## HPS5006s TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE Spring 2004 Thursdays, 12-2 PM at [EM #201]

Instructor: Nikolai Krementsov, e-mail: <n.krementsov@utoronto.ca> Office hours: Tuesdays 2-4 PM, at Victoria College, room 312.

This course is a survey of selected topics in the history of so-called "Western" medicine from Antiquity to the present. It will explore the interplay of medical ideas, institutions, and practices with contemporary politics, ideology, science, economics, law, technology, and society writ large.

## **Objectives:**

1. To become familiar with a sample of recent and classic scholarship on the history of medicine

2. To increase the ability to think critically about basic assumptions and conceptual frameworks in analyzing medical issues, past and present

3. To develop the ability to view contemporary medical problems in historical perspective

4. To develop skills in oral presentations and debate and in writing about historical issues

- January 8. 1. Introduction
- January 15. 2. Antiquity
- January 22. 3. Middle Ages and Renaissance
- January 29. 4. The Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment
- February 5. 5. The "Hospital Revolution"
- February 12. 6. The "Laboratory Revolution"

February 16-20 Reading Week

- February 26 7. The "Germ Revolution"
- March 4 8. Medicine and Public Health
- March 11 9. Medicine and War
- March 18 10. Medicine and Technology
- March 25 11. Medicine, Gendered
- April 1 12. Medicine as a Business
- April 8. 13. The Doctor and the Patient

## ORGANIZATION

The course is arranged into 12 two-hour seminars. Each seminar will be in two sections with a 10-15 minute break in between, and as many discussions with the instructor as students need during the office hours. All students are expected to have read the assigned readings and to participate actively in class discussion, including days when written assignments are due. Each week one student will be responsible for stimulating class discussion. Presenters will be given five to fifeteen minutes to raise discussion questions but should **not** simply summarize the readings. The presenters should also bring copies of a one-page list of discussion points for the members of the class. Discussion points may include criticisms, disagreements, support, analysis of sources, and queries of the readings. Each participant should bring to the class three questions for the discussion.

In addition, there will be three written assignments:

Students will write **two book reviews** (500-800 words each): the first book review must be handed in by **February 5, 2004**; the second review by **March 4, 2004**;

Students will write a 15-20 page (~6,000 words) **research paper** on a subject in the history of medicine. Students must discuss their paper topics with the instructor **by February 12, 2004**. The first draft of the paper (including a well-developed bibliography) is due at the beginning of class on **March 11, 2004**. The final draft of the paper is due at the beginning of class on **April 8, 2004**.

These assignments will be discussed in greater detail during the course of the semester.

The **grading** for the course will be distributed as follows:

Class participation	30%
Book reviews	15% each
Essay (first draft)	15 %
Essay (final draft)	25%

#### **READINGS**:

Readings are intended to give you material for thought and discussion. They are divided into "required," "background," and "recommended." The first you must read for a corresponding week, the last you can read at your leisure, if you want to know more on the topic. The background reading is intended to provide you with a general context for various subjects addressed in "required reading" and class discussions. On-line readings must be accessed (downloaded and/or printed out) at least two weeks prior the class for which they are assigned. No excuses such as "server was down" or "my computer crashed" will be accepted!!! As basic texts for the background reading we will use Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to Present* (London: Haprper Collins Publishers, 1997) and Jacalyn Duffin, *History of* 

*Medicine, A Scandalously Short Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), paperback editions of both are available at amazon.ca at discount prices.

## JANUARY 8. 1. INTRODUCTION.

Porter, Introduction; Duffin, Introduction

## JANUARY 15. 2. ANTIQUITY.

Porter, Chapters 2 and 3

Owsei Temkin,"Greek Medicine as Science and Craft," in idem, *The Double Face of Janus* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), pp. 137-153

Owsei Temkin, "History of Hippocratism in Late Antiquity: The Third Century and the Latin West," *ibid*, pp. 187-177.

Owsei Temkin, "Medical ethics and honoraria in late Antiquity," in Rosenberg C. E., ed., *Healing and history; essays for George Rosen* (New York: Science History Publications, 1979), pp. 6-26

Vivian Nutton, "From Galen to Alexander, aspects of medicine and medical practice in late antiquity," in J. Scarborough, ed., *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), pp. 1-14.

## **RECOMMENDED:**

Owsei Temkin, *Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973)

Vivian Nutton, *Continuity or rediscovery? The city physician in classical antiquity and mediaeval Italy* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1981)

Mirko Grmek, ed., *Western medical thought from antiquity to the Middle Ages*, translated by Antony Shugaar (Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1998)

"Greek medicine" http://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/greek/ This site offers some useful information and a glossary of Classic Greek medicine

## JANUARY 22. 3. MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE.

Porter, Chapters 4, 5, and 8

Vivian Nutton, "Medicine in the Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in Lawrence I. Conrad et al., *The Western Medical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 71-88 Lawrence I. Conrad, "The Arab-Islamic Medical Tradition," in Lawrence I. Conrad et al., *The Western Medical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 93-113

Nancy G. Siraisi, "Vesalius and the reading of Galen's teleology," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 1997, vol. 50, pp. 1-37, on-line

Katharine Park, "Medicine and Society in Medieval Europe, 500-1500," in Andrew Wear, ed., *Medicine in Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 59-91

## **RECOMMENDED**:

Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990)

Vivian Nutton, "The Reception of Fracastro's Theory of Contagion: The Seed that Fell among Thorns?" *Osiris*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 1990, vol. 6, pp. 198-234, on-line

Manfred Ullmann, Islamic Medicine (Edinburgh University Press, 1978)

A. Wear, R. K. French, and I. M. Lonie, eds., *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1985)

# JANUARY 29. 4. THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION AND ENLIGHTENMENT.

Porter, Chapters 9 and 10

Andrew Cunningham, "Thomas Sydenham,: Epidemics, experiment, and the 'Good Old Cause'," in Roger French and Andrew Wear, eds., *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 164-190

Anita Guerrini, "Isaak Newton, George Cheyne and the *Principia Medicinae*," in Roger French and Andrew Wear, eds., *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 222-245

Alen G. Debus, "Chemists, Physicians, and the Changing Perspective on the Scientific Revolution," *Isis*, 1998, vol. 89, pp. 66-81, on-line

Norman Gevitz, "'The Devil Hath Laughed at the Physicians': Witchcraft and Medical Practice in Seventeenth-Century New England," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 2000, vol. 55, pp. 5-36, on-line

Angie Smith, "Weighed in the Balance? The Corporation of Apothecaries in Bordeaux, 1690-1790," *Social History of Medicine*, 2003, vol. 16, pp. 17-37, on-line

Guenter B. Risse, "Medicine in the age of Enlightenment," in Andrew Wear, ed., *Medicine in Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 149-197

**RECOMMENDED:** 

Roger French and Andrew Wear, eds., *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Thomas H. Broman, *The transformation of German academic medicine*, 1750-1820 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Andreas-Holger Maehle, *Drugs on trial: experimental pharmacology and therapeutic innovation in the eighteenth century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999)

Roy Porter, ed., *Medicine in the Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995)

Andrew Cunningham and Roger French, eds., *The medical enlightenment of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

# **FEBRUARY 5. 5. THE "HOSPITAL REVOLUTION".** The first book review must be handed in!!!

Porter, Chapter 12

Ivan Waddington, "The role of the Hospital in the Development of Modern Medicine: A Sociological Analysis," *Sociology*, 1973, vol. 7, pp. 211-224.

Owsei Temkin, "The role of surgery in the rise of modern medical thought," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1951, vol. 25, pp. 248-259

I. S. L. Loudon, "The Origins and Growth of the Dispensary Movement in England," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1981, vol. 55, pp. 322-342;

Lindsay Granshaw, "The Rise of Modern Hospital in Britain," in Andrew Wear, ed., *Medicine in Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 197-218.

Charles Rosenberg, "Introduction," in *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), pp. 3-11

#### **RECOMMENDED:**

Steven Cherry, *Medical services and the hospitals in Britain, 1860-1939* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

John Frangos, *From housing the poor to healing the sick: the changing institution of Paris hospitals under the old regime and revolution* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1997)

Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (New York: Pantheon, 1973)

Charles Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System* (New York: Basic Books, 1987)

Caroline Hannaway and Ann La Berge, eds., *Constructing Paris medicine* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998)

## FEBRUARY 12. 6. THE "LABORATORY REVOLUTION".

Porter, Chapter 11; Duffin, Chapter 3 and 4

Russel Maulitz, "Rudolf Virchow, Julius Cohnheim and the Program of Pathology," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1978, vol. 52, pp. 162-182

Timothy Lenoir, "Laboratories, Medicine and Public Life in Germany, 1830-1949," in Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, eds. *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 14-71

L. S. Jacyna, "A Host of Experienced Microscopists": The Establishment of Histology in Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh," *Bull.Hist.Med.*, 2001, vol. 75, pp. 225–253, on-line

Charles R. R. Hayter, "The Clinic as Laboratory: The Case of Radiation Therapy, 1896-1920," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1998, vol. 72, pp. 663-688, on-line

Bruno Latour, "The Costly Ghastly Kitchen," in Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, eds., *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 295-303

## RECOMMENDED:

Claude Bernard, *An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine* (New York: Dover Publications, 1957)

Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, eds. *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992)

W. F. Bynum, *Science and the practice of medicine in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

## FEBRUARY 16-20 READING WEEK

## **FEBRUARY 26 7. THE "GERM REVOLUTION"**.

Porter, Chapter 14

Erwin Ackerknecht, "Anti-Contagionism between 1821 and 1867," Bull. Hist. Med., 1948, vol. 22, pp. 562-593

Owsei Temkin, "An Historical Analysis of the Concept of Infection" in idem, *Double Face of Janus*, pp. 465-471

Paul Weindling, "Scientific elites and laboratory organization in fin de siècle Paris and Berlin: the Pasteur Institute and Robert Koch's Institute for Infectious Disease compared," in Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, eds., *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 170-188

P. P. Gossel, "Pasteur, Koch and American bacteriology," *Hist. Philos. Life Sci.*, 2000, vol. 22, pp. 81-100

John Parascondola, "The Introduction of Antibiotics into Therapeutics," in J. W. Levitt and R. L. Numbers, eds., *Sickness and Health in America* (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp.102-112

RECOMMENDED: Paul de Kruif, *Microbe Hunters* (any edition)

Jerry L. Gaw, "A time to heal": the diffusion of Listerism in Victorian Britain (Philadelphia : American Philosophical Society, 1999). xii, 173 p. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, v. 89)

Milton Wainwright, *Miracle Cure: The Story of Penicillin and the Golden Age of Antibiotics* 

## MARCH 4 8. MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH. The second book review must be handed in!!!

Porter, Chapter 13

Krista Maglen, "The First Line of Defense: British Quarantine and the Post Sanitary Authorities in the Nineteen Century," *Social History of Medicine*, 2002, vol. 15, pp. 413-428, on line

John Eyler, "Mortality Statistics and Victorian Health Policy: Program and Criticism," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1976, vol. 50, pp. 335-355

Ann F. La Berge, "The Early 19<sup>th</sup> century French Public Health Movement: The Disciplinary Development and Institutionalization of Hygiene Publique," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1984, vol. 58, pp. 363-379

Elisabeth Fee and Dorothy Porter, "Public Health, preventive medicine and professionalization: England and America in the nineteenth century," in Andrew Wear, ed., *Medicine in Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 249-276

Nancy Tomes, "The Private Side of Public Health: Sanitary Science, Domestic Hygiene, and the Germ Theory, 1870-1900," in J. W. Leavitt and R. L. Numbers, eds., *Sickness* 

and Health in America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 3d ed., pp. 506-528

Judith W. Leavitt, "'Typhoid Mary' Strikes Back: Bacteriological Theory and Practice in Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Public Health," in J. W. Leavitt and R. L. Numbers, eds., *Sickness and Health in America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 3d ed., pp. 555-572

## **RECOMMENDED:**

Johan Peter Frank, "The civil administrator, most successful physician," (1784), translated by Jean Captain Sabine, *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 1944, vol. 16, pp. 289-318.

Max von Pettenkofer, *The Value of Health to A City: Two Popular Lectures*. Translated with an introduction by Henry E. Sigerist (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1941), pp. 15-52

George Rosen, *From Medical Police to Social Medicine* (New York: Science History Publications, 1974)

Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1987)

WHO HISTORIES: http://www.who.int/library/historical/access/international/index.en.shtml

## MARCH 11 9. MEDICINE AND WAR. The first draft of the research paper (including a bibliography) is due!!!

Porter, Chapter 15

Anne Hardy, "Straight Back to Barbarism": Antityphoid Inoculation and the Great War, 1914," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 2000, vol. 74, pp. 265–290, on-line

Derek S. Linton, "Was Typhoid Inoculation Safe and Effective during World War I? Debates within German Military Medicine," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 2000, vol. 55, pp. 101-133, on-line

Kim Pelis, "Taking Credit: The Canadian Army Medical Corps and the British Conversion to Blood Transfusion in WWI," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 2001, vol. 56, pp. 238-277, on-line

Roger Cooter, "Of War and Epidemics: Unnatural Couplings, Problematic Conceptions," *Social History of Medicine*, 2003, vol. 16, pp. 283-302, on-line

## **RECOMMENDED**:

Martin R. Howard, *Wellington's doctors: the British Army Medical Services in the Napoleonic wars* (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2002)

John Shepherd, The Crimean Doctors (Liverpool Univ. Press, 1991), vol 1-2

George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue: The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge; London: Louisiana State University Press, 1996)

H. H. Cunningham, *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Services* (Baton Rouge, London: Louisiana State University Press, 1986)

## MARCH 18 10. MEDICINE AND TECHNOLOGY.

Duffin, Chapter 9

Stanley J. Reiser, *Medicine and the reign of technology* (Cambridge University Press, 1978), ch. 4, "The Microscope and the revelation of a cellular universe," pp. 69-90

Christopher Lawrence, "Incommunicable Knowledge: Science, Technology and the Clinical Art in Britian, 1850-1914," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1985, vol. 20, pp. 503-520, on-line

Christiane Sinding, "Making the Unit of Insulin: Standards, Clinical Work, and Industry, 1920–1925," *Bull. Hist. Med.*, 2002, vol. 76, pp. 231–270, on-line

Kirk Jeffrey, "Introduction," in idem, *Machines in Our Hearts: The Cardiac Pacemaker, the Implantable Defibrillator, and American Health Care* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001)

## **RECOMMENDED**:

Stanley J. Reiser, *Medicine and the Reign of Technology* (Cambridge University Press, 1978)

Joseph Bronzino, Vincent Smith, and Maurice Wade, *Medical Technology and Society: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990)

Hamilton Cravens, Alan I. Marcus, and David M. Katzman, eds., *Technical Knowledge in American Culture: Science, Technology, And Medicine since the Early 1800s* (Tuscaloosa; London: University of Alabama Press, 1996)

Kirk Jeffrey, Machines in Our Hearts: The Cardiac Pacemaker, the Implantable Defibrillator, and American Health Care (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001)

## MARCH 25 11. MEDICINE, GENDERED.

Duffin, Chapter 11 and 13

Carol Rawcliffe, "Women and Medicine: Conflicting Attitudes," in idem, *Medicine and Society in Later Medieval England* (Sutton, 1995), pp. 170-193

Joan J. Brumberg, "Chlorotic Girls, 1870-1920: A Historical Perspective on Female Adolescence," in J. W. Levitt, ed., *Women and Health in America* (The University of Winsconsin Press, 1984), pp. 186-195

Beth Bailey, "Prescribing the Pill: Politics, Culture, and Sexual Revolution in America's Heartland," *Journal of Social History*, 1997, vol. 30, pp. 827-856

Rona Achilles, "Desperately Seeking Babies: New Technologies of Hope and Despair," in K. Arnup et al., eds., *Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 284-312

Susan Reverby, "The Search for the Hospital Yardstick: Nursing and the Rationalization of Hospital Work," in J. W. Levitt and R. L. Numbers, eds., *Sickness and Health in America* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 206-216

## **RECOMMENDED:**

Mary R. Walsh, 'Doctors Wanted: No Women need to apply': Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977)

Charlotte G. Borst, *Catching Babies: The Professionalization of Childbirth*, 1870-1920 (Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Lara V. Marks, *Sexual Chemistry. A History of Contraceptive Pill* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

## APRIL 1 12. MEDICINE AS A BUSINESS (AND HEALTH AS A COMMODITY)

Porter, Chapter 20

Samuel H. Adams (1905), "Peruna and the Bracers," from S. Rappoport and H. Wright, eds., *Great Adventures in Medicine* (New York: The Dial Press, 1952), pp.480-489

Ronald L. Numbers, "The Third Party: Health Insurance in America," in M. J. Vogel and Ch. Rosenberg, eds., *The Therapeutic Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), pp. 177-200

Timothy Alborn, "Insurance against Germ Theory: Commerce and Conservatism in Late-Victorian Medicine," *Bull.Hist.Med.*, 2001, vol. 75, pp. 406–445, on-line

Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (Basic Books, 1982), Book II, Ch. 5, "The Coming of the Corporation," pp. 420-449

Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, "The Rise of the English Drug Industry: The Role of Thomas Corbyn," in J. Liebenau et. al., eds., *Pill Peddlers* (Madison: American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 1990), pp. 2-27

Wai Chen, "The Laboratory as Business: Sir Arthur Wright's vaccine programme and the construction of penicillin," in Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams, eds., *The Laboratory Revolution in Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992), pp. 245-294

## RECOMMENDED:

Arthur Daemmrich, "A tale of Two Experts: Thalidomide and Political Engagement in the United States and West Germany," *Social History of Medicine*, 2002, vol. 15, pp. 137-158, on-line

"MEDICINE AND MADISON AVENUE" http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/mma/ This site offers a wealth of information on advertising industry and medicine

Charles C. Mann and Mark L. Plummer, *The Aspirin Wars: Money, Medicine and 100 Years of Rampant Competition* (New York: Knopf, 1991)

J. Liebenau, G. J. Higby, and E. C. Stroud, eds., *Pill Peddlers* (Madison: American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 1990)

## **APRIL 8. 13. THE DOCTOR AND THE PATIENT** The final draft of the research paper is due!!!

Porter, Chapter 21

"THE OATH" in Hippocrates, *Works* (translated by Francis Adams) http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/h/h7w/oath.html

Edward Shorter, *Bedside Manners: The Troubled History of Doctors and Patients* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), Ch. 4, "The Rise of the Modern Doctor," pp. 75-106; Ch. 5, "The making of the modern patient," pp. 106-139.

G. Annas, "A National Bill of Patient's Rights," *New England Journal of Medicine*, 1998, vol. 338 (10), pp. 695-699

History of US Patients' Bill of Rights passage through Congress and Senate http://democrats.senate.gov/pbr/history.html

Paul Starr, "Health and the right to privacy," *American Journal of Law and Medicine*; 1999; vol. 25, pp. 193-201, on-line

Gary S. Belkin, "Brain Death and the Historical Understanding of Bioethics," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 2003, vol. 58, pp. 325-361, on-line

## **RECOMMENDED:**

T. Percival, *Medical Jurisprudence; or, A Code of Ethics and Institutes Adapted to the Professions of Physic and Surgery* (1794). http://www.collphyphil.org/HMDLSubweb/Pages/P/PercivalT/medjurPgAccess.htm

Cherilyn Lacy, From caregivers to consumers: domestic medicine and the transformation of medical practice in the Third French Republic, 1871-1914 (1997)