



OSLER LIBRARY NEWSLETTER

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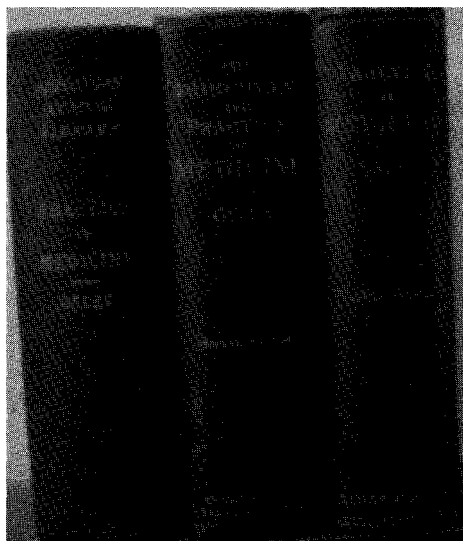
No. 75-February 1994

PUBLISHERS, PIRATES AND PENUMBRA- The Fourth Edition of Osler's Textbook



William Osler's bibliography, particularly as regards his textbook, is a minefield through which one must tread with delicacy and caution. There are over one hundred editions, states, printings, and translations of Osler's chef-d'oeuvre, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*.^(1,2) Cushing wrote that "Someone, some day could well write a volume devoted to a study of the successive editions of this famous work which continues to exert an enormous influence on students of medicine - even beyond English-reading countries through its many translations"⁽³⁾ Among the sixteen English language editions, extending from 1892 to 1947, the convoluted history and intricacies of the fourth edition is particularly intriguing to Oslerians.

The fourth edition of *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* was published in 1901 by D. Appleton & Co. of New York, after the usual triennial revision.⁽⁴⁾ In Great Britain the first three editions, under the legal copyright, were published by Young J. Pentland of Edinburgh and London.⁽⁵⁾ The Pentland editions were in reality Appleton editions with cancel titles and appropriate bindings. With the advent of the fourth edition, Appleton, through an egregious oversight, neglected to secure the copyright in Great Britain.^(6,7) A fourth British edition was then published in October or November of 1901 by Henry Kimpton of London at a price of 24 shillings.⁽⁸⁾ The Kimpton edition was made from American sheets with a cancel title⁽⁹⁾ and differed from the American edition only in a single undated advertising page of Kimpton medical works found opposite the title page. Henry Kimpton had good connections in America, and this is reflected in this list of American medical texts published under the Kimpton imprint including Howard A. Kelly's *Operative Gynecology*, and Thomas S. Cullen's *Cancer of the Uterus*, both Appleton publications. Kimpton's *Essential Series*, a 19-volume production, had been printed in America beginning in 1893.⁽¹⁰⁾ In addition, in 1895, he had published Osler's *The Diagnosis of Abdominal Tumors* originally issued by Appleton one year earlier.⁽¹¹⁾ In December 1901, shortly after the appearance of



The Appleton, Pentland, and Kimpton fourth editions of Osler's *Principles and Practice of Medicine*.

the Kimpton edition, Young J. Pentland published an unauthorized, pirated, British fourth edition at the reduced price of 18 shillings.^(12,13) (Fig. 1) This was noted by Archibald Malloch in an annotation in Maude Abbott's bibliography.⁽¹⁴⁾ W.W. Francis, the first Osler Librarian, expressed the view that Pentland felt himself abused by Appleton, presumably referring to the Kimpton publication.⁽¹⁵⁾ Although unauthorized, Pentland committed no legal transgression in view of the lack of copyright in Great Britain. Indeed, it was quite common on the other side of the Atlantic for American medical publishers to produce unauthorized editions of British textbooks which were unprotected by copyright. (It was not until 1891 that a law was enacted in the United States enabling non-resident foreign authors to secure copyright protection.) The Pentland edition,⁽¹²⁾ printed by Morrison and Gibb, Ltd. of Edinburgh, is essentially a line-for-line copy of the Appleton and Kimpton editions differing only in minor typographical variations, a cancel title, and a 31 page catalogue of Pentland publications dated November 1901, at the end. The title leaf lists Osler's honorary Edinburgh LL.D. (awarded in 1898) among his academic credits, not found in the Appleton and Kimpton volumes. To add to the confusion it should be noted that there were also printings in 1901 of both the Appleton and Pentland third editions.⁽¹⁶⁾

Osler was furious at Pentland's action and the following year a fifth edition of the textbook was published to rectify the copyright problem. In a letter of explanation to the Editors of *The Lancet* he wrote: "Sirs, May I ask the courtesy of your pages in explanation of the premature appearance of a new edition of my text-book? To justify the confidence that the profession has shown in the work I have tried to make each edition a faithful exponent of the medicine of the day I had hoped to be able to follow the plan of a triennial issue, but, unfortunately the fourth edition was not copyrighted in Great Britain, and in December, 1901, shortly after its publication by Kimpton and Company an edition - more Americano - was published by Pentland. He was quite within his rights - quite as much so as the American publishers who, for many years, battered and fattened on the brains of English authors. That Mr. Pentland should have issued the edition so promptly - in six or eight weeks, I believe - and that he should have reduced the price from 24s. to 18s. showed that he had bettered the instructions of his teachers on this side of the water. To obtain copyright in Great Britain a new fifth edition has had to be issued. I regret the mistake that has disturbed the normal process of triennial publication, but the circumstances justify what Rabelais calls 'the pretty perquisite of a superfoetation.' I am, Sirs, your faithfully Wm. Osler, Baltimore, March 21st, 1903."^(13,17)

A similar statement appears in the Preface to the fifth edition (1902): "A word of explanation on the appearance so soon of a new edition, breaking the orderly triennial sequence of previous editions. Through an oversight, the fourth edition was not copyrighted in Great Britain, and an unauthor-

Dr. Richard Golden, author of the lead article for this issue of the Newsletter, is a familiar contributor to these pages. A busy practising and publishing internist, Dr. Golden also pursues a difficult avocation as a bibliographic sleuth, hunting down elusive editions and translations of the writings of Sir William Osler. Not content with having produced the monumental *Sir William Osler: an Annotated Bibliography with Illustrations*, he continues to unearth fresh and fascinating evidence of the tangled publication history of Osler's famous textbook. We are sure you will enjoy this account of his latest discoveries.

ized edition was promptly issued at a greatly reduced price, which has interfered with the legitimate sale of the book in Great Britain and Canada. In no other way than by the issue of this, a new edition, could copyright be obtained. I have taken the opportunity to make a number of additions and alterations. A great many corrections have been made at the suggestions of friends and correspondents, to whom I am much indebted. W.O. Johns Hopkins Hospital." (18)

It is intriguing that the Kimpton edition is not listed in the bibliographies of Blogg (19) or Abbott (20) nor in the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, although the latter cites Osler's *An Explanation*, in the *Lancet*, (17) which would indicate knowledge of this edition by the editors. The statements that are occasionally seen that the Kimpton edition was pirated and that Osler did not know of its existence apparently reflect its earlier uncatalogued status, but are obviously without substance.

In Canada, an even more abstruse situation arose. Morang & Co. of Toronto, acting as agent for Appleton, controlled the sale of Osler's textbook. George Nathaniel Morang, born in Eastport, Maine, came to Canada in his early twenties and became a naturalized British subject. He was the founder and president of the publishing house of George N. Morang & Co. whose field of operations covered the entire Dominion. The company later also served as agent for the Macmillan Company. Morang had written on the 'Copyright Question' and in 1901 he was elected a vice-president of the International Congress on Copyrights, Leipzig. (21)

In 1901, Morang & Co. reprinted a portion of *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*, solely for the purpose of obtaining the Canadian copyright. (22, 23, 24) Whether or not this was Appleton's response to the interference with Canadian sales by the pirated Pentland edition, or if it represented an independent, unauthorized action by Morang, is uncertain. This Canadian version reprinted only pages 846-899 and pages 1148-1150 of Osler's textbook. The title page reads: "The Principles and Practice of Medicine/Diseases of the Kidneys/and/Diseases of the Muscles/by William Osler, M.D./Fellow of the Royal Society [...etc.]/Toronto/George N. Morang & Company Limited/1901". The title page verso states: "Entered according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year Nineteenth Hundred and One, by George N. Morang & Company, Limited, at the Department of Agriculture." (25) The copyright was issued by the Copyright Branch of the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, on December 4, 1901, and is preserved in the National Archives of Canada. (26)

Considering the nature and purpose of the Morang edition it is a certainty that it was produced in an extremely limited edition which has excited the curiosity of bibliophiles and Oslerians. The only known

copy of this bibliophilic desideratum is in the British Library. (27, 28) In 1920, Archibald Malloch, no doubt in his capacity as an editor of the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*, wrote from 13 Norham Gardens, Oxford to Morang and Co. for information, and received the following reply: "Toronto, Jan. 3rd, 1921. Dear Sir: In reply to your letter of the 19th ult., we beg to state that by arrangement with Dr. Osler, we reprinted in 1901, a portion of the *Principles and Practice of Medicine*, for Canadian copyright purposes only and have no copies on hand. As we were the exclusive selling agents for D. Appleton & Company of New York, we had control of the sale in this country for many years of Dr. Osler's book, which is now sold in Canada, direct, by the New York Publishers. Yours faithfully Morang & Co. Limited." (24) In a pencilled annotation Dr. Malloch wrote: "We might later try to pick up copy of this 'Copyright' 'book' for the Library. The only copy I have seen is in the Brit. Mus. A.M." (29) Dr. Malloch also wrote to Thomas McCrae, (Professor of Medicine at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, and contemporary co-author of the ninth edition of *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*) seeking information. McCrae wrote to Appleton and received the following curious response: "February 3, 1921. Dear Doctor McCrae: Answering your letter of January 20th in regard to *The Principles and Practice of Medicine, Diseases of the Kidneys and Diseases of the Muscles*. George M. (sic) Morang & Co., Toronto, 1901. We can find no record of any publication of this kind. From our investigations here in New York my impression is that it would be a reprint from a pirated edition published some years ago. Very truly yours, J.R. Browne." (30) McCrae communicated these findings to Malloch on February 19, 1921: "My dear Archie:- Sometime ago you wrote asking for information in regard to a reference which you found in the British Museum. I took the matter up with the Appleton's and they spent some time trying to solve it. I enclose their reply which I am afraid will not help you very much. I trust that everything is going on well with you and that you have had a good winter's work. With kind regards, Yours very sincerely Thomas McCrae." (31) W.W. Francis wrote in an annotation to this letter: "This apparently didn't get into the bibliographies! W.W.F. 1939. Can it be dirty work of Morang's in connection with Pentland's pirated 4th ed. 1901?" (32)

Thus the question is posed as to whether the publication of the elusive Morang edition was authorized by Appleton or whether it was in conjunction with, or inspired by the pirated Pentland edition. Apparently W.W. Francis had suspicions, based on the Appleton-McCrae correspondence that Morang might have taken the copyright for its own purposes. (32) If, however, we accept on faith Morang's statement that their edition was reprinted "by arrangement with Dr. Osler", (24) then we must conclude that the Canadian copyright was

taken in support of the legitimate Appleton edition. In an effort to resolve this dilemma the typographical variations between the Kimpton (Appleton) and Pentland editions were compared with the Morang edition in the British Library. (33) The Morang edition proved to be identical with the Kimpton edition, thus indicating that Morang used Appleton (or Kimpton) as a model, if not the actual sheets of this publisher. This casts doubt on Appleton's allegation that Morang reprinted "a pirated edition" (30), and adds support to Morang's claim of legitimacy in their letter to Dr. Malloch. (24) Furthermore, Morang made no commercial use of their copyright. However, these findings must be viewed as inconclusive and the issue remains unresolved. Perhaps a fitting analogy can be drawn from Anthony Trollope, who wrote: "Take away from English authors their copyrights, and you would very soon take away from England her authors." (34)

Thus in 1901, as a result of Appleton's failure to obtain a copyright in Britain, there were four distinct editions of the fourth edition of *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*: D. Appleton & Co., New York; Henry Kimpton, London; the pirated edition of Young J. Pentland, Edinburgh & London; and the partial edition of George N. Morang & Co., Ltd., Toronto.

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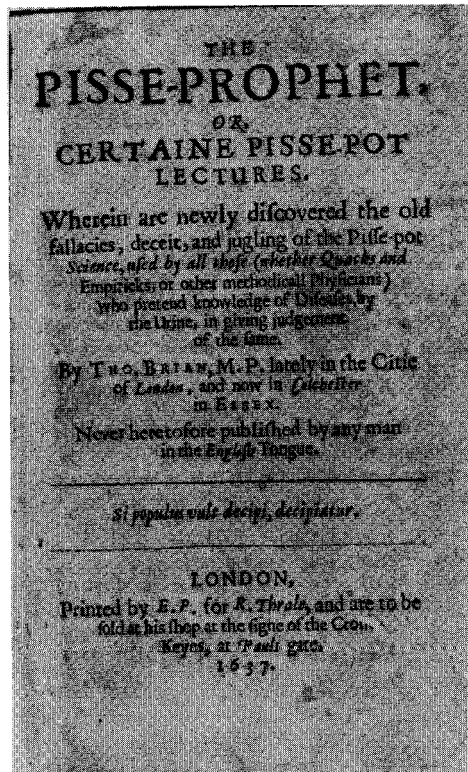
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OSLER LIBRARY STUDENT FELLOW WINS PRESTIGIOUS ESSAY COMPETITION

David Fisman, a member of the Class of 1994 at the University of Western Ontario Faculty of Medicine, and our Osler Library Student Fellow in 1992, has won first prize in the 1993 Alpha Omega Alpha Student Essay Competition. His prize essay "Pisse-prophets and Puritans: Thomas Brian, Uroscopy and Seventeenth-Century English Medicine", was based on research car-



ried out during his student fellowship, under the direction of Dr. Don Bates. It has recently been published in The Pharos 1993 53,3, 6-11.

Fisman's essay focuses on a pamphlet entitled The Pisse-Prophet, or Certain Pisse-Pot Lectures, by Thomas Brian, a physician from Colchester in Essex. The pamphlet was first published in 1637, but was frequently reprinted and translated thereafter. Its target is contemporary fraudulent medical practice, particularly the dishonest use of uroscopy. During this period, uroscopy was frequently conducted in the patient's absence. A flask of urine would be brought to the physician by a servant; the physician would provide a diagnosis for a fee, but the servant would very likely take the same flask to a number of other physicians to test their competence. The doctor who made the most accurate, or most attractive, diag-

nosis got to attend the case. Physicians were well aware of both of the limits of uroscopy as a diagnostic tool, and of the suspicions of their clients. They countered by devising psychological tricks for coaxing information about the patient and his condition out of the servants, even resorting to plying the messenger with liquor! Brian's essay exposed their cunning practices, and criticized their lack of proper medical education.

Mr Fisman's essay touches on many other important aspects of Brian's argument, especially its echoes of contemporary Puritanical ideas about the physician's obligation - or rather lack thereof - to serve the poor. Newsletter readers will be particularly intrigued, however, by Mr. Fisman's transcriptions of Osler's manuscript notes in his own copy of Pisse-prophet, Bibl. Osl. 2125. Osler was evidently fascinated by the persistence of popular attachment to uroscopy for he records:

Jan 9/1917

I was consulted today by a man from York - chronic indigestion - who spoke of an attack a few years ago of which he had been cured by a water doctor. I thought at first he meant some hydrotherapist, but he said he sent him samples of the urine, which he inspected, (& the man made the motion of holding up a glass). He took him one sample and saw the inspection made. He gave him some various herbs & cured him.

Also included in Bibl. Osl. 2125 is a clipping from the Journal of the American Medical Association for January 7, 1911, telling of how a "Modern Pisse Prophet", a patent medicine company in Michigan which "diagnosed" urine by mail after the specious fashion of Brian's fraudulent physicians, had been unmasked.

We extend our congratulations to David Fisman on his winning of this prestigious award, and on a very fine piece of medical history writing. The Library is proud to have had him as our visiting Student Fellow, and to have contributed to his achievement.

A GENEROUS DONATION FOR RESTORATION

The Board of Associated Medical Services/Hannah Institute for the History of Medicine in Toronto has recently presented the Osler Library with a splendid and very practical gift: a \$25,000 endowment to support conservation of Osler Library books. These funds will be invested, and the income will be used in part to augment the endowment, and in part to pay for ongoing restoration and conservation projects. Such a "dedicated" fund has been at the top of the Library's wish-list for a long time; indeed, the Adopt-a-Book campaign was in part designed to stimulate interest in this crucial, but often neglected and unglamorous side of its work. Together with a similar endowment set up by an anonymous friend of the Library two years ago, these monies will enable systematic planning of the repair, refurbishing, rebinding and restoring of fragile volumes. Our thanks go out to the Board of AMS/Hannah for their generosity and for their confidence in the work of the Osler Library

LEAVES FROM THE PHYSICK GARDEN: HISTORIC HERBALS FROM THE OSLER LIBRARY ON DISPLAY

A new exhibition of rare and historic works from the Osler Library, the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of McLennan Library, and the Blacker-Wood Library of Biology has been mounted in the lobby of McLennan/Redpath Library, the main social sciences and humanities library of McGill University. The exhibit features "herbals", that is, catalogues of plants considered useful for their medical properties.

Plants have been the basis of pharmacy since prehistoric times, and still constitute an important element in many modern drugs. In the ancient Mediterranean world, knowledge about plant pharmacy was craft knowledge, acquired in the field through apprenticeship training. Pharmacy was also a lucrative business, and oral transmission of expertise was a means for preserving a valuable monopoly. The earliest books about medicinal plants were composed by physicians or philosopher-scientists of the Hellenistic period who wanted to systematize and above all demystify pharmacy. The "herbal", or catalogue of medicinal plants, took shape between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D., but from the beginning there was an important debate about the form that such a book should take. Which was the more reliable vehicle for botanical information: a picture or a text? Our 20th century instincts would respond unhesitatingly: a picture. This was also the opinion of one prominent ancient medical botanist, Krateuas, physician to King Mithridates of Pontus, who produced a famous illustrated herbal around 120 B.C. But in a world where every copy of a book

had to be made by hand, illustrations invariably degenerated in quality as they were copied from manuscript to manuscript. Illustrated books were also luxury items that the average physician and student could not afford. For these reasons, Dioskurides (ca. 60 A.D.) designed a purely textual catalogue. Dioskurides' herbal was acknowledged as the most authoritative and comprehensive work on materia medica produced in classical antiquity, but Krateuas' illustrations continued to exert a strong attraction. In late Antiquity, the two forms fused together to produce the definitive herbal: an illustrated catalogue of medicinal plants, practical rather than scientific in focus, and oriented towards identification, preparation and administration.

The first part of this four-part exhibit is devoted to the Dioskurides tradition. Facsimiles of late antique manuscripts show how Dioskurides' text was reorganized and integrated with illustration material. The basic formula for the herbal was elaborated at this time. Each entry comprised the name or names of the plant; description of its form and habitat; indications of the parts useful for pharmacy when they should be harvested and how prepared; and finally the pharmacological qualities of the plant. These qualities were later elaborated under the influence of the great ancient physician Galen (2nd c. A.D.) into a doctrine of "complexions". Galen classified plants according to paired qualities of hot/cold and dry/moist, and evaluated their intensity on a scale of one through four. Hence a plant would be described as "hot in the first degree" (i.e. not very hot), but dry in the third degree (very dry). It would then be administered for drying up excessive moisture (i.e. a head cold), but would be dangerous in cases of fever. Medieval and Arabic herbals followed this Dioskuridan-Galenic model, while commentaries on and translations of Dioskurides formed the backbone of pharmacological erudition.

With the invention of printing in the middle of the 15th century, the old problem of accurately reproducing illustrations was solved. The second case of the exhibit traces the burgeoning of the herbal in the Renaissance. While Dioskurides is still the nucleus of the herbal, new information, a new critical spirit, and above all a new tension between the quest for scientific knowledge and the traditional practical orientation of the herbal began to transform this ancient genre.

Herbal medicine was of interest not only to the professional practitioner, but also to the medical consumer. Indeed, the diffusion of information about "simples" (i.e. single-plant remedies, as distinct from compound medicines) was viewed as a public good, in that it promoted healthy living habits, and enabled those of modest means, who could not afford a physician's care, to manage their own illnesses. Case 3 is devoted to the

domestic herbal from the Middle Ages to the 19th century. Facsimiles of medieval handbooks of hygiene, Elizabethan encyclopaedias of herblore, numerous editions of Culpepper's herbal, and the persistence of the tradition into the Victorian period bear witness to a vigorous and steady market for popular books on plant remedies - one which is still expanding today.

The explosion of herbal literature in the Renaissance coincided with the arrival of the first Europeans in the New World. Early explorers were at once baffled and excited by the plants they found there - plants unknown to Dioskurides, but of undoubted and sometimes extraordinary medicinal properties. The New World herbals in Case 4 show European writers vacillating between a traditional Dioskuridan-Galenic model for cataloguing and evaluating plants, and the astonishing novelty of the plants themselves. Identifying plants and knowing their "qualities", knowledge which our prehistoric ancestors valued, is still the theme of some Quebec herbals of the 20th century

The exhibition runs until mid-April, when it will be re-mounted, in abbreviated form, in the exhibition cases of the Osler Library itself.

Editorial Committee for the Newsletter: Faith Wallis, Osler Librarian and Editor; Edward H. Bensley Honorary Osler Librarian and Consulting Editor; Wayne LeBel, Assistant History of Medicine Librarian and Assistant Editor; Lily Szczygiel, Editorial Assistant.

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The Library gratefully acknowledges the support it has received from Friends, both old and new, who have responded to the appeal for funds for the 1993-94 academic year. To date 273 Friends have given a total of approximately \$16,956. Included in the total is a special donation of \$5000 (U.S.) received for the Osler Library and for the use of the History of Medicine Librarian. Most of the contributions have come from Friends in Canada and the United States of America. However very welcome contributions have also come from Australia, Chile, Germany, Japan, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the West Indies.

The names of Friends whose contributions are recorded after January 31, 1994 will be listed in the June issue of the Newsletter.

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