



THE OSLER LIBRARY NEWSLETTER

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Osler Library of the History of Medicine, McGill University, Montréal (Québec) Canada

IN THIS ISSUE

This issue features the Annual Appeal to the Friends of the Osler Library. As the appeal recounts, the generosity of a number of people each year makes a significant difference to the Library's work in serving students, researchers and practitioners in a variety of ways. It allows us to purchase significant rare items as well as recent scholarship in several languages that provides the fundamental material for scholarship. It also lets us carry out restoration work on important books in our collection. Our Friends fund also supports the annual Osler Library Research Travel Grant, which helps scholars produce articles, books and conference papers based on material from our collection, as well as other activities such as exhibitions and digitisation. Your continued support enriches the lives of those who use the Library both on-site and remotely and we thank you for your generosity.

This issue also features an article by Dr. T. Jock Murray on Osler's fascination with Robert Burton (1577-1640), author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Dr. Murray has long been associated with Dalhousie University in Halifax as professor of neurology, professor of medical humanities, and dean of medicine, as well as the Oslerian tradition and medical history in general. We also have a report by Professor Leigh Whaley of the Department of History and Classics of Acadia University in Nova Scotia on charitable medical booklets in Early Modern Europe at the Osler Library. Her research was supported by an Osler Library Research Travel Grant and will be part of a book length study she is doing entitled "Healthcare and Charitable Medicine in Early Modern Europe." Frequent contributor and renowned Oslerian Dr. Richard Golden has a fascinating article on two very rare Canadian printings of Osler's *Principles and Practice of Medicine*.

We hope you enjoy the newsletter.



CHRIS LYONS TAKES THE HELM OF THE OSLER LIBRARY

BY FAITH WALLIS

It was with great enthusiasm that the selection committee composed of representatives of the Board of Curators of the Osler Library and of the McGill University Libraries, and chaired by Trenholme Dean of Libraries Colleen C. Cook (herself a member of the Board), chose Christopher M. Lyons, M.A., M.L.I.S., to succeed Pamela Miller as Head of the Osler Library of the History of Medicine. Chris is already a very familiar face to users of the Library and readers of the *Osler Library Newsletter*, for he has served as Assistant History of Medicine Librarian since 2004, and Acting Head of the Library since 2011. The exhibitions and conferences he has organized, the digitisation projects he



has designed and managed, and the many teaching and collection-building activities in which he has been involved, have been reported in previous numbers in detail. Every issue of the *Newsletter* seems to uncover a new talent -- most recently, a flair for fundraising, in connection with the purchase of the Charles Nicholas Jenty anatomical atlas. But when the selection committee looked beyond the public and visible Chris, it found an equally impressive record of contributions to the advancement of scholarship in the history of medicine, many of which are performed out of sight to the ordinary user. Here are a few representative examples. Chris's energetic participation in the U.S. National Library of Medicine History of Medicine Division's pilot project on digitising guides to unique archival collections has made the Osler Library's materials visible to scholars around the world (you can visit the Consortium's site at <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/consortium/index.html>). He also successfully lobbied the NLM to include Sir William Osler on its *Profiles in Science* website; this collaboration will result in the digitisation of about 200 items from the Library's collection that illustrate Osler's career and accomplishments in historical context.

Behind the scenes in the Library System and in the University, Chris works on several committees charged with identifying important legacy materials, collaborating in multi-institutional digital image initiatives, and developing data curation services. He is also the President of Archivists and Librarians in the History of the Health Sciences and has just stepped down as editor of its journal *The Watermark* -- now (thanks to Chris) an on-line publication. Finally, Chris is a historian of medicine in his own right, whose articles on Canadian medical history have appeared in *Canadian Bulletin of Medical*

History and Canadian Journal of Public Health. Members of the American Association for the History of Medicine and the American Osler Society have seen and heard Chris speak at their meetings. For the student or the visitor, however, Chris is above all the public and academic face of the Osler Library -- the generous and informed librarian who leads tours, teaches seminars on library resources to undergraduates and graduates, consults with scholars, and curates an increasingly ambitious program of exhibits. The Osler Library is moving into the uncharted waters of a new era, when unique historic collections will gain an unprecedented level of scholarly significance and visibility thanks to the Internet; it is good to know that Chris Lyons is at the helm of the ship, and we wish him every success on this voyage.

SIR WILLIAM OSLER AND ROBERT BURTON

BY DR. T. JOCK MURRAY

In the niche in the Osler Library that holds Sir William Osler's favorite books there are the many editions of Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which Osler famously called "the greatest medical treatise written by a layman". (1)

Of all the books collected by and associated with Osler, this treatise on depression occupied more of his time than any other. In a recent publication about the books associated with Osler, I wrote a chapter on Osler's relationship with Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and suggested we knew more of Osler's views on this book than any other. He spent years searching for the books of Robert Burton in Oxford and he lectured and wrote on Burton, his library and the "Anatomy of Melancholy". (2) This year, at the annual meeting of the American Osler Society, I outlined my personal search for evidence of Osler's search.

When Osler was appointed as the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford he initially stayed in the Old Library at Christ Church College (Figure 1) and said he was delighted to be in the same rooms as Burton and Locke. He stayed in room number 5, up the old stairs of the building now used as a student residence. He wrote to Daniel Gilman, "I have rooms at Christ Church ... My quarters are in the old [Library] building & I picture to myself that Burton or Locke may have inhabited them". (3)

Soon after, Osler set out on a search for the many editions of Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* and the hundreds of volumes Burton referenced and quoted in this monumental work. (4,5) The copies in the Bodleian were easier to find as the librarian who received the part of Burton's library bequeathed to the Bodleian made a list of the books. More difficult to find were the books bequeathed to Christ Church Library as they were distributed throughout the collection.



Figure 1: Christ Church College, Oxford.

Osler, with the assistance of a student, Charles Woolly, later a famous archeologist, and a secretary, searched for books with Burton's name, initials and other marks he made on his books. Osler was disappointed that there was not much interesting marginalia or many important medical books among the collection.

Over the next few years Osler lectured to groups about Burton, his great book, and his library. He even planned a new edition of Burton's *Anatomy*. We get a flavor of his love for the book from his talk at Yale University in 1913:

No book of any language presents such a stage of moving pictures – kings and queens in their greatness and in their glory, in their madness and in their despair; generals and conquerors with their ambitions and their activities; philosophers of all ages, now rejoicing in the power of intellect, and again groveling before the idols of the tribe; the heroes of the race who have fought the battle of the oppressed in all lands; criminals small and great, from the petty thief to Nero with his unspeakable atrocities; the great navigators and explorers with whom Burton traveled so much in map and card, and whose stories were his delight; the martyrs and the virgins of all religions, the deluded and fanatics of all theologies; the possessed of devils and the possessed of God; the beauties, frail and faithful, the Lucretias and the Helens, all are there. The lovers, old and young; the fools who were accounted wise, and the wise who were really fools; the madmen of all history, to anatomize whom is the special object of this book; the world itself, against which he brings a railing accusation – the motley procession of humanity sweeps before us on his stage, a fantastic but fascinating medley at which he does not know whether to weep or to laugh.(6)

Osler initially located 580 volumes in the Bodleian and 429 in Christ Church Library and felt they should be brought together with all the editions of *Anatomy of Melancholy* as they "should not and could not be divorced."(7) He brought them together in a separate bookcase wall of the Christ

Church library and paid for a copy of the Brasenose portrait of Burton to hang within the collection. A photo of the wall can be seen in Cushing's biography of Osler (Figure 2).(8) Renovations in this room by the librarian in 1968, to make it more current for undergraduates, resulted in the books being removed to a new bookcase in the Archives Supra up a back stairway and the portrait being placed above the entrance door, where they remain today.



Figure 2: Burton Collection, Christ Church Library, Oxford.

In the summer of 1907, Osler gave a lecture in the Extension Course at Oxford titled “An Introduction to the Study of Anatomy of Melancholy.”(9) He then planned a series of three lectures on the man, his book and the library. In November 1909 he spoke to the Biographical Society in Hanover Square, London on “The Library of Robert Burton”, relating his experience collecting the books.(10) He abandoned his plan to bring out a new edition of Burton's work when he heard that W. Aldis Wright of Cambridge, a noted Shakespearian, and Edward Bensley of Aberystwyth were already working on a new edition. A copy of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* in the Osler Library has a letter from W. Aldis Wright tucked inside. Unfortunately, Wright toyed at this for years and never completed the task, and when the work passed to Bensley, he decided to completely redo all Wright's work, and this took so long it was never completed.

In his introduction to a 1964 edition of *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Holbrook Jackson said, “Robert Burton was a bookman, first and last”.(11) This would certainly endear him to Osler, who was the consummate bookman. Like Burton, Osler sprinkled his writings with quotations from many sources in literature, medicine and philosophy. But as Osler said, there is hardly anything in literature like Burton who had over 1,250 references and quotations in his book, including many of Osler's favorites such as Shakespeare, Montaigne, the Bible, Greek and Latin scholars, ancient philosophers, and many others. Burton had many, sometimes a dozen, quotations and references on every page.

Osler said, “By a profession a divine, by inclination Burton

was a physician, and there is no English medical author of the seventeenth century whose writings have anything like the same encyclopedic character of a medical condition.”(12)

The Life of Robert Burton

Robert Burton (1577-1640) was born at Lindley, Leicestershire, and educated at the free school of Sutton Coldfield and at Nuneaton Grammar School. He became a commoner at Brasenose College and was elected a Student at Christ Church, Oxford. He took holy orders and became the vicar of St. Thomas, Oxford, and later was rector of Seagrave, Leicestershire, appointed by his patron, Lord Berkeley.

In *Anatomy of Melancholy* Burton warns of the danger of solitariness for the melancholy, even though he was a solitary person content to stay in his rooms surrounded by piles of books. He was not a recluse, however, and could be charming and entertaining company and a cheerful and scintillating conversationalist able to discuss or to versify on any topic. He never married and suffered long periods of melancholy. He was very self-aware of his emotional state and the influences upon it and even stated that he had become addicted to the condition, which probably explains his long years preparing his great book on melancholy.

Although only identified with his one great book, Burton also wrote a Latin play, *Philosophaster*, which was thought to have disappeared until a manuscript was uncovered in 1862. Another play, *Alba*, was lost. He also wrote 19 poems for various Oxford miscellanies.

Burton had prophesized to friends that he would die at age 63, and when he did, it sparked rumors that he had entered Heaven by way of the noose. There is no evidence that he committed suicide, however. He was buried in the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral, and his older brother William Burton, author of a *History of Leicestershire*, provided a monument with his bust in colour with the epitaph he wrote himself carved underneath: *Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus Junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem Melancholia.*

The Text of The Anatomy of Melancholy

Osler not only brought together the editions of Burton's *Anatomy*, he also owned many copies. In the Osler Library at McGill University there is a copy with the inscription “Alexr Boswell / LB 1728”, which probably was one of the two copies owned by James Boswell's father. In the Osler Library there is also an unpublished paper by Osler, “The Library of Robert Burton” (*Bibliotheca Osleriana* 4637).

Burton had called his work a “patchwork” but Osler disagreed, saying it was “a great medical treatise (the greatest ever written by a layman) orderly in arrangement, intensely serious in purpose, and weighty beyond belief with authorities ... The centuries have made Burton's book a

permanent possession of literature”. He said that if the work had just been a medical text it would have “since sunk in the ooze” like so many other 17th century medical works but it lives on because of the human sympathy of his approach. On that point, Osler noted there were 86 medical texts in the Burton library, none of which are of great importance, and his medical knowledge was based on Galenical teachings, with little attempt in the later editions to keep up with the changing views of the newer science of the day such as the work of Harvey.(13)

Burton’s book was published in 1621, a quarto of 900 pages, under the pseudonym Democritus Junior. He took the name from the story of Hippocrates visiting Democritus in Abdera and finding him under a tree, surrounded by dissected animals and reading a large book. Democritus explained that he was attempting to understand the basis of *astrabilis*, or melancholy. Burton explained that he was writing the book in Democritus’ lap. The title page illustrates the three kinds of love melancholy – jealousy, heroic love, and superstition; and on the other side solitude, hypochondriasis, and madness. Below are two “sovereign plants”, borage and hellebore, remedies for melancholy (Figure 3).

He admitted the book was excessively long and needed further editing, but in each subsequent edition he did little editing and added more material. Revised and enlarged several times before his death, the treatise set out to explore the causes and effects of melancholy, but eventually covered many aspects of the human condition, with views from and about science, history, politics and social reform. The work is divided into three main portions: the various kinds of melancholy; the various cures; and an analysis of two specific forms, love melancholy and religious melancholy. The text is rich in quotations and references, excessive even in an age when heavy referencing was common. Burton’s prose style is informal, anecdotal and witty, but often rambling.

Burton read hundreds of texts about melancholy and developed, like Samuel Johnson, personal maneuvers to ward off the black dog of melancholy whenever he felt its looming presence. In fact, the writing of this monumental work was a form of therapy. One might expect a work on melancholy by a melancholic man to be particularly depressing reading but readers for centuries have found it an interesting and often humorous work. Samuel Johnson said it was the only book that caused him to arise from bed two hours earlier than he wished.

Burton wrote a lot about medicine, physicians and various remedies. He said he got his love of medicine from his mother, a competent wise woman who had skills in surgery and the cure of many illnesses, who served the poor and destitute of the area, many of whom would attest to her abilities. Burton recognized he was meddling in physic but noted that many physicians were clerics and that melancholy was a compound illness, involving body and soul so clerics

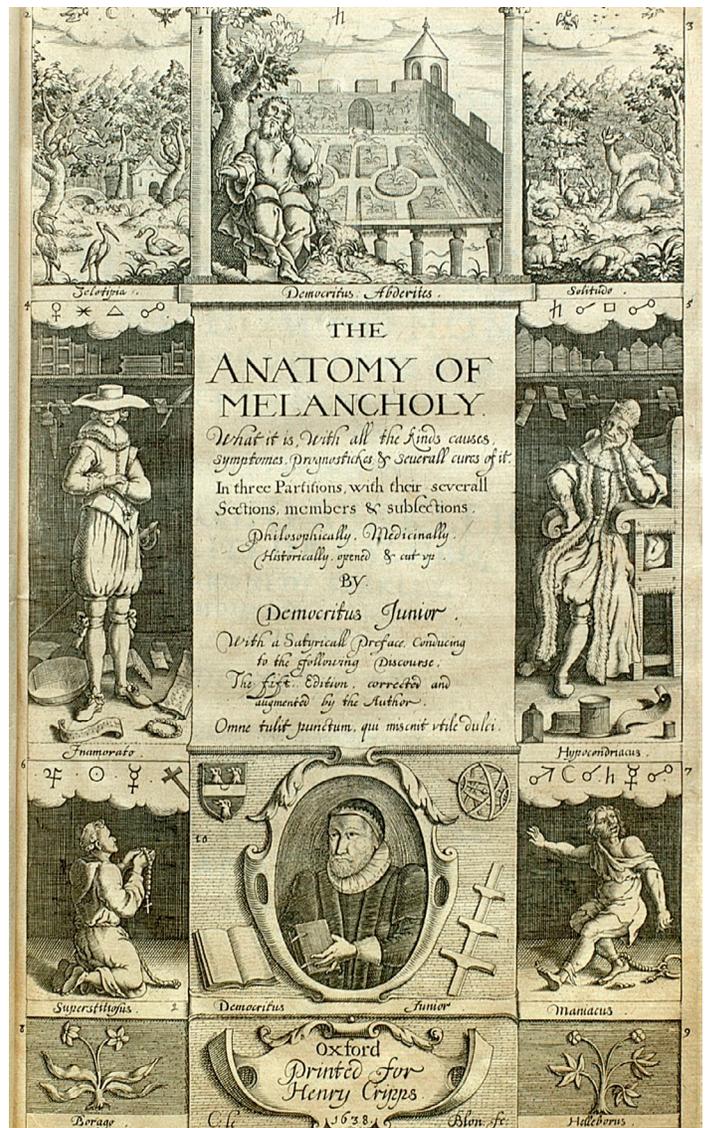


Figure 3: Title page of the 1638 edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.

had just as much right examining it as did physicians.

Burton’s portrayal of melancholy and his own melancholy was, “Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically opened & cut-up”, he says in the sub-title of *Anatomy*. It is a unique text on the subject. Osler also knew of an earlier book on melancholy, by physician-cleric Timothy Bright, *A Treatise on Melancholy*, which was undoubtedly used by Shakespeare as a basis for the psychology used in *Hamlet*. (14) In the Osler Library at McGill are Osler’s copies of Bright’s thesis and six of his other works (*Bibliotheca Osleriana* 2128-34). Perhaps Burton’s “addiction” to melancholy may explain some paradoxes in the work. He can be cheerful and witty when speaking of melancholy. He preaches a happy existence but does not practice it. He warns of solitariness but is a very solitary person. He writes of the importance and joys of travel but never traveled. His three volume work has many apologies for being longwinded, and yet he expanded each edition. He worries that his discussion of love melancholy

will go on too long, and then continues for another 200 pages. He expounds on marriage and the importance of a good wife, and of love and a strong family relationship, yet never married.

Why was Osler so interested in the *The Anatomy of Melancholy*?

Osler would agree with the central recommendation in Burton's text - keep busy and do your work. Osler wrote an essay on the watchword of medicine, which is "Work", and Burton begins with this admonition and repeats it even more strongly in the last paragraph of the book. Osler would also share his views on illness having aspects of mind as well as body and on the need for physicians to have a priestly as well as a medical role. Osler, often called a therapeutic nihilist, would share Burton's critical acceptance of the physician's medicines, asking that when they are necessary they should be coupled with mirth and lack of stress. Both believed that "tincture of time" would heal many disorders.

Epilogue

After Osler's death in 1919, a book of essays was published on Burton (1926) and Osler's tripartite article on the man, his book and his library was "reconstructed" into a chapter with the assistance of Lady Osler, Dr. W.W. Francis and Dr. Archibald Malloch. (15) There is an additional chapter by Osler on Burton as a transmitter. (16) Also included are two lists of Burton's books and his will.

On the last page of Cushing's biography of Sir William Osler he commented that when Osler died his casket rested overnight in the chapel at Christ Church "with the quaint effigy of his beloved Robert Burton nearby".(17) Although a copy of Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* was placed on his casket, and was said to be his favorite book, no book occupied Osler's energy and his time more than Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my daughter, Dr. Shannon Murray, Professor of English at the University of Prince Edward Island, for her insightful comments on Burton, corrections to the manuscript and for introducing me to Timothy Bright's *Treatise on Melancholy*. My wife, Janet Murray, was a keen-eyed copy editor and improved the work by insightful questioning. As always, Pamela Miller, Head of the Osler Library, was gracious and helpful on referencing of Osler material on Burton. I am grateful to the staff at the Osler Library, the Wellcome Library, London, the British Library and especially the librarians at Christ Church Library, Oxford. A longer version of this article can be found in *Osler's Bedside Library* (Reference 2).

CHASING WHISPERS IN THE NEURO ARCHIVE

BY RACHEL ELDER

In the concluding remarks of his 1961 Lister Oration to the Royal College of Surgeons of England, recently retired neurosurgeon Dr. Wilder Penfield emphasized one medical condition's steadfast contribution to knowledge of the human brain:

It was epilepsy that guided Hippocrates to his remarkable grasp of brain function. Hughlings Jackson made his shrewd guesses by watching local fits. Epilepsy is pointing the way still, no doubt, whispering the answers.

Yet, as Penfield well knew from nearly thirty years of surgery and service at the Montreal Neurological Institute, epilepsy itself did not point the way or whisper the answers. Rather, as was particularly true of the work for which he and the Institute were now famous, guidance and input came directly from patients.

Since the Institute's opening in 1934, Penfield and his associates had operated on thousands of people with intractable focal epilepsy in an effort to rid them of their seizures. What made these elective operations most notable was the extensive cooperation and communication they required of conscious surgical patients. During the critical pre-excision phase, locally anesthetized patients relayed their thoughts, feelings, and sensations as their operator electrically stimulated points across the surfaces of their exposed cerebral cortices. Designed first and foremost to pinpoint seizure foci and safeguard tissues vital to function, patient participation in stimulations also garnered new types of knowledge and ways of knowing. From statements like, "I feel a tingling in my hand," and, "I hear someone calling my name," emerged cortical maps of motor and sensory function, and hypotheses regarding the mechanisms of memory and consciousness. Indeed, by confiding the personal and experiential, voices unfamiliar to the operating room had served to speak the brain's secrets.

Although Penfield often acknowledged the role of his patients in facilitating understanding of the functional anatomy of the human brain, such persons have tended to drift in and out of focus in the medical and historical record. Far less perceptible than their operating room collaborations, however, are those details entirely outside the scope of the surgical encounter. Answers to simple questions of social history such as: "Who were they? Where did they come from? What were their experiences of epilepsy and seizures?" and "Under what conditions and to what ends did they undertake these new, high-risk operations?" remain mostly unclear.



Dr. William Feindel flanked by Mary Louise Nickerson Fellowship winners Dr. Frank Stahnisch and Ms. Rachel Elder.

As the first fortunate recipient of the Mary Louise Nickerson Fellowship in Neuro History, my objective was thus to locate Penfield's patients and to hopefully come to see and understand something of their history. Although not immediately audible in the abundance of materials at the Osler Library, their stories were nevertheless there to be heard. Working backwards from what Penfield gleaned about the brain from surgical cases in books, articles, and lectures, I attempted to retrieve the abstracted persons therein. The more I looked and listened, the more neuroscientific fragments and objects of clinical focus became discernible flesh-and-blood subjects. From the disjointed monologues of stimulation reports leapt the clear and emphatic voices of patients. Items of correspondence, ranging from a mere polite signature to copious news of family, school, and work, served to further strengthen that voice. Also joining in were letters of introduction from strangers who hoped to be Penfield's patients, speaking frankly of concerns, and openly requesting guidance. Taken together, the tenor was personal, if not slightly formal – often expressing dissatisfaction, frustration, sadness, or gratitude – and without fail, framing experience in terms of seizures and their anxious anticipation. Such records show something of the relationships between doctors, patients, families, social workers, administrative personnel, as well as friends, neighbours, co-workers, employers, and teachers beyond the clinic. The result was more questions for me, but the beginnings of a discernible, and very human, patient history.

The depth and richness of the Osler Library's manuscript and archival collections have made it a central resource for my doctoral research since 2009. As such, I was most privileged to have spent much of the 2012 summer in residence at McGill. This, of course, would not have been possible without sponsorship. I would therefore like to express my gratitude to Dr. Granville Nickerson for his endowment to scholarship in the field of neuro history. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. William Feindel, Duncan Cowie and the entire staff at the Osler Library, who have in so many ways generously supported me in my research.

Rachel Elder is a PhD candidate in the Department of History and Sociology of Science at the University of Pennsylvania. Before undertaking her doctoral studies in 2008, she received a BA in History and English Literature from the University of Guelph and an MA in the Social History of Medicine from the University of Warwick. Her research at the Osler Library on Penfield's surgical epilepsy patients is part of her larger dissertation project, which examines the cultural history of seizures in mid-twentieth-century America.

ARTISTIC PRACTICE SCIENTIFIC VISION: BRITISH ARTISTIC ANATOMY IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Osler Library is pleased to announce its current exhibition, which explores the intersection of art and anatomy in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain, where a productive combination of artistic and scientific sensibilities went into representing the body. Artists and anatomists often frequented the same coffee houses and social venues. All of the individuals represented in this exhibition were loosely connected to at least some of the others through a skein of personal and professional relations.

This exhibition focuses on works published in Edinburgh and London in a period in which photography was not yet a viable medium for recording the natural world and the idea of objectivity did not exclude artistry. The works on display were chosen either because they are of particular artistic interest or because they raise important questions about the epistemological capacities of artistically conceived illustrations. They have also been chosen to highlight important works in the Osler Library's collection.

The curator, Dr. Allister Neher, teaches the history of art theory and the philosophy of art for the Humanities Department of Dawson College in Montreal.

The exhibition runs until the end of February 2013.

MEDICINE FOR THE POOR: CHARITABLE MEDICAL BOOKLETS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE AT THE OSLER LIBRARY

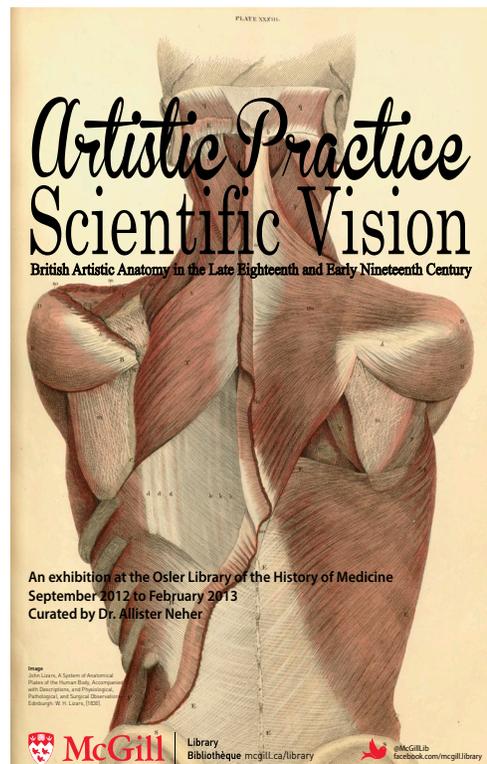
BY LEIGH WHALEY

During the seventeenth century, an unprecedented number of what have come to be known as *livrets de santé*, or health booklets, were produced in Europe, particularly in France and in Switzerland. The authors and compilers of these medical texts: physicians, surgeons, clerics, and charitable aristocratic ladies, were responding to a public healthcare crisis in the countryside. Medical care had been restricted to city dwellers, and even in urban centres a visit to the physician was beyond the means of most people. The rural patient was absent in the discourse of contemporary medical schools. Very few physicians practiced outside the towns and cities, and even when they did, the exorbitant cost of medical care meant that access to healthcare was out of reach of the rural population. The intervention of charitable persons, whether they were priests, physicians, or benevolent ladies, was indispensable in bringing health care to the sick poor. The medium through which these charitable persons reached them was the *livrets de santé*.

Compilers and authors of charitable medicine booklets were intermediaries between the *livrets de colportage*, or works by itinerant healers, and academic medical treatises.

One of their aims was to force physicians to provide more practical knowledge about the body and healthcare to the rural poor, which served two purposes. Firstly, use of such booklets would hopefully prevent the rural poor from wasting their money on charlatans, the so-called hawkers or peddlers of quack medicine. Secondly, this polarized medical system of charlatans at one extreme and the university-trained physician at the other, would be replaced by a system of medical self-sufficiency, especially in rural areas. The moral philosophy behind these books corresponded to the world view of the peasant in that medicines should be based on natural and local ingredients which provided nutritional advice and healed the body. Complex theories of anatomy and physiology present in medical textbooks were absent from the health care booklets.

The Osler Library possesses a number of editions of these original texts which



Continued on pg.11

ANNUAL APPEAL

This has been a period of change at the Osler Library. As you may have read in Professor Faith Wallis' article in this issue of the *Newsletter*, a new head of the Library has been chosen. The Library is also in the process of hiring a new liaison librarian. The nature of the Library's work has also been changing, especially as we strive to provide more material and services online. This trend is coupled with a continued strong interest of many students, professors and researchers to visit the Osler Library, consult our collections, and incorporate historical material into coursework. Despite the various changes, what remains the same is the Library's commitment to dedicating our collections and services to enriching the lives of students, researchers and practitioners. This mission can only be carried out with the support of you, our generous Friends. Your donation to our annual appeal allows us to do so many things.

Our collection continued to grow over the past year. From Osler's original donation of close to 8,000 books, the Library's holdings now number over 100,000 items. We purchased both rare books as well as the most up-to-date scholarship in several languages. We rely upon your support to continue building our great collection. For rare material, we use a growing network of contacts in the antiquarian book field, attendance at antiquarian book fairs, dealer catalogues and announcements, online listings and occasional donations to add desirable items to our holdings. It is through this approach that the Library is able to acquire very rare and unique items. Some notable recent purchases include several books considered to be the most important in the history of medicine, such as Italian physician and professor of anatomy Paolo Mascagni's stunning 1787 large folio book *Vasorum lymphaticorum corporis humani historia et ichnographi*. Mascagni (1755-1815) discovered

half of the lymphatic vessels now known and established our understanding of the lymphatic system. The book includes 41 striking copperplate engraving that depict the system in extremely fine detail (Figure 1).

We also acquired *Untersuchungen über den feineren Bau des centralen und peripherischen Nervensystems* by Camillo Golgi (1844-1926). His microscopic studies of the nervous system were greatly aided by his pioneering work in staining, which made it possible to view the nervous system clearly. He first presented his findings in articles written in Italian. Many of his most important ones were translated into German and published in *Untersuchungen* in 1894. The book has a separate atlas of 30 chromolithographic plates in addition to a volume of text. Golgi's neurological work resulted in his being awarded the Nobel Prize jointly with Ramon y Cajal in 1906.

We recently purchased a 1542 illustrated medical work by Johannes Dryander (1500–60). *Der gantzen Artzenei gemeyner Inhalt : wes einem Artzt, bede in der Theoric und Practic zústeht* (Figure 2) includes his very important early woodcut illustrations of brain dissections, first published a few years earlier, as well as a plagiarized illustration of blood vessels from Andreas Vesalius' extremely rare 1538 publication *Tabulae sex*. Vesalius complained bitterly about this in his great 1543 anatomical work *De humani corporis fabrica*. In addition to anatomy, the heavily illustrated work discusses diet, materia medica, and medical therapies. The Dryander, along with the Golgi and Mascagni, are considered to be amongst the most important books in medical history and are a wonderful addition to our collection.

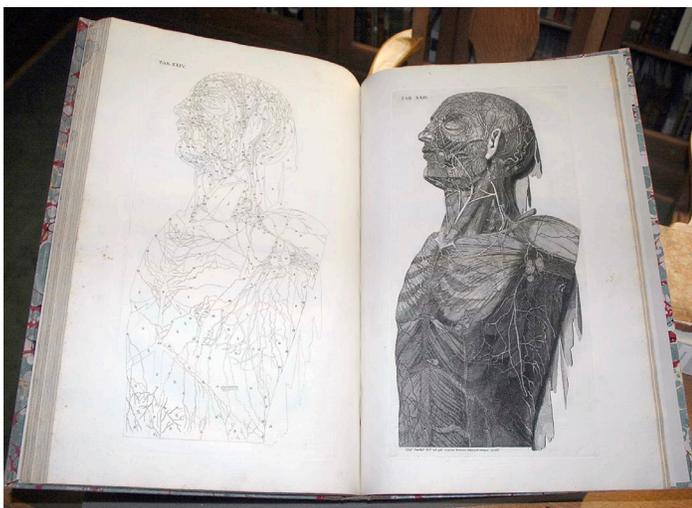


Figure 1: Paolo Mascagni, *Vasorum lymphaticorum corporis humani historia et ichnographi*. Senis: Ex typographia Pazzini Carli, 1787.

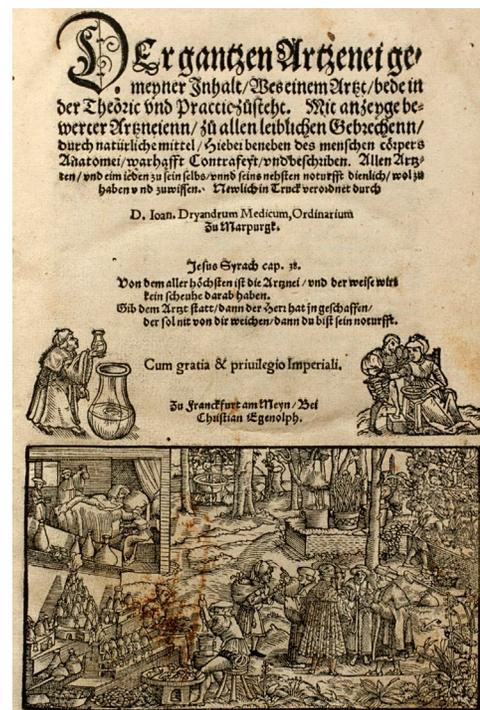


Figure 2: Johannes Dryander, *Der gantzen Artzenei gemeyner Inhalt : wes einem Artzt, bede in der Theoric und Practic zústeht*. Franckfurt am Meyn: Bei Christian Egenolph, 1542.

Other works added to our collection show the richness and diversity of the historical material we are acquiring. One very rare purchase was of two issues of a Canadian medical journal entitled *The Bulletin: Hamilton Medical Society*. Volume one, numbers 1 and 2, are from September and October 1928. According to our research no other library or institution appears to possess this publication. Given our goal to collect historical medical Canadiana extensively, we were delighted to acquire these unique numbers, which may indeed be the complete run of the publication. If any of our readers know anything about this journal, please get in touch with the Library. At the antiquarian book exhibition at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Association for the History of Medicine the Library acquired a First World War photographic album entitled *Thermal Spa Pro Patria Postyen*. This album records the visit of the Hapsburg Archduke Franz Salvator to a Red Cross military hospital in the spa town of Postyen (now Piestany in Slovakia), which was famous for its thermal mineral springs. Consisting of 30 photographs and captions in German and Hungarian, the album documents the opening ceremonies and the work of the thermal healing institute in treating wounded soldiers, and complements our extensive collection of military medical material.

The Osler Library also has a large collection of popular medical books going back to the sixteenth century. As Professor Whaley notes in her article in this issue of the *Newsletter*, these were written to provide medical advice to those who didn't have access to or couldn't afford to visit a trained physician. Amongst the most famous of these are the writings by the 17th century apothecary and political radical Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1664), who translated the *London Pharmacopeia* into English to break the monopoly of physicians by making medical knowledge accessible to the general public. One recent acquisition in this genre is not quite so political. *Memoirs of a Stomach: Written by Himself, That All Who Eat May Read. With Notes, Critical and Explanatory, by a Minister of the Interior* is a humorous study of digestion and health written from the perspective of the stomach. We have the second edition from 1853. The work was so popular that it went through several editions and was translated into French and German. The use of humour is perhaps one of the more effective ways to impart beneficial information to the general public.

Our collecting activities have been assisted by several generous donations. Amongst the noteworthy ones received over the past year was a First World War hand-written diary by Nursing Sister Clare Gass (1887-1968), who vividly describes her experience in the Canadian Army Medical Corps between 1915 and 1918, including her service with the Number Three Canadian General Hospital, which was organised and staffed by personnel from McGill University.

The diary was published with annotations by Susan Mann by McGill-Queens University Press in 2004. The original was given to the Library by her niece Elizabeth Anderson and is a highly desirable acquisition and would make a terrific addition to a potential exhibition to mark the centenary of the First World War in 2014. The Library also received a 17th century Sinhalese medical ola from Jan Figurski. An ola is a type of book made out of palm leaves kept together with string, with wooden boards on the top and bottom to protect them. These were traditionally produced in southern India and Sri Lanka (Figure 3). McGill already has a collection of these which were given to the Library by Dr. Casey Wood (1856-1942), a onetime clerk of Osler's at the Montreal General Hospital. He became a noted Chicago-based ophthalmologist with a deep interest in the history of his field, ornithology and bibliography. He donated his sizable book collection to McGill, including material collected on several trips to India and Sri Lanka.



Figure 3: 17th century Sinhalese medical ola; gift of Jan Figurski.

Coupled with collection development is the necessity of preserving the Library's historical material. This includes system-wide activities like ensuring that environmental conditions meet proper standards and that materials are handled in ways that minimize wear and tear while also making material accessible. Part of the dedication to making the Osler a living library as opposed to a locked treasure chest of books has been to dedicate significant funds to restore material, especially more heavily used or rare items. The annual donations of our friends allow us to carry out this work, which requires considerable expertise to ensure that it is done to the highest standards. Our contract conservation expert, Ms. Terry Rutherford restored several items from our collection this past year, such as creating new covers for Osler's 1500 edition of Johannes de Ketham's *Fasciculus medicinae*, the first illustrated printed medical book. Our copy had been rebound in vellum approximately 100 years ago. Over the years the vellum covers shrank, leaving the fore-edge of the pages exposed and vulnerable to damage. Another project was to restore Sir Astley Cooper's 1829

Illustrations of the Diseases of the Breast. Sir Astley Cooper (1768-1841) was a highly accomplished surgeon, serving as sergeant surgeon to King George IV, King William IV and Queen Victoria, president of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1827 and a vice-president of the Royal Society in 1830. The binding of the book was completely damaged, leaving the pages and the coloured illustrations loose, which made consulting it very difficult. The illustrations of the book both before and after repairs illustrates how vastly improved it is now. Thanks to your generosity, these and other works can be consulted without risking further damage (Figures 4 and 5).

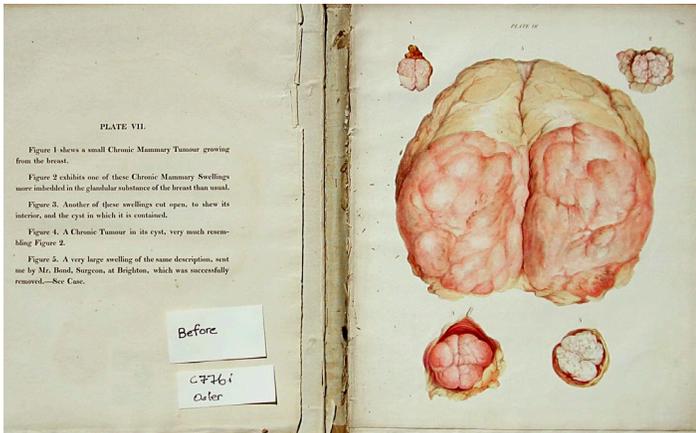


Figure 4: Sir Astley Cooper's *Illustrations of the Diseases of the Breast*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green, 1829, before restoration work.

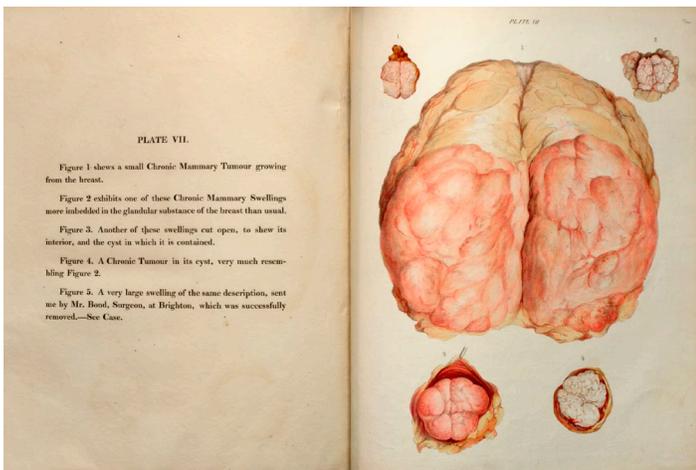


Figure 5: Sir Astley Cooper's *Illustrations of the Diseases of the Breast*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green, 1829, after restoration work.

The Osler Library also continues to develop and expand its outreach and teaching activities. We have provided tours and presentations to over a thousand individuals, groups and classes from McGill and beyond. Last year, for example, a group of physicians from Chinese medical institutions were given the chance to see material selected from our sizable archival holdings related to Dr. Norman Bethune (1890-1939), the Canadian physician who served in China with the Communist forces fighting the Japanese invasion.

His selfless sacrifice and dedication was eulogized by Mao Zedong and he remains an important figure in China to this day. Another special occasion was the visit of the Faculty of Medicine's fourth year "Anatomy for Surgeons" class taught by Anatomy Professor Emeritus Dr. Dennis Osmond. The students were introduced to the rich history of the anatomist-surgeon, such as Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) and were shown a number of anatomical atlases dating back to 1500 (Figure 6). The students appreciated learning about the historical context to their studies and it is our plan to make this a regular part of the course. We also provided an opportunity for Quebec neurosurgical residents to understand the historical context of their field by hosting a day-long seminar on the history of neurosurgery. Organised with Dr. André Turmel, a pediatric neurosurgeon in Quebec City and a passionate expert in medical history, the students learnt about the history of their profession, including a special focus on Quebec. The students were also given a tour of the Library and had a chance to view a number of historical texts. It is very exciting for us to be integrated into the profession in Quebec and we hope to do more of this.

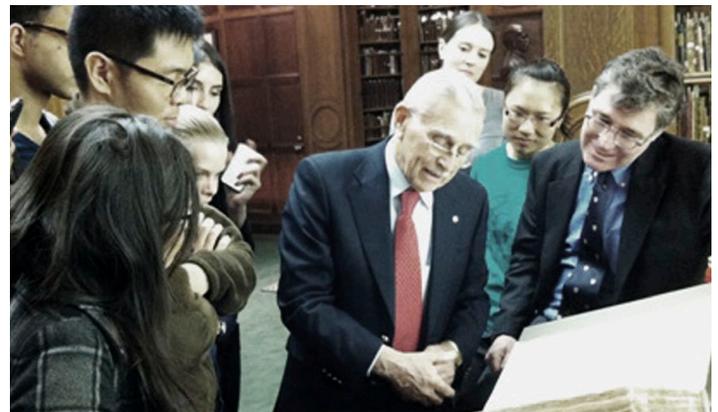


Figure 6: Dr. Osmond and Anatomy for Surgeons class members inspect Vesalius' *De fabrica* (1543) at the Osler Library.

The Osler Library was also responsible for organising a special afternoon of events for the Principals of the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, who received honorary degrees from McGill. The Library mounted an exhibition entitled *The 'most powerful agency in the development of surgery in this century': The Connections between Scotland, McGill, and Joseph Lister's Antiseptic Surgery*. The exhibition highlighted the deep links between Scotland and McGill dating back to the university's benefactor James McGill and the four founders of the Faculty of Medicine. Material from the Osler's collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, the McGill University Archives, the MUCH Collection and the Faculty of Medicine were used to tell the story, focusing especially on the many ties between Sir Joseph Lister, the developer of anti-septic surgery, and McGill (Figure 7). The Library also helped organise the key note address by Professor J.T.H. Connor on *Listerism in Canada and its Scottish Influences*, based in part of research he performed at the Osler Library as the 2011 winner of our Research Travel Grant (Figure 8).



Figure 7: Chris Lyons shows Principal Anton Muscatelli, University of Glasgow, and his son, some of the Library's treasure during a tour of the Listerism exhibition, May 31, 2012.



Figure 8: Professor J.H.T. Connor at the Listerism exhibition, May 31st, 2012.

The Osler Library's Research Travel Grant fund is supported in part by the annual contributions of the Friends. The programme annually gives one or two researchers \$1,500 or \$2,000 to help offset the costs of coming to Montreal to carry out work using material in the Osler Library. Your support results in articles, books and conference presentations centred upon our collection. Given the exceptional quality of the submissions this year, we made two awards. One went to Professor Leigh Whaley of the Department of History and Classics at Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. The other was granted to Professor H el ene Cazes of the D epartement de Franais at the University of Victoria. Her work is on Osler's passion for the works of Vesalius and his collection. Her work should prove very interesting to those interested in Osler, medical history and book history. We look forward to running an article by her in the upcoming issue of the Newsletter.

The Osler's outreach efforts extend well beyond the physical space of the Library. We have continued to be active in digitising rare and unique material drawn from our collection. One exciting development has been a collaboration with the U.S. National Library of Medicine and the Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of Johns

Hopkins University to digitise a selection of Osler's letters and manuscript material. The digitised content, along with additional notes and interpretive information provided by an NLM historian, will be featured on the NLM's prestigious *Profiles in Science* website, which makes archival material of prominent physicians and scientists available to the public. Support from the Friends helped us to hire a student assistant for this project. We are very excited about the opportunity to make this material widely accessible for the first time and hope to digitise more of our Osler holdings over the coming years. We also digitised several of our Islamic manuscripts for a project spearheaded by the Islamic Institute. I am very happy to report that these manuscripts will be included in the *Medical Heritage Library*, a freely available collection of digitised medical material drawn from several major institutions, such as The Wellcome Library and the National Library of Medicine (<http://www.medicalheritage.org/>).

Thank you for supporting the Osler Library's annual appeal. Our goal of enriching the lives of students, faculty, practitioners and researchers, both at the Library and globally through our services and digitisation projects, would not be possible without you.



MEDICINE FOR THE POOR: CON'T FROM PG.7

I recently consulted during a two week research visit. This short essay can scarcely do justice to the Osler's extensive collection of this genre of medical text; however, it can provide readers with highlights of the works consulted. These include two editions of Marie de Maupeou Fouquet's *Recueil de rem des faciles et domestiques* (Dijon, 1679) and *Les rem des charitable de Madame Fouquet* (Lyon, 1685). Marie de Maupeou Fouquet was neither a physician nor a priest, but perhaps the most well-known of St. Vincent de Paul's *Dames de la Charit * (Figure 1). Fouquet's book of remedies was arguably the most successful of these *livrets de sant * in terms of both diffusion and numbers of editions produced throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Approximately thirty-one editions of Fouquet's texts were printed in numerous European languages from the mid-seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. Interestingly, unlike other contemporary texts of this genre, no English translation was produced. Both Fouquet's texts, as well as Louis-Daniel Arnault de Nobleville's *Le Manuel des Dames de charit *, were used by the Company of the Ladies of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in hospitals and

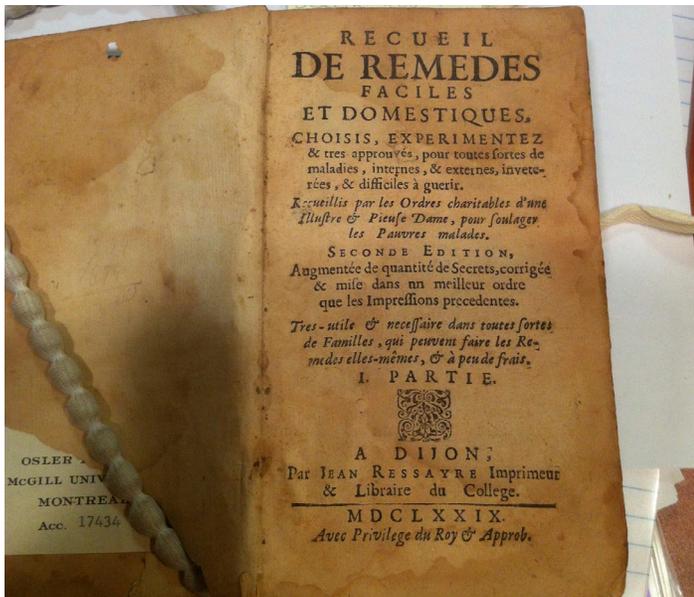


Figure 1: Marie de Maupeou Fouquet, *Recueil des remèdes faciles et domestiques*. Dijon: Jean Ressayre, 1679.

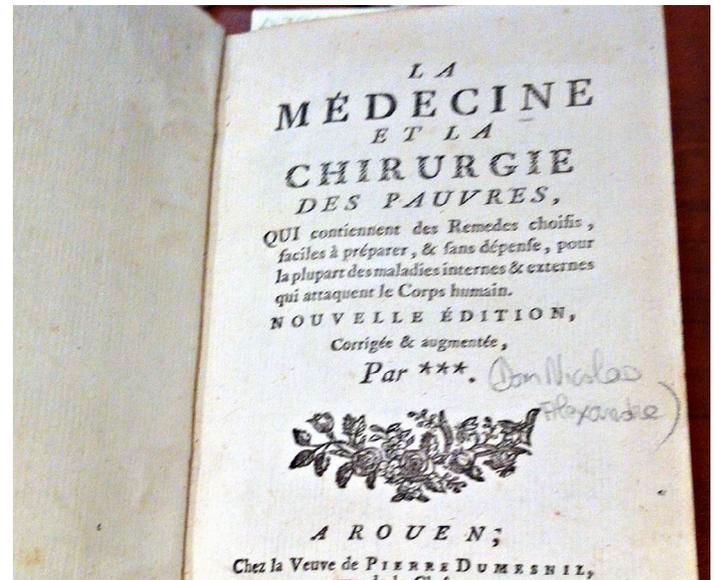


Figure 2: Nicolas Alexandre, *La médecine et la chirurgie des pauvres*. Rouen: Chez la veuve de Pierre Dumesnil, 1787.

homes of the poor. De Nobleville, a physician, naturalist and Dean of the College of Medicine of Orléans, explained in the dedicatory epistle of the fifth edition of the text, published in 1765, that the poor required free and simple medical care. This edition of his *Le Manuel des Dames* is housed in the Osler collection, as are three editions of Dom Nicolas Alexandre's *La médecine et la chirurgie des pauvres: qui contiennent des remèdes choisis, faciles à préparer & sans dépense* (Paris, 1749; Rouen, 1787; Paris, 1839) (Figure 2). Alexandre, a Benedictine monk at Saint Maur, spent years collecting simple remedies based upon local plant and animal ingredients. Although not a physician, Alexandre had knowledge of academic medicine and worked as an apothecary.

In the same genre as Madame Fouquet's *Recueil de remèdes faciles* and Dom Alexandre's *La médecine et la chirurgie des pauvres* are the numerous contributions by French physicians Philibert Guybert, Paul Dubé, and Philippe Hecquet. Philibert Guybert or Guibert, was the author of one of the earliest of these booklets, *Le medecin charitable*, first published in 1623. In the Osler collection is the 1632 edition. Guibert's text provided the model upon which later *livrets* would be based, beginning with an *avis au lecteur* or preface which described to the reader the author's aims and objectives. In Guibert's case, his "small book describes the way to prepare at home, remedies for all sorts of illnesses." (1) These remedies could be made easily and at little expense.

Two editions of Dubé's original French book, *Le chirurgien des pauvres: qui enseigne le moyen de guerir les maladies externes par des remèdes faciles à trouver & preparer, en faveur de ceux qui sont éloignés des villes* (1680) and the 1674 edition entitled, *Le medecin des pauvres: qui enseigne*

le moyen de guerir les maladies par des remèdes faciles à trouver dans le pais, & preparer à peu de frais are in the Library (Figure 3). *Le chirurgien des pauvres* is addressed to "Rich and Charitable Ladies in favour of the poor." Dubé urged the ladies to visit the sick poor, and to model themselves on the Christian queens and princesses, "who prepared remedies". Dubé, known as the Père des Pauvres, served as an inspiration for Madame Fouquet, as she wrote in an essay entitled, "Très Humble Prière en faveur des Pauvres à tous Messieurs les Médecins Charitables", in the second part of her anthology of medical recipes: "Monsieur Dubé, an illustrious doctor of medicine, charitable and accomplished, has recently produced a book of remedies for the poor that are easy to prepare at little cost." (2) She described him as a savant, praising him for revealing the "secrets of his art for the benefit of the poor" and for making medicine accessible to everyone. (3)

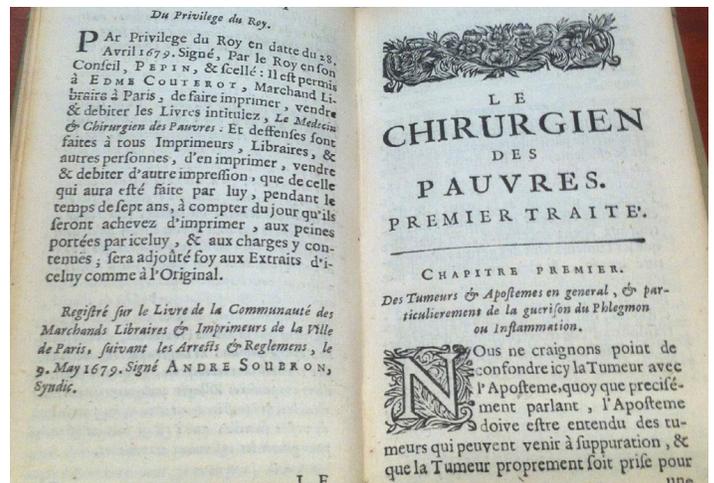


Figure 3: Paul Dubé, *Le chirurgien des pauvres*. Paris: Edme Couterot, 1680.

The tradition of medicine for the poor predated the seventeenth century. The Swiss born physician Jean Prévost, or Praevotius, who taught medicine at the University of Padua, helped to revive the thirteenth century tradition of medicine for the poor. The 1646 edition of his text, *La médecine des pauvres* is in the Osler collection (Figure 4). Remedies proposed by Prévost were primarily based upon locally obtained herbs and plants.

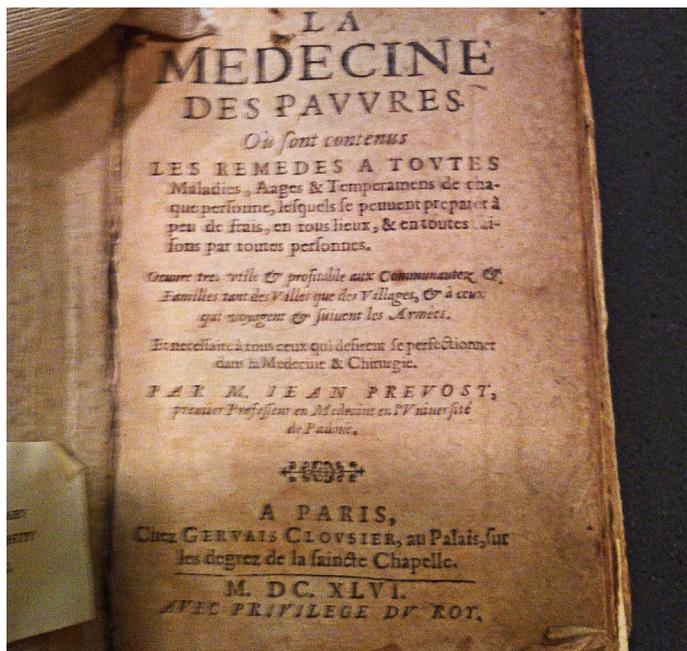


Figure 4: Jean Prévost, *La médecine des pauvres*. Paris: Gervais Clousier, 1646.

The unifying principle amongst these *livrets de santé* is made plain by the words of Dom Alexandre in the preface to the 1787 edition of *La médecine et la chirurgie des pauvres*. The book is intended for the poor residing in rural areas who are languishing and dying because they have been deprived of medical care. Advice and medical remedies contained in these healthcare booklets filled a serious gap in healthcare in the seventeenth century.

Research on the charitable medical booklets carried out at the Osler Library will be presented at upcoming history of medicine conferences next spring, and will eventually form part of a larger study, a full length monograph entitled, “Healthcare and Charitable Medicine in Early Modern Europe”. The author offers her thanks to the Osler Library for its awarding of a Research Travel Grant which is making this research project possible.

Notes

1. Philibert Guybert, “Au Lecteur”, in *Le medecin charitable*, (Paris: Chez Charles Sevestre, 1632), n.p.
2. Marie de Maupeou Fouquet, *Recueil de Receptes où est expliquée la maniere de guerir à peu frais toute sorte de maux* (Lyon: Jean Certé, 1676), 296.
3. Fouquet, *Recueil*, 299.

AN UNRECOGNIZED CANADIAN FOURTH EDITION OF OSLER’S TEXTBOOK: CARVETH AND THE COPYRIGHT WARS.

BY RICHARD L. GOLDEN, M.D.

Among the unrecognized editions of a closely examined work, William Osler’s *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* is a prime example of, often inexplicable, bibliographical omissions. Within the series, the fourth edition stands out for its convoluted, intriguing and sometimes mysterious machinations.¹

At the time of the usual triennial revision in 1901, Appleton issued the fourth edition of Osler’s now renowned textbook² but in an egregious error, totally inconsistent with the standards of this venerable publishing house, neglected to secure the copyright in Britain. This was complicated by the fact that Appleton had taken away the publication rights in Britain from Young J. Pentland (Edinburgh and London), its agent for the first three editions, and awarded it to Henry Kimpton (London), the Medical Book Department of Hirschfeld Bros, Ltd., who, using Appleton sheets with a cancel title, proceeded to publish the authorized British fourth edition.³ Within a period of weeks Pentland, no doubt stung by the financial loss of this best seller, issued a line-for-line unauthorized, pirated edition at a substantially reduced price.⁴ Although pirated, there was no legal barrier owing to the absence of a copyright agreement between the United States and Great Britain.⁵

In order to remedy the situation, the new, undoubtedly carefully copyrighted, Appleton fifth edition made a quick appearance the following year (1902),⁶ and Osler expressed his considerable annoyance in a letter to the *Lancet*:

“Sirs, May I ask the courtesy of your pages in explanation of the premature appearance of a new edition of my text-book? To justify the confidence that the profession has shown in the work I have tried to make each edition a faithful exponent of the medicine of the day. I had hoped to be able to follow the plan of a triennial issue, but, unfortunately, the fourth edition was not copyrighted in Great Britain, and in December 1901, shortly after its publication by Kimpton and Company, an edition - *more Americano* - was published by Pentland. He was quite within his rights - quite as much so as the American publishers who, for many years, batted and fattened on the brains of English authors. That Mr. Pentland should have issued the edition so promptly - in six or eight weeks, I believe - and that he should have reduced the price from 24s. to 18s. showed that he had bettered the instructions of his teachers on this side of the water. To obtain copyright in Great Britain a new fifth edition has had to be issued. I regret the mistake that

has disturbed the normal process of triennial parturition, but the circumstances justify what Rabelais calls ‘the pretty perquisite of a superfoetation.’

I am, Sirs, yours faithfully. Wm. Osler, Baltimore, March 21st, 1903.⁷⁷

In Canada a more recondite situation arose. In 1901 George N. Morang & Co. of Toronto, Appleton’s agent for the sale and distribution of Osler’s textbook in Canada, reprinted fifty-seven pages of the fourth edition entitled *The Principles and Practice of Medicine: Diseases of the Kidneys and Diseases of the Muscles* under the Morang imprint.⁸ Based on this exceedingly rare printing (three known copies) a Canadian copyright was granted.² Meanwhile another well-established Toronto medical publishing house, J[ohn] A[lva] Carveth & Co., a new player, began to import the pirated British Pentland fourth edition. The 1903 printing, now with the Carveth imprint, was made from Pentland sheets with a cancel title and identical binding.⁹ Thus Osler’s fourth edition, available in Canada from Morang (an imported Appleton United States edition) competed with those of Carveth imported from Britain.¹⁰

Morang & Co., on the basis of its copyright, claimed exclusive rights in Canada and sued Carveth in March 1901 for copyright infringement, seeking an injunction to block further importation and sale of the English edition. They also sought an account of profits and the destruction of all books in the defendant’s possession.^{11,12} Journalistically dubbed “A Curious Copyright Claim,” Carveth raised the question as to whether the publisher of a few pages can control the copyright of a whole volume. Morang replied in essence that they bore no responsibility for the state of Canadian copyright law with which they were in compliance, and sought the protection and benefits that it provided.¹³ After passing through three courts, Morang and Co. withdrew their suit in 1903 and the issue was left for the Privy Council to consider.¹⁴

What was Morang’s motive in securing its Canadian copyright? In 1920, Dr. Archibald Malloch, an editor of the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, addressed an inquiry to Morang & Co. and received the following reply:

“Toronto, Jan. 3rd, 1921. Dear Sir: In reply to your letter of the 19th ult., we beg to state that by arrangement with Dr. Osler, we reprinted in 1901, a portion of the Principles and Practice of Medicine, for Canadian Copyright purposes only, and have no copies on hand. As we were the exclusive selling agents for D. Appleton & Company of New York, we had control of the sale in this Country for many years of Dr. Osler’s book, which is now sold in Canada, direct, by the New York Publishers. Yours faithfully, MORANG & Co. LIMITED.”¹⁵

Seeking further information, Dr. Thomas McCrae, now co-

author of the textbook, wrote to Appleton and received a strange, and uninformed response:

“February 3, 1921. Dear Doctor McCrae: Answering your letter of January 20th in regard to *The Principles and Practice of Medicine, Diseases of the Kidneys and Diseases of the Muscles*. George M. (sic) Morang & Co., Toronto, 1901. We can find no record of any publication of this kind. From our investigations here in New York my impression is that it would be a reprint from a pirated edition published some years ago. Very truly yours, J. R. Browne.”¹⁶

McCrae addressed these finding to Malloch on February 19, 1921:

“My dear Archie:- Sometime ago you wrote asking for information in regard to a reference which you found in the British Museum. I took the matter up with the Appletons and they spent some time trying to solve it. I enclose their reply which I am afraid will not help you very much. ...”¹⁷

W. W. Francis, the Osler Librarian, wrote in an annotation to this letter: “This apparently didn’t get into the bibliographies! W.W.F. 1939. Can it be dirty work of Morang’s in connection with Pentland’s pirated 4th ed. 1901?”¹⁸

In general, Appleton’s response and the commentary of Dr. Francis lacked validity, as a result of insufficient information and the passage of time. If the reply from Morang & Co. can be taken at face value then they acted with the knowledge and approval of Osler to protect Appleton’s Canadian rights in their capacity as “exclusive agents.” Their Ottawa copyright was self-serving only in the litigation brought against Carveth & Co. to protect their sales and profits and there is no evidence that they ever contemplated issuing a pirated edition. (Typographical analysis shows the Morang edition to be identical to Kimpton (from Appleton sheets).¹⁹

Since Morang’s copyright infringement suit was filed in 1901, it would appear that Carveth wasted little time in importing the pirated Pentland edition. The withdrawal of the suit in 1903 strengthened Carveth’s claim of no legal impropriety; the moral issues of piracy aside, and no doubt emboldened them to issue the Pentland edition under their own imprint. Comparison of the few copies that could be located reveals two states of the Carveth edition, one with “Revised Edition” on the title page and one without. Perusal of the former found no evidence of revision except for the title page indicating that this may have been a response of Carveth to Morang’s litigation. The possibility exists that there may be still earlier undiscovered printings (1901 or 1902) of this pirated Carveth edition.

The muddle resulting from Appleton’s copyright omission of 1901 now included five publishers of the fourth edition — Appleton, Kimpton, Pentland, Morang (1901), and Carveth (1903). To add to the confusion there were 1901 printings of

the third edition (Appleton and Pentland); a 1902 printing of the fourth edition (Appleton); the 1903 Carveth fourth edition; and the 1902 – 1904 printings of the fifth edition (Appleton).

The Carveth edition has remained bibliographically unrecognized for over a century, absent from the bibliographies of Blogg²⁰ and Abbott²¹ and a more recent work.²² Similarly, the Morang and Kimpton fourth editions escaped the notice of the earlier bibliographers in spite of the knowledge of these works exhibited in journals, archives, and library catalogues. Osler knew at least of the Pentland, Kimpton, and probably Morang editions. How then did these omissions occur? Those who initially observed and recorded these books in libraries and bibliographies were not necessarily aware of their significance and were handicapped by contemporary difficulties in gathering information. Their focus, in general, appears to have been on the numbered editions only, and although the place and publisher may have been duly recorded, the significance of the data remained below the threshold of complete understanding – analogous to Foucault in another context²³ – preventing further association; in essence to see and not perceive. It remained for others to later assimilate and amplify this knowledge, a goal greatly facilitated by the advent of modern research tools such as the internet and its applications.

Acknowledgements

The help of Dana Kuszelewski, Reference Specialist, Reference and Research Unit, Gerstein Science Information Centre, University of Toronto, and John T. Golden, M.D., Wayne State University School of Medicine, is gratefully acknowledged.

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15. Morang & Co. to Dr. Archibald Malloch, January 3, 1921. Inserted in *Bibliotheca Osleriana* #3548.
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Address: Osler Library of the History of Medicine,
McGill University, McIntyre Medical Sciences Building,
3655 Promenade Sir-William-Osler,
Montréal, Quebec, Canada, H3G 1Y6
Tel: (514) 398-4475 ext. 09873 Fax: (514) 398-5747
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