, headed by G.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 27 November 1934*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

This will acknowledge receipt of the material you sent on the 21st with my thanks, and will serve I hope also to convey my best thanks for your hospitality and friendly help. This is a somewhat crowded time of the year: I should have replied to you sooner.

Did you know that Stephen d'Irsay is very ill with nephritis at the American Hospital in Paris ? The poor fellow had aged perceptibly when I saw him last June, seemed rather embittered, and was hoping to get an opportunity to give some lectures on the history of universities if he could get an invitation to come over to this country for the purpose. I was rather guarded and I am afraid now that he has an illness which will be fatal and would even at the best not permit any heavy work this winter.

I have no idea what relation he had with you and your colleagues, but I thought you might in any event want to know of his illness.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Stephen d'Irsay (1894-1934) physiologist and medical historian of Hungarian origin, S.'s former coworker in Leipzig (Sigerist 1935).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 30 November 1934*

Dear Doctor Gregg:

I just had word from Paris telling me that Dr. d'Irsay has died. I am extremely sorry about it. I knew him very intimately. He spent two years with me in Leipzig, and after that I met him very often. The last time I saw him was in June, shortly after you had seen him; I had very much the same impression as you had. A few weeks ago, he sent me a paper to be printed in our Bulletin, and wrote me that he felt very badly, having a blood-pressure of two hundred and twenty and terrible headaches.

He was a queer man, extremely talented with a very broad knowledge but perfectly undisciplined and unbalanced, so that he could not adapt himself to any environment. I thought that living in Paris as a free-lance in that very nice apartment at the Palais Royal was about the best that he could expect. Dr. Welch gave him a splendid start here and backed him wherever he could, but he did not leave many friends in Baltimore. I will write an obituary for our Bulletin.

It was a great pleasure having you here the other day, and I hope that you will come some time again.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

D'Irsay see G. to S. of 27 November 1934. Bulletin see S. to G. of 4 November 1933. "paper for the Bulletin" (D'Irsay 1935). William H. Welch (1850-1934) pathologist, hygienist, medical historian; first director of the Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine, i.e., S.'s predecessor. Obituary (Sigerist 1935).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 19 March 1935*

Dear Doctor Gregg:

It was such a pleasure seeing you the other day but I feel rather guilty that I took so much of your time.

I am sending you enclosed a copy of the memorandum which I wrote for that ill fated Keystone Fund. You may find some arguments in it which will [?] help you in presenting our case.

I also join a reprint which may amuse you as you know all the places mentioned in this paper.

Very sincerely yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

A grant from the Keystone Fund for S.'s study tours in the Soviet Union had been withdrawn in February 1935. The reprint is likely to be (Sigerist 1934).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 20 November 1935*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Thanks ever so much for your very charming letter and invitation. It will give me great pleasure to address your club. Such discussions are always very stimulating. As far as dates are concerned it is very difficult for me to leave Baltimore on Tuesdays and Thursdays as I have classes which I do not like to call off. I have to talk at the University of Pennsylvania on December 21st; and if December 20th would be convenient to you, I could easily go to New York and from there to Philadelphia. In January I have to lecture in Boston on the 20th and in all probability I will be in New York on January 17th and 18th. Let me know if any of these dates suits you, otherwise I could arrange to come over on a Wednesday or any other date that is more convenient to you.

I had a most interesting summer, and it was a great pleasure to meet O'Brian twice in Paris.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

G.'s letter is missing. "most interesting summer" on his first study tour in Soviet Russia. Daniel P. O'Brian, of the Paris office of Rockefeller Foundation, G.'s friend.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 22 November 1935a*

Dear Professor Sigerist:

I am not quite clear in my mind whether Wednesday evening the 18th of December would be inconvenient for you. If it is not convenient, might I ask whether Wednesday the 22nd of January would be more so in connection with our dinner. I have talked with the President of the Club and he feels rather reluctant to put a meeting on Friday evening, the 20th, since a good many men cannot attend Friday dinners.

If you would be good enough to drop me a line I shall be much obliged. It is so nice of you to be willing to consider the matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 22 November 1935b*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

I am mailing you herewith an account of the service to medicine in Siam rendered by Prince Mahidol Songkla. It was prepared by Dr. Aller G. Ellis, who was responsible for an undertaking, a sub-vention of the Foundation, in building up the school of medicine at Bangkok. It appears to me to have real interest either now or eventually as a part of a record



of the introduction of western medicine to an Oriental country. Has it any interest for you as an article to be run in the Bulletin of the Institute ? If it has not[,] have you any other suggestions for its appropriate use ? I have written Dean Edsall of Harvard telling him that I was writing you and asking for his opinion since he knew Songkla at Harvard and was interested in him.

Yours sincerely  
Alan Gregg

Siam: Today's Thailand. Mahidol Prince of Songkla (1892-1929) practised medicine in Thailand. Aller G. Ellis (1868-1953) physician. "Foundation", Rockefeller. Article for Bulletin (Ellis 1936). David Edsall (1869-1945) Dean of Harvard Medical School.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 29 November 1935*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

January 22nd would be the most convenient day for me to address your club. I am afraid that December would be rather difficult as I have to give a series of lectures at Vanderbilt University, and besides, a lecture at the University of Pennsylvania in December so that I would have to be out of town too often.

If January 22nd suits you, you may rely upon me. I would come to New York on my way back from Boston. Thanks for the manuscript of Dr. Ellis. I am reading it and will let you know about it in a few days.

Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Ellis see G. to S. of 22 November 1935. Vanderbilt University in Nashville, TN.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 4 December 1935*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

That's first rate of you to accept for January 22. I've told Carl Stern, the President, and he too is delighted. Thank you again.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Carl Stern, president of G.'s club in New York.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 17 December 1935*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I have just spent a few delightful days at Vanderbilt University where I gave a few lectures, and on the train I read Dr. Ellis' paper. It is a very interesting paper, very well written in the style of an Oriental panegyric. I will be glad to publish it in our Bulletin. We will have in the next issues a special section devoted to contemporary history, and the paper would fit in very well indeed.

There are just two questions I would like to ask. The last page seems to be missing. The manuscript copy I have ends with page 41, and I suppose that there must be one more page left. Do you happen to have it ? Then, I would like to know to what address galley-proofs should be sent.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

Ellis see G. to S. of 22 November 1935b; his paper see G. to S. of 22 November 1935. "Bulletin" of the History of Medicine.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 18 December 1935*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

I am delighted to know that you care to use the Songkla article. Do you care for any illustrations ? Ellis wrote originally that he could provide five or six if desired. If desirable we could cable for them which would reduce the delay.

The missing page is attached - I find that it was caught onto the other copy which we have here.

As regards the galley-proofs, they can be gone over in our editorial room here, if you prefer to have it viewed by other than your own editorial staff.

What would be the cost of reprints ? Ellis might want as many as 200 and I would like about 25.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

Songkla article and Ellis see G. to S. of 22 November 1935b.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 20 December 1935*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Thanks for the missing page. Illustrations would be nice but they are not absolutely necessary and would take so much time to get them that I am going ahead without them.

The proofs will be read very carefully, but I would appreciate it if your editorial staff could have a look at them. I will let you know what the reprints will cost. They are very cheap as the printer merely charges his own cost.

Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

The first (1935) Rockefeller grant of \$ 15,000 to S.'s Institute is not mentioned in these letters, possibly because the grant-related documents found their way into a different file.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 10 January 1936*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I am sending you enclosed galley-proofs of the article of Dr. Ellis, and I would greatly appreciate it if your editorial department could read and correct the proofs and return them to me as soon as possible.

The Hopkins Press figured out that 200 reprints with cover would cost approximately \$ 15.00.

Looking forward to seeing you soon, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Ellis see G. to S. of 22 November 1935b and (Ellis 1936).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 17 January 1936*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

Here is the manuscript of the Songkla story which has been read over by the editorial staff here - if you have any questions please let us know. I have not gone over the proof, but I believe few if any changes have been made.

I think we shall need 350 reprints. Please charge these to me personally. They can all be sent here and I will send Ellis what he wants.

Just to remind you that we are looking forward to having you at the Dinner Club on the evening of the 22nd. The meeting is at 6:30 p.m. at the Parkside Hotel, 18 Gramercy Park South, in New York. If you will let me know where you will be staying, I would like very much to call for you.

With kind regards,  
Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Songkla story see G. to S. of 22 November 1935b and (Ellis 1936).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 17 January 1936*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I am leaving tomorrow, Saturday morning, for Boston where I have to give two lectures, and I intend to arrive in New York Wednesday morning early. In Boston, I will be staying at the Statler Hotel; in New York, at the Hotel Shelton, Lexington and 49th Street.

I am looking forward with great pleasure to addressing your club, and I would appreciate it if you could let me know where we shall meet.

Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 20 January 1936*

Dear Professor Sigerist:

Thank you for your note telling of your plans. I am planning to call for you at the Shelton at about six o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 22nd.

Looking forward to seeing you,  
Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 27 January 1936*

Dear Professor Sigerist:

I am sending a copy of a bill of fees of the Georgia Medical Society which a friend sent me and which may have some interest historically.

Your talk was first rate and much appreciated by us all. I should like to be sure you had no expenses as a result thereof.

With many thanks,  
Alan Gregg

S. published the 1863 fee bill (Sigerist 1936)

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 29 January 1936*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Thanks ever so much for that very interesting fee bill of the Georgia Medical Society. If you have no objection, I would very much like to reprint it in our Bulletin. Such documents are difficult to find and are extremely revealing. I would therefore very much like to make it known through the Bulletin.

It was a very great pleasure to see you the other day and to address your club. It was a most congenial crowd and I thoroughly enjoyed the evening. There were no expenses whatever incurred as I had to be in New York anyway.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Fee bill reprinted in (Sigerist 1936).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 30 January 1936*

Dear Dr. Sigerist:

I am sure there is no objection to reprinting the „fee bill“ in your Bulletin.

Zilboorg has given me a very good picture of you which I want you to sign some day when you come in. He says the picture is enlarged 30 diameters. Having discovered recently that I weigh 200 pounds, this form of statement shocked me but I will be content with your signature in its normal size.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

. Gregory Zilboorg (1890-1959) psychiatrist in New York, friend of S.'s.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 15 April 1936*

Dear Gregg:

I tried to get the book by F. S. Oliver which you mentioned to me the other day. My bookseller tells me that this is a three volume book discussing personalities and practical politics from 1710 to 1731. Is this correct ? If not, I would greatly appreciate it if you could give me the exact title. After all you told me, I am most anxious to see the book.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

(Oliver 1931).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 18 April 1936*

Dear Sigerist:

Here is the book for your perusal. It will answer the book dealers' arguments and your own curiosity better than anything else. Let me have it back entirely at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

(Oliver 1931).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 23 April 1936*

Dear Gregg:

Thanks ever so much for the book. It looks fascinating. I will return it in a few weeks.

Yours ever,  
Henry E. Sigerist

(Oliver 1931).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 23 May 1936*

Dear Gregg:

I am sailing Tuesday and I do not want to leave without returning the Oliver book. I could not read the whole but read quite a few chapters, and found it a truly remarkable book, extremely enlightening.

On your suggestion, Allon Peebles sent me a copy of the British Columbia Health Insurance Act and I am delighted to have it. I was just going to write him for a copy. I think this is a most remarkable document and quite a landmark in the history of medical service in America.

I hope you will have a good summer, and I will be looking forward to seeing you some time in the fall. I am glad that the winter is over; it was a terrible rush but I think it was worth the trouble. I am going to spend June and July in Russia and August and September in Switzerland where I want to do some writing without being disturbed all the time.

With warmest regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

(Oliver 1931). Allon Peebles (born 1900) chairman of the British Columbia Health Insurance Commission. S.'s second study tour in Russia 1936.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, Berlin, 30 January 1937 (postcard)*

Dear Sigerist:

Just finished a week in Russia. Striking contrast to conditions in 1927 when I was last there. The guide interpreter young Epstein sends you his warmest regards. As someone said [...] in Paris "Give the Russians three more years like the last three and the Americans will get interested in what they have not what they are !

Best greetings  
Alan Gregg

Epstein not identified.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 25 March 1937*

Dear Sigerist:

Do you happen to know anything about Dr. Arpad Herczeg of Budapest ? He had a fellowship from us in 1924-25 for studies in social hygiene and the history of medicine. He seems to have written a good deal since, and he would like to have a grant to write the history of hygiene and medical education in Hungary. I'd be grateful for your estimate of his capacities and promise, if you happen to know him.

With best regards,  
Yours sincerely  
Alan Gregg

Arpad Herczed, Hungarian medical historian.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 5 April 1937*

Dear Gregg:

I never met Dr. Arpad Herczeg but I know his work and was in correspondence with him while I was in Leipzig. He is the best man in medical history they have in Hungary at the present time. Unfortunately I do not have his writings here. He used to send me everything, but I gave his books and reprints to the Leipzig Institute at the time. However, I remember

very well that whatever he wrote was very good and I have no doubt that he is well qualified to write a history of hygiene and medical education in Hungary.

I hope you will come down for the Student Conference, and I very much hope to have a chance to see you. I am anxious to hear about your European impressions.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Herczeg see G. to S. of 25 March 1937.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 6 April 1937*

Dear Sigerist:

Thanks for your reply regarding Dr. Herczeg.

I shall probably see you at the Meyer affair on the 16th and 17th. I understand the Student Conference has put me down for some sort of performance, but inasmuch as I did not accept it, it will be up to them to make the excuses if any. I too would like to exchange impressions on Europe.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Herczeg see G. to S. of 25 March 1937.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 11 May 1937*

Dear Gregg:

It was very kind of you to send us: Jean Pigeire: La Vie et l'oeuvre de Chaptal. We did not have the book so far so that it is very welcome.

I was very sorry that I did not see more of you when you were in Baltimore, and now I will be sailing in a few weeks but I hope to see you and have a long talk with you some time in the fall.

I need not tell you that I was very happy to hear that the chances of having our grant renewed next year are good. This is extremely encouraging.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Jean-Antoine Chaptal (1756-1832) French chemist and statesman (Pigeire 1931). "sailing" for a summer in Europe.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 26 November 1937*

Dear Gregg:

I was perfectly delighted to receive the programs of the Russian schools of hygiene. If I had known that you have this material in hand, I would have consulted it long ago and would have been able to add the curriculum to the appendices of my book.

I tried very hard and repeatedly to obtain such programs from the Commissariat of Public Health but always unsuccessfully.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

“my book“ on Soviet Russia (Sigerist 1937).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 2 December 1937*

Dear Sigerist:

We did not have the material in hand until just recently or I should surely have put it at your disposal sooner. I am glad that you have been able to make use of it.

The visit I had hoped to make to Baltimore in December is going to come in January instead. Before long I will let you know just when.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

“the material“ see S. to G. of 26 November 1937.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 30 December 1937*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

Sometime ago I promised to let you know when the date of my visit to Baltimore could be definitely stated. It now seems that the 10th of January would be the best time for it. I hope that is a convenient date for you. I do not know whether Weed is making any definite plans for the disposition of my time or not, but you might care to compare notes with him regarding the best time for me to talk with you.

With best regards and good wishes for the New Year,  
Yours sincerely  
Alan Gregg

Weed see S. to G. of 4 November 1933.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore, 3 January 1938*

Dear Doctor Gregg:

Monday, January 10 is most convenient and I am looking forward with great pleasure to having a chance to talk to you.

I am in touch with Weed who is making some kind of a program for you and, as I have no classes on Monday, any hour will suit me.

With all good wishes and kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

Weed see S. to G. of 4 November 1933.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 18 January 1938*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

May I introduce to you the bearer of this letter, Doctor Howard E. Collier, who comes from Birmingham, England, where he is organizing a course in industrial medicine. As his interests rather transcend industry itself and concerns [sic] the social background and implications of such work, I am sure it would be helpful for him to make your acquaintance and know of your interests.

Thanks again for the pleasant talk that I had with you last week.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore, 26 January 1938*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

It was such a pleasure to see you here the other day and I particularly appreciated that you could give me so much time. The data concerning the Institute are being compiled and will reach you early next week.

When you were here the other day, I forgot to mention that I intend to lead a public health seminar through the Soviet Union next June and July. The enclosed letter was sent to a number of physicians and public health officers and will tell you more about it. I am anxious to get a good group together and it occurred to me that so many significant medical men come to your office that you might like to know about the trip and that you might possibly know of people who would care to join the group.

Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

In preparation of S.'s third and last trip to Soviet Russia.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 1 February 1938*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

It was a pleasure to see Dr. Howard E. Collier the other day. He came to my office and we had a long talk. I enjoyed meeting him and I think that he has some very sound ideas.

Yours sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Collier see G. to S. of 18 January 1938.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 10 February 1938*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I am sending you enclosed:

1. A statement of receipts of the Institute of the History of Medicine for the years 1934-1938. It was prepared by the Treasurer's Office.
2. The budget of the academic year 1937-1938. The receipts will be smaller than anticipated but the deficit can be covered from an unexpended balance.
3. A tentative budget for the academic year 1938-1939 under the assumption that the Rockefeller Foundation would grant \$ 15,000 and that the receipts will not be less than this year.
4. A list of the personnel of the Institute.
5. Twelve copies of the lecture program of the Institute for the academic year 1937-1938.
6. A list of the subjects discussed in the Current Event talks during the first semester of this academic year.
7. A list of the publications of the Institute issued from 1934 to 1937.
8. The present research program of the Institute.

Under separate cover, I am sending you the publications issued from 1934 to 1937 and twelve copies of the Graduate Week which will be held in our Institute in April.

I apologize for the delay but the Treasurer's Office kept me waiting for a long time. If there is any further information you want, please let me know.

Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

See also the annual report of the Institute (Sigerist 1938). Enclosed to this letter were 16 pages of the documents 1 to 8. Graduate Week: A course on medical history attended by 33 members of 16 states.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 17 February 1938*

Dear Dr. Sigerist:

I have just come back from a trip South and West and find your letter of January 26th, long due an answer.

Might I suggest that you send one of your form letters regarding the public health seminar in the Soviet Union to Dr. Charles A. Rymer, Colorado Psychopathic Hospital, Denver, and to Dr. J. B. Griffiths, Minister of Health and Public Welfare, Winnipeg, Manitoba ? Incidentally, Rymer is co-author with Goodwin Watson of an article entitled “Notes on Psychology, Mental Hygiene and Changing Social Conditions in Europe“ which is to be found in the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. VII, No. 3, July, 1937, which is a more sensible collection of random impressions than one usually sees, but too inclusive and superficial to be particularly significant.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

S.’s “form letter“ see S. to G. of 26 January 1938.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 17 March 1938*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

From some notes O’Brian has sent me from Paris I make the following deductions which may or may not be of interest to you. There is nothing we can do about it from this end, but the information may be worth passing on nonetheless.

There is a person named W. H. S. Jones, burser [sic] of St. Catharine’s College at Cambridge, who has a good reputation as a scholar. More about him could be learned through Sir Joseph Barcroft, until recently head of the School of Physiology at Cambridge. Attached is a copy referring to his published works. I gather he is in search of aid for publication. Of his merits you are the best judge, and I only venture to send you this item on the small chance that you may not be already familiar with Jones and his work.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

O’Brian see S. to G. of 20 November 1935. William Henry Samuel Jones (1876-1963) wrote on Greek culture and medicine. Joseph Barcroft (1872-1947) British physiologist.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 11 April 1938*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

I have just had a note from Phoebus Levene, copy of which is attached.

The Foundation has decided not to go into this type of grant, but if I can personally be of aid in securing a competent Russian-English translator through my acquaintance with some competent translators in Paris, I would be glad to help.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

Phoebus A. T. Levene (1869-1940), Russian-American biochemist at the Rockefeller Institute, had asked for aid for a translation of a Pavlov biography by another Russian in the U.S.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 15 April 1938*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I read your letter of April 10 and the copy of Dr. Levene's letter with great interest. I remember vaguely that the biography of Pavlov has been published, or at least announced, quite recently but I have not seen the book yet and cannot find the reference. There is room, however, for several books on the subject, and if Dr. Boldyreff's book is good it certainly should be translated into English.

Yours very sincerely,

Henry E. Sigerist

Levene see G. to S. of 10 April 1938. Ivan P. Pavlov (1849-1936) Russian physiologist. Boldyreff's biography of Pavlov does not seem to have been translated into English.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 27 April 1938*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

I am sending you under separate cover the Year Book of the Faculty of Medicine at Bangkok which might have some value as a record of the spread of western medicine in the Far East, - a phase in the history of medicine which will some time be recognized for its true importance. It occurs to me that this is one of the few books I could send you that you can't read and it perhaps deserves special distinction on this score also.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

Medicine in Thailand see G. to S. of 22 November 1935b. S. was said to be knowledgeable in 14 languages.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 5 May 1938*

Dear Doctor Gregg:

Many thanks for the Year Book of the Faculty of Medicine at Bangkok which has just arrived. It is indeed annoying not to be able even to decipher the title page of a book. I just discovered that I had a Siamese grammar in the corner of my library, but I do not think that I shall attempt to learn this language. Nevertheless, I am delighted to be able to add this book to our collection and I am very grateful for your thoughtfulness.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 22 November 1938*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

It was very kind of you to send me the reprint of Cecilia C. Mettler on the History of the Georgia School of Medicine. I am always glad to have such reprints in our collection, and we catalogue them as books.

I also with [sic] to tell you with what pleasure I read the address you gave before the Freemason Council. I found it on my desk when I returned from Europe.

I am just reading Granville Hicks' biography of John Reed, and I see that you know him intimately. Some day you must tell me about him.

Very sincerely yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

Cecilia C. Mettler (1909-1943) medical historian (Mettler 1937). Granville Hicks (1901-1982) novelist, editor;

John Reed (1887-1920) Communist journalist, poet (Hicks 1936).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 15 December 1938*

Dear Sigerist:

A neighbor of mine has given me a small medical case and guide with the request that it be sent where it might be of interest. For that reason I am sending it to you for whatever disposition you wish to make of it.

With best Season's greetings,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 12 January 1939*

Dear Dr. Sigerist:

Some of the printed literature we have on the William H. Welch Medical Library and on the activities of the Institute of the History of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University contains rather good photographs of the library building, the staff of the Institute, and audiences in the lecture hall of the Institute. Could you send me some photographic prints of these cuts or other new photographs which you might have, which, in your opinion, are suitable for use in connection with a description in one of our annual reports of the recent grant made to your institution. Pictures showing some type of group activity are liked better than those showing a bare building or a bare room.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Gregg

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 20 January 1939*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

It gives me great pleasure to send you enclosed some pictures illustrating the activities of the Institute in the past year. Please disregard the marks on the back of the photographs. We have the negatives available so that we can make new prints at any time.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Henry E. Sigerist

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 6 March 1939*

Dear Gregg:

Much to my distress I noticed that I never acknowledged the receipt of the medical case and guide which you so very kindly sent us in December. But I want you to know that the gift is greatly appreciated and that the case has found a place in our museum.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very cordially,

Henry E. Sigerist

Medical case see G. to S. of 15 December 1938.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Kastanienbaum, Switzerland, July 1939*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

There is a doctor in India, Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy, who is doing very good work in the History of Indian Medicine . He is working from original sources and I have published several of his papers. He has big plans: a history of venereal diseases in India and a history of Indian medicine. I have no doubt that he is qualified for the task.

Personally I greatly welcome Dr. Reddy's work and I am helping him as much as I can with literature and advice. Ancient medical theories are still alive in India and are applied daily in practice. I feel, moreover, that a study of Indian medicine can help in introducing Western medicine to the people.

Dr. Reddy is in the government service and seems to have a rather small stipend. In a letter that I just received he writes:

Finally I would make a personal appeal. My correspondence for information, my expenses for photographs, (now nearly a hundred) of various medical scenes etc, from different Museums and Archives, or old printed books for photostats of original folios in British Museum, as well as for the aquisition [sic] of extracts from old manuscripts and Record offices, are reaching proportions which I can ill afford, now after certain domestic and official changes. My heart is yearning for the completion of the collection of material and papers for publication which I can do easily and quickly, if I have a full time job in this line. Could you kindly recommend me to Rockefeller Foundation or any other Charitable Trust for either a grant or a travelling Fellowship in India for the study and broadcasting of knowledge of the History of Medicine in general and of India in particular. An other idea is to see of [sic] the Rockefeller Foundation which has given such large Funds for the "All-India Institute of Hygiene at Calcutta," for the building and equipment, may recommend to the Institute the desirability and necessity for the creation of at least a Lectureship (on a small scale) in the History of Medicine or a research department or branch for the study of the historical aspects of tropical diseases. This will be the first endeavour of the kind and is not a day too soon and would not cost much, as they have everything except a man for it. As the Great Institute at Calcutta is also a postgraduate centre, this will give an opportunity of beginning the teaching of the subject in India - as a general equipment for the healthworker and scientist, who both need the basic knowledge of the local culture, history and development of Medicine to understand and plan methods of work in the field of laboratory.

I wonder if something could be done for the man. I am sure that even a very small stipend would be a great help to him.

You need not answer this letter. I am leaving in two days for South-Africa where I have a visiting lectureship for the summer and fall. I wrote you for your information and so that you may think the matter over. If you are interested in it we could discuss it in December when I shall be back in the States.

With kind regards I am yours

Very sincerely

Henry E. Sigerist



P.S. Dr. Reddy's address is  
Dr. D. V. Subba Reddy  
Madras Medical Service  
Medical Colleg [sic] and K.C. Hospital  
Vizagapatam  
India

Kastanienbaum: Village on Lake Lucerne, where S. spent part of his summer months in Switzerland. D. V. Subba Reddy (1899-1987) published two papers in the Bulletin of the History of Medicine before 1940. S. spent the second half of 1939 on a lecture and study tour in South Africa. In September the Second World War broke out in Europe.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 18 September 1939*

Dear Sigerist:

I enclose a pamphlet describing the history of medical education in Hong Kong which should be in the library and which I would like you to have.

Let me add my personal greetings to you.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

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*Sigerist's secretary to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 19 September 1939*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 18 and the pamphlet on "Fifty Years of Medical Education in Hong Kong." Dr. Sigerist is still abroad on his lecture tour in South Africa, and we do not expect him back before early December. I shall, however, bring your letter to his attention after his return.

Sincerely yours,

[Genevieve Miller]

Research Secretary to Dr. Henry E. Sigerist

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 10 January 1940*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

A few days ago I came back from South Africa after a long and very interesting tour. It was a most interesting experience to me to see the country whose social and economic

structure is totally different from all the countries I had visited before. Some day I would like to discuss the matter with you.

On my return I found your Table d'Hote and I want you to know how very delighted I was with it. I hope you will keep me on your mailing list for further issues. Thanks also for the very informative article on medical education in Hong Kong.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Table d'Hote: G.'s diary or letters of his trip to France and England during the first half year of WWII.

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*Sigerist's secretary to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 27 February 1940*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Dr. Sigerist has asked me to send you the enclosed copy of his Report of the Activities of the Institute of the History of Medicine for the year 1938-1939 as he thought you might perhaps care to have it.

Sincerely yours,  
[Hope Trebing]  
Secretary to Dr. Sigerist

Report: (Sigerist 1939).

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*Gregg's secretary to Sigerist's secretary, New York, 28 February, 1940*

Dear Miss Trebing:

Thank you for your note of the 27th of February and for the report for 1938-39 of the Institute of the History of Medicine. This is received in Dr. Gregg's absence in Europe. We expect him back late next month.

Yours sincerely,  
Gladys E. Russell  
Secretary to Dr. Gregg

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 6 September 1940*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I just came back from a long motor trip through the country. We spent nine weeks on the road driving over 10,000 miles and it was a most fascinating experience.

On my return I found a pile of books and pamphlets that you very kindly sent to the Institute. They are all most welcome and will be added to the collections of the Institute.

I meant to write you long ago to tell you how extremely interested I was in the mimeographed letters in which you describe your European experience last spring. After each letter I received, I felt the urge of writing you and discussing the points that you brought up but pressure of work always prevented me from doing it.

I very much hope to have an opportunity of seeing you some time during the winter. So much has happened in the world since we last met.

With kind regards, I am  
Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

“mimeographed letters“: see Table d’Hote (S. to G. of 10 January 1940), the final part dated September 12, a total of 44 pages. “so much has happened“: Nazi-Germany’s occupation of large parts of Europe including France.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 23 September 1940*

Dear Gregg:

I am sending you enclosed the copy of a paper that I did not write for publication but for a seminar discussion with a group of students last year. It contains a few ideas on medical education and I thought you might care to have a copy of this paper.

With kind regards, I am  
Yours ever,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Paper: (Sigerist 1941a).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 24 September 1940*

Dear Sigerist:

Thank you for the paper entitled A Blue Print for a New Medical College. I shall read it with unusual interest and, I expect, enjoyment.

With best regards,  
Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Published version see S. to G. of 23 September 1940.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 30 September 1940*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

Thank you for sending me the paper entitled BLUEPRINT FOR A NEW MEDICAL COLLEGE. I have read it with a great deal of interest and should like to keep it for reference in the future. There are one or two comments that occur to me which I venture to set down.

On page 5, it is stated that in the European medical faculties “if the number of students increases the university is obliged to increase its educational facilities.” I should agree that that was the nominal or prescribed course of action for the university, but it is a notorious fact that the university does not increase its educational facilities and the result is a condition in which Paris is an extreme example, though almost as serious as it is extreme - namely upwards of 900 students with laboratory facilities for 80.

I don't believe that the refusal of colored students in various schools in the United States derives from the American tendency to limit the number of students to the facilities available - I think the refusal of colored students is part and parcel of racial discrimination and has nothing to do with other aspects of educational policy. Somewhat similarly the reason that is given for discrimination against women is a good reason and so far as reasoning goes may be the real reason, but it is not the cause for this discrimination. The cause lies in the same thing that has kept women out of men's colleges.

It seems to me that the statement that the prevention of disease must be the goal of every physician whatever his position may be suggests an attitude which is not on the whole very realistic[.] The fact is that a painful boil, or a high fever, or a broken limb is going to take precedence over preventive measures and educational activities of the physician every time, and physicians are going to prepare themselves for and devote their attention to the dramatic and extreme aspects of medicine before they pay attention to any other aspect and any preference to any other aspects. It seems to me that we have got to recognize that the magnitude and power of the medical and surgical emergency cannot be exorcised by statements of reason. And still the preventive aspect is the most important. We must have a special group [no continuation]

The same idea qualifies the force of the middle paragraph on page 10.

On page 11 when you get to principles, under item 1, I would ask, if I were attending the seminar, how many students. You have raised the question of number but not made any mention of it subsequently.

I think item 7 on page 12 is excellent and deserves far more attention than it is getting.

Item 8 on the same page on tuition fees raises one of the really important questions for any different kind of a medical school that I would dream of. I would want all of the students in a medical school on scholarship basis. Instead of paying money they would present evidence of good health and good work done year by year during the medical course. On the quality of those two records they would be given their education without cost. This would guarantee a selection of students and a tempo of performance that would be pretty satisfactory. Perhaps the first year's tuition should be in money - the rest of it ought to be in excellence of intellectual and physical condition and performance. Is it logical to charge fees for the preparation in a profession in which you are not going to charge fees from the patients ?

It is specified on page 13 that a quarter of the time available to the student should be in independent work and for attending elective courses. The contents of the six year course did not indicate, however, what are to be the elective courses since you have only noted the obligatory.

On page 15 at the bottom, I'd suppose that Prevention, Diagnosis and Treatment of Diseases could be put into the 4th year or even part of the 5th, moving economics, pathology and pharmacology into the 3rd.

On page 22, I doubt whether the division of work between dean and administrative director would be practical unless you indicate the subordination of the administrative director to the dean.

I would point out on page 23 that there are really dangers in having a small executive committee. One interesting way of obviating the dangers of an executive committee is to have a well enforced rule that the Council can determine only matters that have been put on a fairly detailed agenda at least a week before the meetings of the Council, and providing quite simply that a fifth or a quarter of the entire Council shall constitute a quorum. The use of the agenda in the direction of fair and open transaction of business is widely ignored.

One more point which I think it might be interesting to explore: You have got a blueprint made of what might be the ideal school - I have often wondered why a certain amount of time should not be spent on a blueprint of the processes by which a far from ideal school has been or may be changed into an ideal one. There is something rather arbitrary and artificial about writing of the Utopian situation. I find extremely few students but lots of practitioners of the arts and sciences of transformation. Nobody pays enough explicit attention to it and the up-shot is a group of persons and procedures whom Henderson must have had in mind in his lecture at Philadelphia on social scientists in contrast with practicing politicians.

With best regards and thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

*Blueprint for a New Medical College* was a preliminary version of (Sigerist 1941a). Henderson not identified.

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*Sigerist's secretary to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 2 October 1940*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I have shown your letter of September 30 to Dr. Sigerist and he has asked me to thank you most kindly for it. He was very interested in it and will write you as soon as he is out of the Hospital. At the moment he is in Hopkins having his [xxxx]. After so many years of troubles with his [xxxx], he decided something must be done and went in to Hopkins today.

Thanking you on his behalf, I am  
Sincerely yours,  
Hope Trebing  
Secretary to Dr. Sigerist

[xxxx] Protected Health Information, Alan Mason Chesney Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions.

“he is in Hopkins“ Hospital.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 3 October 1940*

Dear Sigerist:

I learned through your secretary that you are having something done to your [xxxx]. I am very sorry, but I hope the temporary effects will soon pass away and the permanent result will make it all worth while.

With best of luck - take good care of yourself,

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

[xxxx] Protected Health Information, Alan Mason Chesney Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York ?, 22 October 1940 ?*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

This is an experiment - I don't get time to write to enough of the persons I'd like to keep in touch with. You'll be back here before long - welcome and greetings !

Alan Gregg

This was scribbled on the front page of still another *Table d'Hote* letter, see S. to G. of 10 January 1940.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 4 November 1940*

Dear Sigerist:

The following is a comment which Dr. Lambert sent me after looking over the Blueprint for a New Medical College. As Lambert knows the circumstances of negro medical education better than anyone else here, I thought he [sic] would be interested in his comment.

“Both you and Sigerist overlook the economic and competitive factors which enter into ,restrictions’ of Negroes in northern medical schools. As Burwell and Rappleye will tell you, few Negroes apply at Harvard and Columbia, and of these only an

occasional one falls in the upper scholastic group from which selection is made. Largely for economic reasons, I believe, there has been no increase in the Negro applicants at the University of Chicago Medical School following the improvement in clinical facilities there for their instruction - 1930. Indeed the number of applicants fell there as well as elsewhere when the depression set in, Negroes being more affected than whites."

With best regards to you,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

Lambert not identified. *Blueprint* see G. to S. of 30 September 1940. Burwell and Rappley: Probably medical educators.

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*Sigerist's secretary to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 5 November 1940*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I wish to thank you for your letter of November 4 to Dr. Sigerist. He is lecturing at Cornell in Ithaca until the 17th of this month. I shall bring your letter to his attention when he returns.

Very sincerely yours,

Hope Trebing

Secretary to Dr. Sigerist

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 18 February 1941*

Dear Sigerist:

At the present time government is going into medical research on an increasing scale.

More foundations are being created of all shapes and sizes, several of which will devote their energies to aiding medical research. For these reasons it has seemed to me desirable that some public discussion be made on the subject of the furtherance of medical research, and so when invited to give the Terry Lectures at Yale in April I accepted, taking as a subject "The Furtherance of Medical Research."

I think the task is to produce some description of medical research, its needs and its optimum conditions - a description which might aid those who set out to contribute toward the support of medical research. The lectures will certainly be better if I can profit from the corrections and advice, comment and criticism of a few friends before I complete the final draft of the Lectures as they will be read and later printed by the Yale Press. Here is the first draft of the first Lecture. I would be ever so grateful if you would read it and note any comment or correction you may wish to have me incorporate in the final form. May I send you similar drafts of the second and third Lectures? There is a reasonable amount of time. I ought to have these most valuable criticisms that I am seeking by the fifth of April. I would be so grateful for your help and I know the Lectures will be better if improved by your suggestions.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

G.'s Terry Lectures were delivered in 1941 (Gregg 1941a), S.'s in 1940 (Sigerist 1941b).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 18 February 1941*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I had so many requests for copies of my plan for a new medical school and Dr. Norris of Detroit was so insistent that I should publish it that I finally did it.

I am sending you a few copies enclosed. You will see that I have followed most of your suggestions. The paper may stimulate some thought and discussion in the matter. If it does, it will have served its purposes.

With kind regards, I am  
Very sincerely yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Norris not identified. Published paper: (Sigerist 1941a). "your suggestions" see G. to S. of 30 September 1940.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 24 February 1941*

Dear Gregg:

It was a great pleasure indeed to read your First Lecture. The few remarks I have, you will find on the manuscript.

It might be worthwhile to examine what factors determine a researcher's selection of a subject. It strikes me that in the field of physiology most people are working on neuro-physiology today. One reason probably is that it is easier to make a career that way. Whenever a chair is vacant the faculties look for a neuro-physiologist. The chances of a young man who had done brilliant research in the field of respiration or circulation would probably not be equally good.

Again, consideration of a career probably deters young people from entering the field of cancer research. It takes many years to learn the techniques and the chances of obtaining results are slight, and therefore also the chances for making a career.

Another point that might be worth discussing is how great researchers are able to take advantage and draw far-reaching conclusions from accidental occurrences and observations. Remember Laennec, Pasteur and Ehrlich. These, however, are all points that you may prefer to discuss in your Third Lecture.

Then I wish to thank you most cordially for your splendid address on "Humanism and Science." I wish you had given it in Baltimore instead of Lancelot Hogben who spoke on the same subject to our students last week. He was most disappointing, made wise cracks, but



said nothing. He is a brilliant biologist, knows the history of science very well and his popular books are astounding, but he is the most conceited ass I've ever seen.

Your Second Lecture has just arrived. I am looking forward to reading it and will send it back in a few days.

Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

“to read your First“ Terry Lecture, see G. to S. of 18 February 1941. René Théophile Hyacinthe Laennec (1781-1826) French internist. Louis Pasteur (1822-1895) French microbiologist. Paul Ehrlich (1854-1915) German immunologist and pharmacologist. *Humanism and Science* (Gregg 1941b). Lancelot Hogben (1895-1975) British zoologist and statistician.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 4 March 1941*

Dear Sigerist:

I am very greatly obliged to you for the comments you made on the first draft of the lecture I sent you. I have taken advantage of the corrections and very gratefully. It is kind of you to praise the lecture on Humanism + Science a bit. You were properly surrounded at the Academy of Medicine after you had finished a lecture which interested me very easily and steadily - and I waited to thank you for my pleasure but your friends were too many so I say my thanks now.

Yours sincerely  
Alan Gregg

Terry Lecture and *Humanism and Science* see S. to G. of 24 February 1941 and (Gregg 1941a and b).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 20 March 1941*

Dear Gregg:

You need not be afraid. This letter is not going to be as long as the one I sent you with your second lecture.

I have read your third lecture with the same pleasure as I read the two previous ones and there are only a few points which occur to me.

You mention very justly that the researcher is frequently misunderstood. The researcher sacrifices a great deal of what is commonly called the “good life“ and also a great deal of his family life. One of the compensations that he needs is respect and a sympathetic audience. I think there has been a tremendous change in this country. Billings in 1876 complained that society looked at the scientist as to a man who was too dumb to go into business and he had no audience. This is different today. Although the professor will probably never be looked upon as a demigod as he was in pre-Hitler Germany, still he is respected today. People worship Einstein although they do not know what his contribution has been, but they worship him as the symbol of science and disinterested research.

You also mention the researcher as an academic teacher, and I think this is an extremely important point. We are often inclined to believe that teaching is a burden and that the researcher could accomplish more if he had no teaching obligations whatsoever. I do not think that this is correct. Teaching is extraordinarily valuable [sic, valuable] to the researcher in that it forces him to formulate complicated matters in an intelligible way.

I think it is also very good that the professor has to teach not only the subject of his own research, but his entire field. A physiologist is inclined to become a narrow specialist but the course in physiology he is expected to give forces him to keep in touch with the research done in other than his own subject. I myself have often, particularly toward the end of the academic year, cursed the fact that I had courses to give and yet I would not miss my teaching for anything in the world. I have never written a book without giving at the same time a seminar on the subject and more than once complicated problems became clear to me when I had to present them to the students and discussed them with them. I have also learned a great deal from the general course in medical history that I am giving almost every year. Three times in my life - in my twenties, thirties and forties - I have restudied the whole field of medical history from the sources for the benefit of the lectures. Each time I was ten years older and more mature and saw things with different eyes.

Another institution that seems important to me is that of visiting lectureships. In your home university after a number of years, you have established a reputation, the students come to you automatically and you are inclined to develop a routine. Then all of a sudden you are invited to another university and have to face and conquer a new student-body. It is extremely stimulating. When I went to South Africa, I knew only two people in the whole country and had no idea whether there would be any interest in my studies. I confess freely that when I landed in Capetown where I did not know a soul, I was scared to death. I had to pull myself together but then it was a great satisfaction to see that we had to move three times into larger lecture halls and that in Johannesburg, my lectures were broadcast into two additional halls. I think the visiting lectureship is a very valuable institution.

Well, I wish I could hear your lectures but I shall be looking forward to reading them when the book comes out. Literary Eclampsia is a disease well known to me, and I can add to your description that you can have repeated attacks of it without developing any immunity.

With kind regards, I am

Very cordially yours,

Henry E. Sigerist

S.'s last letter is missing. John S. Billings (1839-1913) medical historian, founder of *Index Medicus* and of what eventually became the National Library of Medicine, for which G. was lobbying. Albert Einstein (1879-1955) German-American physicist.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 20 May 1941*

Dear Sigerist:

Thank you for your account of the Seminar you plan to hold next year. I have found it interesting to review.

Could you give me some more information on the student of Arabic who might do some valuable work in the history of Medicine. I'd like to know more about what would be involved in making that possible. Possibly Stevens has written you about her ?

I had [xxxx] the last two weeks of April and the first week of May. Harmless and almost entirely agreeable but rather rough on the schedule. The Terry Lectures came off last week: I'll hope to send you the final result of my friends' additions and corrections to the original draft.

With best regards  
Alan Gregg

“Seminar you plan to hold next year“: Possibly *Medicine in a Changing World*. Student of Arabic see S. to G. of 23 May 1941. Stevens not identified. [xxxx] Protected Health Information, Alan Mason Chesney Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions. G.'s Terry lectures (Gregg 1941a).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 23 May 1941*

Dear Gregg:

I was glad to hear that you are better. I met Dr. Muench the other day in Ann Arbor and he told me that you were afflicted by [xxxx]. I am glad you escaped the complications so beautifully described by Hippocrates in Book I of the Epidemics.

The young woman is Miss Dorothy Stehle. She got her A.B. in Arabic at the University of Chicago and her Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. She is not only an Arabic scholar but has taken up ancient Egyptian with Professor Ranke at Philadelphia and also Assyrian. She is greatly interested in the influence of the ancient Orient on Greek medicine and science, a field that is practically untouched or at least very little has been done in recent years.

Miss Stehle is the daughter of the professor of pharmacology at McGill and is a very delightful person, extremely modest, very intelligent and hard working. I have great confidence in her and I am sure that in the right surroundings she would be able to make a valuable contribution.

In the last few years while working on her Ph.D. dissertation, she was living on a small stipend of the American Council of Learned Societies. This has come to an end and from what I hear he [sic] is now vis à vis de rien. She can live on very little and all that would be needed would be a stipend that would allow her to spend a couple of years in an institution like our Institute where she would find all the material she needs and could concentrate on her problem.

I am sure your Terry Lectures were a great success. I wish I could have heard them but I am looking forward to reading them and I am sure I will hear repercussions in New Haven when I go there on June 15 for the opening of the Medical Library.

I have also just enjoyed a three days' rest due to a ghastly cold but it was not painful; I slept most of the time and feel rejuvenated now getting ready for a short trip to your home state. The American Gynecological Society is meeting in Colorado Springs and invited me to give them an address. However, I expect to be back on June 1.

With kind regards, I am  
Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Dr. Muench not identified. [xxxx] Protected Health Information, Alan Mason Chesney Archives of the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions. Hermann Ranke, professor of archeology, University of Pennsylvania. Terry

Lectures (Gregg 1941a). Opening of the Historical Library of the Yale Medical Library (with building) which combined the libraries of Cushing and Fulton and was enlarged in 1946 by the library of Arnold C. Klebs. This was the nucleus of the Yale Department of the History of Medicine, created in 1951 and headed by Fulton. S.'s Colorado address (Sigerist 1941c).

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*Sigerist's secretary to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 4 [?] September, 1941*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I am sending you under separate cover five copies of the Annual Report of the Institute of the History of Medicine for the Academic Year 1940-1941. Dr. Sigerist is not yet in town at his office but notified me to send the reprints to you.

Sincerely yours,  
Hope Trebing  
Secretary to Dr. Sigerist

Report (Sigerist 1941d).

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*Gregg's secretary to Sigerist's secretary, New York, 10 September 1941*

Dear Miss Trebing:

Doctor Gregg hopes you will convey to Doctor Sigerist his thanks for the copies of the annual report of the Institute of the History of Medicine for 1940-1941 which you so kindly sent us.

Yours sincerely,  
Gladys E. Russell  
Secretary to Dr. Gregg

Report (Sigerist 1941d).

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*Sigerist's secretary to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 22 September 1941*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

In the absence of Dr. Sigerist I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your book "The Furtherance of Medical Research."

Dr. Sigerist is returning to Baltimore on October 1 and I am sure that he will be delighted to find your book.

Yours very sincerely  
[Genevieve Miller]  
Research secretary

*Furtherance ....* (Gregg 1941a).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 21 October 1942*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Many thanks for your very kind letter. It went from office to office and was a great encouragement to all of us.

Times are difficult indeed, particularly because every one of us has a number of additional functions. Dr. Larkey is in the Army and I have been appointed Acting Librarian of the Welch Medical Library for the duration of the war. I have also been asked to serve as a consultant to one of the agencies in Washington and I have accepted to give a course of lectures, "Introduction à la Médecine Sociale" at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in New York. In addition I have at the moment a young South African doctor with me and we are working on a health program for South Africa.

My associate, Dr. Temkin, is serving half time with the National Research Council in Washington and the other members of the staff are either air raid wardens or working with the Motor Corps of the Red Cross or some similar function.

In spite of all, the work of the Department is progressing planfully and I intend to begin on January 1 writing the first volume of the History of Medicine which I have been preparing for so many years and which is planned to be an eight-volume book.

We have had an experience which, I am sure, will interest you. As our students are trained on an accelerated schedule with many additional courses, I expected that they would not have any time for the courses of the Institute, but just the contrary happened. We have more students this year than we ever had in the last ten years. I usually restrict my Seminar in the Sociology of Medicine to 12 or 15 qualified students but this year the affluence was such that I had to throw it wide open. Five medical students asked my associate, Dr. Edelstein, to give them a course on the philosophy of Plato one hour a week throughout the year; and not one of them has ever missed an hour. We were completely flabbergasted because this had never happened before. There can be no doubt that the war has stirred up the students tremendously. They feel that they are in the middle of a gigantic historical process that they do not quite understand but they want to know about it and they justly feel that historical and sociological analyses can help them to obtain a clearer understanding of this process.

I think I never thanked you for sending me your Terry Lectures. I read them in their final version with keen interest. You may be interested to hear that my Terry Lectures will, in all probability, be reprinted in England and published in the Penguin series.

With kind regards, I am  
Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

G.'s letter is missing; it probably was the official announcement of renewal of the Rockefeller grant for the Institute. "Times are difficult": First war year for the U.S. During the war S. was Chief Consultant to the Board of Economic Warfare. The "young South African doctor" was Joseph Gilman. S. actually began writing the first volume of his *History of Medicine* in 1945. Terry Lectures: (Sigerist 1941b) and (Gregg 1941a); a British edition of (Sigerist 1941b) does not appear to have materialized.

S.'s main staff members:

Edelstein, Ludwig (1902-1965) German classical scholar and medical historian, dismissed by Diepgen in Berlin in 1933, he became S.'s coworker in Baltimore.

Larkey, Sanford V. (1898-1968) since 1935 head of the Welch Medical Library and lecturer in the history of medicine

Temkin, Owsei (1902-2002) medical historian, S.'s collaborator in Leipzig and associate professor in Baltimore.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 4 November 1942*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Thank you ever so much for sending us the copy of the *History of the Hospital in Montreal*. I had not seen the book yet and we are very glad to be able to add it to our collection.

Yours very sincerely,

Henry E. Sigerist

History of the Hospital in Montreal: Probably (Shepherd 1925).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 25 February 1943*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

I am interested in the subject of your letter of February 19 which was a bit delayed in reaching us. Let me make a few personal comments before describing the Foundation's position in the matter.

Perhaps my forecast of the future of any such journal as you have in mind would be somewhat more guarded than yours if the political relationships between the Soviets and the United States were to change regrettably for the worse, and possibly my estimate of the probable subscription lists would be more cautious. The majority of translated reports of scientific work in Russia which I have read in the past fifteen years have a form of presentation which does not command attention or escape critical incredulity on the part of American workers. Though this is an attitude I do not excuse, much less advocate, the fact remains that much of the Russian publications fail to commend themselves on their face value to most Americans who have not been to Russia. That circumstance needs careful attention.

I have stated the major obstacles first - one political and the other technical. Our difficulty on the political side in obtaining the writings of Russian mathematicians, and the present difficulty in the export of medical literature outside the United States confirm, if only for the present, a considerable respect for the difficulties of free exchange of books and journals. Your beliefs are encouragingly to the contrary.

Speaking for the Foundation we would not subsidize the journal but if a visit of a Russian representative to the United States would improve the chances of success for a joint enterprise of exchange or improve the demand for interchange and such a publication as you outline, I think our Board would be sympathetic to a proposal that the travel expenses of a Russian representative to the United States for a period of two or three months be paid by the Foundation.

Unfortunately I must be in Philadelphia on March 4 and if I can return to New York on March 5 it will not be until the late afternoon that I could be free. I am sorry that this conflict of appointments occurs because I want to be of any possible use in this matter. If by chance you could be in New York on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 3rd, I could hold some time open until about 3:30 when I must leave for Philadelphia.

Yours sincerely  
Alan Gregg

P.S. Do you know anything about a Professor Lebedenko who has been apparently designated by the Russian Embassy as the Russian Representative to the American Neurological Congress ?

S.'s letter is missing; in it he must have outlined a plan for an American Review of Soviet Medicine which in turn was a major goal of the American-Soviet Medical Society founded by Sigerist and others earlier in February 1943. The Review started appearance in October 1943 and lasted for four years. Vladimir V. Lebedenko, Russian neurosurgeon, see S. to G. of 8 April 1943.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 1 April 1943*

Dear Doctor Sigerist:

During the past three or four months I have been mulling over the possibility of presenting to our Trustees an exposition of the issues and interests involved in Social Medicine. Their comprehension of some of the recommendations coming before them would be improved if they could see more clearly what these issues are. To offer arguments or a biased statement at this time would lose by precipitate haste what might be preserved by dispassionate and objective presentation.

Would you mind reading this first draft and returning it with any comments it may elicit ? There must be points which have been neglected or omitted, and even more certainly there are changes of emphasis which you might recommend.

I was delighted at the word George Gray brought of the unexpected demand for Plato via the Institute of the History of Medicine. That has already gone to our Trustees as a piece that may well have surprised them.

As I hope to get some sort of revision of the enclosed by April 15, I would be greatly beholden if you could send it back in the next week or ten days.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

George Gray not identified.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 8 April 1943*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I have read your Statement on Social Medicine with keen interest and find it admirable. It is concise, forceful, and very well formulated, so that there is really nothing that I could add to it. It ends rather abruptly on page 9, and I was wondering whether you intended to add a page or two. It would be easy to refute most of the arguments brought forth against social medicine, and I think that a summary of the major points at the end might be quite helpful.

I have no doubt that the war will have a great influence on the attitude of our doctors. Many of my former students are in the armed forces and I get very interesting reports from them. I also have some army physicians in my seminars, and one of them recently told me that a year ago he would have been opposed to any form of social medicine, as a result of tradition, background, and influence, but that one year in the army had opened his eyes and he was convinced that practice tomorrow would be different from practice as it was yesterday.

I recently had a letter from an army physician who had been in private practice but had decided that after the war he would join a group because in the army he had become convinced that this was the only efficient form of medical service.

A major in the Medical Corps serving abroad wrote me that he and his fellow medical officers were holding seminars about my book on Soviet medicine. He was writing to ask for additional literature. There can be no doubt that our army doctors are doing much more thinking in this war than in the last.

At the Medical School we began the new academic year on March 1st, and in the Institute of the History of Medicine we again have a large group of keenly interested students. You will be interested to hear that four members of the entering class decided to learn Greek and asked us to give them a course. They will probably not get very far once they are fully absorbed by the medical curriculum, but as a symptom I think it is extremely enlightening to find students wishing to learn Greek just at a time when the school is waiving the language requirements.

I have mislaid your letter in which you very kindly gave me your opinion on the American-Soviet Medical Society, but I remember its content and was very interested in what you wrote. I also remember that you asked me who Lebedenko was. He is professor of surgery in one of the Moscow medical schools, and has been delegated to this country as representative of the Soviet Red Cross. He will stay here for the next year or two. I understand that he is a very distinguished surgeon. Another well-known Soviet physician is in this country at the moment - Professor Sarkisov, who is director of the Brain Institute in Moscow. He came to see me the other day and I found him an extremely delightful person. He is on his way to London, where he will represent the Soviet Red Cross.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Henry E. Sigerist

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“book on Soviet Medicine“ (Sigerist 1937). “mislaid your letter“ of 25 February 1943, which also mentions Lebedenko. Semion Aleksandrovich Sarkisov.



*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 11 October 1943*

Dear Dr. Sigerist:

I finished reading last night the reprint you sent me entitled, “The University’s Dilemma.” I entirely share your foreboding and have for some time felt very much as you do about the threat to the progress of research which our passion for the so-called administration carries.

Some time ago, though I can’t put my hand on it, I referred to the considerable importance of the readership in an English university. As Harry Dean once told me at Cambridge: “If a professor dies, there is no great loss or threat of loss to the subject, since the university is obligated to secure a successor. But if the reader dies, there is a real risk that the subject will undergo something of an eclipse. The reader may be the most distinguished mind in the field and indeed has to be a person of substantial aptitudes and accomplishments, otherwise he would not be appointed to the position.” I believe that we must look forward to the creation of analogous posts in the United States and eventually secure for such posts the reputation and status which they hold in England. Only then can it make sense to spend the time and the effort that goes into the training of a competent research worker.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

*The University’s Dilemma* (Sigerist 1943). The reader in the English university is roughly equivalent to the associate professor in the U.S. Harry Dean not identified.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 13 October 1943*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Thank you ever so much for your letter of October 11. It is a great satisfaction to know that you share my view because you, more than anybody else, are in a position to do something in the matter.

The problem is really serious and you undoubtedly know that we at Hopkins already have the greatest difficulty in filling our most important chairs.

I feel very much as you do that an institution somewhat similar to the English readership would be very desirable.

With kind regards, I am  
Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

English readership see G. to S. of 11 October 1943.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 11 January 1944*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Thank you ever so much for the pamphlets that you so very kindly sent us. They are most welcome, particularly those by and on Aschoff since they throw a very interesting light on the man.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Henry E. Sigerist

Aschoff, probably Ludwig (1866-1942) German pathologist.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 30 March 1944*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I should very much like to have an opportunity to talk to you briefly on a matter that I have very much at heart. I shall be in New York from Wednesday, April 12 in the afternoon until Friday evening, April 14, and I could come to your office at any time that would be convenient to you.

Yours very sincerely,

Henry E. Sigerist

See G. to S. of 20 April 1944.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 20 April 1944*

Dear Sigerist:

On looking up the terms of our grant in support of the Institute of the History of Medicine I note that it is definitely stipulated in the minutes of the Trustees' meeting that "if Dr. Henry E. Sigerist ceases to be in active direction of the Institute there shall be no commitment for more than one year thereafter and the situation shall be reviewed by The Rockefeller Foundation and Johns Hopkins University."

If this fact was not familiar to you when you talked over your plans it should certainly be explicitly in your mind in connection with any plans you may be making.

I would not be able to make the same case for continuance at the present level of support if you were to leave the active direction since your contribution to the enterprise is of singular importance and a value that cannot be matched.

We do not imply any moral obligation upon you to continue in direction of the Institute. Indeed that would be the case only if we had made an outright grant on the assumption that your continuance was certain or an unstipulated obligation.

I hope this makes the situation perfectly clear, and I think that you saw from our conversation that I understand your point of view quite clearly.

With best personal wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

An entry in S.'s diary (Sigerist Beeson 1966) of 15 March 1944 says: "I have enough of Hopkins and for the first time I am thinking seriously of looking for another job, for a research position. I am really tired of being an administrator and in a new position I might even be able to write my History and Sociology."

Thus, S. on seeing G. in mid-April (S. to G. of 30 March 1944) had asked the question G. is answering in this letter.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 31 May 1944*

Dr. Alan Gregg

Appreciates your courtesy and thanks you for the material you have sent him. (3 copies The University at the Crossroads)

(Sigerist 1944a).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 10 October 1944*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I have just had an interesting experience in Canada and the enclosed report will tell you what I have done.

Now I am getting ready to leave for India with Dr. Joseph Mountin of the U.S. Public Health Service. We have been invited by the Government of India to serve on a commission for postwar health organization and administration.

You know that I needed some fresh air and now I am getting it.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very cordially,

Henry E. Sigerist

In September 1944 S. was in Saskatchewan as a consultant for a new system of medical care for the people of the province which had elected a leftist government. The report (Sigerist 1944b). In November, invited by the State Department, S. would visit India (Sigerist 1945). Joseph W. Mountin.

*Gregg's secretary to Sigerist, New York, 14 October 1944*

Dear Dr. Sigerist:

Your letter of the 10th of October and enclosure of the report on your experience in Canada is received in Dr. Gregg's absence on the West Coast. This letter and report will come to his attention when he returns to the office in early November. I am sure that Dr. Gregg will be interested to hear of your plans to visit India.

Yours sincerely,

Sally Rossman [?]

Secretary to Dr. Gregg

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 22 March 1945*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

The Cornell University Press is going to publish a little book of mine - if their paper supply permits it - collected addresses and essays dealing with the University, the medical school, and education at large. Most of them were published in the Bulletin of the History of Medicine that has a rather limited circulation, and several people felt that it would be worthwhile to publish these essays as a book. It will include two new essays that have not been published before.

You are one of the few people in this country who have always understood what I am doing and what I am aiming at, and I would very much like to dedicate this little volume to you as a token of my great appreciation, if you will permit me to do so.

I have survived this winter, chiefly because I had the good fortune of being invited to Canada and India last year. Both trips were extremely interesting and stimulating. Otherwise, my status is still unchanged. Last summer, I spoke to John Fulton who has always been interested in my work. He thought that Yale University might possibly create a position that would permit me to write my two books but nothing came of it as it seems that they have some financial difficulties in the Medical School.

Recently, I submitted a memorandum to the Committee on Organization and Policy of our Medical School of which Dr. Weed is chairman. I think it is a good plan that would greatly increase the efficiency of the Institute and would also permit me to stay here. I am sending you a copy enclosed. I am not too hopeful that it will be accepted. Weed wrote me a nice letter of acknowledgment but thought that no changes should be made until a few years after the war.

At any rate, I am determined to begin writing the first volume of my History of Medicine this year. I cannot postpone it any longer. The American-Soviet Medical Society has offered to pay me a small salary as editor of the Review if I moved to New York. It would be a part-time job that would leave me much more time for research than I have in my present position. I am considering the offer very seriously although I fully realize that I would miss the academic atmosphere in which I have spent all my adult life, and would particularly miss the contact with students.

With kind regards, I am  
Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Book: (Sigerist 1946), dedication: “To Alan Gregg in admiration and gratitude“. John F. Fulton (1899-1960) physiologist and medical historian, friend of S.. “my two books“: History and Sociology of Medicine. Weed see S. to G. of 4 November 1933. Review, American, of Soviet Medicine.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 9 June 1945*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I just wanted to inform you about my plans for the summer.

The Committee on Organization and Policy which consists of Dr. Weed as chairman, Dr. Chesney, Dr. Reed, Dr. Winford Smith, and Dr. Blalock, held a meeting the other day to which I was invited and at which my memorandum was discussed. It was a very friendly meeting but it ended with hardly any result. The Committee is afraid of changes and fears that once I am gone, it would be difficult to attract a successor unless they could offer him to be head of a department.

As I told you on the telephone some time ago, I have been relieved of the Library, which, of course, makes a tremendous difference. One of my associates, Dr. Temkin, is now Acting Librarian and he will have to drop his work for God knows how long.

My health was not too good recently and I am going to Saratoga Springs next Monday for a three-weeks' treatment. I had good results there in the past. From Saratoga, I will go to Ithaca and I have planned to spend the whole summer there with my family until late September. One of my daughters is taking a summer course at Cornell University and I plan to write the first chapters of Vol. I of the History. I will be far away from the office not to be disturbed all the time, and Cornell has a very good Library.

Next winter I will see how things develop. I may be able to work out a schedule that would permit me to spend only a few hours a day at the office.

I am deeply grateful to you for your sympathy and thought and all you have done for me.

With kind regards, I am  
Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

The committee consisted of the mentioned members of the Medical School faculty. „relieved of the Library“, and Temkin see S. to G. of 21 October 1942. “One of my daughters“: Nora, S.'s younger daughter, born 1922.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 14 June 1945*

Dear Dr. Sigerist:

Thank you for your letter of June 9th. Your secretary will know best whether to send on this note to you. It has little in it except best wishes for your summer, and the one further

point that I have had a letter from Bowman saying that he can't see me on the 20th of June after all so further discussion with him is postponed at least from that date.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Bowan, Isaiah (1878-1950) President of Johns Hopkins University.

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*Sigerist's secretary to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 15 June 1945*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

I wish to thank you for your letter of June 14 to Dr. Sigerist and to tell you that I shall forward it to him the early part of July to reach him when he is in Ithaca.

Sincerely yours,  
Hope Trebing  
Secretary to Dr. Sigerist

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 16 January 1946*

Dear Sigerist:

Many thanks for Temkin's book on Epilepsy. It will be extremely interesting to read and I'm looking forward to it.

In more of the usual sense of the phrase I hope that you are well. Firstly I very much hope so and secondly that you are very well and well away from labors that take strength without giving satisfaction.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Book on Epilepsy (Temkin 1945).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Baltimore ?, 12 February 1946*

Dear Dr. Gregg:

Many thanks for your letter of January 16. I saw in PM that you have been abroad and I am sure that you must have had an interesting experience although probably one that does not make you particularly cheerful. I very much hope that you will write something about your trip as I, and, I am sure, many others are anxious to know how the medical schools of Europe have weathered the storm. I have vague plans for going to Europe this summer myself, chiefly to see my mother in Switzerland who is 80 years old and whom I have not seen for 7 years.

My health is very much better. I had an extremely pleasant summer in Ithaca, close to the Cornell Campus where I got my History of Medicine started. I am keeping pretty quiet now

refusing most out of town lecture invitations so as not to wear myself out. I am subordinating everything to the book because I feel that this is the best contribution I can make now. I write at home in the morning, do the research at night and spend only the afternoon at the office. So far the system has worked quite well as far as the book is concerned but the Institute suffers and I had to cut down its activities quite considerably. I hope to finish Volume I this year and hope to be able to produce one volume every year.

Dr. Sanford V. Larkey, the librarian of the Welch Medical Library, came back last week and it is a tremendous relief for the Institute that we are no longer responsible for the Library.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Henry E. Sigerist

PM Daily, a New York newspaper, reported on a symposium “The State of the Nation’s Health“, at which G. had talked about the lack of instruction of social and economic aspects of medicine in most medical schools and about his study tour in Europe. S. and his family would spend the summer of 1946 in Europe. S.’s mother, Emma Sigerist-Wiskemann (1865-1954). The average number of lectures per year was 9 for 1944-1946, down from 28 the three year period before (Bickel 1997). S. grossly underestimated the time necessary for the appearance of volume I and of the following volumes. Larkey, see S. to G. of 21 October 1942, “came back“ from the Army.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 5 March 1946*

Dear Sigerist:

My best thanks for the two volumes on Asclepias [sic]. I am going to keep them as a recourse when a bit of time may be vouch-safed me next summer for browsing. Would I could think of it as likely to occur at an early date !

I hope you are taking good care of yourself and making good headway with the opus magnus.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

(Edelstein/Edelstein 1945).

This seems to be the last letter exchanged during S.’s time in the United States. His wishes and plans to change his position materialized in 1947 when he gave up his position at Johns Hopkins University and transferred to the Swiss village of Pura in order to concentrate on writing his *History of Medicine*. The apparent lack of letters during the whole of 1947 is explained in the following letter (S. to G. of 24 April 1948).

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Pura, Switzerland, 24 April 1948*

Dear Gregg,

I meant to write you long ago or rather, I intended to look you up in New York last summer before we left the States, but then you know how it goes, during the last few weeks I was frightfully busy getting the affairs of the Institute and my personal ones in order, and then once over here adjustments had to be made and my work had to be organized in new

surroundings. But I want you to know that I never regretted my decision to leave Baltimore. Here I found peace and quiet, and I have the time to do the work for which I had prepared for so many years. The manuscript of the first volume of my History will be ready for the press in the near future and now that my new workshop is functioning I hope to be able to write one volume every year.

Of course, I miss a good deal, my students first of all, my old American friends, but you cannot have everything. It is one or the other, and visitors come to see me from all over the world so that I get first-hand information from many parts. I expect Stampar tomorrow, Pascua will be here soon and I very much hope that you will look us up on your next European trip. This will be a very great pleasure indeed.

I heard confidentially that Richard H. Shryock has been offered my chair at the Hopkins Institute and I thought that you might care to know that under the present circumstances I consider him by far the best possible choice. He is a scholar who has written some extremely stimulating books; he is a good teacher and an experienced administrator, who I am quite sure would make the Institute a great success and would attract young people. The fact that he is not a physician may even be an advantage these days. The doctors may accept progressive statements more readily from a man who is not a member of the fraternity. His work with the New York Academy has shown that he has a deep understanding of the social problems of medicine, and the technical medical knowledge that he is lacking he could easily make up through his staff.

Another point which I consider important at this moment is that he is a native-born American. I need not expand on this point, since you know well enough what the situation is.

If Shryock can be persuaded to accept the job, and if the necessary funds can be secured, I have no doubt that the Institute will remain the national center of studies and instruction in the history and sociology of medicine, and the moment would be very opportune to extend its program so as to include the history of science. There is a growing interest in the subject in our universities and colleges, of which President Conant's Terry Lectures were an eloquent symptom. Henry Guerlac has greatly enriched the History Department of Cornell; the University of Wisconsin is increasingly active in the history of science and I know of half a dozen other places who are trying to find the right man. In other words, there is going to be a growing demand for teachers in the field. The Hopkins Institute has most of the tools required for such studies. It would need few additional books but would need a staff. Including the history of science it could render great services to the College and would more than ever before be a bridge between the faculties.

I had many plans along this line, but the fifteen years during which I was in charge of the Department were years of depression, of war and post-war confusion. There is still plenty of confusion - although much less when you look at the world from the European angle - but now is the time to make decisions as to the future of our institutions of learning. I think I have demonstrated on a small scale that such an Institute by bringing the humanities and the social sciences into the medical school is able to broaden the outlook of the young medical generation. I am still keeping in very close touch with my old students and the letters I receive almost every day are really touching.

If Shryock does not see his way clear to accept the job, and I know that he is deeply rooted in Philadelphia, then I do not see any immediate future for the Institute. I was not possibly able to train many young people because our funds were very limited and also, chiefly, because there were no jobs for them. The situation is different now and Shryock, but he alone, could create a very active school.



You have always shown so much sympathetic interest in the Institute that I felt you might wish to know what my attitude towards Shryock was.

We are only ten miles from Lugano from where we can be reached easily and I very much hope to see you here some day.

With kind regards I am

Yours very faithfully

Henry E. Sigerist

This letter explains the lack of letters during 1947. Andrija Stampar (1888-1958) expert in social medicine and public health in former Yugoslavia, friend of S.. Pascua not identified. Richard H. Shryock (1893-1972) medical historian; see S.-Shryock correspondence. With this letter S. tries to encourage G. to extend funds to Shryock in order to allow the latter to accept the chair. "New York Academy" of Medicine. James B. Conant (1893-1978) president of Harvard University. Henry E. Guerlac (1910-1982) historian of science.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York ?, 5 November 1948*

Dear Sigerist:

I've just gotten back from a brief and postponed vacation in California and amongst letters accumulated find one from Horsley Gantt written in Rome. Had it been forwarded to me it would have improved a good vacation - which I couldn't say of the majority of the other accumulated letters I found on return. Furthermore it had pleasant and friendly news of you, which delighted me.

So here goes for a letter which I've been thinking of writing for a long time, and whose major virtue will have to be considered its complete freedom from requests, suggestions, implications, or even the expectation of a reply. The pleasure is mine - for Gantt told me that my health was drunk in Pura, and wherever that is done in an unauthorized and spontaneous fashion I feel I have an equally undemanding response welling up in pleasure. Indeed there is almost a lyrical flavor to the line "My health was drunk in Pura" - it has something of the flavor of "I too have lived in Arcady" and almost the pride of "Magna pars fui" - which I have always wanted to use as a title or motto for a volume of my reminiscences but with a slight typographical liberty taken so as to read "Magna pars pfui" ! I think this would be slightly indecorous but refreshingly realistic for a Foundation Executive - don't you ? Its only real competitor as an alternative title would be an epitaph that A V Hill told me he had seen in an English churchyard. "During his life he knew many estimable persons".

Speaking of the classics I have found a word I want to bring into use in order to describe a lecture or a book whose main function is not to construct a theory or its proof but to offer a sort of scaffolding which will enable students or readers to build their own ideas or experiences into a final and finished structure. The word is [ikrioma] from the Greek for scaffold. One could describe a lecture as being ikriomatic or icriomatic, and mean thereby that it is intended not as a finished monument of thought but as a series of movable platforms from which good bricks or timbers could be put into place, or definitive arrangement.

I am going to launch it in a lecture on the 19th [?] of November that I am going to give at Harvard on Group Medicine and a copy of which will go to you in due course. I am trying to make the point that although group practice came into being (at the Mayo's for example) before Full Time clinical teaching was established the subsequent effect of full time teaching of medicine has been singularly conducive to the practice of medicine in groups.

The most stimulating event of general interest here in America recently has been, of course, the election of Truman. As Ruth Taylor rather neatly observed last night “It is the only presidential election I have ever seen that was more interesting after it occurred than before“. That is perhaps true of most things that are unexpected. And the results in this election were perhaps more widely and profoundly unexpected than any election we have ever had. The newspaper commentators, correspondents and editors were uniformly wrong. So were most of even the Democratic professional politicians. So were the Gallup polls. Betting ranged from 4 to 1 on Dewey to 8 to 1. I thought that the sum of popular votes for Truman and Wallace would exceed Dewey’s but I was egregiously wrong in thinking that Wallace would run as high as 18%. The general reachouts [of] the election is one of healthy respect for the power of labor, and the importance of quiet, inarticulate and unspectacular voting. It means I think that America sets a high value on the social reforms associated, and perhaps too closely associated, with Roosevelt as a personal tradition. I say “too closely“ but I mean too closely for accuracy since now those social attitudes are found to be attributes not exclusively of the Roosevelt administration but of the Democratic party as led by Truman.

Obviously the election has at least inferential bearing on the future of socialized medicine in this country, though I think that in that field too a great deal will depend on the character of the men around Truman and changes are likely all along the line because his personal prestige has been enormously enhanced by the election results. But still the power that elected him will act as effectively and powerfully in the plans and calculations made by everyone and the stage is set for changes that the Republicans would have killed in utero had Dewey been elected[.] In fact all this past year a special Commission as established by a now only temporary Republican Congress and led by Herbert Hoover, has been examining the organization and efficiency of the Federal Government. It was to get ready some sweeping changes and was counting on a vast shift on Nov 2nd toward a Republican Congress and a change of Presidents. I was asked to head up the review of all the agencies of the Govt[.]

in medical care but I did not trust the man I was to be under, nor did I think the time allotted (May to September) likely to prove more than a handicap to me and an excuse to disregard comments or suggestions inadequately documented. But I couldn’t have known how sharply qualified the whole undertaking will be by the elections which give the Democrats a Congress as well as a President. A N Richards took it on and I’ve tried to help him as he asked it but I’m afraid he will wonder whether it has been worth all that he expected it would be.

Donal Sheehan has resigned from the Commonwealth Fund presidency and gone back to N.Y.U. It was evidence, as I take it, that Barry Smith, deprived of Barbara Quinn’s sagacity and faced with retirement and not very good health, failed to get out of Sheehan’s way and S. simply found the struggle too tiresome.

Our new President in the Rockefeller Foundation Chester Barnard has been on the Board for six years and was president of the New Jersey Telephone Company. He has a clear and eager mind, great energy of body and spirit and a wide experience in executive work. It’s quite refreshing to work with him and I welcomed his election because it seemed to me to settle the question as to whether we were going to have a Rockefeller Foundation or a Rockefellers’ Foundation. Barnard is perfectly capable of ensuring that it will not be a family affair.

The best book I’ve read recently is William Vogts [sic] The Road to Survival. It deals with the terrifying misuse of our land + forest reserves all over the world, the enormous increases in population and the impasse that stares us in the face. There is short shrift for the medical profession for its single minded refusal to admit that with a limited and diminishing food

source (the top soil) the reduction of infant mortality isn't substituting starvation and war for illness. The book is well written and I, at heart a Scotch peas farmer, feel a cogency in the evidence.

I hope that your existence is much much less hurried [?] and hard pressed than in Baltimore. And please give my warm regards to Mrs. Sigerist and your daughters. My intention at the farewell dinner to appreciate their help to us all was far more than a petite gesture and I hope that though they probably discounted it out of their modesty you can help me reiterate in a way that won't be discounted at all.

I have hopes of getting free from the routine pound of the office before I am 65 and retire to write and enjoy other kinds of work than that at a desk but the inflation makes me wonder when and whether I can do so. I know I could be happy and moderately useful and that I've got better things to write and put together than can be put together in the usual routines that are paid for by the R.F. as things are now. So I sympathized with your decision perhaps more fully than you could have guessed.

With kindest regards and best wishes

Alan Gregg

Magna pars fui: Of whom I was an important part. "Mayo" Clinic in Rochester, MN. "Full time teaching": An issue, around 1900, that professors at medical schools must not depend on private practice. N.Y.U.: New York University. *Road to Survival* (Vogt 1948). "your daughters": Erica (1918-2002), Nora (born 1922). "Farewell dinner" to S. on 9 May 1947 in New York, at which G. was an after-dinner speaker (Gregg 1948).

New names:

Barnard, Chester (1886-1961) president of Rockefeller Foundation  
Dewey, Thomas E. (1902-1971) Republican presidential nominee 1948  
Gantt, Horsley W. (born 1892) physician, Pavlov's American pupil  
Hill, A. V. (1886-1977) British physiologist  
Hoover, Herbert (1874-1964) 31st President, Republican, 1929-1933  
Quinn, Barbara (1886-1961) of Commonwealth Fund  
Richards, Alfred N. (1876-1966) pharmacologist  
Roosevelt, John D. (1882-1945) 32nd President, Democrat, 1933-1945  
Sheehan, Donal, of Commonwealth Fund  
Smith, Barry, general director of Commonwealth Fund  
Taylor, Ruth, not identified  
Trumann, Harry S. (1884-1972) 33rd President, Democrat, 1948-1953  
Vogt, William (1902-1968) ecologist  
Wallace, Henry A. (1888-1965), Vice President 1941-45

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Pura, 1 May 1950*

Dear Gregg,

Many thanks for your very delightful address on the meaning of travel. I need not tell you that I agree wholeheartedly with every word you say, because I lived what you recommend. In Europe, of course, traveling is easier, because distances are shorter and because the scholars of most countries know foreign languages. Besides, there is an old tradition that students should study not only in one, but in several countries. You will be interested to hear that an ancestor of my wife, who was Burgomaster of Zurich in the 16th century, established

a family foundation from which young people were supported when they went abroad for the purpose of study. The foundation still exists and still serves this objective.

I very much hope that your own traveling will bring you to Pura one of these days; this would be a very great pleasure, indeed.

I still like it here very much and never regret that I left the University. The work is progressing well, somewhat more slowly than I had anticipated, because the task is gigantic. I have to reread all the basic texts of medicine and to that end, had to brush up my Sanskrit, Arabic and a few other languages. But, Volume I of the History is in the press; I hope to finish the manuscript of Volume II by the end of this year, and I have done a good deal of preparatory work for Volume III.

From all I hear, Shryock is doing very well at Hopkins. He really was an excellent choice. I expect him here in August, when we shall have a three-day Anglo-American symposium on the social history of medicine.

With all good wishes, I am  
Yours very cordially,  
Henry E. Sigerist

A likely answer to G.'s long letter of 5 November 1948 is missing. G.'s address on travel (Gregg 1950a). "my wife": Emmy Sigerist-Escher of Zurich. Shryock, see S. to G. of 24 April 1948, had become S.'s successor at Johns Hopkins University.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 19 May 1950*

Dear Sigerist:

Thank you ever so much for your letter of May 1. I do hope that I can get to see you the next time I get abroad. I think Shryock is doing well, and I have been happy to find that little by little I am getting the outfit here aware of what the social history of medicine means.

I am glad that you did what you did, though I am terribly sorry to miss seeing you. The subject and your state of mind are more important than such advantages as may have been expected from continuing in Baltimore. Like flipping a penny, you know what side you wanted to come up after you flipped it.

With all good wishes and many thanks for your note,  
Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Shryock, see S. to G. of 24 April 1948, had become S.'s successor at Johns Hopkins University.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Pura, 2 December 1950*

Dear Gregg:

It may take some time but I do read all the reprints I get and never file them away without having made a few notes. Tonight I just read your St. Louis address, "Time and the University", with great pleasure. Like all your addresses it is delightfully unorthodox and very

true. You are certainly right in what you say about the importance of extra-curricular activities. This is probably more the case in American than in European universities where there is no curriculum except in medicine and very few other fields, mostly scientific. I remember that as a 19-year old student of Oriental philology I and no one else was responsible for organizing my studies and for their success or failure. And even as a medical student I could quit classes, go abroad for several weeks during the term, come back when I pleased, and it was my business to make up for the loss of time. It was a great responsibility for us to assume but we accepted it as a matter of course. Our secondary school had prepared us to do it.

I must say that the old-type humanistic gymnasium such as we had and still have in Switzerland had many great advantages. In spite of a crowded curriculum it left room and encouraged individual projects and each one of my classmates had a hobby which he cultivated very actively and sometimes aggressively, botany, or geology, or football, or stenography, or teetotalism (those were the days of Forel), or in my case, Arabic. Another point I greatly appreciate looking back is that the school did not try to mould us into a pattern. Our professor of German composition used to say: “What [sic] you have something to write, figure out how people would put it, and then put it differently, in your own way.” I suppose our school had a strong conviction and in addition, a good tradition.

I think the main problem of the American university today is whether it will be able to remain tolerant in an increasingly intolerant world. The events at the University of California have shown how a great institution can be wrecked in a very short time.

Here, in Western Europe, the chief danger is nationalism. The strength of the Swiss university was that in the past it filled its chairs with the best men it could find irrespective of nationality. If I remember correctly, the University of Zurich and the Technological Institute in Zurich together had 11 Nobel prize laureates of whom more than one half were foreigners who did not stay in Zurich forever; but what a blessing to have such men on a faculty if only for a limited number of years. Today it is almost impossible to appoint a foreigner. You may have heard how the University of Zurich tried to fill the chair of obstetrics and gynecology with an Austrian. The faculty recommended him unanimously, the government offered him the chair enthusiastically whereupon the Gynecological Society let him know that he was not welcome and that they would make his life a burden. Of course, he declined the offer.

I apologize for this long epistle but your paper got me started. I am delighted that it contains that excellent photograph of yours.

Here all goes its normal way. I had a busy summer with two weeks of lecturing in England, one in Copenhagen, with many very welcome visitors, a volume in the press and one that I was writing. Things are more quiet now and I hope to get a good piece of work done during the winter. War clouds seem very far from here, and although our region could be occupied from the East in less than ten days there are not any signs of hysteria or fear.

We have no Christmas card this year; so, please, accept with your family in this informal way my wife’s and my own best wishes for Christmas and a happy New Year.

Yours very sincerely

Henry E. Sigerist

*Time and the University* (Gregg 1950b). Auguste Forel (1848-1931) Swiss psychiatrist. “events at the University of California”: Controversy over the oath of loyalty.

*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 18 December 1950*

Dear Sigerist:

I am grateful to you for your letter of December 2. It contains comment that reassures me for I constantly warn myself that I have not been through a lycée or a realschule or a European university - an experience that might do much to correct my impressions of European education.

The contemporary scene here is a long way from being reassuring. The right remedy against communism can hardly lie in violence, in armament, in heavier taxation, etc. War would only increase the tensions that increase the chances of communism appearing to larger numbers of people. But I think we usually devise for those whom we consider our enemies the very experiences we should least like to experience ourselves - and this determines the current "strategy".

With hard work I keep from getting as low in spirit as I might if I had nothing to do. And I sometimes remind myself that it pays the newspapers to keep rapidly changing between arousing fear and allaying it; so one's impressions may be affected by the trade in terror.

Meanwhile in Pura and places like it, life can be decent and serene and productive - all of these things so good that there is just a bit of irony in my sending from New York to Pura wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year ! It is analogous to the Widow's Mite.

With best regards to you and Mrs. Sigerist and your daughters,

Yours sincerely,

Alan Gregg

Widow's Mite: Mark 12, 41-44.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Pura, 9 January 1952*

Dear Gregg,

I just spent a delightful hour 'listening' to you, as I have four addresses of yours on my desk. They remind me that I had meant to write to you long ago. To be quite frank, I had to overcome certain inhibitions, as I have a vague feeling of guilt toward the Foundation. It did so much for me in the past, while I was in America, that I had hoped that I should never have to ask for its aid again.

Well, you know what the situation was last year. Again you helped in the most generous and liberal way, and I am deeply grateful. Without your grant I would have been obliged to abandon my quiet and so-beautiful corner here, go back to the city and accept an academic job. This did not scare me, as I always liked teaching and working with young people, but it probably would have killed my 'History of Medicine' and this I would like to finish if ever possible. I spend eight hours a day working on the book, and this would have been impossible in an academic position.

The first three volumes are much more difficult and hence slower than I had anticipated because so much preliminary philological work has to be done. I had to brush up on Sanskrit, Chinese and Arabic so as to be able to read crucial passages in the original, and at the moment

I read Greek texts every day. From Volume IV on, the task will be much easier because I will be dealing with dated texts written in Latin and vernacular languages ....

I liked your addresses very much, especially your wonderful Franklin Lecture. Please, do collect them and publish them in one or several volumes. Scattered in journals, they are lost; and they are so well written, witty, constructive and courageous, that they must be preserved. Do not be astonished if you find yourself quoted in some of my next papers. I loved the Chinese proverb, 'Great men never feel great. Small men never feel small.' How true !

This letter in longhand is missing within the Sigerist Papers of Yale University Library, however, part of it is reprinted on p. 340 of (Penfield 1967). "feeling of guilt": The Rockefeller grant for S.'s work in Pura 1947-1950 had been renewed for another three years. Franklin Lecture: (Gregg 1952).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, Tokyo, 29 February 1952*

Dear Sigerist:

Your letter of January 9 went to New York and thence was forwarded to meet me here when I got here on February 14th. It made very pleasant reading I can tell you and in the light of your huge correspondence I more than appreciate your writing it and especially your encouragement of my efforts to bridge over the gap between the technical side of medicine and the public or laymen. I want to give more time to this sort of work in the next five years and it encourages me at a rather weak spot to have such comment as you have been so good to offer. Three or four friends have suggested that I collect various addresses and publish them as a collection but until your suggestion came my uncertainty outweighed by a considerable measure any fancies that they are worth collecting. I have had some experience of the danger of praise or compliments to what Keppel used to call a "philanthropoid". It is not unrelated to the definition of gratitude as "a lively sense of favors still to come" - and all such varieties of Mida's touch have somewhat complicated any estimate I can make of the value of my efforts. Usually when I make such comments further complications develop [sic] for my friends may suspect that I am accusing [sic] them of saying nice things to get money from the Foundation ! Confusion worse confounded. So I thank you for a kind letter from which I take more simple encouragement.

Since September 20 Mrs. Gregg and I have been in India Pakistan Ceylon the Philippines Hong Kong and Japan. I visited Bombay, Poona, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Karachi, Lahore, Dacca, Calcutta, Vizagapatam, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Trivandrum, Mysore, Madras, Vellore & Colombo. I heard in several places of your visit - especially from Reddi [sic] in Madras. What an extraordinary country India is ! Such a palimpsest of what nowadays is so glibly called "cultures". And medical education in all of the places I visited except Hong Kong and Ceylon finds itself in the hands of governments now free from British or American control - Japan included. It is an interesting situation indeed.

Your letter devoted more space than it should have to the complications that might have accompanied your leaving Johns Hopkins; that is, complications which you refer to as

"a vague feeling of guilt toward the Foundation". If the pope can act for God I can act for the Foundation. And I assure you that my feeling of disappointment centered around the J.H. University in not creating the sort of circumstances that were both conducive and appropriate for the work you can do. So please enjoy all the comforts of plenary absolution given gladly and without hesitation. You would have felt and done the same for me if I had

been the Scholar and you the Philanthropoid - a double improbability, though the first is the less probable by quite a wide margin.

I have a series of lectures to give at Columbia next year in the field of Public Health, Preventive Medicine and allied subjects. I think the choice of subjects is really left to me and I am turning over various possible themes in my mind. When I recall that it is now 500 years since Gutenberg (or is it Guttenberg ?) brought out the technique of printing I am tempted to examine the effect of the printed word upon the spread of medical knowledge. For now we have radio and television in their infancy as a means of communication and it is an appropriate time to review the older technique of the printed word. I am inclined to think that printing took the place of travel and personal acquaintanceship, and to a larger measure than we realize. Again and again the holders of the traveling fellowships given by the Foundation have commented upon the value of travel as contrasted with mere reading of the books and journals of their profession. Perhaps it is a bit severe but at times the printed word reminds me of polished rice - for it lacks the vitamin of personal acquaintance with the author. What will the limitations of radio and television prove to be after 500 years of experience ?

Thank you again for your encouragement and let me end by mentioning my complete satisfaction that I could convince our Trustees of the wisdom of helping you to complete the task you have set for yourself. Take good care of yourself and please give my kind regards to Mrs. Sigerist and to your daughters.

With warm wishes to you

Alan Gregg

A collection of G.'s addresses apparently has not appeared. Mida's touch: Turns everything to gold. G.'s wife: Eleanor A. Barrows. Reddy see S. to G. of July 1939. Johannes Gutenberg (1390s-1468) German inventor of printing.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Pura ?, 29 May 1952*

Dear Gregg,

Very many thanks for your good letter from Tokyo. I heard from several people who had met you in the East, particularly in India, and quite recently Esther Lucile Brown of the Russell Sage Foundation gave me an enthusiastic report of a talk she had with you not so long ago.

The reason I am writing you today is to draw your attention to a physician in London, Dr. James Cyriax who, as I heard from various patients, is extremely successful in treating such annoying conditions as lumbago, fibrositis, and sciatica, and who apparently is not as recognised as he should be. I am sending you enclosed two reprints of an article he recently published in the British Medical Journal, which will tell you briefly what he is doing. The orthopaedists obviously are not particularly fond of him, as he gets results without major operations. I think of sending my own sister to him, as she had trouble with her back for a number of years and the conventional treatments were not successful.

The question that came up recently was whether Dr. Cyriax could not be invited to the States to demonstrate his methods in some of the major hospitals. I know that there is more interest in physical medicine today than a number of years ago, and I think that Cyriax would find an audience in the United States, and that his method would actually benefit a great number of sufferers.



I just had a letter from Prof. Grzegorzewski of the WHO, and I was very sorry to hear that you will not be able to attend the conference on medical education next December at Nancy. I had hoped that this would give me the long wanted opportunity of seeing you again.

With warm regards, I am,  
Yours very faithfully,  
Henry E. Sigerist

Esther Lucile Brown (1916-2008) social anthropologist. Russell Sage Foundation, devoted to support research in the social sciences. James Cyriax (1904-1985) became an influential orthopedic physician. “my sister”: Marguerite Bickel-Sigerist, living in Basel. Edward Grzegorzewski (1906-1982) Polish hygienist. WHO: World Health Organization.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 8 July 1952*

Dear Sigerist:

Thank you for your letter about James Cyriax. I am going to postpone my attempts to find someone who might be interested in his visiting the United States until I get back from my vacation, which begins tomorrow and will end in the middle of August. I don't believe this is a serious loss of time, for most of the people to whom I will be writing will be away until September or thereabouts.

I am sorry that I won't be able to attend the conference on medical education next December at Nancy and particularly sorry that I shall miss the chance of seeing you.

With best regards,  
Yours sincerely  
Alan Gregg

James Cyriax and conference at Nancy see S. to G. of 29 May 1952.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 11 September 1952*

Dear Sigerist:

I have explored some possibilities in connection with an invitation to Dr. James Cyriax. There has not appeared as yet any interest in bringing him over. The comment from one of the men I consulted was that Cyriax “seems to me to be a descendant of Mennell who was also at St. Thomas Hospital and was a manipulator of distinction, but was never able to pass his methods on to anyone else.”

This sort of a situation has for a long time troubled me, largely because I happen to believe that nobody is so likely to see the truth that I don't see as the fellow with whom I can't agree. I am personally always worried about what may be in my blind spot, and I don't find that it is particularly easy to transmit this attitude, and I have learned from some measure of experience that unless the attitude is really conveyed, you can't get an honest invitation from someone who doesn't see things in that light. It's all the more delicate when a request from a foundation comes to a person or institution that may feel under some obligation to the

foundation, and usually all I can do is to keep a weather eye open for honest and valid opportunity and seize it when I see it. I have occasionally been rewarded, but not always, by finding an opportunity, and I will keep Cyriax in mind. For the moment, however, I have to report nothing better than a temporary check or rejection.

Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Cyriax see S. to G. of 29 May 1952. James B. Mennell (1880-1957) English orthopedist. St. Thomas Hospital in London.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Pura ?, 17 September 1952*

Dear Gregg,

Very many thanks for your letter of 11 September. Do not bother about Dr. James Cyriax. If his method is good and if he is able to cure people better than other doctors, then his work is bound to be recognised sooner or later. This has always been the case in medicine, and a few years more or less make no difference. I never met Cyriax personally and only had reports from patients and read some of his publications.

I plan to spend a few weeks in England in November, when I shall give the Heath Clark Lectures at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. I selected five

„landmarks in the history of hygiene“ which should illustrate the various attitudes toward health and disease from antiquity to our day. Otherwise I have been here the whole summer, and my History is growing slowly but steadily.

With warm regards, I am,  
Yours very sincerely,  
Henry E. Sigerist

S.'s Heath-Clark Lectures later were published as a book (Sigerist 1956).

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York, 23 September 1952*

Dear Sigerist:

I've made some further inquiries on the chance of finding some lectureship or opportunities for Dr. James Cyriax, but without any success as yet. I wouldn't be greatly surprised if he were to be in a curious and, to me, interesting category of persons who are better at healing than perhaps they may be at teaching others what to do. I think that's one aspect of the doctor-patient relationship which deserves more study than it has ever had.

My best wishes to you for the Heath Clark Lectures. I enclose an amusing item that James Mackintosh showed me in Washington last week, which I think you may enjoy. Possibly you have already seen it. It came, I judge, from a meeting of WHO experts who have reservations on the unreflecting use of the adjective „underdeveloped“.

With best regards,  
Yours sincerely,  
Alan Gregg

Cyriax see S. to G. of 29 May 1952. S.'s Heath-Clark Lectures see S. to G. of 17 September 1952. James M. Mackintosh (1891-1966) Dean of London School of Hygiene and Public Health. The enclosure was a definition of the term "underdeveloped countries". WHO: World Health Organization.

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*Sigerist to Gregg, Pura, 24 February 1955*

Dear Gregg,

I was delighted to hear that you have found your "Casa Serena" too, and I deeply appreciate your good wishes.

You may have heard that I had an attack of cerebral embolism that kept me three months in hospital. However[,] I have good chances to make a complete recovery and I hope to be able to resume my work very soon.

I have to thank you for many papers. Keep me on your mailing list, because I read them with great interest, although I do not acknowledge them always.

Most cordially yours,  
Henry E. Sigerist

A suggested letter of G. is missing. "your Casa Serena": Retired G.'s home at Big Sur on the Californian Coast (Casa Serena: S.'s home in Pura).

S. was hospitalized in Lugano, Switzerland, from October to December 1954; he recovered in 1955, was in pretty good shape in 1956 and died in March 1957. This seems to be his last letter to G..

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York ?, undated, early 1955 ?*

Dear Sigerist:

From a week or so of vacation in California I wrote you a long letter in October and having no gazeteer to tell me that Pura was in Switzerland sent it to Italy ! It wasn't that it was such a good letter but that I now have to reclassify the pleasure I had in writing it.

I'll try again and I hope with better luck.

I picked this Christmas card because I thought it would give all the Sigerists a special pleasure which being liberally translated would be "Thank God we don't work in those buildings" !

Thank you so much for your Card  
Alan Gregg

Possibly this letter was added to the next one of 6 March 1955. "those buildings": G.'s Christmas card showed some New York skyscrapers.

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*Gregg to Sigerist, New York ?, 6 March 1955*

Dear Sigerist:

Thank you for your letter of February 24th. I'd have written you months ago if I had known of your illness. I hope most earnestly that you are feeling the full effects of vis mediatrix naturae.

I heard recently an amusing account of an American novelist Robert W Chambers who confessed to a friend that he didn't seem able to write as well as he had in his younger days. The friend replied 'Why, Bob ! That just isn't so ! It's just that your taste has gotten so much better.'

These statements of interpretation have always delighted me and I find that advance in years seems to heighten my enjoyment of alternates of interpretation of a given observed fact, and perhaps even to increase my ability to see how arbitrarily we accept as absolute some one standard of measurement or plausible explanation. That's the essence of the story about Chambers - a fresh interpretation that's quite as plausible as the routine one.

I remember one night at a lecture at the Academy of Medicine in New York I was bored and sought for diversion. I noticed that out of 19 names shown on the screen showing the names of doctors wanted immediately on the telephone 17 were Jewish. The following interpretations were possible explanations:

1. That the Manhattan population had a high proportion of Jews.
2. That [a] larger proportion of Jews go into medicine than of Gentiles.
3. That more Jewish doctors attend lectures than is the case with Gentile doctors.
4. That Jewish patients call their doctors more often than Gentile patients.
5. That Jewish doctors prefer nurses who call them more easily than the nurses chosen by Gentile doctors.
6. That Jewish doctors leave orders to be called so that their names will be seen by large audiences.
7. That Jewish doctors are more conscientiously on the job than Gentile doctors and keep in closer touch with their patients.
8. That though the names I saw were Jewish many of the men answering to those names were Irishmen who took the Jewish names to increase their practices in New York.
9. That morbidity rates are much higher among Jews and they prefer physicians of their own race.
10. That Jews are more often wealthy enough to employ physicians when they are ill than is the case with Gentiles.
11. That my sampling on that particular evening just happened to be well out of the usual range of probability.
12. That Jewish physicians used attendance at lectures to reassure themselves.

These surmises saved me from complete boredom on that particular evening. (One could substitute Scots for Jews and Manchester England for New York if need be). But also there

remains from that evening the pleasure of reviewing plausible explanations - and how many there are for any phenomenon !

Best of luck to you and best greetings to your family too

Alan Gregg

Vis mediatrix naturae: Nature's healing power. Robert W. Chambers (1865-1933). This is likely to be G.'s last letter to Sigerist. G. died on 19 June 1957, only three months after S.

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