



# 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 remembers two people who have had a close relationship with the Osler Library, and who, coincidentally, were both members of the McGill Medicine class of '45. Dr. Marian Francis Kelen, who passed away in Ottawa on January 29th at the age of 92, was the daughter of Dr. William Willoughby Francis, the principal author of the *Bibliotheca Osleriana* and the first Osler Librarian. Dr. Kelen was a well-loved physician who practised for many years at the Ormstown (Quebec) Medical Center. The second is Dr. William Feindel, who passed away on January 12th. Dr. Feindel had an exceptional life and career, graduating from medicine at McGill in 1945 before heading to Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship to study neuroanatomy. This was followed by a neurosurgical residency and work with Dr. Wilder Penfield at the Montreal Neurological Institute, of which he was Director from 1972 to 1984. His career as a neurosurgeon, researcher and administrator was marked by numerous achievements, such as the development of the Montreal Procedure for temporal lobe epilepsy, the early use of brain imaging technology, and the doubling of the size of the MNI with the construction of the Penfield Pavilion and the Webster Pavilion. He also had a passion for medical history, which extended to the Osler Library, for which he served on the Board and as Curator of the Penfield Archive, as well as being named Honourary Osler Librarian. Active to the very end, Dr. Feindel was working on a book on the history of the MNI tentatively titled *The Brain Doctors*, which will be published posthumously. Drs. Kelen and Feindel are both dearly missed.

## Dr. William Feindel, 1918-2014, Remembrances By Rolando Del Maestro

*"What a man leaves after him are the dreams that his name inspires and the works that make his name a symbol of admiration" Paul Valéry (French Poet)*

The Board of Curators of the Osler Library meeting was scheduled for November 6, 2013 and for the first time in many decades Dr. William Feindel would not be present to add his wisdom to the proceedings. Dr. Feindel had been admitted to the Royal Victoria Hospital and was scheduled for the implantation of a pacemaker on the same day as the Curators' meeting. Since Dr. Feindel would not be present to provide his reports as the Curator of the Penfield Archive and the Chairman of the Publications Committee, he had asked me to give his carefully prepared reports. I decided to visit him the day before the meeting and to get his opinion related to a number of key issues. As a member of the Standing Committee of the Osler Library, Dr. Feindel had been instrumental in producing some important ideas related to the future of the Osler Library of the History of Medicine.



*Dr. William Feindel*

On entering Dr. Feindel's hospital room he was sitting up in his bed, appearing a bit thinner, but he quickly greeted me with his usual laugh and broad smile. As always, we had a wonderful conversation filled with humour, delightful discussion and measured thought. I had another meeting to attend, so after more than an hour, I begged his forgiveness to leave and told him I would be back the day after the Curators' meeting to bring him up to date on the discussions. As I reached his hospital room door he said softly - almost in a whisper "I have to go on renal dialysis". I quietly returned to my chair as he followed my sad movements with his piercing eyes. Outlining his typical approach to life he delineated that he was more than up for the challenge just as he had tackled all the challenges that he had faced in the past. He was ready with both resolve and humour for the battle ahead. He stated that the alternative to not having renal dialysis was not very appealing. Being human involves courage and Dr. Feindel was certainly not without courage. He mentioned that numerous individuals had been on dialysis for decades and had been able to carry on without difficulty - as would he. Being physicians, we both knew that at his age, 95, there were difficulties ahead and that certain storms could not be weathered. We both understood, without saying, that a door was being opened and when and how it would close was unclear. I reflected on

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our 30 year relationship as I walked back through the Royal Victoria Hospital and across the bridge to the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital.

As a neurosurgical resident at Western University, I was well aware of the work that Dr. Penfield and Dr. Feindel had carried out related to the surgery of epilepsy and tumors. On my return to Western University after having finished my PhD, Dr. Feindel, then the Director of the 'Neuro,' asked me to give a lecture at the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital. I gave a talk on oxidative enzymes in glial tumours and Dr. Feindel peppered me with difficult questions related to the oxidative metabolism of brain tumours. I thus learned very early that focused and relevant questions were his quintessential trademark. At a dinner meeting with Dr. Feindel and Dr. Bertrand, the Head of the Department of Neurosurgery, Dr. Feindel discussed the plan for the development of brain tumour research at the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital and inquired if I would be willing to join the researchers at the Institute. Although honoured by his suggestion, I had just begun my studies in the Brain Tumour Research Laboratory at Western and I did not feel this was the best time for me to move. In the ensuing years I was keenly interested in Dr. Feindel's research and was aware of his continuing contributions related to neurosurgery and the history of medicine. His large collection of books involving medical history focused on his hero, Thomas Willis. He told me at one time that he had an open account with a number of London, England booksellers in which he agreed to buy any books on Willis they could find - a passionate collector indeed. Using the extensive resources of his library and that of the Osler he wrote the first biography of Willis and produced a beautiful reproduction of Willis' famous *Anatomy of the Brain*.



Dr. and Mrs. Feindel with Dr. Rolando Del Maestro

In 1999, Dr. Richard Murphy, the Director of the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital asked me for input on

the development of a Brain Tumour Research Centre to be housed in a new building at the Institute. Dr. Feindel had taken a keen interest in the development of the Centre and in my recruitment to it. Aware of my interest in Leonardo da Vinci and the history of medicine, Dr. Feindel along with Pamela Miller, the Osler Librarian, organized a special exhibition for me of the books that Dr. William Osler had collected related to Leonardo. I remember spending a remarkable afternoon with Dr. Feindel and Mrs. Miller leafing through these Leonardo volumes and visiting the amazing Osler Library. In the evening, Dr. Feindel asked my wife Pam and me to the University Club and there he helped convince us that McGill University, the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital along with the Osler Library was in our future. His support and encouragement was critical to my decision to come to Montreal.

Soon after arriving in Montreal I moved into Dr. Feindel's previous office and in a very short time became acutely aware of the role that Dr. Feindel had and continued to have on maintaining the intellectual vigour and culture at the Institution. I knew that Dr. Feindel had received numerous honours and felt that he should be considered for the Canadian Medical Hall of Fame. In the spring of 2002 I discussed this with him and asked him to provide me with a summary of what he felt were the important contributions and accomplishments of his career. In Dr. Feindel's typical manner he provided me with a short one page document that listed his accomplishments under the headings of *Epilepsy*, *Brain Imaging*, and the *History of Neurosciences*. It is interesting that his list included more contributions to the *History of Neurosciences* than in any other area. In June 2002 Dr. Abe Fuks, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at McGill and myself nominated Dr. Feindel for the Canadian Medical Hall of Fame under the areas of *Epilepsy*, *Brain Imaging*, and the *History of Neurosciences* and as a "Builder" of the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital as its Director from 1972-1984. He was honoured as an inductee to the Canadian Medical Hall of Fame in 2003 and at that time he and his wife, Faith, asked my wife, Pam, and me to join him at his table for the induction ceremonies.

I was honoured to be named the William Feindel Professor of Neuro-Oncology in 2004. Dr. Feindel and I spent many stimulating hours discussing brain tumour clinical care and brain tumour research. Dr. Feindel always had a deep interest in acquiring new knowledge and understanding new technologies as they were developed. At neurosurgical rounds and at multiple conferences at the 'Neuro' he would frequently have a small black book where he would write notes and questions related to the issues being discussed. His questions continued to be direct and focused during and after presentations and speakers knew they were about to be tested if Dr. Feindel opened his book to ask a question. Time had only improved his ability to distill the essence of a presentation.

The sharpness of mind was epic. I frequently asked his opinion on my writing. One of many examples comes to mind. I asked Dr. Feindel for his opinion of my draft for a



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review of Michael Bliss's book on Harvey Cushing. He took the time to review it carefully and pointed out in large black marker that I had misspelled Dr. Cushing's collaborator, Dr. Louise Eisenhardt's name incorrectly.

I was more than honoured that Dr. Feindel was one of the speakers at the get together in 2012 when I retired from clinical practice. The very first thing he said in his speech was that he would never retire: the word was just not in his vocabulary. At that time he gave me a book by Wilder Penfield called *The Second Career*. It is inscribed "*This book came from the Library of Wilder Penfield which he bequested to Theodore Rasmussen and William Feindel. The latter now passes it on to Rolando Del Maestro on his 'RETIREMENT'*". On the opposite page he wrote in bold letters "*To Rolando with all best wishes for a rewarding II Career/ in admiration from your friend and colleague in Osler: Bill Feindel.*" A treasure to be passed on with willing hands at the future time.

The last time I saw him was on December 17th during the launch for his new book *Images of the Neuro* at which time he gave a power point presentation on the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital, his recent book and what was to come next. Dr. Feindel was a "Man of the Book" and the ink of knowledge flowed in his veins.

### **The Legacy**

Dr. Feindel's publications, teachings, and lectures have disseminated information on the surgical treatment of temporal lobe seizures across the globe. Because of his exquisite skill in dealing with these complicated neurosurgical problems, many visiting surgeons from around the world have come to learn from him. Along with these surgeons, his many Residents and Fellows have imbibed the knowledge he imparted and this has been passed on as part of his legacy throughout the world. His demonstrations of the value of brain imaging continue to have a daily impact on the lives of patients with neurological disease. Many of the developments and accomplishments of the Montreal Neurological Institute and Hospital over the last 60 years can be directly related to his initiatives and vision. Each day in the operating rooms throughout the world the challenge of epilepsy and brain tumours are faced anew and as neurosurgeons look down their operating microscopes they are buffeted by the knowledge that Dr. Feindel has imparted and I am sure they can feel the soft touch of his gentle fingers on their shoulder.

As promised I visited him in hospital the day after he had his successful pacemaker operation and found him in high spirits. He commented that having a fully functional heart had its advantages. Responding I said that he had always had a heart full of function. I had brought along a copy of the Curators' medal that had been presented at the Osler Banquet to the medical student winner of the Curators' prize. Chris Lyons the Osler Librarian and I had discussed awarding Dr. Feindel, at an upcoming ceremony, a special Curators' medal for all his contributions to the Osler Library.

Unfortunately this was not to be.

One cannot envision Dr. Feindel without the presence of his elegant wife, Faith. She was a constant presence at his side glowing with her enduring love and support. I never attended a function, and there were many, where she was not his steadfast companion. Theirs was indeed a partnership to envy.

Dr. Feindel's passing is a very great loss to his wife Faith, his family and many friends, McGill, the Osler Library, Canada and the world. The world will not have another man with the unique qualities of Dr. Feindel. He was truly a man of substance.

In my opinion, Dr. Feindel was happiest while in the Osler Library and as the Honourary Osler Librarian. Surrounded by Dr. Osler's books and ashes he felt in tune with the rhythm of the history of medicine and the slow but progressive advancement to eradicate disease and make the world a better place. On opening one of the many books by Thomas Willis that Dr. Feindel had donated to the Osler Library, one can feel the palpable and consuming interest of the intellect of man. Dr. Feindel had delved deeply into the human condition, understood its textures, nuances, and needs. He was a true renaissance man.

It is indeed a great honour for me to have been the William Feindel Professor of Neuro-Oncology and to now be the William Feindel Professor Emeritus in Neuro-Oncology.

Dr. Feindel will be missed by all but especially by the books in the Osler library that will miss his watchful eye and careful touch.

## **Dr. Marian Francis (Popsie) Kelen, 1922-2014**



*Marian Francis Kelen, while a medical student, at the library in the Strathcona Medical Building, McGill University*

Dr. Marian Francis Kelen died in Ottawa on January 29, 2014, at the age of 92. Born in Oxford in 1922, Dr. Kelen was the daughter of Hilda Colley and Dr. William Willoughby Francis, who was in Oxford to catalogue the books of his

second cousin, Sir William Osler, with whom he had an especially close relationship. Upon the completion of the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, the family moved to Montreal, where Dr. Francis assumed the position of Osler Librarian, a post he held until his death in 1959. Dr. Kelen's humorous "Memories of My Librarian Father, W.W. Francis, M.D." appeared in *The Persisting Osler: Selected Transactions of the First Ten Years of the American Osler Society* (1985).

Like her father, Dr. Kelen studied medicine, graduating from McGill University as M.D.C.M. in 1945, and was classmates with Dr. William Feindel, Dr. Charlotte Ferencz and Dr. Granville Nickerson, amongst others. She practised medicine for many years at the Ormstown (Quebec) Medical Center, and also raised five children. She was known for her compassion, her delightful humour, her encyclopaedic knowledge and her memory, her love of poetry and Shakespeare, and for her cheerfulness and kindness. During her lifetime she presented several gifts to the library that belonged to Sir William and Lady Osler. She is survived by her five children and their spouses – Michael and Sheila, Sari and Philip, Steve and Paisley, Susan and Peter, Wendy and Tim; and by her many grandchildren and two great-grandchildren. She was predeceased by her husband of 60 years, Dr. Andrew Kelen.

## Portraits of McGill Pathology: George Adami and Maude Abbott By Rick Fraser and Joan O'Malley

Three portraits of noted McGill physicians from the Department of Pathology – one of George Adami and two of Maude Abbott – have been acquired by the Osler Library during the past seven years. The details of their origin and provenance are only partly known, but what we have been able to find is documented in this short article. Their coming to the library illustrates how interest in and knowledge of history, combined sometimes with good luck, can result in works such as these being preserved and made available for public viewing.

George Adami was born in Lancashire, England, in 1862 and studied biology and medicine in Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> He emigrated to Canada in 1892 to become the first Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology at McGill and, one year later, the first Chair of Pathology at the Royal Victoria Hospital. He was recognized as a leader in developing the specialty in both institutions and as an inspiring and respected teacher. His textbook *The Principles of Pathology* (1908) was one of the first of its kind in English and was widely read. He was also active in the social life of the university, hosting many informal events at his home and in restaurants, where topics both medical and other were discussed. As with many other men, he became intimately involved in World War I and was an original member of the Administrative Staff of the No 3 Canadian General Hospital organized by McGill. He left Montreal in 1915 to work for the Canadian Army Medical Corps and, although he had little role in the development of the McGill Pathology Department after that, he maintained

official ties with the university until his retirement in 1919.



Figure 1: Robert J. Wickenden. Sketch of Dr. George Adami, 1904

The sketch of Adami acquired by the library was done by Robert J. Wickenden in 1904 (Figure 1). The latter was born in 1861 in Kent, England, and moved to Ohio, United States, with his mother when he was 12.<sup>2</sup> Following artistic study in Detroit and Paris, he began a career of painting and lithography, first in Ohio and then in France in Auvers-sur-Oise. He moved to Quebec in 1900, where he stayed until 1906, mostly in Montreal and Sainte-Adèle in the Laurentian mountains of Quebec. The commissioner of Adami's portrait is unknown and Marie Adami, George's second wife, makes no mention of it in her biography of him.<sup>1</sup> However, Adami and Wickenden were both involved with the Art Association of Montreal from 1900 to 1904, the former as a member of its Standing Committee and the latter as a regular member.<sup>3</sup> It is thus possible that Adami himself asked Wickenden to do the portrait. In addition to the pencil sketch acquired by the Osler Library, Wickenden produced an oil painting and several lithograph copies.<sup>4</sup>

It is uncertain where the sketch resided after it was completed. It is possible that Adami kept it at McGill and that it went to the Pathological Institute when it was built in 1923. From there, it could conceivably have traveled to Toronto with Dr. Alex Ritchie in 1961 when he moved from McGill to become Chair of the Pathology Department at the University of Toronto. It is perhaps more likely that the sketch left Montreal with Oskar Klotz, Chair of Pathology and Bacteriology at the University of Toronto from 1923 to 1936. Klotz trained and worked with Adami from 1903 to 1914 and appears to have had a close relationship with him.<sup>5</sup> It is thus possible that he was either given the sketch by Adami or came across it after the latter left for Europe and kept it in his memory. We do know that the sketch was placed at some time in a storeroom in Toronto's Banting Institute, where it was discovered in the late 1960s by Dr. Malcolm Silver.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Silver (Chair of the Pathology Department in Toronto after Ritchie) had been asked to clear the storeroom to make space for a new laboratory and came across it during the cleaning. Since no



one in the institute wanted the sketch, he took it home for safe keeping, where it resided in his study for approximately 40 years! Silver and his wife (Dr. Meredith Silver) recognized its historical value and offered it to the Osler Library (via the McGill Medical Museum) in 2012. It is currently in storage awaiting a decision on an appropriate place for display.

Maude Abbott was born in 1869 in St. Andrews East, Quebec. She was one of the first women to obtain a Bachelor's degree in Arts from McGill University and wanted to continue her study in medicine at the same institution. (She credited her "best friend" Mary Eastlake (nee Bell) with sparking her interest in medicine as a career.<sup>7</sup>) However, McGill refused to accept her on the grounds that such study was not suitable for women and she received her medical degree from Bishop's College in 1894. Despite this background, Adami asked her to join the Pathology Department in 1898 and she spent almost all of the following 35 years of her professional career at McGill. Her only absence was 1923 – 1925, when she was Chair of Pathology at the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (now part of the Drexel University College of Medicine). During her career, Abbott became well known internationally for her curatorship of the McGill Medical Museum, leadership in the International Association of Medical Museums and study of congenital heart disease.



Figure 2: Mary Bell-Eastlake. Painting of Dr. Maude Abbott

The first portrait of Abbott acquired by the Osler Library was painted by her childhood friend, Mary Bell. She was born in Douglas, Ontario, in 1864 and studied art technique with Robert Harris (in Montreal) and William Chase (in New York). She moved to England and married the English painter Charles Eastlake; however, she continued to exhibit in Montreal and returned to live in Canada in 1939. The

library portrait appears to be a copy of Eastlake's well known painting which hangs in the amphitheater of the Strathcona Anatomy and Dentistry Building and which was the basis for a commemorative Canadian stamp issued in 2000. Another version of the Strathcona painting, also done by Bell-Eastlake, hangs in the Musée Régional d'Argenteuil near Abbott's birthplace (now called Saint-André-d'Argenteuil). It is unclear exactly when these three portraits were executed. In a letter dated September 29, 1929, written on stationery from the Osler Club in London, England, Alfred Franklin asked Abbott about her "portrait" and expressed the hope that "if you have it photographed you will send me a copy."<sup>8</sup> However, no additional information about this portrait is available and it is unclear who was doing it and if it was ever completed. We do know that Abbott posed for one painting – presumably the definitive one in the Strathcona – shortly before her final illness in the spring of 1940.<sup>9</sup>

The painting acquired by the library was part of a collection of Bell-Eastlake material put up for auction in England 2005. I learned about its existence from Eric Larsen, a pathologist and art enthusiast in Calgary, who knew of my interest in the association between McGill and Abbott. The painting was purchased by the Medical Faculty in 2006 and now hangs in one of the Osler Library's reading rooms (Figure 2).<sup>10</sup>



Figure 3: Lilius Newton. Painting of Dr. Maude Abbott

The second Abbott painting acquired by the library is unsigned and undated, but was probably done by Lilius Newton in the 1960s, possibly as a "sketch" related to a more formal work which resides in the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania (Figure 3). This institution was founded in 1850 and it can be hypothesized that Newton's painting was



commissioned to celebrate its 125th anniversary in 1975 (as per a note dated that year which is attached to the back of the painting (Figure 4). However, archival records from the Women's College indicate that the painting was accessioned in 1966,<sup>11</sup> and this purpose seems unlikely. It is also possible that the version in the library is a copy of the portrait which now resides at Drexel University, rather than the other way around. Whatever the case, Abbott was presumably dead when Newton did both portraits. This hypothesis and the similarity of Newton's version to the 1940 painting by Bell-Eastlake, suggest that both Newton paintings are copies.

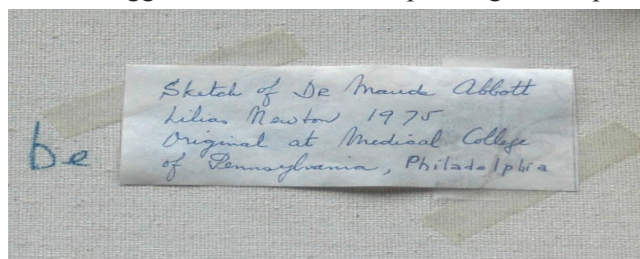


Figure 4: Back of figure 3

Lilian Torrance was born in Lachine (on Montreal Island) in 1896 and studied painting with the Art Association of Montreal and later in London and Paris. She was an original member of the Montreal-based Beaver Hall Group, founded in 1920 to advance the careers of women artists. In 1921, she married Frederick Newton, a stockbroker who suffered greatly during the economic crash of 1929. The couple separated and subsequently divorced in 1933, leaving Newton alone with her son, Francis Forbes. She was able to survive financially and progress professionally by portrait painting, including some of her fellow artists such as A.Y. Jackson and Edwin Holgate. She died in Cowansville, Quebec in 1980.

The provenance of the painting is somewhat complicated. It came to me in 2007 from Dr. Peter Gillett, obstetrician/gynecologist at the Montreal General Hospital, who had acquired it from John Cameron. Following Newton's death in 1980, a number of her paintings went to Cameron's stepfather (Frederick Newton's brother) and when he died they were given to Cameron.<sup>12</sup> His friend, Paula Gillett (Peter's wife), admired Newton's technique and Cameron gave her the Abbott portrait. The painting is currently displayed on loan at the Maude Unit in the Royal Victoria Hospital.

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## Osler Library Renovations: April-October 2014

A major renovation of the McIntyre Medical Building's HVAC infrastructure is underway. This project, funded through the Knowledge Infrastructure Program, involves extensive roof work directly above the Osler Library as well as a replacement of the heating, ventilation and air conditioning (HVAC) systems throughout the library and the McIntyre Building.



The Osler Room being packed up.

In order to protect the Osler collection, the rare and circulating collections from the Osler Library of the History of Medicine have been relocated to a secure, environmentally controlled storage area. As a result, the library and the collection have been inaccessible from April 1. A number of steps have been taken to minimize the impact on users. High use rare material, plus rare books and archives requested by readers, have been temporarily moved to the McGill Library's Rare Books and Special Collections unit and are accessible to researchers in the reading room. Readers were also encouraged to take out as many circulating books as needed for the duration of the work and library staff have been helping users locate alternative rare and secondary resources, such as online material and via interlibrary loans. The Osler Library continues to offer other services to researchers and students during the renovations, including reference and course support.

The renovation work is expected to take place between May and September, after which the collection will be moved back into the library. We are expected to reopen sometime in October. The library will be protected with a new roof with improved drainage and an upgraded heating, cooling and ventilation system. The move of the collection has been undertaken by George Scott Cartage, who have been doing a great job following expert instruction in handling rare material.

We thank everyone for their understanding and cooperation.

For more information please call 514-398-4475 ext. 09873 or email [osler.library@mcgill.ca](mailto:osler.library@mcgill.ca).

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## From Typical Female Sensitivity to Memory Function: Hallucinations in Wilder Penfield's Operating Room By Sonja Mählmann

*Sonja Mählmann, winner of the Mary Louise Nickerson Fellowship in Neuro History in 2013, holds a PhD in Cultural Studies from the Humboldt-University of Berlin. At present, she is working as a postdoctoral fellow in the research group "Cultures of Madness: Liminal Phenomena of the Urban Modern Era (1870-1930)", funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Her research at the Osler Library on Wilder Penfield's surgical procedures is an extension of her finished doctoral thesis "Text and Brain", which examines the cultural history of modern memory research.*

Almost every historical overview of modern memory research includes a section on Wilder Penfield and his remarkable operations on memory carried out in the mid-20th century. By determining the epileptic focus of the patient's brain, Penfield's small electrode, while placed on the temporal lobes, unexpectedly entered the patient's past life and forced some long-forgotten memories into their consciousness. By that time, it had long been common knowledge that electrical stimulation along the brain's gyri elicits respective physiological responses such as tingling or movement in various parts of the body. However, the temporal lobes were still considered to be "silent areas", which had not yet given a positive response to stimulation. Carried out on the patient while they were awake, these procedures were thereby as much a therapeutic intervention as a neurophysiological experiment for mapping the brain's topography:

*"The experimental 'preparation' of the physiologist can neither feel nor speak. But the man who lies on the operating table under local anaesthesia while his brain is being explored is usually alert and acutely interested. If the surgeon will but listen, this observer from underneath the sterile coverings can tell us what he is made to feel, to see, to hear and what to dream."*<sup>1</sup>

Up to the present, Penfield's finding, i.e., that memories of bygone days can be evoked electrically, is mostly considered to be a product of a sudden discovery, and even less so, the result of a straightforward research programme. In fact, these phenomena, which occurred in not more than 10 per cent of temporal lobe operations, only came to the forefront of Penfield's scientific work indirectly and after a delay of almost two decades. Retrospectively, one of the first cases of electrical activation of memory seemed to him to have occurred as early as in January 1931. At the Royal Victoria Hospital in Montreal, he operated on a thirty-seven-year-old housewife. When he opened the skull of the awake patient and explored her brain using electrical stimulation, she suddenly "seemed to see herself giving birth to her baby girl". However, instead of attracting his attention, at that time,

he dismissed the patient's strange hallucination as a typical female sentiment and response. At least, this is what he wrote in retrospect more than twenty-five years later:

*"This, I thought, was a strange moment for her to talk of that previous experience, but then, I reflected, women were unpredictable, and it was never intended that men should understand them completely. Nevertheless, I noted the fact that it was while my stimulating electrode was applied to the left temporal lobe that this woman had had this unrelated and vivid recollection."*<sup>2</sup>

In subsequent years, the cases became more numerous and, in the end, it was not only women who reported strange sensations and near-hallucinations during temporal lobe stimulation. Even though the electrical stimulation of the temporal lobes was now seen as related to the patient's hallucinations, Penfield still had doubts about what exactly the evoked psychic phenomena were. These were very diverse at first and appeared as a mixture of hallucinations, memories and dreams or "dreamy states" (epileptic disturbance of consciousness). In contrast to the precise physiological responses of the sensor and motor cortices, however, electrical stimulation of the temporal lobes evoked a chaotic set of psychic responses, "distorted echoes of former experience"<sup>3</sup>. Consequently, for many years, Penfield was puzzled by the functional specificity of the temporal lobes, which he experienced as "difficult to analyse".<sup>4</sup>

It is precisely this shift away from describing the electrically evoked psychical state in terms of female behaviour or pathological syndrome ("dreamy state") to describing it as a normal memory function, that was central to my research as a Nickerson Fellow in Neuro-History: How did Penfield finally come to establish a neurophysiological memory theory (1951) based on his observation of "recollective hallucinations" during temporal lobe stimulation? By consulting the rich manuscripts and archival collections at the Osler Library, in particular, the Wilder Penfield-Archive, I found answers to questions such as: How were the first cases of electrically evoked hallucinations recorded? Did the recording of these phenomena change over the two decades? Or, how did Penfield retrospectively try to reconstruct the history of his discovery?

The support of the Nickerson Fellowship enabled me to spend one month in Montreal and take advantage of the unique and rare materials at the Osler Library. The findings that I made during my research will result in at least one publication, which will be an extension of my finished doctoral thesis "Text and Brain". I could not have carried out such a period of intensive research without this generous sponsorship. Therefore, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Granville Nickerson for establishing the sponsorship in honour of his wife Mary Louise. My special thanks go to the late Dr. William Feindel, whom I had the good fortune of meeting, and to Dr. Brenda Milner, who both took the time to engage in interesting discussions and gave me precious first-hand insights into their fascinating time spent at the MNI. Many thanks also to Duncan Cowie for his tremendous help in guiding me through the Penfield Archive. Finally, I am



very grateful to the Head of the Osler Library, Christopher Lyons, and the entire staff for their warm welcome, excellent hospitality and generous support of my research that was given in so many ways.

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## The D. O. Hebb Collection: An Archival Reconnaissance by Yvan Prkachin

*Yvan Prkachin, a winner of the Mary Louise Nickerson Fellowship in Neuro History, is a PhD candidate in the Department of the History of Science at Harvard University. He received his BA Honours in History from the University of Northern British Columbia in 2006, and his Masters degree in History from the University of Guelph in 2008. His research in the Hebb papers is part of a doctoral dissertation project on the role of McGill and Montreal in the development of cognitive neuroscience in the post-war period.*

At some point in the 1980s, Dr. William Feindel, neurosurgical pioneer and colleague of Wilder Penfield, decided to vacation in Nova Scotia. Over tea with the two daughters of Donald Olding Hebb, a ground-breaking Canadian psychologist and former chancellor of McGill University, Feindel, who had recently launched the Neuro History Project as part of the Osler Library, inquired as to whether their father had left any papers at their Nova Scotia home before his death in 1985. "Oh yes!" they responded, "they're out in the barn." The nearly four yards of paper which Feindel recovered and brought back to McGill University in a U-Haul trailer provide a fascinating glimpse into a various array of issues, and are an exciting—and relatively unexplored—resource for historians of psychology and neuroscience, along with historians of science in Canada and the broader history of the mind sciences in the twentieth century. Thanks to the generous support of the Mary Louis Nickerson Fellowship in Neuro History, I was able to spend much of the summer of 2013 carefully examining the D. O. Hebb papers at the McGill University Archives. It would be impossible to summarize, in so small a space, the remarkably diverse contents of the Hebb papers. However, this brief discussion of some of the documents in the collection will reveal a number of themes that helped shape the development of the mind sciences in the twentieth century.

The most salient feature of the Hebb papers, which becomes immediately obvious upon examination, is the sheer volume and variety of correspondence carried on by



Photograph of Hebb (L) and Penfield (R) from a panel at the "Control of the Mind" Symposium held in San Francisco, January 28-30th, 1961. Osler Library, Wilder Penfield Archive, E-K 61-1-28-30 PNR 9 (W-P 257).

Hebb during his decades at McGill. Hebb's correspondence reveals his connection to a vast network of psychologists, neurophysiologists, surgeons, students, and other intellectuals in the post-war world. Names such as Karl Lashley, Wolfgang Kohler, Noam Chomsky, and J. Robert Oppenheimer are littered about the collection, along with the expected cadre of Montreal scientific celebrities such as Wilder Penfield, Brenda Milner, and William Cone. Particularly notable is an extensive correspondence with Harvard psychologist E. G. Boring, whose *History of Psychology* (1929) did much to reorient American psychology away from its philosophical roots and towards an experimental research program. Discussing Hebb's recently published *The Organization of Behavior* (1949), Boring wrote that:

*The book has a fresh, constructive candor, which is what is needed. Lashley and Kohler with their past commitments are not able to do this thing that you, coming freshly to the field, can do....There were eleven psychologists in conference at the Institute for Advanced Study...and three of us brought the book along to read on the train....Your name was often mentioned....This morning I have a note...saying how fresh, original and effective it is going to be.*

It was as a result of Boring's strong recommendation that J. Robert Oppenheimer would later personally request Hebb's attendance at the Institute for Advanced Study. The above anecdote, one of hundreds I discovered in the Hebb papers, suggests the importance of networks of influence in shaping the development of psychology and neuroscience in the immediate post-war period.

While the Hebb papers can be read for a strictly internal history of neuroscience and psychology, they also unveil important interactions between academic science and its broader historical context. Hebb's experiments with sensory deprivation, undertaken in the 1960s with John Peter Zubek, would later attract great controversy as a result of their



implication in research sponsored by the CIA. However, documentary evidence from the Hebb papers suggests that at the time, these sensory deprivation experiments fired the imaginations of academic researchers as far away as Australia and Africa, who wrote to Hebb for details on the experiments and their aftermath. Additional Cold War concerns are revealed in the correspondence related to Hebb's 1951 article on extra-sensory perception (ESP); one letter to Hebb from *Playboy Magazine* even asked if he would be willing to review a book on the topic (he politely declined). More serious, though nonetheless replete with Hebb's characteristic sarcasm, is a letter to the Canadian Defense Department on the same subject. Cold War paranoia about psychic espionage reached into even the normally stolid world of academic psychology at McGill.

Perhaps the most important theme to emerge from the Hebb papers, and the one upon which much of my research will focus, is the extent to which Hebb promoted a reintegration of psychology and neurology in the post-war world. Hebb accomplished this not only through his formal writings but also through his role as educator and mentor. In this I draw upon the work of Harvard's Peter Galison, whose pioneering work in the history of modern physics has highlighted the importance of "trading zones" in facilitating communication between different scientific subcultures. For Galison, the interaction between autonomous groups of physicists in certain intellectual, and even physical, spaces can create entirely new scientific disciplines with their own priorities and paradigms. A similar phenomenon is hinted at in the Hebb papers, as Hebb and his students acted as translators between the different scientific subcultures of psychology, neurosurgery, and neurophysiology. Indeed, the Hebb papers even suggest that the trading zone for the new field of behavioral neuropsychology was the city of Montreal itself, and that even such seemingly banal details as the physical distance between McGill, the Montreal Neurological Institute, and the Université de Montréal may have been crucial in shaping the development of neuropsychology. It is with the generous assistance of Dr. Granville Nickerson and the Nickerson Fellowship in Neuro History, along with the assistance of Dr. William Feindel, Duncan Cowie, the Osler Library, and McGill Library staff that I have been able to begin my investigation of these fascinating issues.

## Osler Library BO 7571: Evidence for Sūfī Medical Practitioners in Ottoman Egypt?\* by Bogdan C. Smarandache

*THE KITĀB KĀMIL AL-ŞINĀ'AH AL-ṬIBBĪYAH* (*The Complete Book of the Medical Art*) was once a fundamental Arabic medical text. The author of the work was 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī, a scholar of possible Persian origin who lived in the fourth century AH/tenth century AD. Françoise Micheau considers this, his magnum opus, the "best synthesis of medical science of the time".<sup>1</sup> Al-Majūsī drew on the work of numerous medical experts including Galen and al-Rāzī. The work was also translated into Hebrew, Judaeo-Arabic,

and Latin. Gérard Troupeau lists an impressive 128 extant manuscripts of *Kāmil al-Şinā'ah*.<sup>2</sup>

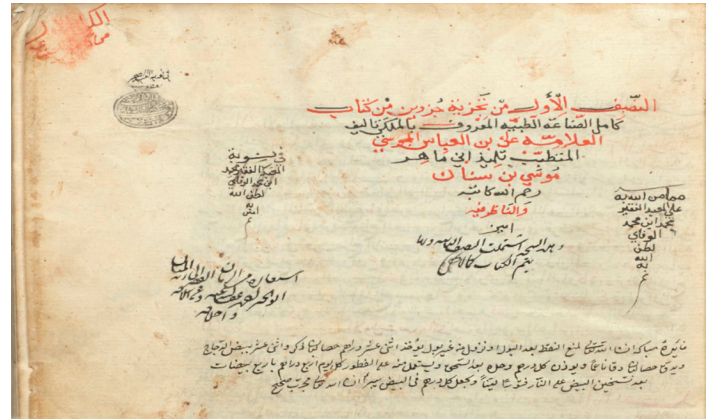


Figure 1: leaf i.1r

The manuscript in focus here *Bibliotheca Osleriana* (hereafter BO) 7571, is housed at the Osler Library of the History of Medicine.<sup>3</sup> Like other manuscripts of *al-Şinā'ah*, BO 7571 is divided into two parts. The first part, known as the *Theorice* in Latin translations, contains topics such as humoral pathology, anatomy, the faculties of the brain, the six "non-naturals", causes of illnesses, and symptoms. (Figure 1). The second part, known in Latin as the *Practice*, contains information on regimen, diseases, and recipes.<sup>4</sup>

The binding of BO 7571, the use of marbled paper, and the quinions, foliation, and quire signatures all point to Ottoman bookbinding practices of the eleventh/seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> The glosses on several folia are cut-off, which suggests that the textblock of Part 1 was cut to a smaller size after it left its first owner. (Figure 2).<sup>6</sup> Part 2 is also numbered starting

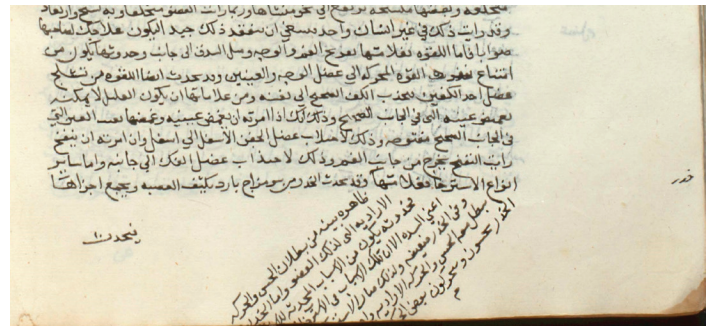


Figure 2: leaf i.181v

from the Hindu-Arabic numeral '1'. Part 1 is in much better condition than Part 2 but is marked by elongation of script, frequent scribal errors, and marginal glosses. It also underwent a collation process.<sup>7</sup> Minor differences in script suggest that at least two scribes copied Part 2 and at least three scripts appear in the margins.<sup>8</sup> The exemplar remains unknown.

According to a patronage statement on folio i.244r, "the master Muḥammad, son of the venerable Muḥammad al-Wafā'" commissioned Part 1 in 1078 AH (1668 AD).<sup>9</sup> Other evidence indicates that at least three other persons owned the manuscript, of whom two are identified as "Ya'qūb, the poor servant [of God]" and Abū al-Khayr Aḥmad, who "borrowed

the book from Time”.<sup>10</sup> A third statement confirms that the final codex is complete.<sup>11</sup> The title page of Part 2 indicates that the same Ibn al-Wafā’ī purchased the second part of *al-Šinā’ah* in 1077 AH (1666 AD), ten years after it was copied. (Figure 3)<sup>12</sup>

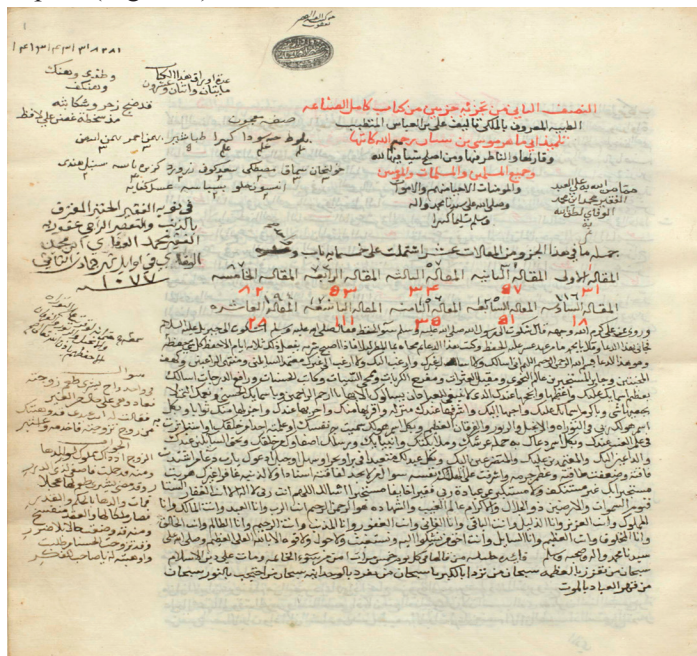


Figure 3: leaf ii.1r

It is curious that Part 1 was copied on larger paper if Ibn al-Wafā’ī already possessed the copy of Part 2 when he commissioned it. It is my contention that he was the author of the cut-off glosses and that he kept Part 1 and Part 2 as separate codices. It is possible that a later owner such as Ya’qūb bound them together to sell the book.

The history of this manuscript is informative with regards to text-based medical practice in the Ottoman Empire. Many medical practitioners used the two parts of *al-Šinā’ah* separately.<sup>13</sup> Practitioners referred to the *Practice* more often by virtue of its content. A doctor would need easy reference to a remedy for fever while visiting a patient. Practitioners therefore studied the *Theorice* at home or at the *bīmāristān* (hospital) and internalized its information.

But who was Ibn al-Wafā’ī? His use of *al-Šinā’ah* in two separate parts and his glosses suggest that he was a medical practitioner. In addition, the scribe who wrote Part 1 calls him “master” (“*al-shaykh*”) and his father “the venerable one” (“*al-muhtaram*”). And his name is nearly identical to that of the eponymous founder of the Wafā’iyah Sūfī Order, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Wafā’ (d. c. 759/1358).<sup>14</sup> These clues suggest that he had ties to the same Sūfī order.

The Wafā’iyah were eminent patrons and administrators during the Mamlūk period in Egypt. The order remained somewhat influential throughout the Ottoman period and still exists today. The Wafā’iyah can be characterized as a wealthy “aristocratic type of Sufism”.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, Sherry

Gadelrab notes that some Sūfī shaykhs were practitioners of medicine, especially during the Ottoman Period.<sup>16</sup> At present there is a paucity of studies on the Wafā’iyah ‘decline’ in the eleventh/seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps future research will confirm that BO 7571 is indeed a medical manuscript of a Sūfī physician.

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\* I thank Dr. Adam Gacek for his extensive guidance with this article. He has also deciphered some of the harder-to-read marginal glosses and ownerships statements and has reviewed my translations. All mistakes that remain are mine. I thank Christopher Lyons at the Osler Library of Medical History for his assistance and Lily Szczygiel for providing images of the manuscript.

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3. ‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī, *Kāmil Šinā’ah al-Ṭibbiyah* [or] *Al-Malikī*, BO 7571 (1656).
4. Micheau, “al-Majūsī”, 76-7.
5. Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 29, 31, 96, 106, 151, 156, 213, 247; François Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005), pp. 266-7.
6. These are ff. i.50r, i.73r, i.142r, and i.181v. See also i.103r. Déroche et al., *Codicology*, 255.
7. For collation and collation notes and statements, see Gacek, *Vademecum*, 65-9.
8. For glosses in *naskh*, see ff. ii.37v, ii.38r; in *nasta’liq*: ii.3r-7r; and for glosses in *nasta’liq*-influenced *naskh*: ii.45r and ii.119v.
9. “*Wa-ḍalīk kutiba bi-rasmi [...] al-shaykh Muḥammad bn al-muhtaram Muḥammad al-Wafā’ī [...]*” The “*bi-rasmi*” (“by the order of”) indicates patronage. Gacek, *Vademecum*, 197-8.
10. “*Fī nawbah al-‘abd al-faqīr Ya’qūb*”; “*Ista ‘arahu min al-zamān [...] Abū al-Khayr Aḥmad [...]*”
11. On f. i.1r: “*Wa-hadhihi al-nuskha ishatamalat al-niṣf al-thānīyah [sic] wa-bi-hā yatamma al-kitāb kamā yakhfā*.” (“And this copy includes the second half and in it ends the book as it is apparent.”)
12. On f. ii.1r: “*Fī nawbah [...] al-faqīr Muḥammad al-Wafā’ī bn Muḥammad al-Wafā’ī fī awāl shahr Jumādā al-Thānī sanah 1077*.” (“In the possession of [...] the poorest Muḥammad al-Wafā’ī ibn Muḥammad al-Wafā’ī. In the first [days] of Jumādā al-Thānī. The year 1077.”)
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16. Sherry S. Gadelrab, “Medical Healers in Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1805.” *Medical History*, Vol. 54.3 (2010): 382; see also 380, 386.
17. Gadelrab, “Healers”, 365; also 366.

## Addendum to Canadians who Graduated with an MD from the University of Edinburgh, 1809-1840 By David S. Crawford

In number 118 of the newsletter we published a listing, by David S. Crawford, of the Canadians who received a medical



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degree from the University of Edinburgh from 1809 to 1840. David has now uncovered some additional information on two persons previously listed, Robertson (1813) and Walsh (1818) and further research has revealed another four Canadian graduates: Thomas Reed, who graduated in 1827, William Stirling (1839) and Harry Peters and Alexander Rowand, who both graduated in 1840. Three of their theses were printed and are held by the Osler Library (indicated by \*).

The full listing of the Canadian medical graduates from the University of Edinburgh from 1809-1840, and a companion one on Canadian medical graduates of Edinburgh University from 1841-1868, are available on Mr. Crawford's website <http://internatlib.mcgill.ca/> Further additions and corrections are welcome and will be noted on the website(s).

### 1813

**\*ROBERTSON, John (1795-1857)** (*de ophthalmia membranarum*) Robertson is noted as "Canadensis" but he appears not to have returned to Canada. He may be the John Robertson, dates above, who joined the British army. According to Peterkin (1) a John Robertson who graduated from Edinburgh in 1813 won the Gold Medal for Syria and retired from the army in 1851. There are two graduates named "John (Joannes) Robertson" in the 1813 graduation list.

### 1818

**\*WALSH, John** (*de scarlatina*) Enrolled in 1815 and in the list of graduates is noted as "Canadensis". According to Rusted (2) he was practicing in St Johns, Newfoundland, in 1824 and it appears very likely that he was the John Walsh MD of the University of Edinburgh who was married to Eliza Ann Dowsley in St John's, Newfoundland, in 1828. Rusted notes that he was appointed health officer in Carbonear in April 1832 due to an impending cholera epidemic but was dismissed within a year "due to his irregular habits and unhappy state of mind." In 1837 he was mentioned in a Newfoundland Supply Bill, which was rejected. He was to be paid £25 by the government for assistance in a small-pox epidemic and was also one of three directors of the school in Carbonear, which was supposed to receive £100. (3)

### 1827

**\*REED, Thomas Boucher d 1863/64** (*de phrenitide complectens*). Reed is noted as "ex Insula Terrae Novae" and this usually means he was born in Newfoundland but did not live there immediately prior to enrolling at Edinburgh. His medical education was supported by his brother, Richard, who owned a slave plantation in Demerara (Guiana). In his will, written in 1824, Richard left "... the annual sum of two hundred pounds sterling money of Great Britain for the span of four years to be computed from the date of my said will for the purpose of enabling my said brother [Thomas] to finish his education as a surgeon or physician." Reed also obtained an Edinburgh diploma of surgery (DRCS (E)) in 1827. In 1826 he joined the Indian Medical Service as an Assistant Surgeon and was posted to St Helena for several years. In 1835 he was promoted to Surgeon and continued as a Colonial Surgeon. In 1863 Thomas was in Guiana working with lepers at the

General Leper Asylum, Mahaicony; he reported on this to the Royal College of Physicians (London). In 1937, a descendent, also named Thomas Boucher Reed, was called the "Father of Sports in British Guiana".

The copy of Reed's thesis in the Osler Library is dedicated, by hand, to his classmate, William Fleming, who subsequently moved to Australia. It is also interesting to note that the thesis has a printed dedication to William Carson (1770-1843) the great Newfoundland reformer whose son, Samuel, graduated from Edinburgh in 1830. It is unclear whether Reed ever lived in Newfoundland but he clearly had continuing links with his birth-place. (4, 5, 6, 7)

### 1839

**STIRLING, William (1813-1891).** (*On diabetes mellitus*). Stirling is noted as being "ex-America Septentrionali". He was born in Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, son of an Irish doctor, William Archibald Stirling, who had practiced there since about 1808. Dr Stirling (senior) was described as "... an Irishman of much ability, [who] was the founder and the first president of the Harbour Grace Benevolent Irish Society." After graduation William Stirling first practiced with his father in Harbour Grace. He moved to Twillingate in 1843 as its first doctor and was the father of the Newfoundland opera star - the Nightingale of the North - Georgina Ann Stirling. (7, 8, 9).

### 1840

**PETERS, Harry (1818 - 1865)** (*On Cancer*). In the printed Edinburgh lists his name is misspelled as Petres and he is described as coming from America Septentrionali. In fact, he came from, and returned to, Gagetown, New Brunswick. He gained some local fame by amputating both legs of 'the frozen man of Queen's County'. In 1848 he was appointed Surgeon to the Queen's County Militia. He was a member of the Peters family of St. John, New Brunswick and a cousin of Martin Hunter Peters (who graduated from Edinburgh in 1843). (10, 11)

**ROWAND, Alexander (1816 - 1889).** (*On uterine haemorrhage*). Rowand, a Metis, was born at Fort Edmonton, (Alberta) the son of Dr. John Rowand the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and grandson of Dr. John Rowand of Montreal. He is listed as coming from America Septentrionali and was probably the first "Albertan" to obtain a medical degree (Alberta was not founded until 1905) and immediately after graduation he accompanied Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson on his 1841/42 circumnavigation of the world where he acted as one of Simpson's secretaries. He received his Quebec licence in 1845 and initially practised in Montreal where, in 1846, he was Assistant Surgeon to the Montreal Rifle Battalion. In 1847 he moved to Quebec City as Port Medical Officer, Chair of Clinical Surgery at the Quebec School of Medicine (l'École de médecine de Québec) and Visiting Physician of the Marine and Immigrant Hospital. In 1861 he was appointed a governor for life of Morrin College in Quebec City, which was affiliated with McGill University. The notice of his death in the *Montreal Medical Journal*, v. 17, 1889, p 798 refers to him as "John Rowand", this is a misprint. (12, 13)

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