



THE OSLER LIBRARY NEWSLETTER

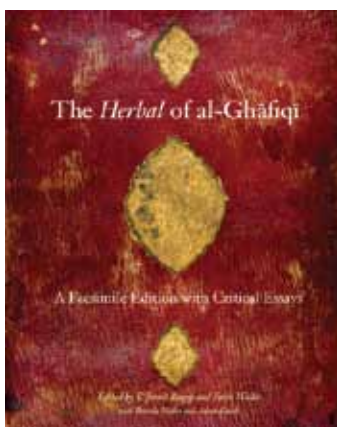
NUMBER 122 · SPRING 2015

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

Rare manuscript of the *Herbal* of al-Ghāfiqī published

In 1912 Sir William Osler purchased a set of two manuscripts of what he believed to be medieval Arabic translations of the *De materia medica* of Dioscorides, the great first-century pharmacological encyclopaedist. The first manuscript, containing books 3-4 of the *De materia medica*, was donated to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The second, since identified as a rare copy of the *Herbal* of twelfth-century Andalusian physician Abū Ja'far al-Ghāfiqī, has come to be the centerpiece of the Osler Library's Arabic medical collection and has garnered international scholarly interest. It has been reproduced in facsimile in a new publication by the Osler Library and McGill-Queen's University Press.

Generously funded by the McGill Medicine class of 1961, whose gift was coordinated by Drs. Tony Ashwort, Phil Gold, Mort Levy, John Little, and Mrs. Judy Mendelsohn, *The Herbal of al-Ghāfiqī: A Facsimile Edition* features full-colour images of the entire manuscript, accompanied by six essays from internationally-known scholars of medieval *materia medica*, Islamic medicine, and paleography and codicology. The *Herbal* is comprised of 468 alphabetical pharmacognostic entries, each detailing a particular plant or, occasionally, animal product or mineral. Copied in the thirteenth century, the Osler Library manuscript contains approximately half of al-Ghāfiqī's original work, making it the most complete textual witness in existence. Original contributions by a group of eminent scholars sketch out a history of the manuscript through discussions of its script, physical features, and richly-coloured hand drawn illustrations. They also situate al-Ghāfiqī's work within a wider medieval intellectual and scientific culture through examinations of the text's philological complexity and its incorporation of extensive textual sources from throughout the Classical Western and Islamic worlds.



F. Jamil Ragep and Faith Wallis, eds.
The Herbal of al-Ghāfiqī: A Facsimile Edition of MS 7508 in the Osler Library of the History of Medicine (Montreal, 2014).

The book's publication was marked on January 14 by a book launch and manuscript viewing at the Osler Library sponsored by McGill Medievalists, a group that organizes interdisciplinary lectures and workshops by scholars of the medieval period, run by Professor Michael Van Dussen of McGill's Department of English.

The Herbal of al-Ghāfiqī: A Facsimile Edition of MS 7508 in the Osler Library of the History of Medicine, McGill University, with Critical Essays, edited by F. Jamil Ragep and Faith Wallis, with Pamela Miller and Adam Gacek, is published for the Osler Library by McGill-Queen's University Press. The book may be purchased for \$150 in person at the Osler Library, at our online shop (www.mcgill.ca/library/branches/osler/shop), or the website of McGill-Queen's University Press (www.mqup.ca).

OSLER LIBRARY RE-OPENS FOR BUSINESS

In last spring's Newsletter (no. 120), we reported on a substantial renovation to the McIntyre Medical Building's heating, ventilation, and air conditioning systems on floors one to six, and extensive construction to the roof on the fifth-floor terrace, directly above the Osler Room. The renovations were originally planned to take place from April to October 2014. The Osler Library was closed in consequence and all collections relocated to a secure storage area built for that effect. Thankfully, scholarly progress in the history of medicine did not have to stop, as evidenced by the two winners of the 2014 round of the Osler Society and Osler Library Board of Curators Essay Contest (pp.12-13). Our colleagues at McGill's Rare Books and Special Collections graciously hosted our researchers and their research materials. We are very pleased to announce that the library is open again as of January 5, 2015.



McGill



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On the Surface/Skin Deep:

An Introduction

Sylvie Boisjoli

The exhibition *On the Surface / Skin Deep* explores the medical histories of skin by examining how the surface of the body has been conceived and visualized in a wide range of nineteenth-century materials. From the beginning of the century, medical inquiries into the function, purpose, and physical properties of the skin became a specialized field of knowledge. In the burgeoning field of dermatology in France, doctors such as Jean-Louis-Marie Alibert (1768-1837) published medical atlases that aimed to record, categorize, and disseminate his observations on various skin diseases and ailments. By looking through the vast and varied materials on skin from the Osler Library collection, it became clear that images played a significant role in how doctors circulated ideas on how to diagnose skin diseases and other epidermal conditions. Indeed the authors of many of the medical texts on display in the exhibition stated that medical images were indispensable to teaching doctors how to correctly scrutinize the surface of the body. By examining medical discourses on skin we were not only looking at how doctors diagnosed diseases, but also at how they were product and producers of medical knowledge that determined what was considered to be “normal” and healthy skin.

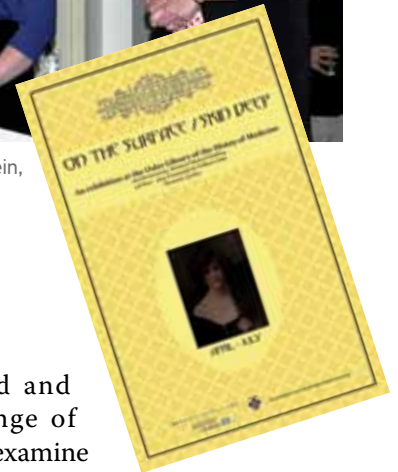
In the exhibition we also included a few examples of books on physiognomy from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Informed by popular pseudo-scientific and medical theories, physiognomy was the study of how external facial features referred to a person’s character. An important proponent of physiognomy was Swiss writer and theologian Johann Kaspar Lavater who defined it as a “science or knowledge of the correspondence between the external and internal man, the visible superficies and the invisible contents.” Lavater’s books on physiognomy, many of which were richly illustrated, would go through multiple publications throughout the nineteenth century—perhaps more for the purpose of entertainment as physiognomy was not considered a serious part of medical practices. Yet by including material on physiognomy we can see the emergence of the idea that skin was, as art historian Mechthild Fend argues, “a site of communication.” Indeed, skin was understood as the borderline between the body and the outside world, and as the outermost organ that communicated internal ailments.

As a pseudo-scientific branch of medical knowledge, physiognomy was a practice that focused on interpreting a person’s character and was not so concerned with treating perceived moral shortcomings or negative personality traits. Yet with this exhibition, we hope to show how medical



Above, from left to right: Shana Cooperstein, Sylvie Boisjoli, and Prof. Mary Hunter at the exhibition opening, April 1, 2015

Right: “*On the Surface/Skin Deep*” now on display through July



knowledge was popularized and integrated into a broad range of discourses whose aims were to examine and improve the appearance, health, and physical fitness of the body’s exterior.

This is why we’ve included a diverse range of materials: treatises on hygiene, beauty manuals, medical atlases, and guides for professional practitioners. We believe that this allows us to explore the wider historical and social contexts in which medical knowledge on skin developed.

From the start of planning the exhibition, we knew that the show’s themes would unfold from what types of images we could find in the Osler Library collection — images that would tell us something about how skin has been visualised. As art historians, we explore how and why skin has been depicted in paintings that are then reproduced in beauty manuals, how skin and the diseases, blemishes, or creases that can mark it have been moulded into wax, photographed, or drawn. These considerations then lead us to question how skin has been historically conceived. The extensive use of images, whether lithographic prints at the beginning of the nineteenth century or photographs later on, marks the importance doctors placed on their ability to accurately observe case studies and patients. Doctors’ use of images thus had a significant role in determining what constituted an objective way to visualize illness and disease.

Because of, and due to, the emphasis put on the visible aspects of diseases, current art historians at the Osler Library would be interested in how images were part of a medical discourse that considered changes in skin colour,

for example, to be a pathological feature. Art historians might begin by asking why altered skin pigmentation was considered to be a disease in the first place. Indeed the social and historical significance of these pictures goes beyond our understanding of medical research that took place within the walls of research hospitals and photography rooms. Examining the pathologisation of skin colour—especially changes in skin colour—can lead to larger questions about the place of medical discourse in debates about race, class, and gender in nineteenth-century French society.

In Élie Chatelain's *Précis iconographique des maladies de la peau* from 1893, the doctor provided little explanation for the cause of vitiligo, and even less for its treatment. Changes in skin colour were considered to be a cosmetic anomaly with only uncertain links to internal disturbances or anomalies. Yet Chatelain included a hand-painted photograph that highlights the difference between a male patient's skin colour and patches of depleted pigment that emerged on his arms, shoulders, torso, and groin. Earlier in the century, Alibert described the case study of a man whose skin began to darken in large sections of his body. Alibert stated that such a change in skin colour could be a sign of a patient's moral or mental decline. Doctors did not categorize vitiligo (and the like) as a skin disease because it was feared to cause infection, acute pain, or directly threaten a person's life. Instead, changes in a person's skin signaled the deviation from what society deemed to be their natural or so-called normal skin. With this exhibition, we hope that visitors will be able to explore the historical roots for how we think about skin and the social attitudes that surround—namely the ongoing pressure and pursuit to have smooth and evenly pigmented skin.

Sylvie Boisjoli is a PhD candidate in art history. She holds an MA in art history also from McGill University, during which she conducted research on late nineteenth-century French representations of the development of serum therapy. Her PhD work focuses on the emergence of the notion of prehistoric time in France in the context of nineteenth-century scientific debates and analyses depictions of prehistoric people and places for their role in normalising the belief that time was a dynamic force driving or inhibiting national progress.

Our latest exhibition, *On the Surface/Skin Deep*, is up now in the Osler Library exhibition space on the third floor of the McIntyre Building. We are delighted to welcome doctoral students Sylvie Boisjoli and Shana Cooperstein from the Department of Art History and Communications Studies as guest curators. The exhibition will run through July 2015. You can read an interview with Sylvie and Shana on the Osler Library blog: <http://blogs.library.mcgill.ca/osler-library/on-the-surfaceskin-deep-interview-with-the-curators>

Opening Remarks

Shana Cooperstein

In nineteenth-century American Romantic author Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1843 short story, "The Birth-Mark," he characterizes the protagonist, Georgiana, as the epitome of human perfection. Marring her beauty, however, is a small red, hand-shaped blemish on her left cheek that repulses her husband, a renowned scientist named Alymer. To Alymer, the mark represented:

...the fatal flaw of humanity which Nature, in one shape or another, stamps ineffaceably on all her productions, either to imply that they are temporary and finite, or that their perfection must be wrought by toil and pain. The crimson hand expressed the ineludible gripe in which mortality clutches the highest and purest of earthly mould, degrading them into kindred with the lowest, and even with the very brutes, like whom their visible frames return to dust. [It acts as a] symbol of his wife's liability to sin, sorrow, decay and death...Alymer's sombre imagination was not long in rendering the birthmark a frightful object.³

To "cure" her of imperfection, Alymer concocts a potion to remove the mark. Yet in doing so, he accidentally poisons Georgiana. To highlight the impossibility of perfection, Hawthorne concludes that only in death can flawlessness be achieved.

"The Birth-Mark" was published at a historical moment that saw an increased desire to record, categorize, and disseminate specialized knowledge about skin. Yet, Hawthorne ridicules humankind's attempts not only to understand nature, but also to improve upon it. While it may seem odd to introduce an exhibition at a medical library with a text that takes such a critical attitude toward positivism, a modern scientific philosophy championing empirical evidence, "The Birth-Mark" shares several key thematics with this exhibition. Like Hawthorne's fiction, *On the Surface/Skin Deep* explores the infatuation with, the futile struggle against, and the desire to rationalize imperfection in modern western societies.

Just as Georgiana's birthmark became both an object of fascination and repulsion, our display examines the ways in which skin sat at the nexus of three binaries: beauty and ugliness; the normal and abnormal; and health and illness. Specifically, this show builds from "The Birth-Mark" by investigating how skin and its ties to beauty, aging, birthmarks, pigmentation, and disease were conceived through medical atlases, scientific texts, and cosmetic manuals. Juxtaposing such diverse resources sets the representational strategies deployed to convey modern medical knowledge in dialogue

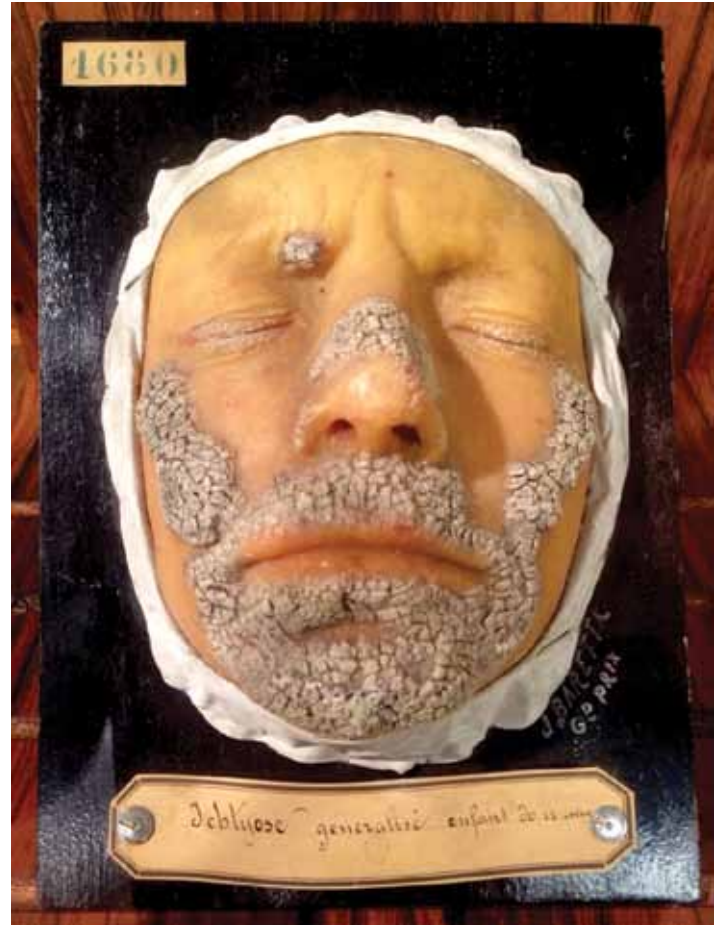
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with widespread Western conventions of *le beau ideal*, and blurs the boundaries between medicine and cosmetology. Cosmeticians and physicians not only sought to mask eczema, freckles, birthmarks, moles, pimples, wrinkles, and disease, but also offered remedies and surgical techniques for their removal. Cosmetic handbooks, in their citation of modern medical knowledge, lent supposedly scientific support to socially and historically constructed beauty conventions. Conversely, widespread conceptions of comeliness also created a standard against which norms and malignancies were defined in medical spheres. In other words, beauty conventions informed the way doctors understood disease and what required medical treatment.

To “flesh out” the dichotomies present in this show, such as *le beau* and *le laid*, and normalcy and the abnormal, we look to five subcategories including beauty, wrinkles, birthmarks, pigmentation, and disease. The first grouping narrows the boundaries between medical and cosmetic knowledge. As previously mentioned, it exemplifies how pervasive notions of the beautiful shaped conceptions of healthy skin. Following this, the vitrine on wrinkles provides a case study for broader problematics affecting the rest of the works chosen: the representations of individuals and types; the professionalization of modern medicine; and the desire to estrange scientific fact from colloquial assumptions.

Physiognomy, or the ability to identify particular personality traits based on physical appearance, flourished widely in modern literature, art, and science. Reminiscent of well-known characteristics, such as having “thin” or “thick” skin, and the *double entendre* “callous,” skin was believed to reflect human temperament. Physiognomists studied the colour, tone, and texture of the epidermis. Wrinkles, dimples, birthmarks, and pigmentation thus defied the well-known expression “beauty is only skin deep” by rendering skin an indicator of human type or character. For instance, thinkers, such as Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801) and Thomas Cooke (1763-1818), posit that a person’s sex coupled with the depth, configuration, and location of wrinkles reveal personality traits ranging from wisdom, genius, indolence, and propriety. Yet, just as physiognomy achieved widespread acclaim, medical practitioners questioned whether such physical features were markers of underlying medical conditions. This aspect complicated the practice of associating wrinkles—or even birthmarks and pigmentation—with personality.

In the nineteenth century, wrinkles, birthmarks, and pigmentation all posed diagnostic difficulties. Doctors debated whether the appearance of fine lines or marks were not only age or character related, but also symptomatic of an underlying medical condition. In a similar vein, while dermatological



Jules Baretta (1833-1923). Copy of “Ichtyose” wax moulage, 1892. From the Maude Abbott Medical Museum, McGill University.

diagnostic practices often relied on idioms, such as *cherry angiomas*, *strawberry marks*, or *port wine stains*, to describe skin conditions, nineteenth-century doctors began to estrange such irregularities from their folkloric roots. As part of the growing tendency toward professionalization, nineteenth-century doctors began eschewing preconceived notions not sufficiently based in “objective” observations and facts. However, analyzing medical objects through an art historical lens reveals how the ostensibly scientific specialization of medical domains, such as dermatology, was defined in relationship to preconceived notions of beauty, personality, and folklore. Just as Alymer yielded modern scientific knowledge to correct nature’s imperfections, modern medical analysis of the skin indeed was “superficial.”

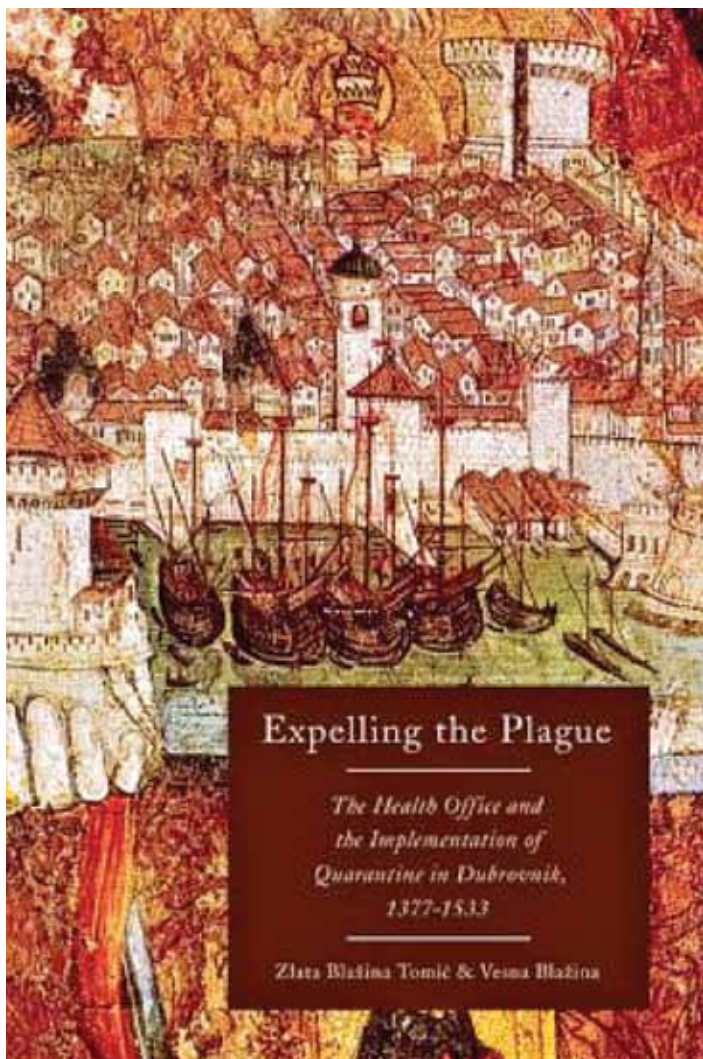
Shana Cooperstein is a PhD candidate in art history. She received her MA in art history at Temple University. Her doctoral dissertation situates nineteenth-century French drawing pedagogy at the nexus of art, industrial design and the theories of knowledge, and explores the institutionalization

¹ Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy* (London: Ward, Lock, & Bowden Limited, 1804), 11.

² Mechthild Fend, “Bodily and Pictorial Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1790-1860,” *Art History* 28, no. 3 (2005), 318.

³ Nathaniel Hawthorne, “The Birth-Mark,” in Hawthorne’s Works: Mosses from an Old Manse (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1875), 46.

New publication by former Osler staff member



We were delighted to learn of the recent publication of a new work by former Osler Library Acquisitions assistant Dr. Zlata Blažina Tomić. Zlata began her career at the Osler Library in 1970. By the time of her retirement in 1991, the library had established itself as a world-class resource for scholarship in the history of medicine—a transformation in which she played a substantial role. Zlata undertook an ambitious acquisitions programme to collect the most important contemporary scholarship in the history of medicine. She eventually departed to devote her scholarly talents to her own research programme, completing a PhD at the University of Zagreb, where her supervisors included Dr. Mirko Grmek. Her doctoral dissertation focused on public health policy in Renaissance Dubrovnik. She revisits Dubrovnik in a newly published study, co-authored with her daughter Vesna Blažina, a translator and music librarian who previously worked at the Université de Montréal. Using medieval sources from the State Archives of Dubrovnik, this new book traces the development of plague control measures in Dubrovnik, where quarantine legislation was first adopted in 1377, predating other medieval cities. A most hearty congratulations to the two authors.

Expelling the Plague: The Health Office and the Implementation of Quarantine in Dubrovnik, 1377-1533
by Zlata Blažina Tomić and Vesna Blažina
is published by McGill-Queen's University Press and can be purchased through their website (www.mqup.ca).

Dr. Rolando Del Maestro Honoured with McGovern Award Lectureship

Dr. Rolando Del Maestro has been honoured with the John P. McGovern Award Lectureship by the American Osler Society at the 45th Annual Meeting held in Baltimore from April 26 to April 29. The Lectureship was established in 1986 in honour of physician and historian of medicine Dr. John P. McGovern through the generosity of the John P. McGovern Foundation. The Lectureship is awarded yearly to a significant contributor to the field of medical humanities and the Oslerian legacy. Dr. Del Maestro is the first to receive the Lectureship from McGill University and one of only a few Canadians to receive the distinction. His lecture is entitled "Leonardo da Vinci and the Search for the Soul."

Head Librarian Elected to the Grolier Club

In January, Head Librarian Chris Lyons was elected to the Grolier Club. Founded in New York in 1884, the club is dedicated to encouraging the study and collecting of books, particularly through its publications, exhibitions, lectures and research library. It is the oldest society for book collectors, scholars, and bibliophiles in the United States. Chris is the only active librarian in Canada to have been so honoured.

Follow the Osler Library on Facebook and Twitter

(@OslerLibrary) to stay up-to-date on our activities between issues of the Newsletter. Our blog, *De re medica: News from the Osler Library*, is also updated weekly to share news and going-ons at the library and in the wider world of history of medicine and medical humanities. To contribute publication announcements or any other items of interest to our blog, please email anna.dysert@mcgill.ca.

Meetings with Books

Dr. Jillian Tomm

On March 20, 2013, McGill University held a one-day symposium titled “Meetings with Books: Raymond Klibansky, Special Collections and the Library in the 21st Century.” The aims of the symposium were three-fold: to discuss the question “It is all on the Web, so why bother? Special Collections in the Digital Age”; to celebrate the memory of Raymond Klibansky as a mentor, scholar, collector, and donor of his significant and valuable research library to McGill; and to bring the narrative gifts of author Alberto Manguel to ignite inspiration as only he is able.

The day was an opportunity to consider why historical book collections might matter, and how they connect, or might be connected, with current forms and directions in teaching, research, and learning. Speakers brought a wealth of perspectives from across the humanities and special collection librarianship to bear on upon the question of the role of special collections in the digital age. Alberto Manguel powerfully evoked the drive that compels and leads the explorer—be he or she scholar or otherwise—to great labours, and to sometimes reach and cross-accepted boundaries of questioning or suggestion. The personal tributes inspired by Klibansky paid fitting testimony to a man who embodied so much of this perpetual search, the search to know, the search for what it means to be human.

The published volume *Meetings with Books* grew out of this symposium. The book includes a historical survey of McGill’s special collections by Dr. Richard Virr of McGill’s Rare Books and Special Collections, as well as tributes to humanist scholar and book collector Raymond Klibansky by Georges Leroux (Université de Montréal à Québec), Désirée Park (Concordia University, Montreal and Wolfson College, Oxford), Gerald Beasley (University of Alberta), and Ethel Groffier (Paul-André

Meetings with Books: Special Collections in the 21st Century, With a Tribute to Raymond Klibansky & Illustrated Survey of Special Collections at McGill University Library and Archives edited by Jillian Tomm and Richard Virr is available as a free download from e-Scholarship@McGill (<http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R>). A printed volume is available at a cost of \$40 (inquire at rarebooks.library@mcgill.ca)

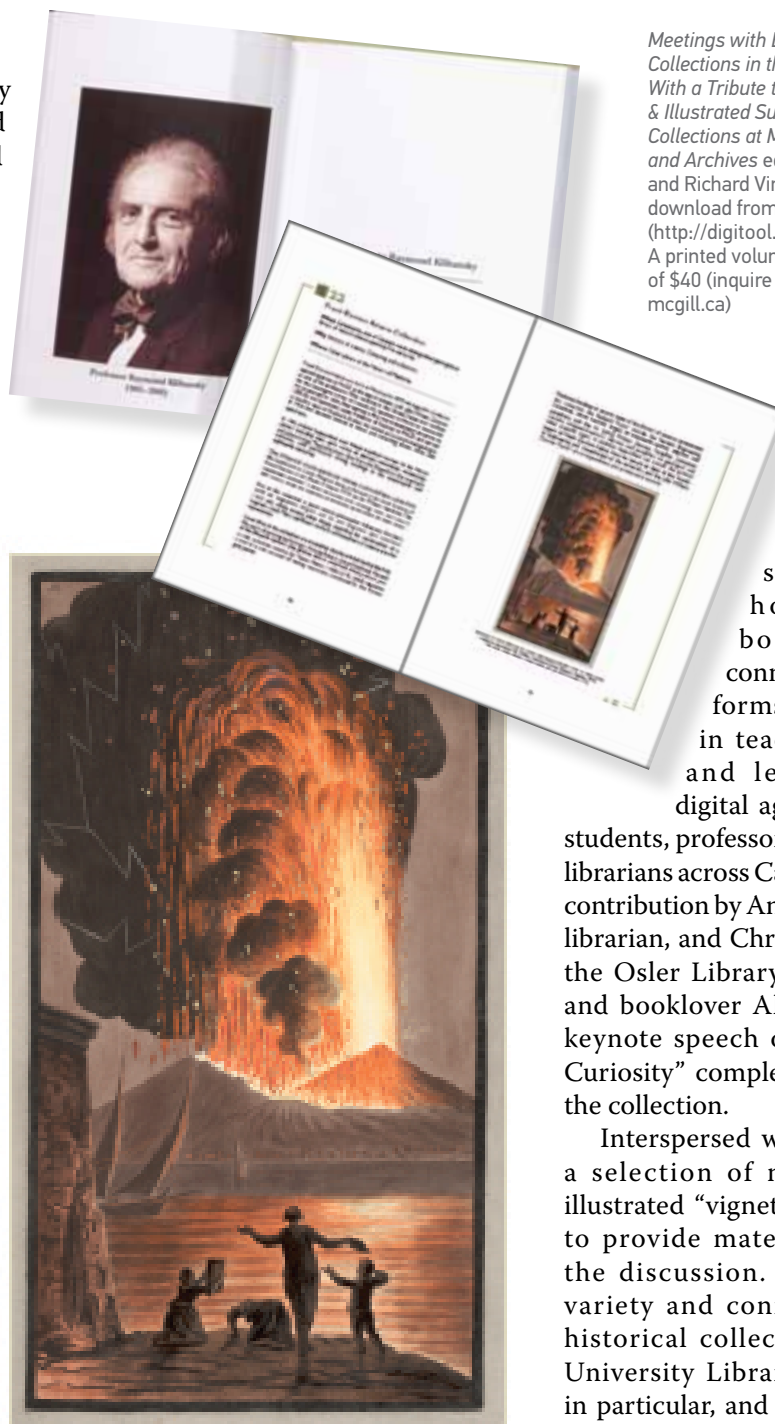
Crépeau Centre, McGill University). The volume also features short essays on how historical book collections connect with current forms and directions in teaching, research, and learning in the digital age from scholars,

students, professors, and rare books librarians across Canada, including a contribution by Anna Dysert, liaison librarian, and Chris Lyons, Head of the Osler Library. Writer, reader, and booklover Alberto Manguel’s keynote speech on “The Uses of Curiosity” completes the essays in the collection.

Interspersed with these essays, a selection of more than fifty illustrated “vignettes” which serve to provide material context for the discussion. They illustrate variety and connections across historical collections at McGill University Library and Archives in particular, and suggest the great richness of still-potential research held in special collections libraries

generally. Vignettes from Osler Library collections include the Bibliotheca Osleriana, the Sir William Osler Collection, (P100), almanacs, anatomical atlases, the library of Frank Dawson Adams, and more.

Dr. Jillian Tomm is Assistant Head of McGill University Library Rare Books and Special Collections.



Opening a Time Capsule: The Papers and Books of the First Osler Librarian

Susan Kelen

My grandfather, W.W. Francis (WWF), was the first Osler Librarian. He catalogued 7,783 of Sir William Osler's books with Dr. Archibald Malloch and Mr. Reginald Hill. This catalogue of books was published as the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*.¹ My grandfather brought the books, and his family, from Oxford to Canada in December 1928. The Osler Library opened at McGill University in 1929 and WWF served as its librarian for thirty years, from 1929 to 1959.

My mother, Marian Francis Kelen (1922-2014), inherited WWF's personal books and papers in 1963 and I inherited them from her last year. I found myself with papers that spanned my grandfather's lifetime and over 200 books, many of them with the names of William Osler (WO), Grace Revere Osler (GRO), and Edward Revere Osler (Revere) written on the cover page. These books had always been kept together in a six-foot-long bookcase from Norham Gardens. It has latticed glass doors. The papers were in several boxes,



Portrait of W.W. Francis, part of the Kelen Family Fonds, donated by Susan Kelen to the Osler Library, April 2015. CUS_091-004_P. Osler Library

including one marked "WWF Strong Box Papers."

I had gone through some of the papers with my mother before and I had heard stories about the material throughout my life. Opening the boxes, I felt that I had become a detective finding out about my own family history and the history of the Osler Library.

The question I asked myself at the beginning of this adventure was, "Why hadn't WWF given the material to the Osler Library?" I found many books given to WWF that were inscribed by WO and GRO. And there were things that my grandfather (and my mother) enjoyed, such as Osler's encyclopaedia of poetry. I knew they had wanted that book to go to the Osler Library.

There were a few items I knew of that WWF had held deliberately back from the library to avoid controversy and protect WO's reputation. An example of this is the "The Baby on the Tracks" documentation, held back by WWF and donated by my mother to the Osler Library only in 1995. The documents were about Osler's report of a baby that had been born while her mother was in the "water closet" on a train. Despite the train going twenty-five miles per hour, the baby was uninjured and neurologically sound. On follow-up when she was older, she had no disabilities. She was referred to as "Railroad Winnie." The worry was that the affidavits and legal documents would be considered the work of E. Y. Davis, Osler's *nom de plume* and alter ego, and this would detract from Osler's reputation.)

In my search through the family papers, I discovered that he chose to continue working as the Osler Librarian rather than accept a position as Chair of the History of Medicine.² WWF had received a classical education and, after having catalogued all WO's books, he knew the collection in detail. He was blessed with a superb memory, to the point that my grandmother accused Wilder Penfield of using him "like an encyclopaedia."^{3,4} He was known to combine his knowledge of the history of medicine and his wit to make a subject relevant with a touch of irreverence. His speeches and lectures illustrate this.

His favourite work was supporting researchers by finding material and he generously gave them his ideas. His answers to their questions were so detailed and thorough and well written they were often integrated in the published text. He influenced



W.W. Francis and R.H. Hill at Work on the Osler Library Catalogue at 13 Norham Gardens, Oxford. Photograph by John F. Fulton. From the William Osler Photo Collection, <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/osler>, CUS_064-097B_P.

Continued on page 8

generations of medical students with his involvement in the McGill Osler Society. He invited them to hold their meetings in the Osler Library and he was asked to be their honorary chairman. He encouraged and developed their interest in the history of medicine and taught WO's values of humanism and *aequanimitas*. My grandfather was credited with keeping the memory and spirit of WO alive.⁵ My grandfather probably made more of a contribution promoting the history of medicine through his advice than if he had published his own text, because of the hundreds of people he influenced.

I found a wide range of items amongst WWF's papers, including brass plates that were used to engrave his Osler Library calling cards and business cards. Another discovery is a plate entitled, "A Street in Baltimore, Maryland." It depicts a profile of WO's house on Franklin Street, circa 1890. Men are in top hats and horses are pulling carriages. There are duckboards as a crosswalk to assist the public in keeping their feet and clothing clean while crossing the muddy road. Another item, a letter to the editor written by WO to promote compulsory vaccination includes a note in pencil from WWF saying, "Send this to the library."

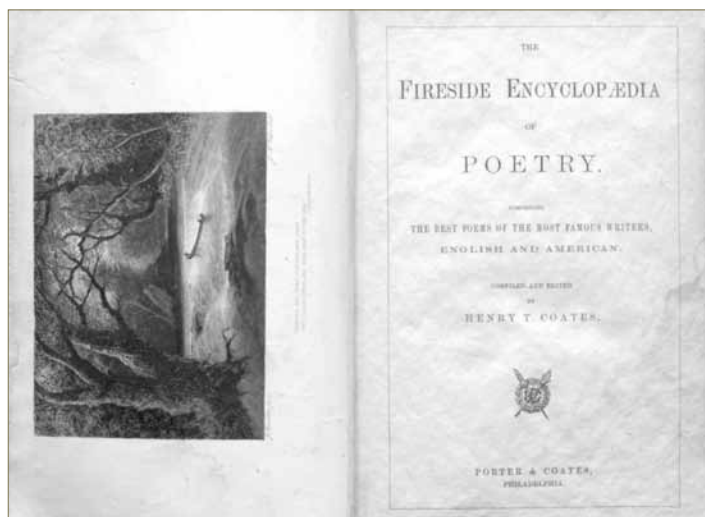
There are many things that would be of particular interest to researchers and Oslerphiles. Below is a list of what I think might be the "highlights."

1. WO's favourite book of poetry, *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry*⁶

My mother told me many, many times that this book was to go to the Osler Library. She enjoyed this book throughout her life, even in her last days. This book is special because it is one from which WO read almost every day. He inscribed the following history of the book on one of the back cover pages:

"This is our breakfast table book which came back today in its third dress.

It was given to GRO by Geo Childs. We used it constantly



Osler's copy of *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry*. (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1878). Kelen Family Fonds.

at Baltimore where it was my custom at breakfast, often at lunch, sometimes after dinner. I read from it to Billie Francis and Revere. It was badly scorched in the fire, which took place in the dining room in 1915.

W. Osler"

This is the volume of poetry which has the E. Y. Davis version of the John Keats poem, "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer," which is written in pencil on top of the printed text.⁷ As well, there is a second poem in which WO changed the wording, "Milton's Prayer of Patience," by Elizabeth Lloyd Howell. My grandfather has indicated WO's favourite poems in the "Index of Authors" at the beginning of the book. There are over a hundred poems marked. There is a family story of a librarian from Saranac Lake, nicknamed "Worthy" (Mrs. Ruth Worthington), who persistently asked my grandfather for years to give this book of poetry to her library in Saranac Lake. I was told that there was much banter between them about this.⁸

2. Edward Revere's "Travelling Trunk" (48 x 34 x 28 cm)

This is a roughly made oak box with a black metal lock, metal handles, and twenty pieces of metal strapping, some for corner reinforcement and some decorative. The faded initials "ERO" are stencilled in black on the lid, in two-inch-high letters. The trunk is unvarnished. On the side and top of the trunk are the remnants of transit stickers from two British train lines and of Canada Steamship Line stickers, indicating that this trunk has crossed the ocean. The stickers suggest that my grandfather used the trunk in his move from Oxford to Montreal. It is sturdy and a perfect size for books or fragile items. I know that my grandfather kept the trunk because it had belonged to Revere.

3. Twelve books belonging to Revere Osler

Most of these books have Revere's bookplate in them and others have his name written in pen. Revere Osler's distinctive



Revere's well-travelled trunk. Photograph by Susan Kelen. Kelen family Fonds.

bookplate includes tools for woodworking, a fishing rod, the coat of arms of Oxford, and a reference to his favourite author (and fisherman), Izaak Walton.

Many of these books are also signed with either WO's or GRO's signature or initials suggesting that Revere appropriated them from his parents' collection to add to his own library. The books include a 1912 edition of *Religio Medici*, *Aesop's Fables*, *The Jungle Book*, and *Tales of Ancient Greece*. They are dated between 1900 and 1916.

Initially, I wondered why my grandfather had kept these books. The antiquarian books of Revere's had been donated by GRO to the Tutor and Stewart Club at Johns Hopkins University. The Club room housed a small library of books of the Tutor period. The Revere books that my grandfather had kept, were from the 1900s, thus would not have fit the criteria for the Hopkins library.⁹ They were always kept together in the Norham Garden's bookcase. I think that my grandfather may have kept them just because they belonged to Revere.

4. Rough draft of WO's editorial, "Why is it so? Is it so?"

This is a two-page draft written in pen of an editorial written for the *Journal of the Tennessee State Medical Association*. I also found the published pages of the Tennessee journal. These were the editorial that inspired WO's comment, and also a copy of WO's editorial as it was published. The editorial discusses whether young physicians are turning away from general practice and going toward specialties or not. WO's editorial refutes the idea that young physicians are not interested in general practice.^{10, 11}

5. Letter from WO to Dr. Lewellys Barker, dated January 25th, 1910

This typed letter, dated January 25, 1910, is signed and addressed in pen. In it, WO asks Dr. Barker if he would take over as editor for the next edition of *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* to be published in 1912. The letter begins, "No longer in active work, and rather in the rear guard than the van, I felt that it would be most important for me to have someone associated with the next two editions." Osler proposes the edition would be named after Barker. (Barker declined because of a health issue.)

6. Handwritten letter by WO to an unknown recipient

The bottom half of this letter is torn as if it had been discarded, perhaps after it had been typed and mailed. On the bottom in pencil, WWF has written: "Letter from WO about Muriel Howard's death." (This was Muriel Howard Ebert. She died from an embolism on May 31, 1913, a week after having her fifth baby.¹²) Also in this letter WO describes a dinner for 197 guests at an international medical meeting. And that his brother, E.B. Osler, has given him \$3,500 to buy historical manuscripts.

7. Documents about *Bibliotheca Osleriana*

One group of papers is enclosed in a file cover for legal-sized papers with a distinctive marbled design. The spine is split and the handwriting legible in strong light. On the inside cover, written in WO's handwriting, is a note referring to the auction of books by Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738) giving their provenance of the books—they are from Boerhaave's daughter's estate. The note is dated April 1900. There are additional notes on acquisitions as well by Osler. In one, WWF's has penciled in another note asking what became of the "Lettres de Lancisi." I believe that my grandfather would not have added these files to the library because of their poor condition.

Among the papers, I found an affectionate letter from WWF to his wife, while she waited for him to finish work on the catalogue and come upstairs to bed. (My grandparents lived at Norham Gardens for almost four years.) The letter is an apology—he writes that she was asleep when he came to bed and Dr. Malloch is mentioned as the distraction.

8. Osleriana in unexpected places A portrait of King Arthur at Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ontario

In a letter dated January 18, 1954, to WWF, the school's headmaster, Philip Ketchum, thanks WWF for a portrait of King Arthur that had hung in WO's dining room in Norham Gardens. There is mention of unnamed books that WO used when he attended the school. These items were all to be put into in a new Osler Room in the school's library. (In a conversation with a staff member from the school, I was told that the King Arthur portrait has been missing since 1999.)

Two books from the Osler Library at the Welch Medical Library

At the dedication of the Welch Medical Library at Johns Hopkins University on October 17, 1929, my grandfather gave a speech, with accompanying lantern slides. Thinking that WO would not have come "empty-handed," he brought along books from the Osler Library. These were duplicates. One book was by Pierre Castellan, of Antwerp, dated 1617, and the other was by Niccolo Leonicensus, dated 1529. One book has an "Osler book label (cancelled)" and the other includes the note of purchase signed by WO.¹³

A rattan chair given to Osler Club of London

There are two letters to my mother, Marian Francis Kelen, from the secretary of the Osler Club of London, L. G. James, dated November 18, 1965, thanking her for the donation of a ladder-backed rattan chair. The chair was from Norham Gardens and had then been shipped from Quebec to London. Dr. James writes that it was to be placed in a reading room dedicated to Osler.

Continued on page 10

Photographs at the Saranac Lake Library

A letter from my grandmother to Mrs. S. Worthington of the Saranac Lake Library indicates that photographs of the Francis children (WWF's siblings) with negatives were enclosed. The letter is dated June, 1962. This suggests that the Saranac Library may have a collection of Osleriana and not just these photographs.

9. Personal letters to WWF and family from WO and GRO

I found ten fond letters from GRO written to (or about) WWF which show pride, affection and closeness. She was close enough to him to express concern about his depression. These letters are written in contrast with those she wrote after he and his family moved into Norham Gardens with her to work on the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*. GRO had mixed feelings as to how long my grandfather's labours were taking and also his work habits. WWF felt that his best work was done between 11 and 2 am and consequently he was not an early riser. She complained in letters, to Dr. A. Malloch, that WWF was taking far too long to finish the cataloguing.¹⁴ In a 1919 letter to my grandfather, GRO writes that she wished WWF "could stay in Oxford to comfort two old people" and that "he was as tender and dear to them as was just like an older son" but that to ask this of him was unfair. At the time WWF was going to Geneva to become the editor of a *Journal of the League of Red Cross Societies*, which was published in 4 languages. Another of these letters from GRO to my grandfather was written just before his marriage. At the top of this letter she writes, "You must come in time to get some clothes—socks—etc." In the letter, she talks to him about managing depression and also how delighted she is that he has found a British girl and not an American (which is curious, because GRO was an American.) Another letter was written on the day of WWF's wedding, March 14, 1921. (GRO attended the wedding in London and was a witness.) She writes that the wedding attire of the bride was "quite perfect" and "I am quite happy about you. You are bound to be more spoiled than ever."

There is a typed letter from WO to WWF signed in pen, dated November 16, 1912. He tells WWF that he is sending him a "fascinating" book, *The Oxford Book of Latin Verse*, and he recommends reading the introduction by Garrod. I found the book in my grandfather's library. Both the letter and the book have been given to the Osler Library. There are other letters in which WO gives his opinion on WWF health (he had tuberculosis) and his advice on listing for the war. (WO wrote, "I hear that Jack McCrae is going.")

There is an undated letter from GRO to "Mollie," a nickname for Marian, WWF's daughter and my mother. The letter was found tightly folded and placed in a woven metal Easter egg. The letter says that this egg was left on the lawn by GRO for my mother to discover and that there is a schilling enclosed.

10. Osler's Notebook on Johns Hopkins and concern about the potential scandal.

During his time at Johns Hopkins, WO kept a notebook that contained "scandalous" criticisms of the hospitals founders and some of the staff. There are four documents that clearly reveal the concern for WO's reputation should the material become public. It was decided by GRO and WWF not to release the book until one hundred years after the founding of Johns Hopkins. WWF explains his reasoning for abiding by this even after GRO's death, so that "none of the individuals would be alive to complain (and also to appease GRO's ghost.)" Osler's *The Inner History of Johns Hopkins* was published in 1969.¹⁵

In the centre of the book, WWF has copied parts of WO's locked journal. WWF copied some of WO's journal entries, such as WO's feelings about the press' reaction to "The Fixed Period" speech. There are details of WO's income and a list of all the states from which his patients came (one month he includes two visits to the White House.) In 1903, WO reports that his income was \$47,280 and gives a breakdown of where his salary came from and how much money he saved (\$20,000) and how much he gave away (\$9,000.) In the copied journal, I found out how much he paid for Norham Gardens (£5,300) and the cost of renovations (£4,300).

All of the above things have been donated to the Osler Library. Going through the material I know that my grandfather and mother would be happy that these things will not reside in boxes at my home for another thirty years. While I was documenting my grandfather's letters and papers and books which my family was donating to the Osler library, I felt that I was opening a time capsule: here was all this information, which had to do with another era. As many researchers experience, I found myself wanting to live in their time. Theirs seemed so much more interesting than my own, especially when I found the relevance of the items I was reviewing.

And why had my grandfather kept all these things and not given them to the library? All of the material in my grandfather's collection that was not medical or historical was considered disqualified for addition in the Osler Library, although there was one exception. These things would not have fit in with the newly-established Osler Library History of Medicine in 1929. But we know that what was not relevant then is relevant now.

With patience, a strong light, the Internet, and my family's copy of the Bibliotheca Osleriana, I learned about the items and books my grandfather had kept. Time stood still for the months as I did my "cataloguing." Coincidentally, this research project all took place on the same table where the Bibliotheca Osleriana had been created.

I know that my mother would be happy that all of these things now have a home in the Osler Library, and I celebrate my grandfather's "magpie" meticulousness in choosing these things and my mother for keeping them.

Dr. Theodore Sourkes, 1919–2015

Pamela Miller

One of the many privileges during my time in the Osler Library was the opportunity to meet and work with the members of our gifted and dedicated Board of Curators that meets annually to discuss, promote, and resolve questions pertaining to the Library. Dr. Theodore Sourkes was elected to the Board of Curators in about 1973 and ultimately served as Chairman of the Standing Committee. How fortunate that a man of his stature would dedicate his time to the Library.

Dr. Sourkes is known as a scholar, scientist, and researcher whose work on L-Dopa replacement in Parkinson's disease improved the lives of millions of sufferers. He was a professor in the Departments of Psychiatry, Biochemistry, Pharmacology, and Therapeutics and worked in the fields of neurology and neurosurgery. He published extensively and was highly honoured, receiving the Order of Canada for his contributions to psychiatric pharmacology, the Wilder Penfield Prix du Québec, and an Emeritus Professorship at McGill. The Theodore L. Sourkes Lecture Series in Neuropharmacology honours his many contributions.

A person of broad intellectual interests, he read and wrote in the history of science and his publications include: Nobel Prize Winners in Medicine and Physiology, 1902–1965, Montreal, 1967, and Building on a Proud Past: 50 Years of Psychiatry at McGill, Montreal, 1995. In 2003, he mounted an exhibition accompanied by a catalogue on the life and work of J.L.W. Thudichum (1829–1901), a “chemist of the brain.” I was fortunate enough to work with him on this exhibition and his astute choice of documents and his concise labels made my job a pleasure. Ted understood the importance of archives and worked to support the preservation of his colleagues' papers. His own archives are held by the Osler Library. He even enticed



An Informal Portrait of Dr. Ted Sourkes in his lab. McGill University Archives, PR042150. Photographed by Chris F. Payne.

his wife Shena to volunteer at the Osler where she did lasting work on some of our more complex scientific material.

What I remember most about Ted, apart from his gentle nature and sense of humour, was his dedication to his position as Chairman of our Standing Committee. Ted visited almost every week, either for his research or to discuss the Library. He listened and advised. He had the ability to encourage discussion and at the appropriate moment, sum up the situation and request resolution. Meetings were collegial and productive. Ted set an example for us all and although declining health obliged him to resign his Chairmanship in 2012, he remained devoted to the Osler until the end.

Pamela Miller was History of Medicine Librarian at the Osler Library from 1999 to 2011.

OPENING A TIME CAPSULE - continued from page 10

¹William Osler, *Bibliotheca Osleriana: A Catalogue of Books Illustrating the History of Medicine and Science Collected, Arranged, and Annotated by Sir William Osler, Bt. and Bequeathed to McGill University*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929). A digital copy is freely available from the McGill University Library. Please follow the link found at: <http://mcgill.worldcat.org/oclc/3355689>.

²Letter from Hilda Francis to Dr. John Fulton, July 7, 1959.

³Dr. Penfield used WWF's skills when he designed the ceiling fresco in the entrance hall on the Montreal Neurological Institute. My grandfather chose the symbols on the ceiling: the Ram's Head. (Aries, the ram, symbolized the head and brain in ancient medical astrology) and the

Egyptian hieroglyphs for the brain. He was also asked to find a suitable Latin quotation with enough letters to encircle the fresco. My grandfather did not find one in Latin, but instead in Greek. It was Galen's refute to Hippocrates, which translates as, "But I have seen a sick brain healed." I believe that my mother was very proud of his input because I heard this story many times.

⁴Letter from Hilda Francis to Dr. John Fulton, dated July 7, 1959.

⁵L.G. Stephenson et al., W.W. Francis: *Tributes from his Friends on the Occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the Osler Society of McGill University*. (Montreal: Osler Society, 1956).

⁶Henry T. Coates, ed., *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry*. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1878.

⁷Richard Golden, *Oslerian Verse, Studies in the History of Medicine*. (Montreal: Osler Library, McGill University, 1992), 16.

⁸The Saranac Library referred to is the medical library for Saranac Laboratory for the Study of Tuberculosis, the first laboratory in the United States for the study of tuberculosis.

⁹Last winter, I visited Gilman Hall at Johns Hopkins University where The Tudor Club had its room. The room has a fireplace and once housed The Tutor and Stewart Library. The library had been an informal one and books were often taken and not returned. The club room/library has become a seminar room. The oak bookshelves are now empty but Revere's oil portrait still hangs above the fireplace. Revere's books have been integrated in with the antiquarian books at the Garrett Library. While his books are not together, they are housed in a most

elegant library which receives many visitors and they are secure.

¹⁰Anon., "Why is it so?" *Journal of the Tennessee State Medical Association* 12 (Aug. 1919): 147–48.

¹¹W. Osler, "Why is it so? Is it so?" *Journal of the Tennessee State Medical Association* 12 (Sept. 1919): 222.

¹²R. Palmer Howard, *The Chief: Doctor William Osler*. (Canton, MA: Scientific History Publications, 198), 68.

¹³W.W. Francis, "The Osler Library," *Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* 46 (1930): 74–82.

¹⁴Frederick B. Wagner, *The Twilight Years of Lady Osler: Letter of a Doctor's Wife*. (Canton, MA: Science History Publications, 1985).

¹⁵Printed as D. Bates and E. Bensley, "The Inner History of Johns Hopkins," *Johns Hopkins Medical Journal* 125 (1969): 184–194.

On Sir William Osler's Relationship with Death

Julian Z. Xue

The Osler Library was unfortunately closed during the writing of this essay, although I was happily able to obtain most of the material I needed before it closed. This

I did with the crucial help of Dr. Faith Wallis and Christopher Lyons, who came even on a weekend. The material was preserved in the Rare Book section of the McLennan Library. There I spent several afternoons leafing through original manuscripts, trying to read Osler's own handwriting and learning about editing techniques in an era in which cutting and pasting literally meant scissors and glue. It was fascinating to see how large edits required the

writing of new sections on separate pieces of paper and sticking them on to the manuscript later; people before computers were not as helpless as I had imagined—or at least not as helpless as I am. To read Osler's original work was emotionally exhilarating in a manner I did not expect; there is power in handwriting that is not preserved in computerized versions, a thought that is somewhat troubling to an increasingly digital age. It frequently reminded me that reading is not a passive process where substrate-neutral information pours into a receptive mind, but an active engagement where the emotional state of the reader makes a tremendous difference.

In the process of finding and using this material, I became very familiar with how to search for Osler's work through the McGill Osler Library website and its BO numbers.

Despite the fun and effort expended in the search and use of this rare and interesting material, due to my clinical responsibilities I was rarely able to make it to the Rare Books library during its opening time. For the actual work of this essay, the searchable database of Ask Osleriana (<http://websitesasksam.com/osleriana/>), the library copy of Cushing's "The Life of Sir William Osler" (still rather more readable than the Internet version), my own copy of Bliss's "William Osler: A

Life in Medicine," and Google Scholar (<http://scholar.google.ca/>) coupled with McGill VPN did most of the actual work. Reading the manuscripts in the library gave me a better idea of Osler's thoughts and what existed, but trekking back to the library to track down the actual citations was more difficult during the writing of the essay.

This is my first venture into writing anything for the humanities, and I have to admit that the process is very different than work in the science. It is in many ways much more difficult. The skillset of a humanities researcher does not overlap much with a scientist. Foremost there is far more requirement for sustained reading and of taking copious notes while reading for future use. The former I had been capable of, the latter is a new and

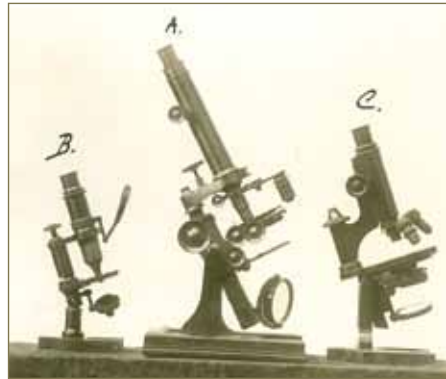
necessary habit. Scientific reading almost always centers on papers, the few books that one reads are usually well segregated into stand-alone chapters. Moreover, the process of constructing arguments in the humanities takes quite a bit more creativity, and I've found it takes much more effort to convince myself of my own arguments (likely because they're not good enough) than in regular scientific work, where I can fall on more comfortable data and theorems.

All in all, this was a fascinating exposure to the world of humanities research and the study of someone who died a century ago.

Julian Z. Xue is a member of McGill Medicine class of 2014. "My dad taught me Confucious as I grew up. I forgot nearly everything as a teenager, other than a vague sense that it's important to be good, and that it's hard to be good. By the time I worked on this essay, the life of my mind had almost entirely become absorbed by science. However, studying Osler's life and his views on death connected me to the strain of Western philosophy I now feel the deepest about, virtue philosophy. In some sense, I suppose, I have come full circle, struggling for myself now to understand what is the good life."



Osler's copy of Montaigne's Essais. Michel de Montaigne. *The Complete Works*. New York, 1888. Bibliotheca Osleriana 5194. M7613c 1888 Osler - Robertson.



"To investigate the causes of death, to examine carefully the condition of organs, after such changes have gone on in them as to render existence impossible and to apply such Knowledge to the prevention and treatment of disease, is one of the highest objects of the Physician." From Osler's thesis. (Cushing, chap. 4) Photograph of three microscopes used by Osler. From the Osler Library Photo Collection, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/osler/CUS_032-025_P.

The Atlantic Divide: Paternalism and Patient Autonomy in the United States and Mediterranean Europe

Gabriel Devlin

I was disappointed when I first learned that the Osler Library would be closed over the summer. I had visited the library many times throughout my undergraduate studies, back when I was minoring in Social Studies of Medicine, and was looking forward to returning. However, the closure was also inconvenient. The Osler Library is a dependable and valuable resource when it comes to writing research papers. Its closure for renovation thus also posed a significant logistical and practical challenge for my essay writing, as I would need to find alternative avenues for information. However, the closure ultimately helped refine my skills as a researcher, made me discover new useful tools I had never come across, and made me fully appreciate the diversity and preponderance of library resources that McGill offers to its students.

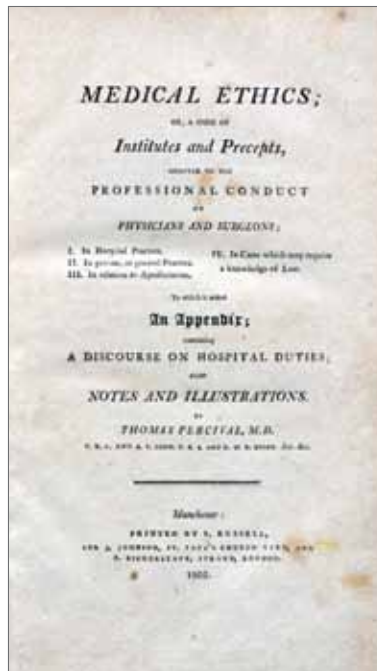
When I first started researching for my essay, I started with nothing more than a vague interest in writing about cross-cultural differences in medicine. Being myself a dual American and French citizen, I found the cultural differences in patient-doctor relationships across different locales to be fascinating. Using the McGill VPN, I searched across several academic journal databases in order to more sharply define my interest into a research question. I quickly found that much had been written about patient autonomy in the United States and medical paternalism in Southern Europe, but that no one had tried to compare the situations in order to uncover the roots underlying this difference. McGill offers access to journals across so many disciplines—medicine, history, ethics, economics, law, etc.—providing me various academic perspectives I could integrate into my research. I supplemented these research articles with

books from McGill's various libraries. Although the Osler Library was closed, McGill's other libraries provided several extremely valuable texts that added both depth and nuance to my essay. For example, the McLennan Social Sciences library offered many books about the history of medicine, the Schulich Library of Medicine contained several key tomes about the history of research ethics, and I made regular visits to the Nahum Gelber Law Library to learn about how the 1970s malpractice crisis affected the American patient-doctor relationship. Even in the few instances where I needed a book that was only located in the Osler Library, I took full advantage of McGill's useful interlibrary loan (ILL) system (which I did not know about before), which delivers books from partner libraries within days of the request.

However, possibly my greatest resource were the people who helped me along the way. The library staff directed me to several databases and research techniques that helped me uncover sources that I would otherwise have encountered difficulty finding. Finally, my Osler fellow, Dr. Abraham Fuks, referred me to several important resources that I would have otherwise never come across on my own. This essay would not have been possible without his constructive and thoughtful

feedback. Without the advice and recommendations, as well as the kindness and encouragement, of all the people who helped me along the way, this essay simply would not have been possible, and for that I thank them.

Gabriel Devlin is currently in his second year of medical studies at McGill University, Montreal, Canada. Born in Chile and a citizen of the United States and France, he is interested in international health and the influence of cultural contexts upon medical care.



Osler's copy of Thomas's *Medical Ethics*. Percival Thomas, *Medical Ethics: or, A code of institutes and precepts, adapted to the professional conduct of physicians and surgeons*. Manchester, 1803. Bibliotheca Osleriana 3645. P429m 1803 Osler Room.

OSLER SOCIETY AND OSLER LIBRARY BOARD OF CURATORS 2014 WINNERS

The three winning essays from the 2014 round of the Osler Society and Osler Library Board of Curators Essay Contest have now been published on our website. There was a tie for first place this year between Gabriel Devlin and Julian Z. Xue. In the essay, "On Sir William Osler's Relationship with Death," Julian Xue (MDCM 2014) examines Osler's personal experience of loss and argues that these encounters with death moulded

his views both philosophically and practically. Gabriel Devlin (MDCM 2017) contrasts the patient-doctor relationship in North American and Southern Europe, finding that while medical paternalism was tempered in North America in the mid-20th century due to public scandals involving medical experimentation and the anti-paternalism of equal rights movements, it continues to shape doctor-patient interactions

around the Mediterranean. Third place in the contest was awarded to David Benrimoh for his essay, "The Zeroth Law of Medicine," which investigates the role of physicians and the American Medical Association as a largely oppositional force in the move towards universal health care coverage in the United States. Essay-writers were also asked to submit a reflective piece accompanying their work describing the library resources

they came to know well during their research, how their skills grew as researchers, and how using library material helped them to increase the scope, depth, and significance of their subject. We are pleased to print Julian Z Xue and Gabriel Devlin's reflective pieces in this issue. You can read their full essays on the Osler Library website: <https://www.mcgill.ca/library/branches/osler/essay-contest/2014-winners>.

Honorary and *ad eundem* MD and MDCM graduates of McGill University, 1843–1906

David S. Crawford

In the decade between 1843 and 1853, McGill University awarded ten honorary MD degrees; none appear to have been awarded since. The criteria for awarding these degrees are unclear, but the recipients seem to have been the same 'great and good' as are awarded honorary degrees in the twenty-first century.

The names were published with, or included in, the Lists of Graduates that appear in several *Annual Announcements* of the Medical Faculty and in several McGill graduate directories—though some entries are incomplete or misspelled and some have incorrect dates. The names were also published *en bloc* in the 1882 publication *Semi-centennial Celebration of the Medical Faculty*.¹

1843

Olivier Théophile Bruneau (1805–1856). Bruneau trained in Paris and was licenced to practice in Quebec (Lower Canada) by the Medical Board on August 30, 1826. He was the first Quebec-born francophone to teach at McGill, appointed to the Chair of Anatomy in 1842—a position he retained until just before his death. He was also the last Seigneur de Montarville from 1851 until 1854, when the seigneurial system was abolished. It seems likely that he, like McCullough (see below), was awarded his honorary degree so that he could hold a medical degree and not just a licence to practice.²

Michael McCullough (1785–1854). McCullough was born in Scotland and received his medical training in Glasgow and London. In Quebec, McCullough was registered by the Medical Board of Lower Canada on September 6, 1823, and practiced in St. Eustache for a decade before moving to Montreal and establishing a very lucrative practice. In 1842 he was appointed to the Chair of Midwifery and Diseases of Women and Children at McGill, and in 1843 he became the first Director of the University Lying-in Hospital, a position he held until his death. According to Hanaway and Cruess, McCullough was probably awarded his honorary degree because "he had only qualified with the Royal College of Surgeons, a body which could not grant medical degrees."^{2,3}

1847

James Douglas (1800–1886). Douglas (whose name is sometimes spelled Douglass), a Scot, trained in Edinburgh and London and received a diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons in London. He settled in New York State, but moved, rather hurriedly, to Canada in late 1825 or early 1826 as he had been teaching anatomy using "corpses he had managed to obtain clandestinely." John Stephenson and Andrew Fernando Holmes, the Edinburgh-educated founders of the

McGill medical school, had apparently met Douglas in Edinburgh and encouraged him to establish a practice in Quebec City, where he received his licence on April 17, 1826. That same year, with Joseph Morrin (see below), he was a founding member of the Quebec Medical Society/Société médicale de Québec. In 1837 he was appointed director of the Marine and Emigrant Hospital in Quebec, where he was an early user of "sulphuric ether vapour" and chloroform as anaesthetics. Between 1845 and 1848, Douglas was also given responsibility for the institutional care of the insane in Quebec and, assisted by Morrin and Charles-Jacques Frémont, established the Asile de Beauport. The Douglas Mental Health University Institute (formerly the Douglas Hospital and originally the Protestant Hospital for the Insane) is named in his family's honour.^{4,5,6,7}

James Sampson (1789–1861). Sampson was born in Ireland, and educated in Dublin and London. He joined the army in 1811, was posted to Canada in 1812, and served with the Royal Newfoundland Regiment of Fencible Infantry until its disbandment in 1816. In 1817, Sampson was placed on half-pay and persuaded to remain in Canada, where he established a practice in Niagara and later in Kingston, Ontario. He was a member of the Medical Board of Upper Canada (Ontario) from 1822 to 1861, trained apprentices, and was much involved in the foundation of the medical school in Kingston. In addition to his medical interests, Sampson was active in civic affairs: in 1832 he was one of the three commissioners appointed to build a charity hospital in Kingston, and served as mayor of that city for a time. He was also a strong advocate of penal reform.^{4,8,9,10}

Christopher Widmer (1780–1858). Widmer was trained in London, joined the army in 1804, and was posted to Canada in 1814. He retired from active service in 1817 and quickly settled in York (Toronto) where he became well known in medical, business, and political circles. In 1819 Widmer was appointed as an original member of the Medical Board of Upper Canada and served on it until his death. Canniff describes him as "the father of surgery in Upper Canada."^{4,8,9,11}

1848

Daniel Arnoldi (1774–1849). Arnoldi, who was born in Montreal, received his medical training in England, and on June 22, 1795, obtained his licence to practice from the newly established Medical Board of Montreal (Arnoldi's was the second licence issued). After practising in several locations in Upper and Lower Canada, Arnoldi settled in Montreal, where in 1812 the Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada appointed him to the Medical Board as one of the medical examiners for the district of Montreal.

Andrew Fernando Holmes (see below) was one of Arnoldi's students and later his partner. Arnoldi was instrumental in the foundation of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Lower Canada, and was elected as its first president in 1847.⁴

Wolfred Nelson (1791–1863). Born in Montreal and raised in Sorel, Quebec, Nelson received his licence to practice from the Medical Board on February 13, 1811. He had been apprenticed to an army doctor, first practiced in Sorel's military hospital, and served as an army surgeon during the war of 1812–1814. Notwithstanding his Loyalist family background, Nelson became disillusioned with British colonial rule and stood for election to Parliament in 1827, serving until 1830 as a 'Patriote.' Increasingly opposed to the government, he became one of the leaders of the 1837 Patriot Rebellion, which led to his being imprisoned for seven months and then exiled to Bermuda. By 1842, Nelson's exile had been overturned and he had returned to Canada and established a practice in Montreal. In 1845 he was appointed president of the Montreal Board of Health, and a few years later he was (rather ironically) appointed inspector of provincial penitentiaries and jails. Arnoldi, Morrin, and Nelson were active in the foundation of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Lower Canada in 1847, and served as its first presidents and vice-presidents. In 1854, Nelson became the first popularly elected mayor of Montreal. The marker over his grave reads, "Here lieth God's noblest work, an honest man."

Though his medical and social achievements cannot be questioned, McGill's awarding of an honorary degree to Nelson in 1848 is somewhat surprising, since only a short time earlier he had been involved in a long and very public disagreement with Andrew Fernando Holmes, McGill's Dean of Medicine.^{4,6,12}

1850

Joseph Morrin (1794–1861). Joseph Morrin's name is misspelled 'Morin' in most of the Faculty Announcement lists, and there is some inconsistency in the date his honorary degree was awarded (1848 or 1850) but 1850 is the correct year.

Morrin was a Scottish-born doctor who had grown up in Quebec and trained in London. He received his Quebec licence on July 15, 1815. He was active in several medical organizations; in 1826 he was a founding member and the first president of the Quebec Medical Society/Société médicale de Québec. He also served as one of the first presidents of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Lower Canada, which he had helped found in 1847 with Arnoldi and Nelson (see above). In 1850, a Canada-wide British American Medical

and Surgical Association was proposed, with Morrin elected to be its first president. Unfortunately, the proposal was unsuccessful, and seventeen more years would elapse before the establishment of the Canadian Medical Association/Association médicale canadienne. In 1857 he became the first popularly elected mayor of Quebec City.

Morrin's contributions to the advancement of clinical care and medical education in Quebec are significant: in 1845 he was instrumental, with Douglas (see above), in founding the Asile de Beauport, and he was also a founding member of the École de médecine de Québec, serving as its first president in 1848. A bequest in his will led to the 1862 establishment of Morrin College in Quebec City, which was affiliated with McGill University from 1863 to 1900.^{4,13}

1853

Walter Henry (1791–1860). Henry was born in County Donegal, Ireland, and obtained his medical education in Ireland and England. He joined the army in 1811, and was present at the 1821 autopsy of Napoleon. In 1827, Henry was posted to Canada, where he remained an army surgeon for many years. In 1852 he was appointed inspector-general in charge of military medical services in British North America. Henry retired from the army medical department in 1855 and settled in Belleville, Ontario. His son, Walter James Henry, graduated with an MD from McGill in 1856.^{4,8,9}

John Hamilton Rae (1813–1893). Rae, an Orkney-born doctor, qualified as a licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in April 1833. He subsequently worked for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) as a surgeon, making four expeditions to the Arctic between 1846 and 1854. In the fourth venture, Rae found the first traces of the Franklin Expedition, which had set out from England in 1845 and disappeared. His reports to the Admiralty in Britain, suggesting that the Franklin crew had resorted to cannibalism, led to controversy that overshadowed the recognition that Rae's many achievements should have received, and it was only in September 2014 that a plaque commemorating him was unveiled in Westminster Abbey. (Coincidentally, 2014 was also the year that the wreck of one of the Franklin ships, HMS Erebus, was finally discovered by Canadian researchers.) Rae retired from the HBC in 1856, but continued to carry out arctic surveys for them until 1865, when he settled in London, and was thereafter often called upon as an expert and consultant in matters of arctic exploration.^{4,14,15}

Ad Eundem MD and MDCM Degrees

An *ad eundem* degree is a courtesy degree awarded by one university or college to an alumnus of another. McGill awarded a total of thirteen *ad*

eundem medical degrees between 1843 and 1899, and a further eleven in 1905 and 1906. Up until 1861, the standard medical qualification awarded by McGill was MD; starting with the May 1862 graduates it was, and continues to be, MDCM.

1843

George William Campbell (1810–1882). Campbell had an 1833 MD degree from the University of Glasgow. Shortly after graduation he moved to Montreal and received his licence to practice on July 24, 1833. In 1835 he was appointed Professor of Surgery at McGill, became the second Dean of the Faculty of Medicine in 1860, and served in that role until 1882, when he died during a visit to Edinburgh. Upon the death of his elder brother in 1880, Campbell became, for a few years, the holder of an ancient Scottish baronetcy.^{2, 4, 16, 17}

Andrew Fernando Holmes (1797–1860). Following an apprenticeship with Daniel Arnoldi, Holmes (who came to Montreal as an infant) obtained a licence to practice medicine in Montreal in 1816. Choosing to further his studies in Scotland, he received a diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1818, and an MD degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1819. Holmes returned to Montreal in 1819 and spent the rest of his life practising and teaching medicine. Holmes was one of the four founders of the McGill medical school and its first Dean; he is credited as being the first in Canada to use chloroform anaesthesia for childbirth.^{2, 4, 6, 12, 16, 18, 19}

Stephen Charles Sewell (1814–1865). Sewell was born in Montreal and obtained his MD from the University of Edinburgh and his licence to practice in 1835. He was a member of the Montreal Medical Board, taught at McGill for several years between 1843 and 1852, and was on staff at the Montreal General Hospital. He moved to Ottawa in 1852.^{18, 20, 21}

1848

Archibald Hall (1812–1868). Born in Montreal, Hall enrolled in the McGill medical faculty in 1829, but transferred to the University of Edinburgh in 1832 and obtained his MD from there in 1834. On returning to Montreal he received his licence to practice on April 7, 1835, and in the same year was appointed to the McGill medical faculty, where he held several posts, including Professor of Midwifery, until his death.^{2, 4, 16, 18}

1854

James Crawford (1794–1855). Born into a medical family in Ballyshannon, Ireland (his father, David, was a naval surgeon; his brother, William, obtained his Edinburgh MD in 1823), James Crawford obtained his MD from the University of Edinburgh in 1820 and his Quebec licence to practice on June 1, 1836. A skilled and popular teacher, he

was appointed to the Chair of Clinical Medicine and Surgery at McGill in 1845, and was also an attending physician at the Montreal General Hospital.^{2, 4, 22, 23}

Thomas Walter Jones (1811–1864). A member of one of the oldest English-speaking families in Montreal, Jones obtained his University of Edinburgh MD in 1833 and was licensed in Lower Canada on February 19, 1834. He was an attending surgeon of the Montreal General Hospital and First Physician of the St. George's Society of Montreal. Jones was also commander of the Queen's Light Dragoons, which saw active service during the Patriot rebellion of 1837–1838.^{16, 18}

1856

James Barnston (1831–1858). Barnston was born in St. Martin's Falls, Albany River, in Hudson Bay (now Norway House, Manitoba), where his father was Chief Factor for the Hudson's Bay Company. After graduation from the University of Edinburgh in 1851, Barnston studied in Scotland, Paris, and Vienna before returning to Montreal in 1853, where he obtained his licence on May 9, 1854 and established a practice. He was very interested in the natural sciences, especially botany, and in 1857 he was appointed the first Professor of Botany at McGill College, but died shortly thereafter.^{4, 24}

John Reddy (1822–1884). Reddy was born in Ireland, and received his MD from the University of Glasgow in 1848. He came to Canada in 1851, was licensed on May 10, 1852, and became House Surgeon and an attending physician at the Montreal General Hospital. For many years, Reddy served as Representative Fellow in Medicine, and was thus a member of the Corporation that was, and is, responsible for McGill University, the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. In 1874 Reddy was elected president of the Montreal Medico-Chirurgical Society. Montreal's Reddy Memorial Hospital (1870–1997) was named for John Reddy's physician son, Herbert Lionel Reddy.^{25, 26}

1864

Langer Carey (1831–1882). There are two notable mysteries associated with Carey's *ad eundem* degree. The first concerns the astonishing variations in his name: official McGill announcements and minutes list it as "Auger D.L. Carey" or "D.L. Auger Carey"; in newspaper and journal accounts of the degrees awarded at the convocation on May 3, 1864, his name appears as "D.L. McGee Carey." One can hypothesize about mistranscriptions of bad handwriting (L Auger = Langer?) or misinterpretations of speech (he held an MB [McGee?]) degree from Trinity College, Dublin), but it is puzzling that these apparent errors remained uncorrected. McGill's official records continue to list him as "D.L. Auger Carey." Extensive (but

maddeningly not-absolutely-definitive) research leads to the conclusion that the correct name is 'Langer Carey.'

The second mystery is the absence of any obvious reason for the award of an honorary degree. His degree was awarded by the Corporation of the University "on the unanimous recommendation to that effect by the Faculty of Medicine," but unfortunately the medical faculty minutes for that period are no longer extant, and little information is otherwise available about Carey's medical career or life in Quebec.

Langer Carey was born into a medical family in Newport, Tipperary, Ireland; both his father (also called Langer) and at least one of his brothers, Samuel Orby Carey, were also physicians. He obtained a BA from Trinity College Dublin in 1852, became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England in 1856, and received his MB, also from Trinity, in 1858. He joined the Army Medical Department in 1858, was posted to the Royal Artillery in 1859, served with them in Montreal from 1861 until 1865, and was later posted to Toronto and Malta. Carey was promoted to the rank of Surgeon-Major in 1873, and resigned from the army in 1879. He then moved to the Hawkes Bay area of New Zealand, where he included "M.D. (Causa Honoris) McGill University, Ontario" [sic] among his credentials when registering in New Zealand in 1880. Carey died in 1882, after practising in Hastings for less than two years.^{9, 27a, 27b, 28, 29, 30, 31}

1868

Edward Dagge Worthington (1820–1895). Worthington was born in Ireland and immigrated with his family to Canada in 1822. In 1833 he was indentured to James Douglas (see above) for seven years, and then studied in Edinburgh. In 1843 he obtained an MD from the University of St. Andrews and a licence from the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. He returned to Canada, received his licence from the Montreal Medical Board in 1843, and became a prominent doctor in Sherbrooke and the Eastern Townships of Quebec. Worthington is reputed to be the first surgeon in Canada to use ether as an inhalation anaesthetic. He was also much involved in the (1867) formation of the Canadian Medical Association/Association médicale canadienne.^{4, 6, 7}

1869

Charles Colin Sewell (1841–1909). 'Colin' Sewell (whose name is sometimes listed erroneously as Colin Charles Sewell) had an 1864 MD degree from the University of Edinburgh. First practising in Montreal, he moved briefly to Australia in 1873, but soon returned to Canada and established a practice in Quebec City. Sewell became well known not only as a physician but also as a follower of horse racing, at one time

keeping "a string of fast horses." At the time of his death he was Surgeon-Colonel of the Royal Canadian Artillery. Like Worthington, Colin Sewell was also active in the formation of the Canadian Medical Association/Association médicale canadienne in 1867, and saw his father, James Arthur Sewell, elected its president in 1871.^{24, 32, 33, 34}

1886

George Wilkins (1842–1916). Wilkins, born in Ireland, obtained his MD degree from the Toronto Medical School in 1866. After post-graduate work in London, he returned to Canada in 1871, received his Quebec licence and began a practice in Montreal. Wilkins became Professor of Pathology and later of Practical Physiology at the University of Bishop's College, and in 1882 he became Professor of Medical Jurisprudence and Lecturer in Osteology at McGill University. In 1876, Wilkins was appointed physician to the Montreal General Hospital, a position he held until 1900, when he became a member of the hospital's consulting staff.^{2, 35}

1899

John George Adami (1862–1926). Adami was born in England and obtained a Cambridge University MD degree in 1884. After further studies and research in Paris, he came to Montreal in 1892 to take up an appointment as McGill's first Professor of Pathology. He left Montreal in 1915 to serve in the Canadian Army Medical Corps during the First World War, after which, in 1919, he resigned from McGill due to his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool.^{2, 11, 16, 36, 37}

1905 and 1906

In 1905 and 1906, McGill University awarded a further eleven *ad eundem* MDCM degrees. The 1905 cohort were the nine members of the Bishop's College Medical Faculty who did not already hold McGill degrees, and whose *ad eundem* degrees were a condition of their school's amalgamation with McGill. These were James J. Benny, William Burnett, William Henry Drummond, Frank R. England, George Fisk, Francis J. Hackett, George Hall, James McPherson Jack, and Herbert Tatley.

Under the agreement to merge the two faculties, other Bishop's medical graduates could also apply for McGill *ad eundem* degrees, but it appears that only two did so—or perhaps only two were successful? Francis O. Anderson and Casey Wood had both taught at Bishop's and both received McGill *ad eundem* MD degrees in 1906. According to Hanaway and Cruess, "the faculty continued to receive applications for the McGill degree from Bishops graduates through 1914 ... Bishops medical graduates had to attend a regular McGill convocation to receive the McGill MDCM degree."^{2, 38, 39, 40}

Continued on page 16

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Emeritus Librarian, McGill University



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Contact:
Address:
Osler Library of the History of Medicine,
McGill University, McIntyre Medical Sciences Building,
3655 Promenade Sir-William-Osler,
Montréal, Québec, Canada, H3G 1Y6
Tel: (514) 398-4475 ext. 09873
Fax: (514) 398-5747
E-mail: osler.library@mcgill.ca
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