

OWN DESCRIPTION OF THEODOR LEBER'S JOURNEY TO BOHEMIA IN 1866

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Abstract

During his ophthalmological assistantship in Paris, Theodor Leber* (1840-1917) made acquaintance with the American medical officer and correspondent Darley, who came in the mission to report on the situation after the battle of Königgrätz in the United States. The 26 year old Theodor Leber was immediately with fire and flame to travel with him and got hold of a visa issued at the Prussian Embassy in Paris on July 13, 1866. However, this battle had already taken place on July 3. All the wounded from the battlefield were supplied and transported away. But, it turned out that the hospitals were all still full of wounded of both sides, Prussia and Austria, and always have enough surgical operations to do. The war was not yet over, but the victorious Prussian army moved on to Vienna. Wounded soldiers were re transported as quickly as possible to the hospitals around Sadowa. In this presentation, the description of the travelogue to Bohemia from Leber's memoirs are rendered here in its entirety for the first time, starting by the departure in Paris up to the return to Paris. This text is followed by a comment.

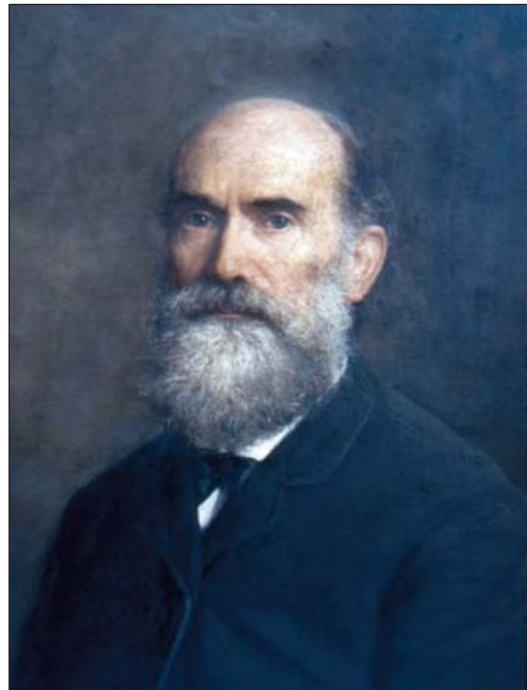


Th. Leber as student in Heidelberg

Introduction

Theodor Leber (1840-1917) had worked about one year (1863 – 1864) in Carl Ludwig's physiological laboratory at the Josephinum in Vienna. He had dealt with injection preparations

for the vessel representations of organs and was able in 1863/64, at the age of 24, to demonstrate the blood circulation of the eye by color injections into the arteries and veins. On the occasion of the congress of the German Ophthalmological Society in Heidelberg in 1864, he reported of these findings and met with immense approval. In 1864 – 1867 he followed an invitation as coworker of Richard Liebreich to Paris and became a member of the Association of German doctors in Paris.



Theodor Leber in his seventies

Painting at the Heidelberg University Eye Clinic

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During his assistantship in Paris, Leber met in 1866 an American medical officer and correspondent, who invited him to visit the Prussian war-hospitals around Königgrätz. The American colleague was ordered to give a report to his government. The 26 year old Theodor Leber was immediately with fire and flame to travel to Bohemia and got hold of a visa issued at the Prussian Embassy in Paris on July 13, 1866, as a new pass-

*For an abridged Theodor Leber biography and bibliography [click here](#)

port. Leber took a break at Liebreich's clinic in Paris for two months. Probably, Darley has financed a large part of the cost of this trip. When they said farewell in Munich, Leber got, as he writes, just before he traveled to Tegernsee, a small financial support by Darley.

War between Prussia and Austria

The battle of Königgrätz, which was decisive for the course of the war between Prussia and Austria, had already taken place on July 3. All the wounded from the battlefield were supplied and transported away. But, it turned out that the hospitals were all still full of wounded of both sides and always have enough surgical operations to do. The hospitals had completely to do just a few days after the battle, while they at the same time yet had to be established from the supply and the aid agencies. When Darley and Leber appeared 14 days later on the field of battle, the organization of the hospitals had progressed as far as that enough time remained the surgeons to plan their work in addition to the many emergencies and to end the evening in a kind of casino. The major surgeons switched the hospitals even during the day, depending, where work was to do. Langenbeck drove with his coach to operations in the hospitals which were under his direction and took the two guests there with him.

For the first time, the Prussians had a field Railway Department, were also pioneers worked in railway construction. So the wounded could be transported back, depending on the extent of their injuries, quickly and safely over long distances. The victorious Prussia fought small battles on their way to Vienna. Thus, the hospitals of Hradec Králové (Königgrätz) repeatedly received fresh injuries.

First wounded from this war were already to see in hospitals in Dresden. The military doctor Sachs showed Darley and Leber a skull injury patient, on whom he had made a trepanation probably due to a hemorrhage or/and a brain edema. This patient was also on her second trip to Dresden six weeks later still in the hospital, and he was fine. This time was unusually long for today's conditions and should have happened at a delayed wound healing through direct access through a wound of the scalp to the brain, if you could

not cover the wound using head scalp shift. Journey-troubles of their itinerary started more and more in Dresden, which was just been occupied by the Prussians. For the route of the railway from Dresden to Reichenberg, behind the border to Bohemia, Darley and Leber needed 12 ½ hours.

After an overnight stay in Gitschin, Darley and Leber were staying in the Guest House of Mrs. Kautz from July 19 to August 6, and these are 18 days. The location of this accommodation is called Hazitz or Korzitz what is obviously the same, and now belongs to Horice (German: Horschitz). In other parts of the text is this place called Horic, Hoyitz or Horitz and Hozitz. Precisely, the location is not specified.

On August 6, they went to Königshof and remained there for 3 days to go on August 9 to Trautenau for 5 days. From there, they could not travel away earlier, because Darley had contracted a panaris. On August 15, they went to Schömberg and from there the next day to Waldenburg with the carriage. From there, they travelled to Berlin on August 17 with the railway. On August 18, this was a Saturday, Leber visited Albrecht von Graefe, and obviously discussed what is not mentioned, that he will be an Assistant with him in Berlin in the next spring of 1867. On August 23, Leber traveled back to Leipzig and the next day to Dresden, and Darley met him there a day later. Both then traveled together via Prague to Munich, where they said farewell on August 28.

Theodor Leber has published no own study from his observations in Königgrätz. In his extensive obituary, particularly from E. v. Hippel^[1], this trip is not mentioned at all, recent obituaries, however, mention the trip. The original text remained hitherto unpublished. Immediately after his return to Paris Leber continued in addition to his work with Richard Liebreich the experimental studies with the dentist Jean Baptist Rottenstein^[2], in which isolated teeth were exposed to the influence of acids, sugars (acid fermentation) and bacteria.

Blood-soaked battlefields and war surgery

Leber recorded times in his notes meticulously with $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of hour accuracy. He writes of good and bad food and good wine and bad beer or vice versa, of good or bad accommodation. The carriage he calls a car, although it is clear that at that time they had no cars, but an admirably developed railway network. They entered the blood-soaked battlefields 14 days after the battle and found barely slaughter waste, because the population people had already taken these utensils as collector's items. The reason for this arduous journey was, for Leber, in addition to the opportunity to accompany a correspondent and colleague, to learn from the war surgeons and their work. From his companion, US-American, correspondent and military physician Dr. Darley, you can find out not very much, unknown is his first name and where he was coming from, and we know nothing about his character traits.

Darley and Leber lived 6 weeks daily and often in one chamber together. Darley's wife seems to have been German following a note about a visit to her teacher in Dresden. Probably also Darley himself spoke German well. At one point in the text, is mentioned that he had a long discussion during an evening with Privy Councilor and surgeon Langenbeck, who was the General medical director of the Prussian field hospitals in this war. More significant leading Prussian surgeons they met, so Bush and Bardeleben in Langenbeck's environment around Königgrätz and Middelдорpf and Volkmann who were responsible in the towns of Nachod, Trautenau and Königinhof, and many of their assistants, and they saw undertaking many of their operations.

Leber wrote to his brother Carl: "The shots in the bone almost all mount plaster, so that the limb cannot be moved. You heal it much better; but it is a true masonry. I have installed such a bandage myself these days to learn it." These violations of shots in the bone were immediately plastered, but there arrived serious infections with pus formation, and also swells and gangrene; if not, this method could be successful as well. Many fresh injuries were plastered immediately and severe infections with pus formation occurred,

or also swells and gangrene; if not, this method could be successful as well. It should be noted here that the surgeons knew very well the limiting factor that the closed plaster was suitable only in simple fractures; and that, if significant swelling and suppuration were predictable, the plaster was in fact to discard. Figure 6 shows the effects of the impact of projectiles on the bones of this war.

Darley passed on his knowledge of the treatment of wounds in the just emerging over civil war in the United States. The American metal splints were increasingly applied also under the military doctors to Hradec Králové (Königgrätz). You could plaster it still. If you carefully read Leber's descriptions, you notice that also the surgeon Bush already practiced a similar application. He used a splint around the belly, and it mounted a straight rail along a leg, and did not start with plastering.

The most common operations were amputations, which are notoriously mutilating operations. The surgeons had for these typically 30 minutes available. May have doomed the Prince Anton of Hohenzollern, that the surgeons Middelдорpf and Langenbeck with him, unlike as with ordinary soldiers, refrained from a quick amputation in the hospital at Königinhof. The Prince was due to his shot knee deemed not fit to transport and died a "hero's death" despite best care after 33 days of torturous history.

90% of the wounds in this war were gunshot wounds by rifle single shots as well as some stab wounds by bayonets and Sabre or saber blows. Nevertheless, there were already sporadic artillery projectile injuries, which should become common during the First World War. There were still no machine guns. Leber saw no eye injuries, apart from a bullet through an eye with a head-injured patient consulted on August 10. The Prussian percussion cap rifles (Zündnadelgewehre), state of the art at the time, could cause perforating eye injuries by jumping off pieces of copper for the one who fired the shot. However, no injuries like these were seen in the 4 weeks in the hospitals.

Leber does not enter in his notes on asepsis or anesthesia. It is the time of antiseptic surgery under Cabolspray. The cause

of the infections by bacteria, was not yet been researched. Leber himself has also made extensive experiments in the decades after that just in this area, like many others. Since 1846, nitrous oxide, ether or chloroform as inhalant anesthetics were applied. Some special inhalers were developed, but also alone, an anesthesia could be made by a folded handkerchief mask and trickle of anesthetic. But that made it more difficult, finding the correct dosage. Overdose resulting in death was often. Ether and chloroform were easy to transport in glass bottles, but the nitrous oxide required steel containers, which were not available. Thus, it is to assume that in the hospitals mainly open drip anesthesia with ether or chloroform have been applied. Usually the surgeon instructed a nurse to carry out open drip anesthesia under room air.

Darley and Leber were not only as observers, but they were engaged in the manufacturing of wire splint supplying for war wounds of legs and arms. Darley has reported in American medical journals about the medical care of the wounded, particularly about the activity of the Johanniter, who organized the evacuation from the battlefield, and about all the facilities of the hospitals in schools, castles, monasteries, churches, tents, factories and other buildings. Meanwhile was rife even cholera, and claimed its victims in addition. Darley praised the successes of the Prussian war surgery: „In the sketch given of the arrangements made for sick and wounded, and as a further proof, that the Prussians were not indifferent spectators to medical improvements, bought at such sad experience in America, it is best to let the official records tell how much was done in so short a time”^[3,4].

Bernhard von Langenbeck

Bernhard von Langenbeck (1810-1887), 1864 raised in the Prussian nobility, was one of the most famous Surgeons of his time where the preconditions for a grandiose development of surgery were created after introduction of anesthesia and antisepsis. 1848 he took over a professorship of surgery at the Berlin Charité, 1860 founded the magazine "Archive for Clinical Surgery", called later until today "Langenbeck's Archive", and was among the founders of the "German Society of Surgery" in 1871 in Berlin. From 1860 on, Albrecht von Graefe and Bernhard von Lan-

genbeck were chairman and delegate of the "Berlin Medical Society"^[5].

In his travelogue to Bohemia, Leber does not mention anything about Langenbeck, that they had discussed on Ophthalmology, Albrecht von Graefe or Richard Liebreich. They will actually have talked; because Langenbeck had - in addition to his other appointments - the official title: "Director of the surgical ophthalmology clinic of



Bernhard von Langenbeck (1810-1887)

the University of Berlin", so reason enough in the evenings at Königgrätz to come to talk. The Prussian army surgeons at Königgrätz advocated the secession of Ophthalmology from Surgery virtually without exception

All surgeons at Königgrätz were in addition to the Surgery representatives of Ophthalmology as well. It is a particular aspect emerged, that the partition of Ophthalmology from Surgery was 1866 already demonstrably supported by the habilitated and graduated well-known surgeons there. The examples of this list are similar; so when Langenbeck, Bardeleben, Middeldorpf, Bush and Volkmann, who as Prussian teachers have encouraged trained eye doctors within their clinics, to represent Ophthalmology as eye specialist, just before almost in all Prussian universities, a private chair in 1873 was established for Ophthalmology. However, the exception was already in 1868 in Berlin for

Albrecht von Graefe, but for him personally much too late.

Adolf von Bardeleben had 1860 habilitated Rudolf Schirmer in Ophthalmology and provided him with a small department to treat eye patients in his surgical clinic in Greifswald^[6]. Albrecht Theodor Middeldorpf graduated Richard K.F. Foerster (Förster perimeter) in Ophthalmology already in 1857, and gave him the opportunity to operate as an eye specialist in Wroclaw (Breslau)^[6]. Just this happened also for Theodor Sämisch in Bonn, who in 1862 was habilitated in Ophthalmology by C.D. Wilhelm Busch^[6]. Richard Volkmann in Halle gave the already at his predecessor Blasius in 1858 in Ophthalmology habilitated Alfred Graefe, the opportunity to work as an eye specialist^[6]. All these four leading Ophthalmologists Rudolf Schirmer, Richard K.F. Förster, Theodor Saemisch and Alfred Graefe became finally first professors in their cities on the 1873 newly established Prussian chairs, as above mentioned.

Langenbeck however had to leave the eye speciality, to which he was not actually interested in, the head Johann Christian Jüngken (1793–1875) of the "Clinical Institute of Ophthalmology" which was founded already in 1828 in the University Hospital Charité in Berlin^[6], when he joined the management of the surgical clinic there in 1848. He would have come to work later with the emerging genius of Albrecht von Graefe, who was friends with him, but Jüngkens foiled that possibility. Also for Albrecht von Graefe (1828–1870), this was not a comfortable situation, because Jüngkens was extremely backward looking, for example, because he practiced yet the reclination of the lens during the star operation, while he did it elegant and expertly, and represented the opinion that Ophthalmology and Surgery should be inseparable. He blocked Graefe's academic career to become a Professor of Ophthalmology in Berlin. Only Jüngkens's resignation opened the way finally in 1868 for a secession of Ophthalmology there. Albrecht von Graefe now became the first Professor of Ophthalmology in a few rooms at the Charité, funded by Langenbeck, while he still pursued his private clinic in the Karlstraße with higher load. Theodor Leber was an assistant of Albrecht von Graefe in 1867; Langenbeck might be encountered frequently the 30 years younger

Theodor Leber in the Charité in these years 1868–1870 "Ah, dear colleague, we know each other from the field of battle at Königgrätz! Isn't it?"

Langenbeck should be coming soon to the next usage as a general physician in the German-French war 1870/71; Theodor Leber took over the management of the University Clinic in Berlin after Graefe's death 1870 temporarily until his appointment to Göttingen, where he became Professor with chair in 1873. Langenbeck managed at the end of the 70s, that surgery and eye clinic of the Charité received a new construction at the Ziegelstraße in Berlin, where Carl Schweigger, second professor of Ophthalmology after Graefe, moved in 1881 too.

Theodor Leber's journey to Bohemia in 1866, after his own descriptions

This document of Theodor Leber's journey on the fields of the battle of Königgrätz, 1866, fourteen days after the event, rendered here in its entirety for the first time, starting by the departure in Paris up to the return to Paris. There are some explanations in footnotes in the text and in a final "comment".

The departure from Paris was on Saturday, feast of federation (Fête de la Fédération, national day in France since 1880) 1866, July 14th, 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and the trip via Liège, Verviers and Aachen to Cologne lasted another 12 hours by train. On our way was not much to see of the area because the most interesting landscape fell into the night ride. The blast furnaces of Charleroi appeared us like a conflagration. The night was hot and restless; because 4 - 5 times the tickets were requested. Arrival in Cologne was Sunday, 15th of July, 5 o'clock in the morning and 2 hours to stay. We took breakfast at the central station restaurant, washed us, and succeeded only fleeting to see the Cathedral still under construction. Early on Sunday morning, it was still very quiet in the city. We saw the Dom-bridge only when driving over the Rhine.

Sunday, July 15th Cologne, Leipzig

The train from Cologne to Leipzig drove not via Kassel, as actually intended,

but via Hanover and Magdeburg. The reason might have been, because after the fighting by the end of June that the route was still impassable in the region around Göttingen. At first, we were alone in the wagon, but in Minden, the Prussian garrison town in Westphalia, many soldiers in the compartments were added. There were 7 and 36-er regiments, as seen on the shoulder pieces. Many soldiers were drunk, and many were bearded and decorated with medals from the Schleswig-Holstein conflict with Denmark (1864). They probably moved as the rearguard in the war. On the way there was bad food, but drinkable wine. The heat on the day was now tolerable. There was no message of concern in the Cologne newspaper. In Magdeburg, we could read through a special edition of the Magdeburg newspaper of the victory of the Prussians at Aschaffenburg (1866, July 14th), and also that the Federal troops had already left Frankfurt/Main, from the laying of the Bundestag to Augsburg and the March of Prussia against Frankfurt, where they should invade on July 16th. There were many people on the platforms. A train with Mecklenburg military came to Dresden, and another should coming off just before the day. At the station of Halle, we heard, that the train would go only to Leipzig, whereupon I decided to visit my gifted teacher in Vienna Prof. Carl Ludwig, who now worked in Leipzig. There were many people at the station in Halle and the following stations. Leipzig has been reached to ½ 10 o'clock and I went with my companion immediately to Ludwig, who was very surprised to see me. He reported that the ordinary people are geared very angry against the Prussians and to behave badly against them. But the educated people would be glad that arrived what was necessary. Then I left Ludwig at noon and we went to a hotel.

Monday, July 16th, Dresden

Departure was at 9 a.m. from Leipzig, a young man was traveling with us inside the compartment of the short train, in which a number of fieldworkers were, who should raise entrenchments in Dresden. Our traveling companion complained about the sad state of Saxony. Factory workers in Chemnitz were in fact all without work and, poor and very inflammatory too. Therefore, the Prussian troops have been deducted from there not to give rise to friction. Arrival in Dresden

was at ½ 1 o'clock, accommodation at the "Goldener Engel" (Golden Angel), a beautiful and nicely furnished hotel in the Dilldruffer Street. We dined there and then went to Privy Councillor Walter, who told us that there was no shortage of doctors in the war zone, but that we would have to see enough if we hurried us. 1 or 2 trains over Reichenberg (Liberec) went there every day. Then we went to a lady in the town, the former governess of Darley's wife, who he had to visit. At 6 o'clock in the hospital in the suburb, we met the physician and medical officer Dr. Sachs, who turned out totally unexpected for us as the "Egypt-Sachs". We saw a man, at whom he had made a trepanation, up to this point with good success. It was a violation of both parietal plates of the skull. The Trepanation was made on the 9th day after the injury, and it was the fifth day, when the trepanation was carried out. He trembled slightly and looked suitably well. We saw some wounded more who felt not particularly good.

The hospital had been established only for 8-9 days in a school, which lent itself well as a hospital with wonderful high ceilings and good air everywhere. Most of the wounded, about 400 felt well. Overall 1600-1800 wounded, should have been in Dresden at this time spread over 5 hospitals. Most doctors were from Dresden, and Sachs was the only Prussian military doctor. He came back on 25 June from Egypt to Europe, when actually nobody thought that such a war could break out, although he seemed to have sensed it himself. We went at night to Brühl's terrace, where a music orchestra played, ate something and went back to the hotel. The next morning we wanted to travel at 7 ½ o'clock.

Tuesday, July 17th, Dresden, Reichenberg

We got up at 5 o'clock and came punctual to the "Görlitzer" station (Görlitzer Bahnhof). A western industrialist from the Rhine who wanted to visit Silesian factories near the town of Reichenberg traveled with us. Our train was a freight train with military supplies, which took some people to travel. A great aversion prevailed in Saxony among the population against everything that smelled like Prussia. This was because the Prussians had occupied Saxony, to walk over the land

into Bohemia to fight against the Austrians (June, 18th – 22nd). They had encountered no significant resistance, and it looked like that Prussia had annexed Saxony. The railway official did not want to take our Napoleons. The ticket was issued only to Löbau. The train ran very slowly and stopped on its way three times, the first time 1 hour, the second time $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour and the third time $\frac{1}{4}$ hour. With us rode a one year volunteer Sergeant, who was a member of the battle of Sadowa, near Königgrätz (Hradec Králové), and had accompanied wounded Soldiers during their transport back to Prussia, he was a very correct man in my eyes. With us were also a merchant and a chaplain, and a few gentlemen who wanted to Görtlitz. At about noon, the train reached Löbau; so we had needed $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours for this short destination. The stop in Löbau was predicted of unknown duration. We ate lunch, and at 2 o'clock it was said that a train should travel, but only a military train. A writer wanted to help us to get two places for two doctors in it. Without this military train we would not come forward. Soldiers first rose and then still other persons, who had also received permission to continue their travel with this military train. We sat in a van, and it was very hot. About 12 soldiers from a regiment sat in it; they were in fact all slightly wounded and returned to their army. Then there were in the wagon still the businessman, the chaplain and a Reichenberg-doctor who wanted to work in a hospital in Zittau, a few aristocratic Saxony with a Countess Seebach, who was looking for her missing son, and a woman visiting her wounded husband in Turnau, in fact travelling alone. All moments again stopped the train, again short stays. From Zittau (Saxon's border zone), the area was very interesting, the people were dressed very miserable, almost all barefoot. On the houses everywhere had thatched roofs, some wretched straw huts. Darley expressed spontaneously, this would be the most miserable area he ever saw. Then we saw Gravenstein Castle (in fact in Bohemia) very picturesquely on a mountain located, as also the invading Prussians had to have seen it. It is in possession of Count Clam Gallas, and there had been the headquarters of the Saxons. It is surrounded by varied contours of other mountains, from which clear mountain streams flow with clean clear water. We had to stop in Krazzau, in the morning at 6 o'clock arrived, waiting $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour,

to make a passenger train passing by. It was already close to Reichenberg. We heard that every day a train went back and forth. At 7 o'clock we finally arrived at Reichenberg, there we took accommodation in the "Goldener Bär" (Golden bear), a bit in the town. It was a very good hotel. Reichenberg is beautifully situated surrounded by a semicircle of mountains. I had the most beautiful view from the windows of the hotel. The city should have over 16,000 inhabitants, it is a factory town, mainly for glass, with many new homes. We were hungry and ate in the restaurant. A Saxon noble older gentleman sat down at our table and reported that at 6 early in the morning a train was going off, he wanted to use it to Königinhof. Therefore still on the same evening, we decided to seek out the stage officer at the station. The major was too busy, but his adjutant, a gentle man willingly jotted down a note on our passports to be carried with the train to continue our travel. However, we heard that the railway from Reichenberg to Pardubice finishes at Königinhof, because the line was interrupted. And it was said it that it was virtually impossible to get a carriage in Königinhof. It became 10 o'clock in the evening and we returned in a roundabout way to the Golden Bear, but we got lost. We asked a man on the street who happened to be the father-in-law of our innkeeper, and led us to the hotel. We were slightly baffled regarding our further progress and developed two plans, either to take the post-carriage in the next evening to Prague and thence to Pardubice with the railway or by train from here to Königinhof and from there to Pardubice with the carriage. At $\frac{1}{2}$ 12 o'clock I went pretty tired to bed, since I had slept last night only 5 hours.

Wednesday, July 18th, Reichenberg, Turnau, Podol, Gitschin

In the morning we looked around for other opportunities in Reichenberg, and finally decided to take a carriage in Reichenberg and to drive with it over the first theater of war. We learned that by some men that they the day before had come without any difficulty to Rachenitz with their carriage. The trips in the hinterland of hostilities proved from our point of view entirely safely, and this must be stressed also that we were obviously unarmed. The post-carriage, which went down once a day, was occupied and it

was not to get an extra post. We sent to a "car", but the driver did not want to go to Rachenitz with us, later however he did. These negotiations cost us the rest of the morning, so that it went off around 1 o'clock p.m. We came through a magnificent area with several castles, including Susrow Castle and Wallstein Castle and several ruins and rocks on the mountain peaks with adventurous formations. Before we came to Turnau, it began to rain and we returned to a miserable guest house, to feed us. A girl who served us spoke German well, but otherwise the people spoke here Bohemic/Czech. We had passed the language border between Reichenberg and Turnau. We could get nothing more than bread and butter and bad beer, which we did not want to drink. We drank of the wine, we had worried us in Reichenberg. A woman from Zittau waited for the carriage-wagon to Prague; between Zittau and Turnau, the railway was recently opened. She wanted to drink a cup of coffee, but they did not make coffee for only one person; that only happened when we also decided to take some. Turnau was a poor small town with lots of barefoot people. We saw the bridge which had been destroyed and in the distance the small village Podol with trees, where the Prussians were gone in one night across the river Iser (Jizera). It was said, that the Commander Count Clam Gallas quietly had sat on his Wellenstein Castle and sent home even a messenger who wanted to sign him the arrival of Prussians, because he kept the message for a lie.

We came from Turnau almost to Gitschin through the possessions of the Count of Waldstein. We saw only a few traces of the past battle from only 14 days ago. Near Turnau there were only here and there some down thread fields, where either a deposit was or if an entire regiment at a short distance along the road, marched because the way to the marching was too bad. Only against Gitschin, we saw some burned down farmhouses and often even extended down thread fields from 2 miles away. We came from a chain of hills that was apparently been defended, and passed several fresh graves. There were traces of bullets on the trees of the road; and a layer that stretched out to Gitschin beyond the hills. The fields were kicked down, but otherwise was little to see. There were several fresh graves, and in the distance we saw a big freshly thrown up hill,

probably a mass burial mound. In Gitschin, numerous bullet impacts were in most homes. Only a few houses were destroyed. The battle lasted until one o'clock in the morning, while residents were in the cellars. In Gitschin, we went to the market place, where the war seemed still present with a lot of Prussian soldiers, military vehicles, train – associations etc. In the first guest house, the landlord had no place, in the second Inn "the Angel" a miserable hole was assigned to us until the house-lady gave us their own room. With difficulty, we received a fresh sheet. The duvets and pillows were not covered. There was a good roast chicken and good cold goose in the dining room, the room full of soldiers. A captain lived there, two lieutenants and some soldiers. Also our coach and two horses got accommodation there. The landlord had very good horses, big and strong, that were also needed in the mountainous area. We went not even somewhere else this evening.

Thursday, July 19th, Gitschin, Hořice

I visited a military doctor in the morning who was ill and also stayed in the guest house. He advised me to another military doctor in the same house. This colleague proved to be very friendly and issued me a paper to visit the surrounding hospitals, which 5-6 major and some minor could be found in the city. There were about 1000 wounded in Gitschin, Austrians, Prussians and Saxons, and still a dozen of Austrian doctors worked there next to Prussians. I saw again the main market, around the main buildings of the city an ancient tower and a new Church, whose stones outside were still raw and unfinished.

We visited only the castle hospital, because we wanted to keep us not too long. There, we met Bardeleben, general physician at that time. He showed us his interesting cases. Most wore plaster casts, with which the doctors were very satisfied. Cholera and anthrax had occurred in the village. At noon, we drove to Hazitz/Korzitz, which was not very far away. The landscape was hilly, again with slight hills. It was recognized only a few signs of the walkover of the Prussian army. We found accommodation in the guest house of Mrs. Kautz, which had been recommended to us, and we got a room with the passage through another room. It was better than that in Gitschin, a fresh bed sheets without discussion, but the down comforter just like

there. We took lunch – soup, beef, chicken and bad cucumber salad and even worse beer – and therefore we drank our wine. According to table, we were tired and could not resist us, to sleep until 3 p.m. We believed that anyway there was not too much to see around noon in the hospitals. Bardeleben had told us, that Privy Councillor B. von Langenbeck worked here in the hospital. We went at 4 o'clock to his house, which they had described to us, but there lived a Lieutenant-General. So we walked around for a while and could nowhere find out where Langenbeck lived. We knocked on the door of Count Solms, for whom we had a letter. He was very friendly, but could not help us and advised us to go to the headquarters. We did not so, but went to the first hospital, and decided to wait there. It was 5 o'clock and we learned by Sir von Alvensleben of the Johanniter (Knights of St. John), where Langenbeck had his apartment, that he dwelt in the same house like von Alvensleben himself. We welcomed the military doctor Grimm, who entered the room. The day before he was thrown with the car and had bruises on his leg and a broken rib. He was a pedantic man just looked at our papers and directed us to the surgeon because of the visit of the hospitals. Langenbeck came from a room, the instruments of an investigation still in his hand. Count Solms appeared also there at the same time and we welcomed Langenbeck. He was very kind to us and invited us to go with him to Milowitz as he heard that we had also a cart with us. In Milowitz we saw badly wounded soldiers. Langenbeck undertook an operation in the area of the wrong rib. A bullet was penetrated in the hip and come out in the area of the wrong rib on the side. He extended the opening along the wound channel, took out the clot of coagulated blood, and put the finger on the bleeding vessel. The bleeding lasted on, but came to a stop due to his finger pressure. There was no iron oxide to find so that he supplied the wound with Charpie and sticking plaster. Milowitz there were even another shortage of hospital consumer goods. Then he opened an abscess where air escaped from the knee joint; then, he performed an amputation below the knee, where bones protruded, and provided two cases with shots in the ankle. Langenbeck told us that the Prussians are probably already in Vienna. The Austrian army would be pushed off in two parts, a part from Lundenburg marched off towards

Vienna, the other from Ölmütz to Hungary. Several battles were also at Brünn. The losses of the Austrians in the battle of Sadowa/ Königgrätz were enormous, but over 150,000 killed has been overestimated. The Austrians had about five times more wounded than the Prussians there. In the evening we met Langenbeck in the resources, where Darley had a long discussion with him on various surgical questions until against ½ 11 p.m.

Hozitz is a small town with 3.000 (3/M written) inhabitants and a miserable nest. The people are almost pure Czechs and speak German as a foreign language is spoken. Many speak no German at all. We were in fact in the "Grand Hotel" of the place, where our rooms proved to bearable. Our waitress was a "holka peska", a Bohemian girl who spoke not a word of German. We were therefore compelled to learn some chunks of Bohemian to die not from hunger. Wine did not exist actually, because all relations to the wine-producing countries of Austria were interrupted; there were only mentioned bad beer. The wounded soldiers in the hospitals were given wine enough while the Johanniter (Knights of St. John) really made a great role for the care of the wounded (Letter to his younger brother Carl from August 11, 1866 from Trautenau).

Friday, July 20th Hradek Castle

In morning we were with the military surgeon on the road, to see how he creates plaster bandages. Lunch on Hradek Castle, belonging to Count Harrach. It is a lovely hunting castle, but at the time it was converted to a hospital. On the way back, we came across the battlefield, where it looked as if just the Austrians would have had a strong position in the battle (*Fig. 4*). Then we were still together with Langenbeck.

Saturday, July 21st

In the morning, I have installed such a plaster bandage myself to learn it. The wounded soldier had a thigh shot through the whole lower limb. I did it in a small hospital, which had been established at a factory outside the town. At 11 o'clock we saw Langenbeck operating a resection of elbow joint. The other day it was raining, so we had rather stayed in the accommodation. The coach had a free day.

Sunday, July 22nd

We got up 6 o'clock to meet medical officer Hahn at $\frac{1}{2}$ 8 h to visit some different hospitals. First was the hospital in the city. There we saw a case with smashing of the thigh. A strongly spurting bleeding happened when the surgeon tried to remove some bone fragments out of the wound. The only thing remained to do was amputation, which was also carried out. The second case had a strong infiltration of the thigh with extended production of pus and undermining of the skin of the extremities. The soldier had received a plaster bandage immediately after the injury. Langenbeck opened a boil on the buttocks and had then nothing to operate. He had visited the day before the Hohenzollern Prince at Königinhof, whose knee was completely shattered. In this case the wound healing in the plaster bandage was perfect.

Expected was still the conclusion of peace in Vienna. A small battle should have taken place at Kronneuburg, the outcome of which was not yet known. At dinner, we heard from a few students from Breslau that a five day ceasefire was adopted. After that, we met again Langenbeck, and some of the medics from the 1st heavy field hospital of the 3rd Army Corps.

Monday, July 23rd

Langenbeck was not occupied for that day. So we went about 9 o'clock at Hradek castle, in order to find Prof. Bush from Bonn. He was just breaking up to Sadowa, when we arrived at the castle. He welcomed us very friendly. We met Dr. Collmann, whom I had seen at the Heidelberg Congress two years earlier. He took us around everywhere and later invited us to dinner. The patients in the riding school were excellent as well as those in the tents. We saw a thigh amputation in the upper third, a resection of the shoulder, a resection of elbow and amputation at the ankle. Busch does not immediately use the plaster bandage, but only a few days later. His resections had first got all no plaster. The man we had recently seen with the bleeding, had died. He used a wire splint around the belly first at the thigh wound, and it mounted a straight splint along the leg, and started with plastering later. Here were four larger and some individual tents opened. It was said

that the fresh air made good healing. The news of the ceasefire was confirmed.

Tuesday, July 24th

In the morning there were three amputations and two in the afternoon.

Wednesday, July 25th

There were resections of ankles in two cases. Then surrendered an insatiable bleeding with a stomach supply after a shot. The man died within 5 minutes of his hemorrhage.

Thursday, July 26th Chlum, Sadowa, Nechanitz, Lipa

Bleeding was stopped through digital compression and actually planned operation with a threat was unnecessary. The man was very miserable and wanted to know even anything. For many, there was little hope. The leg could also become gangrenous by the stop of vessels. Then, two foot resections were performed. The bullet was still in the joint. Hradek Castle was not visited because of this lot of work, as it was actually intended.

In the afternoon, we drove to Chlum on the battlefield. It has been over 2 hours with the coach to reach it and are a few miles. The trail follows through Milowitz, Sadowa to Lipa. Behind the village of Lipa leads on the left a page way on the height of Chlum. The battle line went from Sadowa to the left and to the right along the Bistritz-river, almost near Nechanitz, and from Sadowa to Lipa uphill (*Fig. 4*). A dark forest, is located right by the way, where a majority of the trees were cut down; and on the left of the street and further to the right, behind the forest (Holla forest) were small cabins of wood and a larger camp. These small cabins are all preserved. There are many bullets in the tree trunks; and we saw the remains of locks, which should shut off the entrances to the villages and at one point, we found a dead horse. In the village of Lipa itself there were burned houses, carved trees, numerous knapsacks, bandoleers, pouches for primers, rifle-butts, a complete Austrian rifle, shakos, many bullets and grenade splitter traces in the trees, but many also already cut out. A grenade was beaten up in the Church.

Friday, 27th Hradek Castle, Nechanitz

After a good breakfast with coffee, beefsteak and egg we drove at around ½7 o'clock early in the morning to Hradek Castle. It was now bitterly cold, so I made the routes uphill, always on foot, because it was too cold for me in the carriage. As we drove down it was still mild and the sun was shining, but then the sky was referring, and it became cooler. We

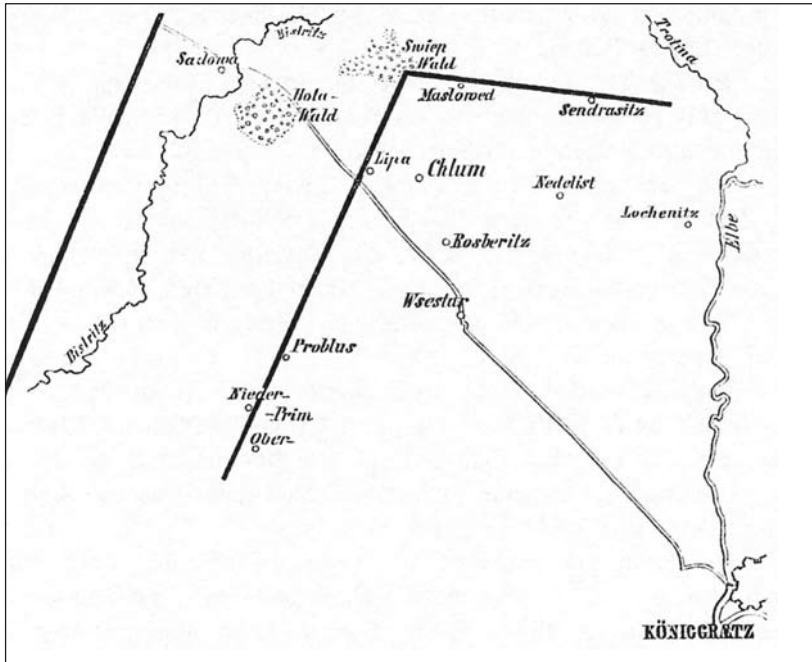


Fig. 4: Battlefield of Königgrätz

Fontane [7]

arrived around 9 o'clock. The old medical officer stood in the front door with Count Solms of the Johanniter. Nobody knew where Prof. Bush stayed. But we found him after a short while, where he was busy with a resection of a joint of the foot and amputation of another foot joint. There were here no cases of cholera as occurred elsewhere. Then Bush, a Russian doctor, Count Solms and we went to Nechanitz. When we arrived there, it was dinner-time, and we were invited to the table and found ourselves in a pleasant accompany. I sat opposite to lecturer (Privatdozent) Dr. Bing, who expressed very reasonable views. He regretted that the Prussians had interfered in the revolution of Baden and had lost their reputation due to the countless shootings there. Dr. Collmann expressed yet at the end, what really surprised, that it is not necessary for him as a Prussian officer to be commanded by a bewildered foreign. He meant the Russian doctor, who had come with us, and who expected to be

able to take over the hospital management at the Hradek Castle.

After table there were four operations in Nechanitz: Two ankle resections, an amputation at knee height and a thigh amputation for an Italian. This was a very bad case; the man, however, was very brave and full of courage. He had multiple abscesses in the thigh with a shot fracture with fragmentation. He answered the question about his being: *benissime!* Immediately after the surgery, he smoked a cigarette and called: *Viva il doctore!* At ½ 6 o'clock we drove back satisfied and met Langenbeck and the other colleagues in the evening.

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Saturday, July 28th Cherekwitz Castle

We only just got up about 8 o'clock and drove at ½10 to Cherekwitz, in order to find Dr. Wilms. An hour later, we were there and met him in the operating room in the Castle.

Two femur amputations were performed. There are still about 150 to 170 wounded. The hospital is continually evacuated; the supplied are transported by cart and train to their home. Immediately after the battle 500 patients were here, and with the subsequent wounded further distant battles, the number of the supplied in the Hospital increased to 1200. Recently there were some tents outside the Castle. It has been no cholera there. I was presented honorary the surgeon Dr. Fischer, who forced us literally with wine and showed us some rooms of the Castle, which were decorated mostly with old family pictures on the walls. I looked at a sketch of the battle field. Cherekwitz lies in destination one hour walk from Sadowna, and the fight ranged until here. The main battle took place in the forest near the village Benatek at the Bistritz-river. The Crown Prince came with his army marching from Königinhof on Chlum.

We headed back again ½ 2 p.m.

Sunday July, 29th

We attended a resection of the shoulder joint. In the evening we met still our colleagues in their apartment, where they celebrated the birth of the first son of Dr. Schönberg with a glass of wine.

Monday July, 30th

We let a locksmith construct wire splints, how they are applied in America with fractures of the bones. These splints were invented during the American civil war. Such a thing is simply made of a strong wire with two transverse bars. The length ranges from the iliac crest to the toe. She gets a turn depending on the need, on the knee, hip, or at the foot to make an inclined plane. It is secured with wide adhesive strips, are backed up before with thick compresses to reduce pressure. The wound itself remains free and can be supplied afterwards. In the afternoon, Darby fixed one of these bandages in an open femur fracture with much dirt. The displacement of the fracture ends could not be exactly fixed. But the next day she was slightly lower. I read in the newspaper "Kreuzzeitung" dated July 26th that there had been a battle near Pressburg and so the ceasefire was interrupted. Frankfurt had paid 6 million gold marks to Prussia and should pay 26 million more. There the ceasefire was extended. It was the intention to establish a North German Confederation. The Prussians position was now in Weinheim/Bergstraße and in Miltenberg; Darmstadt was already occupied. The 8th Army Corps (of Bavaria) had retreated over the Neckar.

At 4 o'clock we went to Hilowitz, where surgeon medical officer Dr. Wüst took a resection of an elbow. The wound was after the operation much smaller. In the evening, only Langenbeck and Dr. Lederer were in the resource. The others attended the departure of Dr. Barschel, as we only learned later. One of the colleagues had a conflict the day before with the host, because wanted to take a silver piece for 5 cruisers (Kreuzer).

Tuesday, July 31st Hilowitz

We missed the resection of an elbow of Langenbeck, because we walked immediately to the factory to look for the wire splint bandages. The hospital nurse gave us a detailed introduction to the Prussian military medical facilities. 3 o'clock we drove again to



Fig. 5:
Inscriptions on the gravestones (German and Czech) in Horice of one deceased Prussian and one Austrian soldier who died from their injuries at the same day July 27th, 1866 when Leber and Darley were there.

Hilowitz, where Langenbeck undertook some operations. An injured man had been lying three days on the battlefield. Initially, Langenbeck had to resect the joint end of the clavicle, that stuck out and another piece was shot off. Then a hunk had to be removed from the humerus and another little part was sawed off across, together about three inches long. We wanted to drive the next day to Könnigshof.

Wednesday August, 1st

Without notice.

Thursday August, 2nd Horice (Hořice, Horschitz)

We planned to stay until August 6th in Horice (Hořice, Horschitz). The team there put the American wire splints in 6-7 other cases and was very happy with it. We saw any more so many fresh casualties as at the beginning. The two head injuries died, one on the 23rd day after wounding, the other on the 29th day. The autopsy revealed a brain abscess and some bullet fragments at one of them.

Friday August, 3rd

Today, my watch from the room was stolen. The employee in the pub had brought our boots into the room this morning. We were woken up, but we both fell asleep again. Somehow, a unknown female person steel into the House and then into our room and was obviously the culprit. No people in the home were suspected. Dr. Marsicani, a military doctor had looked for the person responsible for the crime and went up to the

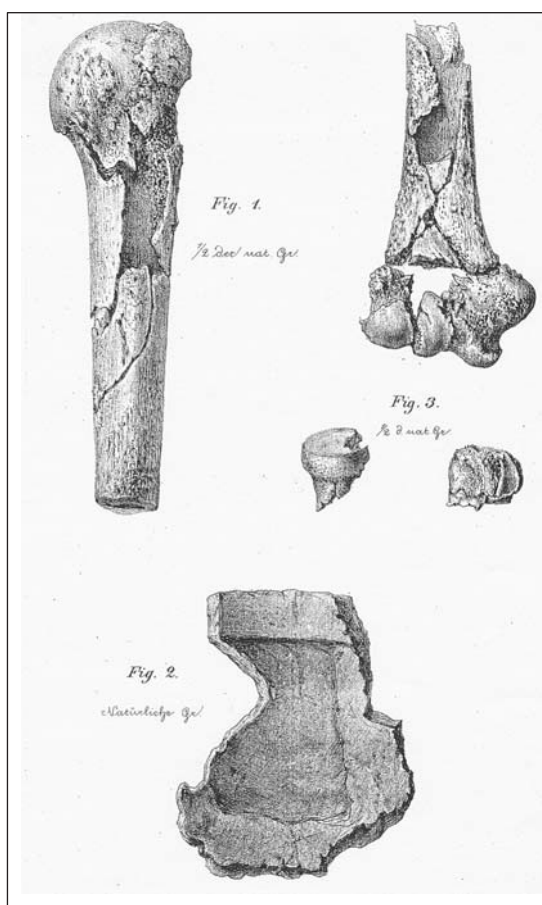


Fig. 6
Bone and joint destruction by projectiles on the field of battle at Königgrätz (Hradec Králové) 1866, from Biefel [11] (1869) Table VI

Fig. 1 Upper arm of a Prussian soldier, destructed by an Austrian grenade piece (fig. 2).

Fig. 3 Right elbow of another Prussian soldier from the front, shot by an Austrian bullet; below are parts of radius and ulna after amputation of this arm in the lower third.

headquarters. However, he had seen no suspicious person and so he returned to Horice. In the evening we were at Hradec Castle, where a good success of a wire splint bandage in a thigh shot fracture was reported. In Nechanitz we visited mentioned Dr. Bing, surgeon and lecturer in Bonn/Rhine. He gave further informations about the organization of the military department in Prussia.

Saturday August, 4th

In the theatre building, we saw some other operations of Langenbeck. In one case, also a larger part of the parietal bone was removed in addition to smaller pieces. Langenbeck used a chainsaw in a similar operation. There were several cases of chest wounds. These persons felt remarkably well, and were healed even in part. 20 sufferers lived in the tents, which belong to the Hospital of a spinning mill. There was a case of hip joint resection, which meant amputation in the hip joint. Patient was an Austrian Colonel, who died of exhaustion a few days before our departure. The Prussian Captain Bauer with a smashing of the knee joint died shortly after the Austrian. He had developed a diarrhea with mild colic, but without a trace of septicemia.

The wonderful view of the small chapel Marien and the cemetery in the North of the town (Horice) and equally from the Gotthard Chapel in the East caught my eye.

Sunday August, 5th

We said our goodbyes yet to the general physician. He instructed the medical officer Barowski to issue us a paper that we could easily travel to Berlin via Görlitz.

Monday August, 6th Horice, Königinhof

Early in the morning 8 o'clock we went from Horice to Königinhof, where we arrived at noon. No accommodation was to get in the Guest House, but we found some privately in a Chicorée factory, which currently stood still. However, we noticed at our breakfast that not all stocks of Chicorée were sold. We had to pay 1 mark for the day. After table we were looking for the medical officer

Middeldorpf, however, he just took off the death mask of the Prince of Hohenzollern. He had died the day before, when he also was ill to diphtheria. By medical officer Dr. Wundt, we learned that even Dr. Liebreich, who was ridden out, worked in the hospital. It was the brother of my clinic Chief Dr. R. Liebreich in Paris, and we learned already in Paris, that this brother Liebreich's worked there at Königshof in any hospital. We met a further German doctor at the hospital who had been 18 years in America and was helping as a volunteer. At a locksmith we ordered us three wire splints, which were completed immediately. We met Dr. Liebreich until evening and dined with him, medical officer and surgeon Dr. Wolf surgeon and assistant Rottmann in the canteen and had spent a pleasant social evening together.

The case of the Prince of Hohenzollern was described to us as extraordinary^[8]. He got through his injury, with smashing of the right thigh and knee and two other gunshot wounds, a pulsating lump over the clavicle. But the bullet had come already out. After a few days that the war wound happened the bleeding had taken serious forms, the patient had become threatening anemic. The wound was cut and even another flat shaped bullet came out. The patient died on the day before we came, as mentioned.

Königshof lies on the railway line between Liberec and Hradec Králové, and also on the Elbe, which is only a narrow creek. The area is very beautiful and appealing, you can see clearly the Sněžka (Schneekoppe). It was told that here the first Prussian military doctors met on 3000 wounded. Most had been still under the open sky, in the courts, on the market square, in barns, in the Church, schools and in suitable homes. When we arrived, only about 120 there were wounded, because as soon as possible the most had been transported away with the railway. Now, the railway passed again in the direction of Pardubice passing JosephCity and Hradec Králové. However, the line from Turnau to Prague had not navigable because the bridge at Kralup over the Vltava River was not yet been rebuilt. The Prussians seemed not to work on this rebuilding as military trains on the other way were now navigable to Reichenberg (Liberec) and Gör-

litz, which passed Hradec Králové and Königshof, too. However, this route was been limited to military trains. Individuals were taken only, if they had received the permission of the headquarters to travel (Letter to the brother of Carl , August 11, 1866).

Tuesday August, 7th

Darley managed putting in the morning one and at evening two wire splint bandages. Later a number of bone fragments had to be removed at one case.

Wednesday August, 8th Monastery of Kukus

In the morning, three other cases were supplied with the American wire splints. At noon we rode with Liebreich to the monastery of Kukus, where there were 20 Austrian wounded. A Prussian captain had a deep flesh wound to the thigh. The wine there was bad.

Thursday August, 9th Trautenau

Also Professor Middeldorpf wanted to travel himself on this day to Trautenau, and we got two seats on the stage of course free by him. $\frac{3}{4}$ in the morning 8: 00 scheduled departure with the mail-coach direction Trautenau. Middeldorpf and his former Assistant should follow with another coach. We were at 11 o'clock in Trautenau. On the way we saw several soldier graves. The land was hilly and there were steep climbs. Due to the many transport in this war, the roads were very bad. Trautenau was greater than Horice and also larger than Königshof. Trautenau had a large square marketplace. The inhabitants speak German mainly. Königshof was an old town with old houses and remains of a city wall. It was said that here many years ago a very old manuscript had been found^[9].

Middeldorpf arrived at two o'clock in Trautenau. We all together were quartered in barracks, each of which was 12 feet wide and 12 feet high and each was constructed for 30 wounded. The floor was increased by 1 foot above the ground. There were still 60 wounded there, consistently all with favorable findings.

Friday August, 10th

In the morning, the intern assistant undertook two amputations. At noon, we went to Parschuitz. There was a case in which a bullet was penetrated above the ear and the canal came out again on the other side in the cheekbone area. In another case, a bullet had penetrated through the eye to the brain, and had also violated this without incurring very conspicuous failures. This happened on June 27, and the bullet had now a position deep in the brain. You could introduce a fine probe over 5 inches deep in the wound toward the brain, and it was not yet at the end of the shot-cannel. The man had felt comfortable in all these 42 days since the injury and could even walk. His left eye was blind (letter from August 11). Middeldorpf tried in vain to remove this bullet days ago.

Saturday August, 11th Trautenau, Schömburg, Waldenburg, Nachod

Middeldorf suggested us to go with him to Nachod, where were still 120 wounded and that there he had to perform some operations. But Darley had an infection on a finger for a few days that had made much worse until now on Saturday. He felt uncomfortable and didn't want to visit Nachod. So we remained in Trautenau and waited, whether Darley's finger would not improve. At the same time we had thought about whether now not would have come the time to the check-out.

Sunday August, 12th

At noon we were to table at Volkmann, then a walk on Parschnitz. The Johanniter-depot in Trautenau is generously equipped. In the evening we were to table at the heads of the Johanniter (Knights of Malta) von Sanden and von Buggenhagen. They had a champagne punch among other delicacies.

Monday August, 13th Trautenau

We saw many severe wounds at the hospital in Trautenau:

a) Shot through the rectum, penetrated through the left part of the basin and the wound of inlet and outlet of the bullet fairly symmetrically on both sides of the sacrum.

b) Lung shots in three cases; in one wounded the holes were so big that you could see the lungs as blue bodies.

c) shot through the stomach across over, wound openings on the right side in the liver area with violation of the liver, the patient did very well.

d) shots through the liver in two cases; in one of these cases a piece of fired healthy liver came out of the wound a few days ago. In the other case, the bile duct was injured, and bile from the wound was gone out for some days.

e) shot through the bladder: the slug was entered at the sacrum and treaded out to the anterior abdominal wall with lymph-nodes. The wound healed spontaneously almost "ad integrum".

f) shot through the left cheek and treading of the bullet behind the right ear. The patient got a fracture of the mandible and a hole in the hard palate of the right side.

The Panaris of Darley was getting worse and developed into a kind of carbuncle ulcer. The finger swelled more and more. In the night of Monday to Tuesday Darley couldn't sleep in pain, holding also the day. The following night, it was slightly better, so that we could soon finally depart Wednesday.

Tuesday August, 14th

I visited Förke from Bremen in the morning, and then Darley and I went to Volkmann, to watch his finger, in which he had contracted an infection at any opportunity. To do this we had to visit the school hospital, where Volkmann logged thigh fractures for the statistic. He looked at Darley's finger and recommended the use of the grey ointment. That evening I managed with Förke one of our wire splint bandages in a case of a shot through the thigh bone; this was a case that was very much in favor.

Wednesday August, 15th Schömburg

We had opportunity to go to Schömburg with Dr. Dellevie in the cart but it had a snap. So we had to wait until lunch on another cart, but then still reached Schömburg. Our driver had then no desire, to go with us to Waldenburg. Darley was so uncomfortable that we decided to stay, where we found an elegant and good accommodation at the "Stern" in Schömburg.

Schömberg is a small border city to Bohemia with 1800 inhabitants on the German side, the first Prussian town across the border. The houses are one-storied with a bower on three legs, just like in Bohemia also built. We knew that in Waldenburg the train to Berlin went off at 6 o'clock in the evening.

**Thursday August, 16th
Schömberg, Waldenau**

Drive 3 ½ miles over the mountains with the carriage from Schömberg to Waldenburg. It was a very bad way. Therefore, the post makes a detour via Landshut.

Friday August, 17th

Travel by train: ¼ 7 a.m. up to ¼ 6 p.m. to Berlin.

We took accommodation in the Hotel de France and learned of Prussia's annexation of Kurhessen, Nassau, Frankfurt and Hanover.

**Saturday August, 18th
Berlin**

It was in vain to go to the post due to poste restante letters. Then I went to Schelske^[10] and von Graefe. I met Hüter in a pub near his clinic. In the evening, I was at the club, where I met Schelske again. He told us the latest news in detail. I remained still until Thursday the 23rd of August in Berlin.

**Thursday August, 23rd
Leipzig**

Departure in the evening to Leipzig. In Berlin, I had written some lines for Ludwig a few days ago, but received no reply. In Leipzig, I learned that he was out of town. I visited Coccius and Ruthe and the collection of pathological eyes. Dr. Blass went well, but was just busy. Some individual cases of cholera should be in the city.

**Friday August, 24th
Dresden**

Evenings 7 to ½11 drive to Dresden. Darley was going to comply and came at noon to the Golden Angel (Goldener Engel).

Saturday August, 25th

Darley had a Commission meeting; Dr. Sachs picked me up and we went together in the hospital, so called "Oppelspital". The man with the trepanation from Monday, July 16th, was almost completely healed, and the wound was in fact closed.

Sunday August, 26th

In the morning we had a boat trip on the Elbe to Aussig. But only on the ship we learned that it was only going to Herrnskretsch (Bohemian border). There, we had to wait on the train, which took us to Bodenbach. There we reached the train to Prague just at ½ 4 o'clock and arrived there on Monday morning at 7 o'clock.

**Monday August, 27th
Prague**

In Prague we took accommodation in the Hotel de Sax. It was very fully there, and it had also had a bad service. We visited with Dr. Bär an Austrian garrison hospital (Garrisonsspital) and looked at the city. In the evening at ½ 8 departure from the Pilsen-station (Pilsener Bahnhof), which has a destination from the town of almost ¾ hours carriage ride. Then departure for Munich.

**Tuesday August, 28th
Munich**

In Munich, I learned that the Jollys (relatives) are in Tegernsee. Darley gave me 100 francs for a ticket. I left him in Munich and started for Tegernsee. First I took the railway to Holzkirchen, but from there, there was just a freight train with a carriage-wagon to Tegernsee. It was a very unpleasant ride in the wagon. Only in the evening, I reached Tegernsee.

**Wednesday August, 29th
Tegernsee**

It was raining in Tegernsee; excursion to Miesbach and via Schuss retour, trips on the Lake. Liebig was there with his daughter and Wöhler as well with his daughter Mix, and Mrs. Thiersch, Professor Windscheit and Simson, Bagold and Siebold were with their families; and of course the

Langenbeck Bernhard R. K. von (1810-1887), Professor of surgery, University of Berlin, Ziegelstraße, intubation anaesthesia via Trachostoma, shoulder joint resection.

Carl David Busch (1826-1881), graduated until 1855 with Langenbeck; Professor of surgery University of Bonn.

Heinrich Adolf von Bardeleben (1819-1895), Professor of surgery, University of Greifswald and later Charité Berlin, inauguration of the fire ointment with bismuth.

Albrecht Theodor Middeldorpf (1824-1868), Professor of surgery in (Breslau) Wroclaw, inauguration of the electro cautery. He died from a peritonitis^[8].

Volkman Richard von (1830-1889) Professor of surgery, University of Halle, Antisepsis with Carbolic, Volkman triangle (tibia fragment)

Robert Ferdinand Wilms (1824-1880), Surgeon in Bethanien Hospital, Berlin.

Tab.1

List of the Prussian chief surgeons in the area of Königgrätz (Hradec Králové) in 1866 who Darley and Leber could accompany. Except of Wilms, they were professors of surgery, which fully supported the impending secession of Ophthalmology from Surgery.

whole family Jolly (relatives of the Lebers) with all sons and the two sisters of the family Jolly. It went well for all involved. Fritz went down Friday night; I went with Louis (Jolly) on Saturday to Munich.

**Saturday September, 1st
Munich**

Evening in the Volkstheater

**Sunday September, 2nd
Munich**

In the evening in the Opera: 'The dumb by Protici', by Daniel Francois Esprit Auber

**Monday September, 3rd
Würzburg**

Drive to Würzburg and arrival at noon; legal intern Dr. Held took me in two hospitals, while I missed Lienhardt, who went to the hunt. Drinking good Bocksbeutel wine.

**Tuesday September, 4th
Heidelberg**

5 o'clock in the afternoon departure

to Heidelberg. Arrival in the night $\frac{1}{2}$ 2, due to a stay of the train for two hours in Darmstadt. I stayed the whole week in Heidelberg until next Tuesday. Papa came on Friday and stayed until Sunday.

Sunday September 9th

Käthchen Landfried's wedding.

Monday September, 10th
Excursion to Ziegelhausen

**Tuesday September, 11th
Karlsruhe, Straßburg, Paris**

Return via Karlsruhe and Strasbourg, where I arrived at 3 o'clock in the afternoon; evening 10 p.m. departure with amusement billet 12 francs to Paris.

**Wednesday September, 12th 1866
Paris**

$\frac{3}{4}$ 2 a.m. arrival in Paris.

Conclusions

Theodor Leber's descriptions of his itinerary to Bohemia is a time document about severe and many hopeless wounds from soldiers as they otherwise do not occur in heroising war descriptions of that time. In this sense, his notes remain an anti-war document for our time in all its clarity. However, one must admit that war surgical aphorisms, like these of Biefel^[11] are similar to read. The text "Theodor Leber's journey to Bohemia in 1866, after his own descriptions" consists of keyword written notes taken for better readability in sentences of the original. Therefore, also two letters of Leber from Bohemia to his brother Carl in Le Havre from July and August, 1866 were helpful^[12,13].

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- [13] Two letters of Leber from Bohemia to his brother Carl in Le Havre from July and August, 1866. Source: Leber Family Archives

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