



# THE OSLER LIBRARY NEWSLETTER

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

## DR. RICHARD GOLDEN, 1929-2016 EULOGY FROM ADAM GOLDEN, SON

*The Oslerian community was saddened to learn of the recent death of Dr. Richard Golden. He was a dedicated historian whose talents enriched both the American Osler Society and the Osler Library. As a library curator, he gave generously of his time and prodigious knowledge. The library had the good fortune to co-publish several of his books in partnership with the AOS, and he was a wonderful person to contact whenever we had a particularly difficult Oslerian reference question.*

*On a personal level, I always enjoyed getting together with such a quietly passionate Oslerian and bibliophile. I loved swapping stories with him. Like a couple of fishermen, we would celebrate the books we netted and commiserate over the ones that got away. I miss him a great deal.*

*On behalf of the Osler Library, I extend my condolences to his family and many friends, and thank Adam for allowing us to reprint an excerpt from the eulogy which he gave at his father's funeral. I also thank Dick's son John for providing this to us, along with the photo.*

**R**ichard Golden was born on April 8, 1929. He lived a fiercely independent and intentional life for eighty-seven years. He was a devoted father, son, friend and husband who made us all so proud.

When you walk around his home you are surrounded by his passions. I want to tell you about a few of them.

Most importantly, his family. He was married to his beloved wife and my mom, Arlene, with whom he spent more than forty years. The first thing that struck me in his home was how there were so few pictures of him alone – they were all with my mom. She was the true love of his life. Their wedding rings were engraved with “one” to signify their unity. He met my mother in 1954 on August 21st at a party in Seagate, a Brooklyn community. In his own words - “I encountered a girl in a yellow dress that, although unaware at the time, I was destined to marry.” My mother went home that night, woke up her parents –

Grandma and Grandpa Stickel – and said, “I met the man I’m going to marry tonight.” And even though Dad had to return to Switzerland to finish medical school, their love solidified and they married in 1957 soon after he returned home. We grew up in a house filled with love, stability and encouragement. Those are things you take for granted when they are around you as a child; only later can you really appreciate how much they contribute to who you are. He was a big softie inside, writing my mom the most romantic cards and poems. They lived a

magnificent life together until we lost her to breast cancer in 1995. To this day the house is filled with pictures of mom. They were separated twenty years ago but are now together again, which makes this the best day my dad has had in twenty years. His parents Nathaniel and Bertha were so immensely proud of him. Of course, so were all of his children, John, Allison, Nancy, Jane and Adam, and his five grandchildren, Anthony, Mckenzie, Ava, Kyle and Leah. He loved his family with all his heart and was so proud of all of us. He felt a strong bond to his cousins, including the Ungers, the Tarloffs, the Braunhuts and the Edelsteins. That bond also extended to others who were family to him past and present like the Bartons, the Newmans, the Levins, the Blums and his extended family at the Osler Society.

His second and enduring love was medicine – from his own accomplishments, which were vast, to the history of

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PHOTO BY DICK GOLDEN



# McGill



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# Osler in his Favourite Book of Poetry: *The Fireside Encyclopaedia*

Joseph W. Lella

*At the most recent Annual Meeting of the American Osler Society held in Minneapolis this spring, Joseph Lella and Susan Kelen gave presentations on Osler's taste in poetry. Their main source was his copy of the anthology The Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry. What was particularly important, in fact critical, in carrying out this study were the annotations in the book by Dr. W.W. Francis, whose first acquaintance with this work was as a young medical student living with the Oslers in Baltimore. Years later, Dr. Francis wrote in notes on Osler's favourite poems and related information. These annotations, invaluable in understanding Osler's poetic interests, are just one very small example of the work that Dr. Francis did to further our knowledge of the great collection he catalogued, and the man whose collection it was. His service has been invaluable to Oslerians, book scholars and medical historians. My ever increasing respect for my predecessor's work has meant that I proudly bear the label not only of Oslerian, but also of Franciscan.*

- Chris Lyons, Osler Librarian

*Joseph Lella is Emeritus Professor, Sociology and Professor, King's University College, and Department of the History of Medicine, Western University, and a Curator of the Osler Library.*

Walt Whitman has been called "America's world poet—a latter-day successor to Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Shakespeare,"<sup>1</sup> and yet Osler's first opinion of his work was, "Twas not for my pampered palate, accustomed to Plato and Shakespeare and Shelley and Keats."<sup>2</sup> After reading this I wondered how familiar Osler was at least with the last two "palate pamperers"; what he had liked about their work and indeed how much poetry he had read in general. I wondered too about his taste in poetry overall and finally what answers to all these musings might reveal about the man.

As Susan Kelen has told us,<sup>3</sup> her family recently donated a copy of *The*

*Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry*<sup>4</sup> to the Osler Library (image 1). The family were heirs of W.W. Francis, its first librarian. Francis called it Osler's favourite book of poetry. Sir William wrote in it: "This is our breakfast table book ... We used it constantly at Baltimore [where Osler lived from 1889 to 1905 while at Johns Hopkins] ...it was my custom [to] read from it to Billie Francis [W.W.F., who lived with the Oslers while studying medicine at Hopkins] and Revere [Osler's young son]." The inscription is dated December 23, 1915. Dr. Francis wrote on a blank page: "In the Index of Authors, pp. xxv-xxxix, I have marked thus \_\_ W.O.'s favourites, and + thus his prime favourites, as far as I remember them after 50 years. Billie Francis July, 1953."<sup>5</sup>

There were 222 poems ticked as favourites among the 1,165 poems in the book. A number within the favourites had an additional cross mark as 'prime favourite.'<sup>6</sup> The favourites were written by 81 of the 397 poets included in its 1,034 pages. Five of the poems had unknown authors. Osler had certainly read a lot of poetry. Remember that the Hopkins appointment was an early pinnacle of his career, achieved at the age of forty, then mid-life. He had a large clinical practice, plus teaching, administration and writing, yet he found time for poetry.

The book with its markings was a treasure trove! There were forty poets who had more than one poem marked; several had a line aside a long list of poems, some within the list with an additional tick as special. Knowing those who "pampered Osler's palate," perhaps it is to be expected that many could be called "romantics."<sup>7</sup>

The following eight poets had between 6 and 18 poems marked:

Thomas Hood	18
Percy Bysshe Shelley	17
John Milton	13
John Keats	12
William Wordsworth	10
Alfred Tennyson	9
Samuel Taylor Coleridge	6
Oliver Wendell Holmes	6

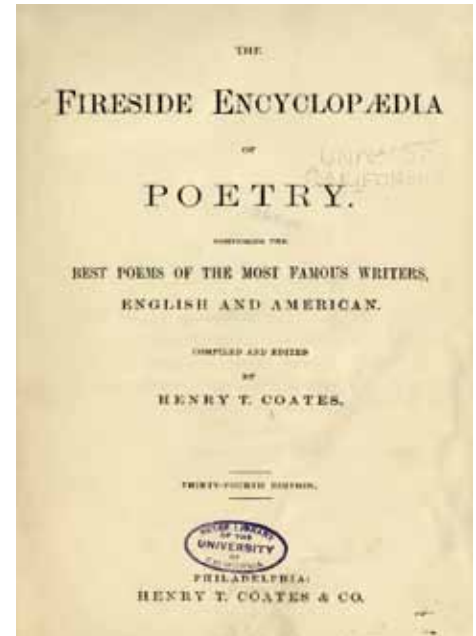


Image 1. The title page of The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry

HOOD, THOMAS (b. 1798, d. 1845).	
Art of Book-Keeping.....	80
Epicurean Reminiscences of a Sentimentalist, 80	
Faithless Nelly Gray.....	86
Faithless Sally Brown.....	88
"I remember, I remember".....	75
Ode to my Little Son.....	91
Ruth.....	144
Serenade.....	91
Stanzas—"Farewell, life".....	67
The Bachelor's Dream.....	90
The Bridge of Sighs.....	79
The Death-Bed.....	83

Image 2. The entry for Thomas Hood in The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry with markings showing which poems were particular favourites of Osler.

Thomas Hood had a line indicating all of his poems in the collection (image 2). Percy Shelley and John Keats were also among the top eight with such lines indicating all poems. William Wordsworth had ten of his 28 poems marked. There were no surprises among the men listed above. Each was well-considered and remains so today. Except for Milton, all wrote during Osler's time. The seventeenth century John Milton

was also favoured; some consider him an early romantic. Tennyson has also written 'romantic' poems but his large body of work fits him into a number of categories.

Was Osler a romantic? All of the poets listed were certainly touched by more than a little romanticism. Despite their differences they could justifiably be termed poets of the heart, of deep emotion or sensibility. My last American Osler Society paper, *Osler in Osler's Biographical Essays*,<sup>8</sup> noted that a number of Osler's biographical essays focused significantly on his subjects' sensibility and reflected his own. The biographic subjects and favoured poets vary in their concern with sense or objectivity/logical analysis, but the poets especially were men whose work often included *cris de coeur*. But about what and to what ends?

Osler once said that "a clear head and a loving heart" were "all that one could desire in a teacher."<sup>9</sup> This paper explores what Osler seems to have found among some favoured poems in *The Fireside Encyclopaedia*: nourishment for his own and his family's loving hearts, while not disregarding his sensible mind.

What follows are a few selections from some of Osler's favourite romantic poems. Reading them, imagine Osler's Baltimore dining room table, "the chief" at its head in refuge from his busy life, reading poems from this thick volume. Seated nearby are the young Willy Francis, a medical student (who all his life adored W.O., and was adored in return). Across the table is little Revere Osler, the apple of his father's and mother's eye, born in 1895 and never older than nine or ten while living with them in Baltimore – sometimes bored, or fiddling with his food, but perhaps sometimes drawn into his father's lively reading of a humorous poem to appeal to him. Try not to think of Revere buried in a First World War soldier's grave, but imagine his father's emotions while reading the poetry, emotions intensely transformed into grief at the young man's death.

Thomas Hood is perhaps the least celebrated poet of Osler's top six. His inclusion in this group may reflect Hood's accessibility. Remember Osler's 'audience is a young man and a child. Hood's *Ode to My Young Son* is a burst of sentimental humour. Osler shared with Hood the

joyous love of a child. Imagine him mussing his son's hair as he reads:

*THOU happy, happy elf!  
(But stop,—first let me kiss away that  
tear)—*

*Thou tiny image of myself!  
(My love, he's poking peas into his  
ear!)*

*Thou merry, laughing sprite!  
With spirits feather-light,  
Untouched by sorrow, and unsoiled  
by sin—  
(Good heavens! the child is swallowing  
a pin!)*

Others of Hood's marked poems express some romantics' concern for the oppressed. Perhaps Revere was in bed before he read these - note the outcry against women's sweatshop work in his *Song of the Shirt*:

*Oh, Men, with Sisters dear!  
Oh, Men, with Mothers and Wives!  
It is not linen you're wearing out,  
But human creatures' lives!  
Stitch—stitch—stitch,  
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,  
Sewing at once, with a double thread,  
A Shroud as well as a Shirt.*

Hood's *Bridge of Sighs* bemoans the Thames suicide of a homeless woman, a prostitute:

*Touch her not scornfully;  
Think of her mournfully,  
Gently and humanly;  
Not of the stains of her,  
All that remains of her  
Now is pure womanly  
...  
Alas! for the rarity  
Of Christian charity  
Under the sun!  
O, it was pitiful!  
Near a whole city full,  
Home she had none.*

All six poems of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. were marked. He was a physician revered by Osler because of his fight to recognize the deadly and avoidable causes of puerperal fever. The *Chambered Nautilus*, perhaps the most honoured among his poems, expresses a typically Oslerian value, or emotion - the need to grow and evolve with age, perhaps in the foreground of his mind at his 'advanced' years:

*... Year after year beheld the silent toil  
That spread his lustrous coil;  
Still, as the spiral grew,  
He left the past year's dwelling for the  
new,  
Build thee more stately mansions,*

*O my soul,  
As the swift seasons roll!  
Leave thy low-vaulted past!  
Let each new temple, nobler than the  
last,  
Shut thee from heaven with a dome  
more vast,  
Till thou at length art free,  
Leaving thine outgrown shell by  
life's unresting sea!*

Was there a knowing look passed at table from the elder to younger Willie?

Osler had a great fondness for John Keats and especially his *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*, the poet's reaction to Chapman's translation of the Greek bard. His biographical essay on Keats asks, "How could a man who wrote [this poem] pursue the [more prosaic] life of an apothecary?"<sup>10</sup>

*Much have I travell'd in the realms of  
gold,  
And many goodly states and  
kingdoms seen;  
...Yet did I never breathe ...[the] pure  
serene  
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud  
and bold:  
Then felt I like ...stout Cortez when  
with eagle eyes  
He star'd at the Pacific—and all his  
men  
Look'd at each other with a wild  
surmise—  
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.*

Did Osler identify with the dumb-struck explorers? Was their "wild surmise" something like what he felt as a boy in Ontario, first looking through a microscope at tiny pond animalcules or later, discovering the engravings in Vesalius' *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*?

John Keats died at 25. He had anticipated an early death, experiencing symptoms of 'consumption.' He worried about his work's early neglect and its ultimate worth. His *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, written some two years before his death, was one of Osler's special favourites. Addressing the urn, the poet concludes:

*When old age shall this generation  
waste,  
Thou shalt remain, in midst of other  
woe  
Than ours, a friend to man, to whom  
thou say'st,  
'Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that  
is all  
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to  
know.'*

Continued on page 14



# Six Favourite Poems of Sir William Osler

by Susan Kelen

Susan Kelen is a clinical psychologist working in Ottawa. She is the granddaughter of W.W. Francis, the first Osler Librarian.

One of Sir William Osler's daily habits was to read from his favourite book of poetry at the breakfast table. This was a thousand page book of English and American poetry titled *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry*.<sup>1</sup> Our family inherited this book through my grandfather, Dr. W.W. Francis, who was Osler's first cousin once-removed. My grandfather was both an author and editor of the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, as well as the first Osler Librarian (1929 to 1959) (image 1). After my mother passed away in 2014, it was my responsibility to go through Grandfather's papers and books, which my family then donated to the Osler Library.<sup>2</sup>

After having donated my family's copy of *The Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry* to the Osler Library, I found myself wanting it back! So I purchased my own copy. My "replacement" copy has the advantage of having the original cover, unlike the copy we gave to the library. My copy has a gold embossed cover illustrating a fireplace, which refers both to the book's title and a comfortable spot in which to read poetry (image 2). Osler's copy was so well used during his lifetime that it had to be rebound three times, including once after a dining room fire. So it is not surprising that it lost its cover!

When I brought my copy to last year's American Osler Society meeting, I was asked by several people if I knew Osler's favourite poem.<sup>3</sup> At the time, I did not know how to answer. I did know, however, that my grandfather had carefully marked off Osler's favourite poems in the index of *The Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry*; there were over two hundred!

So, to answer the question, I have chosen six works from *The Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry* and from Grandfather's papers. One poem is described by my grandfather as being Osler's favourite; another was from a newspaper clipping inscribed with Osler's pen. I selected the next three because they had held a special meaning during his life, perhaps especially at the very end. My reference was Harvey Cushing's 1925 biography of Sir William Osler. I chose the last poem because of its humanistic value, but also because it was my grandfather's very favourite.

What were Osler's favourite poems? I found one answer in an unpublished 1956 speech<sup>4</sup> written by my grandfather for the 35th anniversary of the Osler Society of McGill where he was the guest of honour. He was being celebrated for keeping Osler's



Dr. W. W. Francis, Osler Librarian from 1929 to 1959.

memory and spirit alive, and for encouraging the study of the history of medicine during his tenure as Osler Librarian. The banquet was held at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Montreal. I actually found the programme and menu for the banquet amongst Grandfather's papers (image 3). They had peach melba for dessert!

The speech grandfather wrote for the occasion was informal and informative. I think it shows something of his personality. It is full of humour, historical references, Latin quotations, self-deprecating comments and, of course, stories about Osler. He refers to *The Encyclopaedia of Poetry* and describes how Osler read poems to him and his son, Revere. My grandfather lived with the Osler family in Baltimore from 1897 to 1902 while pursuing an undergraduate degree and a degree in medicine at Johns Hopkins.<sup>5</sup> Grandfather's speech describes his life with the Oslers in Baltimore and reading poems at breakfast.

## Poem 1: *Mortality* by William Knox (1789-1815)

Grandfather's speech identifies *Mortality* by William Knox as Osler's "pet poem." This poem is also known by its last line, *Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?* He describes how Osler would sometimes change the words of a poem to see if my grandfather and Revere were listening.

*We drink the same stream, and we feel the same sun,  
And run the same course our fathers have run.  
The thoughts we are thinking our father's would think.*

*We drink the same draughts our fathers have drunk  
We think the same thought our fathers have thunk!"*

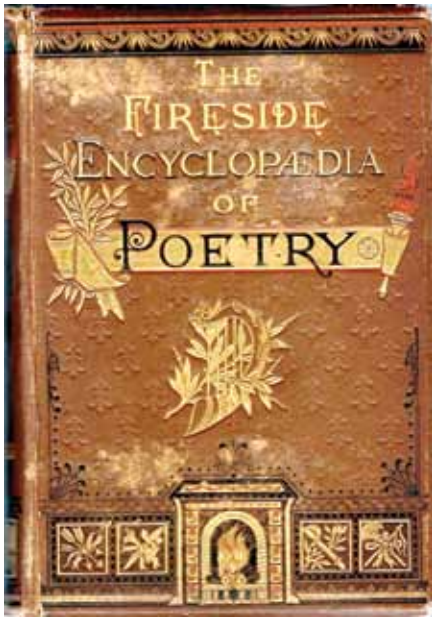
Osler's sense of fun is shown here, in doing this *ad lib*. I like to imagine that this early morning *ad lib* was partly a test for my grandfather, who was a teenager, and partly just fun rhyming for Osler's son, Revere, who would have been a child from 3 to 8 years of age.

The inspiration for this poem comes from the biblical books of Job and Ecclesiastes. The poem describes the life process as the great leveler in that death awaits all, regardless of station.

*'Tis the wink of an eye, 'tis the draught of a breath,  
From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,  
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud,-  
Oh why should the spirit of mortal be proud?*

Osler would have appreciated the religious references in this poem, his father having been an Anglican church minister. Osler himself had considered studying divinity.

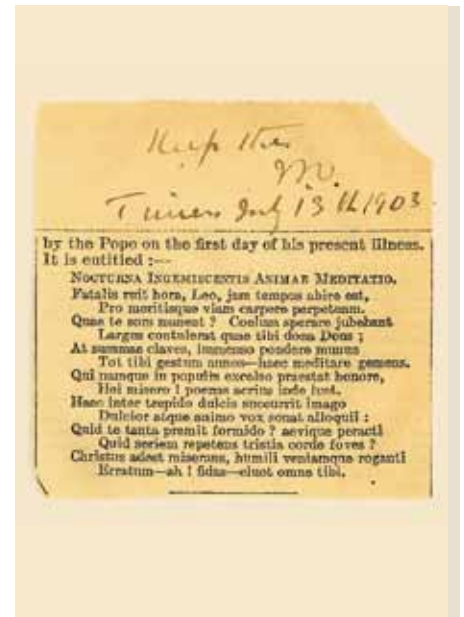
I suspect Osler liked this poem because of its theme and



The original cover of *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry*.



Programme cover for the 35th Annual Banquet of the Osler Society, 1956. Osler Library Archives Collection, Kelen Family Fonds (P193).



Newspaper clipping of *Nocturna Ingemiscentis Animas Meditatio*, by Pope Leo XIII, Osler Library Archives Collection, Kelen Family Fonds (P193).

subject matter, all about the cycle of life, hence touching on central issues of concern in both medicine and divinity. Also, he would have liked the poem's cadence when read aloud.

I found the theme of mortality to be present in many of Osler's favourite poems. One of his research studies in Baltimore was on the experience of death. He had asked nurses to make detailed records of his patients' experiences. He concluded that most patients went out "oblivious," in the same fashion as when they were born.<sup>6</sup>

As a side note, this poem was well-known in Osler's day, mostly because it was a favourite of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln could recite all 56 lines from memory. Many assumed that he had written it! Today, the poet and poem would be almost entirely forgotten if not for their connection to Lincoln, and now also to Sir William Osler.<sup>7</sup>

**Poem 2: *Nocturna Ingemiscentis Animas Meditatio*  
by Pope Leo XIII (1810-1903)**

I found the second poem that I have chosen as being one of Osler's favourites pressed between the pages of *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry*. It had been clipped from a newspaper (image 4). Osler placed it there in 1903, and there it lay for over one hundred and ten years! Osler had written on the clipping in pen, "Keep this, W.O... July 13, 1903." I looked at this newspaper clipping many times over the years but did not bother with it because it was written in Latin, a language unfamiliar to me. When going through my grandfather's papers, I remember asking Christopher Lyons, the Osler Librarian, "Why would the library want to keep such a thing?" And here I find myself using it!

The poem's title, *Nocturna Ingemiscentis Animas Meditatio*, is translated as *Night Thoughts of an Anxious Soul*.<sup>8</sup> It was written by Pope Leo XIII (1810-1903) at the beginning of his last illness and published only after his death at the age of 93.

The title suggests that the Pope was worrying about his

departure from this life and his concern about being judged for the mistakes he made during his lifetime.

Why should Osler have been interested in this poem? Certainly the theme of mortality is there, as is the interest in how people face death.<sup>9</sup> In this poem, even the Pope admits to being anxious about what comes next. The last point is the question as to whether Osler's decision to keep this poem reflects his own religious beliefs. It may be noteworthy that Osler kept Pope Leo's poem in his book of poetry, not in his bible.

The next three poems are ones that Osler requested be read to him during the last week of his life.<sup>10</sup>

**Poem 3: *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*  
by John Milton (1608-1674)**

My grandfather read aloud to Osler in the last week of his illness. He arrived in Oxford on Christmas Eve, 1919. One of the first poems that Osler requested was from a newly acquired first edition of John Milton's *Nativity*. Osler's tradition had been to recite this to his son on Christmas Eve. However, when Grandfather read this poem to Osler, the reading was cut short after a few stanzas. Osler became distraught, presumably because it reminded him too closely of the loss of his son. Revere had been killed two years earlier, in the First World War.<sup>11</sup> This poem is the story of the birth of Jesus. That Osler chose to read this religious poem as part of his son's Christmas tradition and also at the end of his own life reflects how Christianity continued to play a part in his life.

**Poem 4: *Farewell Life* by Thomas Hood (1799-1845)**

The next poem is *Farewell Life* by Thomas Hood, himself a physician. Osler thought that "this was a good poem for doctors and all should know it."<sup>12</sup> The poem is referred to as a comic one.<sup>13</sup> The first half describes a turn for the worse, a distinct mouldy

*Continued on page 6*

smell indicating that the patient is failing. The poem then ends describing a rose-like perfume emanating from the patient as he recovers.

The following are lines from *Farewell Life* that Osler especially liked to recite.

*Farewell life! My senses swim,  
And the world is growing dim...  
Strong the earthy odour grows, -  
I smell the mould above the rose!*

I have included this poem as one of Osler's favourites because it is one that he, perhaps in a tongue-in-cheek manner, recommended as reading for all physicians. I found at least six references to this poem in the Cushing biography. It was one of several 'farewell' poems that Osler liked to recite to his nurse and to his wife, Grace, during his last illness. Coughing kept Osler awake, so a nightly hypodermic was given to help him sleep. Osler thought, somewhat humorously, that his nurse might think that he was dead and not sleeping. He recited this poem to entertain and to tease the nursing staff as well as his wife. This poem also illustrates Osler's facetious disrespect for his own ill health.

**Poem 5: *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*  
by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834)**

The final poem my grandfather read to Osler before he died was *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834). This is a long ballad, with many religious associations, about the sailing misadventure of a bright-eyed captain who gets blown off course and ends up trapped in the sea ice of Antarctica. An albatross, a symbol for Christ, assists the crew but then becomes a burden, eating the little food they have. The mariner shoots the albatross and the sailors punish the mariner by tying the bird around his neck. All the sailors then die. Only the mariner survives, having the protection of the albatross. The mariner says a blessing, and with that, his sailors return as ghosts and sail him home. When the mariner returns home, he has a compulsion to tell his maritime tale and preach his new-found respect for God and the church. The moral of the poem is to respect your fellow man and to appreciate living things as they are all God's creatures.

Cushing's biography notes that my grandfather's suggestion that *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*<sup>14</sup> could serve as Osler's own "valedictory," or farewell address to this world. If this poem is indeed Osler's farewell message, what does that suggest?

Some analogies to this are easy to conjecture. Osler was

like the ancient mariner in that he lived a long, challenging life. He had knowledge that he wanted to impart, and the ability to engage others. Like the ancient mariner, Osler's influence has been everlasting. His leadership has inspired physicians to take a humanistic approach to the practice of medicine and medical research.

**Poem 6: *About Ben Adhem May His Tribe Increase*  
by Leigh Hunt (1784-1859)**

*About Ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!)  
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace*

This poem describes the virtue of humanism, a virtue that transcends religious belief. The story is about an Arab, Abou Ben Adhem, who wakes to see an angel in his room writing the names of "those who love the Lord" in a book of gold. He asks the angel if he is on that list, and the angel answers no. Abou Ben Adhem then asks that his name be added as one who loves his fellow man. The angel returns the next night to show him the list of names of those that God has blessed. Abou Ben Adhem's name is now at the top of the list.

This poem is marked as a favourite of Osler's in *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry* but isn't referenced in Harvey Cushing's biography of Osler. I am familiar with the poem because it was also a favourite of my mother's. I remember her reading it to me from *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry* when I was a child; I imagine that her father would have read it to her, and that he would have heard it via Osler. As I was going through Grandfather's papers, I discovered that it was read at his funeral. Grandfather was so strongly influenced by his cousin, and the poem so strongly supports Oslerian values and practices that I would like to suggest that it was one of Sir William Osler's favourite poems, and perhaps his very favourite.

I started this project with the question, what might be Osler's favourite poem be? My first reaction to the question was being baffled. How was I to know? However, as I explored *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry* and as I read through Grandfather's papers, I got inspired. I chose six poems that seemed to have held an important place in Osler's life. Looking at these poems in that context was enlightening because the poems revealed, at least to me, the personality, values and continuing charisma of Sir William Osler.

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**Acknowledgement**

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I would like to thank Eve Hampson for her help editing this paper.

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**References**

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<sup>1</sup> Henry T. Coates, Ed. *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry: Comprising the Best Poems of the Most Famous Authors English and American*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates; 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Susan Kelen. "Opening a Time Capsule: The Papers and Letters of the First Osler Librarian." *Osler Library Newsletter*. 2015; 122:7-10.

<sup>3</sup> On the last leaf of Sir William Osler's book *The Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry*, Osler has written in ink, "December 15, 1915. This is our breakfast table book of poetry came back today (in) its third dress... We used it constantly at Baltimore, (which) was my custom at breakfast, often at lunch sometimes after dinner to read from it to Billie Francis & Revere. It was badly scorched in the fire which took place in the dining room Nov. 1915. W. Osler."

<sup>4</sup> W.W. Francis. "Speech (partly recorded, partly remembered) as guest of honour." *Osler Society*. Osler Library Archives Collection, Kelen Family Fonds: 28 February 1956:193.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur S. MacNalty. "Obituary: W.W. Francis (1878-1959)." *Medical History*. April 1960; 4(2):163.

<sup>6</sup> Harvey Cushing. *The Life of William Osler*. Vol. 11. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1925:298-301.

<sup>7</sup> William Knox (Scottish poet). In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved June 22, 2016, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William\\_Knox\\_\(Scottish\\_poet\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Knox_(Scottish_poet)).

<sup>8</sup> Edwin A. Eade. "The Pope's Poem." *The Tablet: The International Catholic News Weekly*. 25 July 1903:24. Retrieved June 22, 2016, from <http://tablet.archive.netcopy.co.uk/article/25th-july-1903/24/the-popes-poem>.

<sup>9</sup> Cushing, *ibid*:299.

<sup>10</sup> Cushing, *ibid*:684.

<sup>11</sup> Cushing, *ibid*:299,673.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Hood. In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved June 22, 2016 from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas\\_Hood](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Hood).

<sup>13</sup> Cushing, *ibid*:685.

<sup>14</sup> E.P. Scarlett. "Condolence letter to Mrs. W.W. Francis." Osler Library Archive Collections, Kelen Family Fonds:193.



# Joseph C.E. Godin: The McGill Medical Graduate Who Wasn't

David S. Crawford  
Emeritus Librarian, McGill University

The May 1861 issue of the Montreal medical journal the *British American Journal* reported that on Friday, May 3, 1861, "Twenty-one young men were called forward, and having had the usual official oath administered to them by the Registrar of the Faculty of Medicine and having subscribed the same, received the degree in Medicine and Surgery of the University."<sup>1</sup> In fact, only twenty appear to have gone through this process because, according to the Faculty's list of 1861 graduates, Joseph Godin of Montreal "passed his Examination, but did not apply for his degree."<sup>2</sup> According to the *British American Journal*, Godin's thesis topic was on "Disease of the mitral valve." Godin's name does not appear in the University's lists of medical graduates.

Joseph Chance Eugene Godin was born in St. Paul Joliette, Quebec, in 1839; on his McGill record his parent/guardian is noted as "Dr. Roberts" and his hometown as Ottawa. In July 1862, despite not having a medical degree, he applied for and received a "Provincial Licence" from the Medical Board of Upper Canada and also got married, in Quebec, to Marie Louise Hetu. Three of his children were born in Ontario between 1864 and 1867 and one in Holyoke, Massachusetts, in 1869 or 1870. It is unclear where he lived but it is suspected that he moved between Ontario and Holyoke for several years as his obituary in the *Holyoke Daily Transcript* (21 October 1895)<sup>3</sup> notes that he had lived there for "about 30 years." According to

this obituary he was chair of the committee that was instrumental in the formation of the Precious Blood parish in Holyoke. This parish was founded in 1869 and it is reasonable to assume that he had already lived there for several years.<sup>4</sup>

Godin certainly maintained his Ottawa connections and he was there in 1877 because, on May 16 of that year, he was registered by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario. The printed 1878 Ontario Medical Register<sup>5</sup> lists his residence as "Ottawa" and his qualifications as "M.D. C.M. Univ McGill Coll 1861". This is incorrect on two counts; he did not have any McGill degree and, in 1861, the medical degree awarded by McGill was still the MD. (McGill began awarding M.D. C.M. degrees only in 1862.) He was also listed with the same errors in the two subsequent printed editions of the Register; 1882 and 1887.

Further evidence of him being in Ottawa at that time is that in 1878, a "JCE Godin" was listed as a founder of the newly formed Société de secours mutuels des Franco-Canadiens.<sup>6</sup> He was married in Ottawa, for the second time, on December 7, 1880 to Clothilde Rocque – his place of residence being given as Holyoke, Mass. After that, no mention of him has been found in Ontario.

He and his new wife then presumably returned to live in Holyoke full-time. He is listed in the 1885 Holyoke City Directory<sup>7</sup> (with an office and home on High Street). In 1891, he was appointed as a member of the Holyoke Board of Health; he served for one three-year term<sup>8</sup> and died, of septicemia and diabetes, on 20 October 1895.

## References

<sup>1</sup> *British American Journal*. May 1861; 2(5):232.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Announcement of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of McGill College, Montreal for the twenty-ninth session 1861-62. Montreal; Beckett: 1861.

<sup>3</sup> *Holyoke Daily Transcript*. 21 October 1895.

<sup>4</sup> Parish of the Precious Blood. In *History and Genealogy of Holyoke, Massachusetts*. Retrieved June 22, 2016 from <http://www.holyokemass.com/transcript/church/ch18.html>.

<sup>5</sup> Ontario Medical Register. Hamilton; Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario; 1870.

<sup>6</sup> Constitution et règlements [sic] de la Société de secours mutuels des franco-canadiens : fondée et incorporée en 1878. Ottawa; Société de secours mutuels des franco-canadiens : 1878.

<sup>7</sup> Holyoke City Directory 1885. Springfield, Mass.; Price & Lee Co; 1885.

<sup>8</sup> Municipal Register of the City of Holyoke for 1891. Holyoke, Mass: Transcript Publishing Company; 1892.

Additional biographical information from a variety of genealogical sources with the help of Donald Brearley, whose assistance is much appreciated.

## WILDER PENFIELD DIGITAL COLLECTION



The materials digitized for this online collection are taken from the Wilder Penfield Fonds, P142, held at McGill University's Osler Library of the History of Medicine. The Penfield fonds consists of over eighty metres of Penfield's personal and professional records dating from his childhood up until his death in 1976. The materials in the fonds include photographs, correspondence, manuscripts and drafts of publications and speeches, research notes, glass slides, bound reports, films, and academic gowns. Following Penfield's death, this material was left to the care of his colleagues at the Montreal Neurological Institute, Dr. Feindel and Dr. Theodore Rasmussen. As was outlined in Dr. Penfield's will, the collections were to be used by Dr. Feindel for a biography of Penfield. Stored at various locations on and off the McGill campus for several years, the records were eventually deposited with the Osler Library of the History of Medicine in the early 1990s. In 2011 Dr. Feindel and the family of Dr. Rasmussen officially donated the material to the Osler Library.

This digital collection was made possible through a generous grant from the R. Howard Webster Foundation, obtained by Dr. William Feindel, who sadly passed away in January 2014. It is hoped that this selection of digitized materials from the Penfield Fonds will be useful to researchers and will increase awareness of this rich archival resource.

# Early Printing on the French Disease at the Osler Library: A Dr. Edward H. Bensley Osler Library Research Travel Grant Research Report

Elma Brenner

The early decades of printing witnessed the creation of printed editions of works that had circulated for centuries, such as Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*. At the same time, however, texts were disseminated that responded to the contemporary world of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, such as plague tracts and calendars. Printed works addressing the French Disease (*Morbus Gallicus*) fall into the latter category, since this disease was believed by many to be a new phenomenon in later fifteenth-century Europe. Also described by contemporaries as the pox, the French Disease can be roughly equated with modern-day syphilis, although the disease experienced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was not necessarily identical to syphilis as it is clinically defined today. The disease that became prevalent at the end of the fifteenth century had dramatic symptoms, including great pain, fever, swellings and, ultimately, destruction of the nose and face. From the 1490s onwards, physicians and other learned authors used the medium of print to debate the causes, characteristics and treatment of the French Disease, reflecting the manner in which people were responding urgently 'on the ground' in order to understand and combat this debilitating illness.

In January 2016, I spent two weeks studying early printed material on the French Disease at the Osler Library, which has a fine collection of such works, many of which are very rare. This research fed into a longer-term project that will investigate public health provision and notions of infection and contagion in Europe, especially France, at the end of the Middle Ages. I was particularly keen to document early signs of usage (manuscript annotations, corrections and other marks) in the Osler's copies – or the absence of such signs. The printed works I examined were produced in Germany and Italy, reflecting the fact that these two areas were centres of humanist scholarship and printing in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

I began by studying a short pamphlet by the physician Simon Pistoris, who taught at the University of Leipzig, one of the centres of debate about the French Disease. The tract was published in Leipzig in 1500. Pistoris was engaging in debate with another University physician, Martin Pollich, and his short work probes the issue of corrupt air, understood from the fourteenth century onwards to play a crucial role in causing disease. Pistoris argued that, while changes in the tangible qualities of the air (its moistness and warmth) were contributing factors, the primary cause of the French Disease was a hidden, imperceptible property in the air.

Another short work published in Leipzig a few years earlier, in 1496, having first been printed that year at Augsburg, was authored by Joseph Grünpeck, who was a humanist but not a physician. This text attributes the disease to astrological causes, although it also discusses the role played by infected air.

In addition, it considers preventive measures and treatment. While Osler's copy of Grünpeck's tract contains no marks indicating the interaction of an early reader with the text, the copy of Pistoris' work bears only one such mark, the underlining of a short section on the third leaf (image 1). Although the absence of such marks means that these copies do not shed light on the particular interests of early readers, it does not signify that they were not read and discussed. In contrast to these very clean copies, Osler's copy of another important early work on the French disease, the physician and humanist Niccolò Leonicensi's *Libellus de Epidemia, quam vulgo Morbum Gallicum vocant* (Venice: Aldus Manutius; 1497), bears numerous marginal annotations in one or two early sixteenth-century hands. Written in Latin, these indicate a close and learned reading of Leonicensi's text. The hand(s) also occasionally intervene to correct errors in the printed Latin (image 2).

Another item at the Osler relating to the French Disease sheds further light on the links between print and manuscript culture in this period. The Library holds a manuscript copy, probably produced in the mid or later sixteenth century, of an English printed translation of the humanist Ulrich von Hutten's *De guaiaci medicina et morbo Gallico*, a work first published in Mainz in 1519. The manuscript is a copy of the 1539 edition of Thomas Paynell's translation, which was first published in London in 1536. Von Hutten's text, which described important new methods of treatment using guaiacum wood from the Spanish and Portuguese Indies, was very popular, and was one of the few works on the French Disease to be translated into English. The

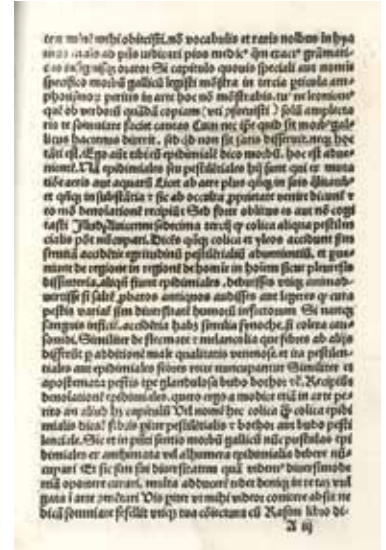


Image 1. *Bibliotheca Osleriana* no. 7473: Simon Pistoris, *Declaratio defensiuca cuiusdam positionis de malo franco nuper per doctorem Symonem pistoris disputate* (Leipzig: [Conrad Kachelofen], after 3 Jan



Image 2. *Bibliotheca Osleriana* no. 7452: Niccolò Leonicensi, *Libellus de Epidemia, quam vulgo morbum Gallicum uocant* (Venetiis, In domo Aldi Manutii, Mense Iunio. M.iii.D.), leaf a5 recto (fo. 5r).



manuscript is finely produced, written on parchment in red and black ink in a clear hand with decorated initials. It may have been made for a reader who preferred to have access to this work in manuscript form, or who alternatively was not able to procure another copy of the printed version. A note pasted onto the rear pastedown, dated 6 October 1931, proposes the possibility that this is an autograph manuscript by the translator Thomas Paynell, although there is no evidence for this in the manuscript itself.

Two names are inscribed at various points within the manuscript in mid- or later sixteenth-century hands, John 'sharde' and Peter 'sherd' or 'shearde'. One inscription by Peter adds 'His Booke', indicating that these are marks of ownership, by a father and son or perhaps two brothers. This volume was evidently retained within a family, possibly across two or more generations. It testifies to the continuing interest in the French Disease as the sixteenth century progressed; the Osler collections, which also includes Latin printed editions of von Hutten's work, facilitates the study of how thinking about the nature, causes and treatment of this disease changed over the decades following its appearance in Europe in the 1490s (image 3).

Many of the volumes I studied at the Osler Library were acquired by Sir William Osler in the early twentieth century. William Osler's collecting interests, especially his interest in incunabula, created a collection that is of great significance

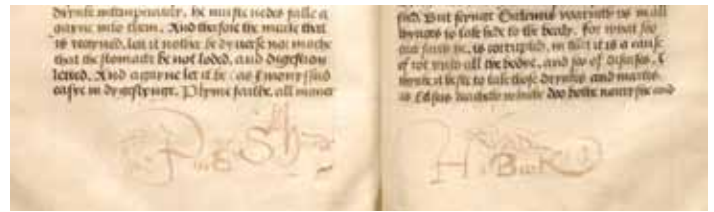


Image 3. *Bibliotheca Osleriana* no. 7577: mid- to late sixteenth century manuscript copy of Ulrich von Hutten (trans. Thomas Paynell), *Of the vwood called guaiacum: t[h]at healeth the Frenche pockes, and also helpeth the goute in the feete, the stooone, palsey, lepre, dropsy, fallynge euyll, and other dyseses* (Londini: In ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti, 1539), fo. 60v–61r.

today to researchers of medicine and health in the late medieval and early modern periods. I am most grateful to have had the opportunity to undertake research at the Osler, and for the assistance I received during my stay.

*Dr. Elma Brenner is the Wellcome Library's subject specialist in medieval and early modern medicine. Her research examines the medical and religious culture of medieval France and England, especially the region of Normandy. She is also interested in the materiality of early books and manuscripts, and the digital humanities.*

## Announcing the New Michele Larose – Osler Library Artist-in-Residence Programme

Thanks to the generosity of Dr. Michele Larose, artist and paediatric neuropsychiatrist who trained in psychiatry and child psychiatry at McGill and in visual arts at Curtin University in Australia, the Osler Library of the History of Medicine has established an artist-in-residence programme.

The award supports visual artists visiting the university to create works that address contemporary and/or historical subjects in medicine and the health sciences that are inspired by the rich and diverse collections held by the Osler Library and/or other sources at McGill. Possible projects can include, but are not limited to: painting; photography; performance; sculpture; and digital, video or installation art.

The library feels that sponsoring the creation of new works of art will not only create an opportunity for medical students, practitioners and researchers to literally see and feel medicine in new ways, but also stimulate others to think about issues like medicine, health and the body

in a manner that can be both innovative and challenging.

The Michele Larose – Osler Library Artist-in-Residence award, valued at \$6,000, will be given annually to one or more deserving candidates with a degree in Studio Arts or a related field and/or a history of exhibiting artistic work in professional venues.

The recipient, who will be known as the Larose-Osler Artist-in-Residence, will receive assistance from the staff of the Osler Library and will have full access to the library's world-class historical and contemporary collections as well as other sources. In addition to creating art, the Larose-Osler Artist-in-Residence is also encouraged to meet with students and faculty members and to take part in the life and culture of the University. The artist will also present the work to the public report on his/her activities in the *Osler Library Newsletter*.

The name of the first Artist-in-Residence will be announced online and in the next *Osler Library Newsletter*.



Colour mezzotint illustration from *Exposition anatomique de la structure du corps humain*, by Gautier Dagoty, 1759 ]

# A Study of B.O. 7625: A Medical Manuscript in Northern English

Taylor Elizabeth Dysart

Scholars have lamented the general neglect of Scottish anthologies dating from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. At the Osler Library of the History of Medicine at McGill University, we are fortunate to have such a manuscript. Arising out of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scottish medicine is *A Medical Treatise in Northern English*, *Bibliotheca Osleriana* (hereafter B.O.) number 7625.

The Scottish manuscript, thought to be in its original binding – likely a stationer’s copybook – is a large and stately volume. A ‘professional’ secretarial hand composed much of the work, with the exception of some marginalia, suggesting it had multiple owners who engaged with the text. Such penmanship suggests that the original commission came from a wealthy individual. Upon opening the manuscript, the reader encounters inscriptions of the previous owners on the flyleaf (image 1). Succeeding the flyleaf is a detailed table of contents, divided into three *tabulae*. The text consists of three parts: a compendium on humoral physiology, a book on diet and regimen of health, and a compendium of diseases and their remedies, largely in head-to-toe organization and ending with whole body diseases (image 2).

Ranging from powerful members of the Kirk of Scotland to an innovative physician, B.O. 7625 passed through the hands of several prominent Scots. Based on an examination of the manuscript’s owners, it is likely that the manuscript was composed for learned men, though not physicians exclusively, and remained in Scotland prior to Sir William Osler’s acquisition. Alexander Hendersone, a leader of the Kirk of Scotland during a turbulent period of Scottish ecclesiastical history, is believed to be one of the first owners of the manuscript, if not the first. A native of Fife, Hendersone was born in 1583 at or near to the village of Luthrie, in the parish of Creich. On December 19, 1599, he matriculated at St. Salvator’s College, in the University of St. Andrew’s, and four years later proceeded to his Masters of Arts. Hendersone’s most notable act while at the Kirk was the compilation of the first draft of the National Covenant on February 27th, 1638. According to both his contemporaries and surviving documents, Hendersone promoted education and thoroughly enjoyed Scottish literary works, leaving much of his remaining wealth to academic institutions of which he was an alumnus. While there are no records of the works Hendersone possessed, his interest in education and investment in the University of St. Andrew’s suggests that Hendersone could have acquired B.O. 7625 during his time as a member of the Kirk. Alternatively, Hendersone could have had this work commissioned, or even composed it himself.

Like Hendersone, another known owner of the manuscript figured prominently in the landscape of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs. David Laing (1793-1878) became the librarian to the Society of Writers to the Signet in 1837, retaining this

position until his death in 1878. Throughout his career, Laing constantly attended the sale of manuscripts, books, and documents. He acquired a variety of documents relating primarily to Scottish affairs dating from 1287 to 1871. In a volume detailing his collections, Laing highlighted his holdings of medical books and letters.

Born in May 1811, James Young Simpson has been heralded as a medical pioneer and the pinnacle of Scottish Enlightened medicine. The physician’s most well-known medical feat was his discovery of the anesthetic properties of chloroform in 1847 at Edinburgh. Throughout his career, Simpson spent a great deal of time traveling throughout Europe. Simpson spent most of his life working in Edinburgh, cultivating a lucrative private practice and teaching at the University of Edinburgh. Thus, it is likely that Simpson acquired the manuscript while teaching at the university, which is believed to have held David Laing’s papers. It also possible that the two men were acquaintances and Simpson acquired the manuscript from Laing. Towards the latter half of his career, Simpson delivered a series of papers to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, leading to his election as Vice-President of the Society. Interestingly, the overlapping life histories of Laing and Simpson elicit the possibility that the physician owned the manuscript before Laing and an exchange between the two antiquarians occurred (image 3). Dual ownership of the manuscript by Laing and Simpson, and their respective involvements within Scottish antiquarian societies, suggest that B.O. 7625 was compiled and remained in Scotland. With the earliest identifiable owner, Alexander Hendersone, working within the Kirk of Scotland, and the use of Scots dialect, one can be fairly certain that the manuscript was compiled in Scotland.

Though not described as an owner, Dr. Maccullo features as an important character in the manuscript. At the end are two inscriptions that differ substantially from the ailments



Image 1. Inscriptions, B.O. 7625.



Image 2. Table of contents, B.O. 7625.



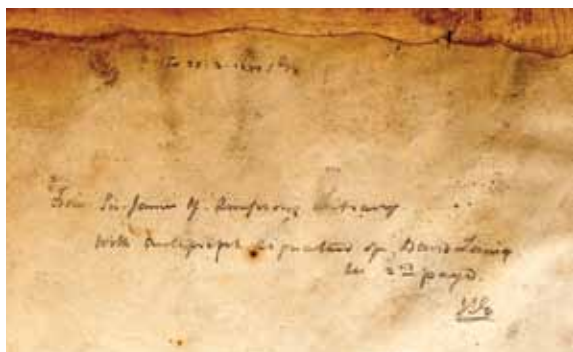


Image 3. Provenance indications, B.O. 7625.

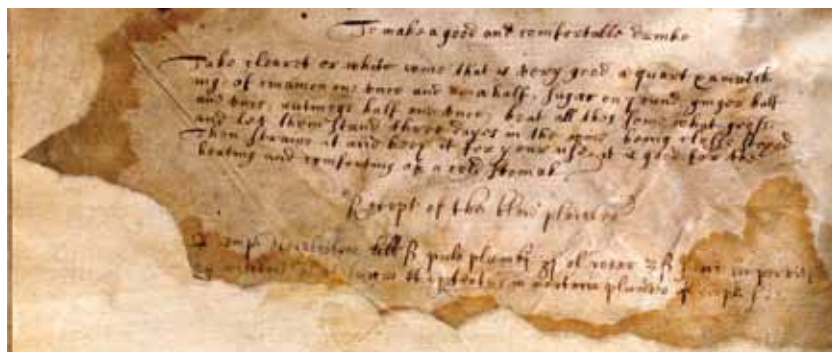


Image 4. Page 190, B.O. 7625.

and regiments prescribed throughout the manuscript, much of which are characterized by traditional Galenic humoral theory. Appearing in the same hand as the rest of the text are two prescriptions on page 190, from the work of Dr. Maccullo. The first recipe notes that Maccullo used “water against the [bladder] stone,” indicating it to be an alchemical recipe or chemical process, involving *inter alia* saltpeter and vitriol. The second recipe, in Latin, appears to come from Maccullo’s work *XCIX Canons, or Rules Learnedly Describing an Excellent Method for Practitioners in Physic*. Like the first notation, the recipe appears to be alchemical or chemical in nature. Following the notes from *XCIX Canons* are two recipes, from a slightly later hand and both in English: 1) “To make a good and comfortable drinke,” and 2) “Recept of the blew plaiser” (image 4). Two of Maccullo’s known works also indicate a heterodoxical and Paracelsian influence: the *Theoria Chymica Luis Venereae, quae Hermeticae Medicinae Elementa pandit* and the *Iatria Chemica, exemplo Therapiae Luis venereae illustrate*.

John Maccullo, born in 1576, trained at the University of Franeker in West Friesland. As with many continentally-trained physicians, Maccullo appeared to have prescribed to Paracelsianism, a medical practice derived from beliefs of vitalistic cosmology and chemical reactions within the body. The author’s time at the court of Emperor Rudolf II undoubtedly encouraged his Paracelsian, and alchemical, medical inclinations. Rudolf II was notorious for his patronage towards alchemists; Paracelsian physicians served a dual purpose in satisfying their positions as academics through the role of physician, but also playing into the esoteric character through their occult activities.

Following a period of time in Prague, Maccullo is believed to have been a professor of *medicina chimica* between 1614 and 1618 in Pisa. In Florence, Maccullo published one of his first works, the *Theoria Chymica Luis Venereae, quae Hermeticae Medicinae Elementa pandit* (1616). Interestingly, Maccullo’s brother, James Maccullo acted as the director of the *Orto Botanico* in Pisa from 1609 to 1616 and as a professor of *medicina theoria* from 1613

to 1619. Maccullo is also known to have taught chemistry and medical science at the University of Fife. While the dates are unclear, it is likely that Maccullo took up his post at Fife upon his return to Britain to act as physician to King James I, or prior to his royal post. Maccullo’s position at Fife returns us to our earlier analysis of the provenance of B.O. 7625. If Maccullo began his teaching upon his return to Britain, as we suspect, it is possible he encountered Alexander Hendersone at St. Andrew’s, given the latter’s connection with the institution and the possibility that Hendersone endeavoured in alchemical practice informally. Even if Maccullo did not meet Hendersone himself, perhaps the physician came across an individual at St. Andrew’s who could have transcribed his recipes to be added to the manuscript. The possibility also exists that someone at the court of King James I was responsible for the manuscript’s composition, given the court’s inclusion of alchemists.

While little is known about Maccullo’s time at the English court, a history of the Kirk of Scotland documented one of his treatments of the king. The authors note how James I fell ill sometime in 1619, and was treated by Maccullo (or Mackullo in this case), “a profane atheist, but skilled in medicine.” Though an elusive historical figure, Maccullo makes another notable appearance, this time in the *Calendar of State Papers*. Under the section ascribed to James I in Westminster, on July 20, 1620, Maccullo was described as “Physician to the King,” and granted a pension of 100l. annually.

While the initial catalogue inscription suggests the manuscript has origins in the late sixteenth century, closer examination of its contents and ownership suggests otherwise. The timeline of Maccullo’s travels suggest that the manuscript more likely originated in the early seventeenth century. Furthermore, Maccullo’s interest and investment in Paracelsian medicine highlight the manuscript’s heterodoxical nature. The involvement of Hendersone, Laing, Simpson, and Maccullo, in B.O. 7625 speaks broadly to the diverse nature of early-modern Scottish medical practice and theory.



# RESEARCH REPORT: Mary Louise Nickerson Fellowship Recipient

Patricia Rosselet

Images play a most central place in today's daily practice of neurology, and during a visit to the neurologist's, one would legitimately expect to undertake a CT-scan or a MRI as part as the check-up exams. In the early twentieth century, images already played a central role in neurology and although modern imagery methods did not exist, images of patients were part of the daily practice of medicine.<sup>1</sup> Textbooks from the 1850s are filled with drawings or photographs of patients and schematic representations of the nervous system from autopsy material. Although not as effective as MRIs or CT-scans to "see inside" the living body, these medical illustrations were deemed central to the development of the profession and were widely circulated throughout the Western World and commented upon. They focused on the whole body rather than on the central nervous system and would reveal the patient's limb atrophy or hand contraction which was analysed in order to figure out location of the lesion. These images of patients are less frequently used today and have been replaced by digital imagery that can locate directly the site of the lesion rather than its symptoms.

In order to understand the changing of the types of images used in neurology, my research has brought me to the archival collections of the Osler library, where several of the Montreal Neurological Institute's (M.N.I.) neurologists' and neurosurgeons' archives are kept. This research was made possible thanks to the help of a Mary Louise Nickerson Fellowship granted to me by the library.

My primary goal was to look at the archives of publication drafts from neurologists working in Montreal in the mid-twentieth century and to describe how they would use images in publications. My goal was to determine if an evolution occurred in the use of images during that period, and to describe what types of images were used in neurological studies.

Based on my search criteria, I first went through the McNaughton archives. The neurologist Francis L. McNaughton (1906-1986) worked at the M.N.I. from its opening in 1934 and became its neurological director in 1951. He was later promoted to become the first full professor of neurology at McGill University.<sup>2</sup>

As preliminary work, I was able to go through several publication drafts in his archives. One particular article, "Dural Headache and Innervation of the Dura Mater," co-authored with Wilder Penfield in 1940, was a good case study as it not only required going through McNaughton's archives but also through those of Penfield.<sup>3</sup> By undertaking such crossover work, I was

able to grasp the extent of the work made by each party, find out from whom the images came and how the authors interacted with one another (and with the publishers) prior to the publication of the manuscript. Several annotated versions of the article are in Penfield's archives as well as communications with the publishing house, while in McNaughton's there are several manuscript research notes on the anatomy of dural nerves, including notes from dissection of the Macacus Rhesus's brain and sketches that will later be made into artistic drawings (image 1). The original images are kept in Penfield's archives and contain annotations from himself and the publisher, regarding formatting details to bring out and other comments. McNaughton's archives contain the duplicates from the images and their captions. With the analysis of these elements, one gets a better idea of the actual work undertaken by each author.

The "Dural Headache and Innervation of the Dura Mater" article was a good entry point into Penfield's archives and his own use of images. Indeed, Wilder Penfield (1891-1976) is well-known for the mapping of the Homunculus, and drawings and artistic representations of it are found throughout his archives. He is also well-known for developing the "Montreal procedure," which allowed the patients to stay awake during brain surgery so that they could describe what they felt.<sup>4</sup> He had an operating room devised in such a way that it was possible to photograph the brain during surgery. It is therefore safe to assume that if anyone would be attentive to the types of images used in publication, it would be Penfield.

Still using McNaughton's scientific works as my access key, I proceeded to search for the archives of a textbook by Penfield to which McNaughton had contributed. The textbook by Penfield and Jasper, *Epilepsy and the Functional Anatomy of the Human Brain*, second edition, was the obvious choice; McNaughton was in charge of chapter XIV, on treatment of epilepsy.<sup>5</sup> Although McNaughton's chapter is devoid of illustration, all other chapters are richly illustrated; there are schemata of the brain, photographs

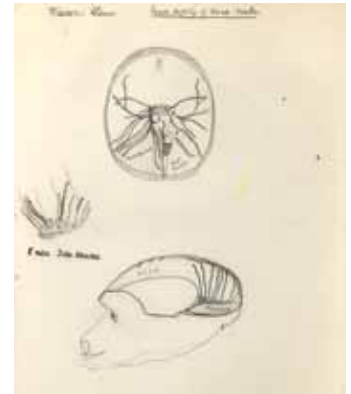


Image 1: sketch of the nerve supply of the dura mater, macacus rhesus, Francis L. McNaughton fonds, P165, Box 3, Files 28

of patients and of brains, drawings of EEG and ECG tracings, as well as x-rays, pneumoencephalographs, etc.<sup>6</sup> By only looking at the images, it is possible to state that many types of images are still being used in the mid-1900s and quite abundantly. An interesting aspect is the way images are used in the text. Some images of the same patient are spread throughout the textbook and become red threads to follow from chapter to chapter, encouraging the reader to follow the case rather than read the book from cover to cover. Patients are sometimes represented by various forms of



Image 2: Penfield's instructions to the illustrator, Penfield archives. P142, Box 101, File W/B 6-51), Fig XI 1-7, Fig XI-5..



Image 3: Penfield's instructions to photographer Charles Hodge, Penfield archives. P142, Box 100, File W/B 6-4/3.10V. Ch XIII.



Images 4 and 5: Brain outline and overlay of the results of stimulation. Penfield archives. P142, Box 101, File W/B 6-5/6V (2) X 1, 2, 3, 4, 6.



images and it is interesting to note that each type of image has its place in rendering the text more intelligible. When looking at the illustrations, the reader is invited to go back to other chapters, other illustrations, to compare different cases together.

The archives contain most if not all the images used to illustrate the textbook, in various states; some are hand-drawn copies, others are schematic representations on cardboard while most images are duplicates of the finished product as it appears in the textbook. The images on cardboard and the original photographs are the most interesting as they contain annotations and remarks to the publisher, photographer or engraver, and relate to the modifications needed before printing. For instance, some remarks concern legibility of the images, such as, "Please redo using same lettering but getting rid of black lines that confuse the letters,"<sup>8</sup> (image 2) or "Hodge – Please do a new print to bring up the details that lie in deep shadow"<sup>9</sup> (image 3).

The schematic representations of the brain are in multiple forms, going from the blank map of the brain to the published image. They are annotated by numbers and different crosshatching to pinpoint the localization of sensations described by the patients during surgery (images 4 and 5). One can therefore look at the work in progress in these images and how they were working tools for Penfield and his team.<sup>10</sup> Such vast archives on published material are a great opportunity to look at the science in the making and the long process of producing images which will best illustrate the description in the text.

The next step of my research will be to compare the second edition with the first edition, which Penfield co-authored with Theodore C. Erickson, and which was published in 1941 by Charles Thomas. Since there was a wide remodeling of the book in between both editions, it would be interesting to look at how images were modified, replaced by newer ones and moved around.

As the archives contain everything a researcher might need to analyse the making of a textbook, from the first drafts of the book to the post-publication reviews, the Osler Library provides wonderful research grounds for any scholar interested in neurological history.

I am grateful to the Mary Louise Nickerson Fellowship Awards Committee for granting me the opportunity to carry out research at the Osler library. My thanks go to Christopher Lyons, the Head of the Osler Library, Lily Szczygiel, and Bozena Latincic for providing me with the material and for their constant availability to my many questions. I would also like to thank Dr. Del Maestro for showing me around the M.N.I. where I was able to visit the photographic room in the O.R. and former photographic studio where they would photograph patients.

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- 6 The archives from his textbook are kept mostly in P146, Boxes 96-101, with other drafts in Boxes 405-407.
- 7 See for instance cases G.A., R.A., H.C., D.F., R.P. that are as spread out in the textbook as they are in the archives.
- 8 Penfield archives. P142, Box 101, File W/B 6-5/7V (1), Fig XI 1-7, Fig XI-5.
- 9 Penfield archives. P142, Box 100, File W/B 6-4/3.10V. Ch XIII. Charles Hodge was the official photographer at the M.N.I. at the time of Penfield's.
- 10 Penfield archives. P142, Box 101, File W/B 6-5/6V (2) X 1, 2, 3, 4, 6.

## OSLER IN HIS FAVOURITE BOOK OF POETRY (continued from page 3)

The urn, humanity's friend, tells Keats that all human beings need to know in living amidst sorrow is, "Beauty is truth, truth beauty." Osler quotes one of the poet's letters: "What the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth."<sup>11</sup> Osler, it seems, fully appreciated the force of this sentiment.

In 1895, the year that Sir William moved to Baltimore, his father, the Reverend Featherstone Lake Osler, died at the age of 90. Son Revere was born in that same year, a momentous one for the family. Little in Sir William's papers records his emotions on his father's death. There is a bit more about his delight at the baby, but he had a keen awareness of his debt to preceding generations, and to those who had aided his education, his growth and his development. Also, in his clinical practice he had often experienced the death of patients. In Montreal and Philadelphia, he had spent many hours dissecting cadavers. Especially in his later years, in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Oxford, Osler gave more and more addresses and published many appreciations of recently departed colleagues and teachers.<sup>12</sup> It should be no surprise then that poems bemoaning the loss of friends and meditations on death and dying should be among his special favourites.

Early in his lengthy *Lycidas*, John Milton mourns the drowning of a talented friend:

... *Lycidas is dead, dead ere his  
prime,  
Young Lycidas, ... hath not left his  
peer.*

Toward the poem's ending he writes:

*Sunk though he be beneath the watery  
floor.*

...

*There entertain him all the Saints  
above,*

*In solemn troops, and sweet societies,  
That sing, and singing in their glory  
move...*

Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Adonais: An Elegy on the Death of John Keats* opens:

*I weep for Adonais—he is dead!  
Oh, weep for Adonais! though our  
tears  
Thaw not the frost which binds so  
dear a head!  
And thou, sad Hour, selected from all  
years*

*To mourn our loss, rouse thy obscure  
compeers,  
And teach them thine own sorrow,  
say: "With me  
Died Adonais; till the Future dares  
Forget the Past, his fate and fame  
shall be  
An echo and a light unto eternity!"*

These poems express Osler's hope that those who have contributed great excellence to human achievement be remembered. One cannot doubt that Osler deeply felt this hope. It was expressed too among his many obituaries and appreciative essays.<sup>13</sup> Further, it is clearly seen in his annotated *Bibliotheca Osleriana*;<sup>14</sup> and especially its 'sub' *Bibliothecae Prima*, which were works of the first rank noteworthy in the evolution (one might say the growth and development) of science and medicine, and *Secunda*, the works of men who have made notable contributions, or whose works have some special interest. But beyond such a 'spiritual afterlife' in this life, Osler seems to me at least vaguely hoping for their personal immortality beyond the grave. There are a number of poems in the collection, including Milton's and Shelley's quoted above, expressing the desire for this. Certainly Milton believed and hoped in it, and Shelley seemed to hope that Keat's "fate and fame" would be "till the Future dares Forget the Past ... An echo and a light unto eternity." Perhaps for Shelley the "eternity" was purely suggestive and poetically symbolic. We know, however, that Osler, when asked about his own belief in this regard, stated somewhat tentatively that he'd rather be wrong with Plato (who did express belief in the immortality of the soul) than right with Aristotle (who did not).<sup>15</sup>

Several of the marked poems are about the meaning of life and lasting fame, but Osler ended his famous essay on the unknown Alabama student in this rather pessimistic way:

*...to have been true to certain ideals—  
this alone is worth the struggle. Now  
and again in a generation, one or two  
snatch something from dull oblivion;  
but for the rest of us...  
No one asks  
Who or what we have been,  
More than he asks what waves,  
In the moonlit solitudes mild  
Of the midmost ocean, have swelled,  
Foam'd for a moment, and gone.*<sup>16</sup>

(Unattributed by Osler but is from Matthew Arnold's poem *Rugby Chapel*)

Despite several public celebrations and life reviews of W.W. Francis among McGillians, it is almost as though he "foamed" only for a moment and then left us. Yet, in his family's donation of *Fireside* and in his markings in it, the foam does linger in a typical Franciscan fashion. A successor Osler Librarian and medical historian, Dr. Lloyd Stevenson, once said that Dr. Francis "lived his life contentedly in the shadow of a great man." Or even "joyously in his warm light."<sup>17</sup> Part of the joy and warm light was in the poetry that he read and enjoyed with his family. I have now shared some of it with you. Susan Kellen will share some. May you too find joy in it. The *Fireside* volume with Billie's markings resides in the Osler Library.

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### References

The underlying biographical elements on which the above has been built are well-established in the authoritative works on Sir William Osler, viz: Harvey Cushing, *The Life of Sir William Osler* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1925); Michael Bliss, *William Osler: A Life in Medicine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 1999). The facts need little detailed referencing here. Sources of key elements of my interpretations are signaled in the text and can be found in the notes below.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Walt Whitman. In *Poetry Foundation*. Retrieved June 22, 2016, from <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/walt-whitman>.

<sup>2</sup> Philip W. Leon. *Walt Whitman & Sir William Osler: A Poet and His Physician*. Toronto: ECW Press; 1995:22. Leon notes that Osler went on to read and appreciate Whitman. Indeed, Leon includes a 1919 holograph manuscript with working notes, Osler's "Reminiscence of Whitman." W.O. never got to deliver it. Leon also comments on Osler's familiarity with several other poets and their work. This paper is based solely on the quantified *Fireside* favourites.

<sup>3</sup> Susan Kelen. "Opening a Time Capsule: The Papers and Books of the First Osler Librarian." *Osler Library Newsletter*. 2015; 122:5. Available from [http://www.mcgill.ca/library/files/library/web\\_g150920\\_oln\\_spring\\_2015\\_0.pdf](http://www.mcgill.ca/library/files/library/web_g150920_oln_spring_2015_0.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Henry T. Coates, Ed. *The Fireside Encyclopedia of Poetry: Comprising the Best Poems of the Most Famous Authors English and American*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates; 1878.

<sup>5</sup> Francis also notes on p.741, Osler's handwritten comments - parody of Keats' "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer" and refers us to it in Cushing Vol. I, p.424. Francis also directs us to Osler's handwritten rephrasing of Milton's poem "On His Blindness" in *Fireside*, p. 234-236, bottom 235.

<sup>6</sup> Whitman's poetry was not included in it, though its sub-title reads: "Best Poems of the Most Famous Writers, English and American."

<sup>7</sup> Romantic Poetry. In *Crossref-it.info*. Retrieved June 22, 2016 from <http://crossref-it.info/articles/361/romantic-poetry>. This is an excellent summary of the characteristics of romantic poetry as well as a listing of its most outstanding authors. Most important for our analysis, the characteristics include: emotional and imaginative spontaneity and the importance of self-expression and individual feeling; an almost religious response to nature; a capacity for wonder and consequently a reverence for the freshness and innocence of the vision of childhood; and an interest in and concern for



the outcasts of society. Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth and Coleridge are very often cited as influential romantics while Hood, Tennyson and Holmes have romantic elements. Milton is often cited as an influential precursor of the late 18th and 19th Century men noted above.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Lella. *Osler in Osler's Biographical Essays*. Baltimore: American Osler Society; 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Sir William Osler. "Introduction: The Collecting of a Library," *Bibliotheca Osleriana* (reprinted with new prologue, addenda and corrigenda from the original published by Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1929, London). Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press; 1969:xxiii.

<sup>10</sup> Sir William Osler. "John Keats the Apothecary Poet." *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*. Jan. 1896; 58. Reprinted in *The Collected Essays of Sir William Osler: Vol. III, The Historical and Biographical Essays*. Birmingham, AL: Classics of Medicine Library; 1985:95.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid. and William Osler. *Men and Books by Sir William Osler: Collected and Reprinted from the Canadian Medical Association Journal with an Introduction by Earl F Nation, M.D.* Durham, NC: Sacrum Press; 1987.

13 Ibid. and collected essays.

14 *Bibliotheca Osleriana*.

15 Richard Swinburne. "Soul, nature and immortality of the." In Edward Craigh, Ed. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. London: Routledge; 1998.

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17 E.H. Bensley. Quoted in address delivered at the Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Banquet of the Osler Society of McGill University, April 1, 1971. Published as "W.W. Francis: Patron of the Osler Society," *Osler Library Newsletter*. October 1971; 8.

## DR. RICHARD GOLDEN, 1929-2016 *(continued from page 1)*

medicine which captivated him – he loved medicine and being a doctor. He followed in his father's footsteps and became a pharmacist, but he didn't feel satisfied, or happy. He decided to pursue his dream of becoming a physician and demonstrated significant courage by moving to Switzerland to attend medical school at the age of twenty-three. Only later in life did I learn medical school was taught in French, and that he had to significantly develop his basic French language skills in order to understand the material. He fondly spoke of that period, including his European adventures with Ed Scheer and his travels on his Vespa. Ed drove and Dad sat on the back, because Ed was about three hundred pounds and the Vespa didn't balance the other way around. Dad was dedicated to his craft as a doctor – always learning, studying, practicing and publishing. He taught at Stony Brook Medical School and practiced under the philosophy pioneered by Sir William Osler, with a humanistic manner – knowing that it wasn't just science, but empathy and caring that was all part of a holistic approach to wellness. He once saved the life of one of his best and beloved friends, Dr. Neil Barton, by making an unusual and rare diagnosis. I recall another of his closest friends, Dr. Monte Levin, a wonderful man, quietly whispering to me out of Dad's earshot, "Your dad's a great doctor – we all think so... but he's too humble to ever acknowledge it." He found his passion early, pursued it relentlessly and through many hardships, and was a life long learner who always wanted to know more. To his last day, he was still receiving and reading the *New England Journal of Medicine*!

Dad was an enthusiastic world traveler – he traveled the world. He started

exploring Europe while he was in medical school. He often made trips to France to buy guns and to post-war Germany to buy cameras, microscopes and other treasures. He would exchange cash on the black market to get a better exchange rate. He and Mom traveled throughout the world, including Geneva, Paris, Africa, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, Virgin Islands, Haiti, Jamaica, Venezuela, Canada, England, Scotland, Holland, Spain, Portugal, China, Japan, Hong Kong, Switzerland and Mexico. He also traveled throughout the US both with his beloved wife and his other love, the Osler Society. And that brings up another important part of his life...

Sir William Osler. For the uninitiated, he was one of the four founding professors of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and has frequently been described as the "Father of Modern Medicine." See if these interests of Osler's sound like my father's - Osler was a physician, a bibliophile, a historian and an author. My father pursued his passion about Osler through most of his adult life. He wrote an article about Osler in 1979 that appeared on the cover of the *Journal of American Medical Association*. The Osler Society noticed and thought, "Who is this guy?" The article prompted a call to my dad, asking if he might be interested in attending the next meeting. To my Dad, that was like asking a guitarist if he was interested in playing with the Rolling Stones. It wasn't long before he was elected President of the American Osler Society in the 1980s, an immensely proud moment for him and all of us. He led an effort to connect his fellow Oslerians throughout the world, capped with his keynote speech at the Osler meeting in Japan during his tenure as President. He continued to serve on the Osler board for the rest of his life. I

would joke with him that he was likely the most knowledgeable person in the world about William Osler. He would humbly smile and say it wasn't true, but I'm pretty sure it was.

He had so many varied interests, including collecting – from coins to stamps to guns to books to autographs to medical history, he always had something he was on the prowl for to add to his collections.

He was a prolific writer – having published eight books and more than one hundred articles on his many passions, meticulously writing and rewriting the articles until they met his level of perfection. When one of his children published something, he would devour the work and take pride in it as if it was his own.

He was a voracious reader – always taking time to nurture his mind and his soul. My friend Tim said that "he conquered the written word book by book, shelf by shelf, bookcase by bookcase." He loved books for their information, their beauty and their history.

Over the past ten years I asked Dad in lieu of a birthday gift if he would write me a chapter of his life story. I was lucky to receive six of these over the years. What a gift, filled with his detailed memories, his hopes, dreams, fears and accomplishments. There are so many stories and details in them, and they are written as if he spoke them personally to me, as a thoughtful, proud, articulate, intellectual man who was also a hopeless romantic. The mark of a man is the legacy he leaves behind. So for Dr. Richard Golden, my father, he has left quite a mark. I will do my best to live every day to his values, with the same dedication to family and with the goal of having a fiercely independent and purposeful life that he did. Dad, you will be sorely missed.

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