

HM 150.702

## Graduate Seminar:

### History of Modern Medicine: Enlightenment to Present

Spring 2017: Thursdays, 10:30—12:30

Professors Jeremy Greene and Graham Mooney, Institute of History of Medicine,

This course introduces main themes in the history of modern medicine, and traces the changing experience of health, disease, and the healing professions from the 18th century to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. Topics include: the shifting burden of disease; the evolving culture of the medical and allied health professions; the history of race, gender, and the body; the social meanings of disease; relationships between science, industry, and medical practice; the changing doctor patient-relationship; and the role of history in health policy. You should be familiar with the general contours of European and U. S. history over those centuries. If necessary, you might supplement course readings with a general history text(s) recommended by a faculty member.

There will be two short (5-7 pp.) written assignments, and a field exam at the end of term.

*The following books are available at the JHU Bookstore and are on reserve at Eisenhower and Welch:*

Brandt, Allan M. *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall and Deadly Persistence of the Product that Defined America*. New York: BasicBooks, 2007.

Bynum, William F., Anne Hardy, Stephen Jacyna, Christopher Lawrence, E.M. (Tilli) Tansey. *The Western Medical Tradition: 1800-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006

Bynum, William F. *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Lindemann, Mary. *Medicine & Society in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Rosenberg, Charles E. *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987 [1962].

Rosenberg, Charles E. *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995 [1992].

#### I. MEDICINE AND MODERNITY IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

##### February 1 Master Narratives in the History of Modern Medicine

John Harley Warner, "Grand Narrative and Its Discontents: Medical History and the Social Transformation of American Medicine," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 29 (2004), pp. 757-780

N.C. Jewson, "The disappearance of the sick-man from medical cosmology, 1770-1870." *Sociology*, 10 (1976): 225-244

Ludmilla Jordanova, "The Social Construction of Medical Knowledge," in Frank Huisman and John Harley Warner, eds., *Locating Medical History: The Stories and Their Meanings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004), 338-363.

Susan M. Reverby and David Rosner, "Beyond the Great Doctors' Revisited: A Generation of the "New" Social History of Medicine," in *Locating Medical History: The Stories and Their Meanings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004), 167-193.

Mary Fissell, "Making Meaning from the Margins: The New Cultural History of Medicine" in Frank Huisman and John Harley Warner, eds., *Locating Medical History: The Stories and Their Meanings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2004), 364-388.

Harold J. Cook, "Introduction," in W.F. Bynum et al., *The Western Medical Tradition*, pp. 1-6.

### **February 8 Medicine in the Enlightenment**

Lindemann, *Medicine and Society*, pp. 1-50, 97-120.

William Coleman, "Health and Hygiene in the *Encyclopedie*: A Medical Doctrine for the Bourgeoisie," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 29 (1974), pp. 399-421.

Steven Shapin, "Descartes the doctor: rationalism and its therapies," *British Journal of the History of Science* 33 (2000), pp. 131-154.

Mary E. Fissell, "The Disappearance of the Patient's Narrative and the Invention of Hospital Medicine", in Roger French and Andrew Wear, *British Medicine in an Age of Reform* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 92-109.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary. 1785-1912*. New York: Vintage, 1991. 1-71.

Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physician Enlarged; With Three hundred and Sixty Nine Medicines, Made of English Herbs, That Were Not in any impression until this*. London: J. Churchill, 1708, index, "Dandelyon," "Garlick," "Motherwort," "Tobacco" pp. 111-112, 148-9, 220-1, 324-6.

Johann Peter Frank, "Academic Address on the People's Misery: Mother of All Diseases" [1790], *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 9 (1941), pp. 88-100.

### **February 15 Medical Geographies**

Karen Ordahl Kupperman. "Fear of hot climates in the Anglo-American colonial experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 1984; 41(2): 213-40.

Londa Schiebiger, "Prospecting for drugs: European naturalists in the West Indies" in Scheibiger and Claudia Swan, eds., *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. 119-33 and 302-4 (notes)

Mark Harrison, "The tender frame of man': Disease, climate, and racial difference in India and the West Indies, 1760-1860," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. 1996; 70(1):68-93.

James Lind, *An Essay on Diseases Incidental to Europeans in Hot Climates* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: T. Becket and T. A. de Hondt, 1771. Table of contents, and pp. 57-69. online at [http://books.google.com/books?id=kFKI4T9AfzUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_su\\_mmary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=kFKI4T9AfzUC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_su_mmary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

Absalom Jones, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia, in the Year 1793: and a Refutation of Some Censures, Thrown Upon Them in Some Late Publications*. Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, 1794. Pp. 3-11.

Access at

<http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/6483355?n=15&imagesize=1200&jp2Res=.5&printThumbnails=true>

### **February 22 Clinic, Hospital, Asylum**

Lindeman *Medicine & Society* pp. 157-65, 188-92.

Bynum, *Science and Practice* pp. 25-54

Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (New York: Vintage, 1994), pp. 54-63; 124-148 (Chaps. 4, 8).

Guenter Risse "Human bodies revealed: hospitals in post-revolutionary Paris" in *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. 289-336

Charles Rosenberg. *Care of Strangers: The History of America's Hospital System*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987): pp. 1-93.

Nancy Tomes, "A Generous Confidence: Thomas Story Kirkbrides's Philosophy of Asylum Construction and Management," in Andrew Scull, editor, *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981): 121-143.

R.T.H. Laennec, *A Treatise on Disease of the Chest* [1819], pp. 1-16, 297-310.

J. N. Corvisart, *An Essay on the Organic Diseases and Lesions of the Heart and Great Vessels*, [trans. Jacob Gates, 1812], New York: Hafner, 1962, 35-51.

## II. MEDICINE AND SOCIETY IN THE EARLY 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

### March 1 Orthodox and Unorthodox Practice

Stephen M. Stowe, *Doctoring the South. Southern Physicians and Everyday Medicine in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 131-258.

Roy Porter, "The patient's view: doing medical history from below," *Theory and Society* 1985; 14(2): 175-98.

Numbers, Ronald L. "The Fall and Rise of the American Medical Profession," in Leavitt and Numbers, editors, *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, 3rd Edition (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997): pp. 225-36.

Samuel Thomson, "On giving poison as medicine" and other excerpts in *A Narrative of the Life and Discoveries of Samuel Thomson*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Columbus OH: Platt, Pike & Co., 1832. 41-51, 55-60.

[http://books.google.com/books?id=ubMnAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=ubMnAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

Drake, Daniel. "Essay III: Medical Colleges," *Practical Essays on Medical Education and the Medical Profession in the U.S.* (Cincinnati: Roff & Young, 1832): pp 45-59.

### March 8 Sciences of Difference [Greene] [Maya]

Hans Pols, "Notes from Batavia, the Europeans' graveyard: The nineteenth-century debate on acclimatization in the Dutch East Indies. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 2012; 67(1):120-48.

Lundy Braun, "Spirometry, measurement, and race in the nineteenth century." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 2005; 60(2):135-69.

Carla Bittel. "Science, suffrage, and experimentation: Mary Putnam Jacobi and the controversy over vivisection in late nineteenth-century America" *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 79.4 (2005) 664-694.

Clarke, Edward H. *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for Girls* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1874): pp. 31-9, 76-85.

Jackson, Mercy Bisbee. "Sex and Education." In Julia Ward Howe, editor, *Sex and Education*. A Reply to Dr. E.H. Clarke's 'Sex in Education.' (Boston: Robert Brothers, 1874): pp. 150-63.

### March 15 Public Health and the State

Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, 1987).

Richard J. Evans, "Epidemics and Revolution: Cholera in 19th Century Europe," *Past & Present* 120 (August, 1988), 123-146.

David Arnold, "Cholera: Disease as Disorder" *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in 19<sup>th</sup> Century India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 159-99.

#### Additional reading:

William F. Bynum. "Policing hearts of darkness: aspects of the international sanitary conferences," *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 1993; 15(3):421-34.

Christopher Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800-1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 1683, 156-187.

Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Classes of Great Britain* [1842]. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1965). Read pp. 163-170; 181-182; 195-201, and spend 30 minutes paging through the text.

**Assignment #1: (5-7pp)** In the hands of different historians, the history of cholera can alternately be viewed as the intellectual history of medical science or the social history of public suffering; the determinants of the disease can be understood in terms of generalized political economy or specific cultural formations, and the scale of public health responses can be engaged on the register of the global or the very local. For this essay, you will be asked to read a series of primary sources from the *Contagion* website on 19<sup>th</sup> century debates over the control of cholera. As you analyze these texts, consider the different historiographic perspectives of Rosenberg, Evans, Hamlin, Arnold, and Bynum. Are all of these historians actually talking about the same disease? Are these readings antagonistic or complementary? You can utilize as many sources from *Contagion* (or elsewhere) as you like, but must make some reference to the three excerpts listed below:

From the *Contagion* website: <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/contagion/cholera.html>

Great Britain. [Report on Quarantine](#). London: Printed by W. Clowes & Sons for H.M.S.O., 1849, pp. 160-1

John Snow. *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera*. London, 1936[1855], pp. 44-63

[Epidemic Cholera: Its Mission and Mystery, Haunts and Havocs, Pathology and Treatment: With Remarks on the Question of Contagion, the Influence of Fear, and Hurried and Delayed Interments](#). New York: Carleton, 1866, pp. 88-100

### III. THE CONSOLIDATION OF BIOMEDICINE

#### March 29 Bacteriology and the New Public Health

Warwick Anderson, "Immunities of empire: Race, disease, and the new tropical medicine 1860-1920." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 1996; 70:94-118.

Robert Koch, "The Etiology of Tuberculosis [1884]" in *Essays of Robert Koch* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp. 129-150.

Judith Walzer Leavitt, "'Typhoid Mary' strikes back: Bacteriological theory and practice in early twentieth century public health" *Isis* 1992; 83:608-31

J. Andrew Mendelsohn. 1995. "'Typhoid Mary' Strikes again: The Social and the Scientific in the Making of Modern Public Health." *Isis* 86 (2): 268-277. [Read Leavitt first]

Nancy Tomes, "The private side of public health" in Leavitt and Numbers, editors, *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997): pp 506-28.

Michael Worboys, "Was there a Bacteriological Revolution in late nineteenth century medicine?" *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 38 (2007), pp. 20-42.

"Discussion on the Advisability of the Registration of Tuberculosis," *Transactions of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 16 (1894), pp. 1-27.

#### **April 5 Laboratory Medicine [Mooney] [Krishnan]**

Bynum, *Science and Practice* 92-127, 136-41

Georges Canguilhem. *The Normal and the Pathological* (trans. Carolyn R. Fawcett). New York: Zone Books, 1989. 1-71.

Bruno Latour, "Give me a laboratory and I will move the world" in Karin Knorr-Cetina and Michael Mulkay, eds., *Science Observed: Perspectives on the Social Study of Science*, London and Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983. 141-170.

Daniel Todes, "Pavlov's Physiology Factory" *Isis* 88 (1997), pp. 205-246.

John Harley Warner, "Ideals of Science and Their Discontents in Late Nineteenth-Century American Medicine," *Isis* 82 (September 1991), pp. 454-478.

Claude Bernard, *An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine* [1865] New York: Dover Editions, 1957. 1-3, 32-35, 62-71.

William H. Draper, "On the relations of scientific to practical medicine" *Transactions of the Association of American Physicians* 1889; 3: 1-8

Richard C. Cabot, "The historical development and relative value of laboratory and clinical methods of diagnosis," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 1907; 157: 150-153

#### **April 12 Institutional Reforms**

Bynum, *Science and Practice*. 176-217

Charles Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System*. New York: Basic Books, 1987. pp. 122-41, 237-61.

Rosemary Stevens, *In Sickness & Wealth: American Hospitals in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 3-51, 105-139

Joel D. Howell, "Clinical Use of the X-Ray Machine: The Newest Technology at the Oldest Hospitals," in *Technology in the Hospital: Transforming Patient Care in the Early Twentieth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, 103-132

Annemarie Adams, "Introduction" and "Modernisms" *Medicine by Design: The Architect and the Modern Hospital, 1893-1943*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008. 109-130 (n. 144-46)

Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Carnegie Foundation Bulletin Number 4* (New York City, 1910), pp. 28-51, 143-146, 152-153, 178-181, and 251-259

Isabella Vandervall, "Some problems of the colored woman physician's" *Woman's Medical Journal* 1917; 27: 156-8.

#### IV. BIOMEDICINE IN CONTEXT

##### April 19 Biomedicine and its Subjects

United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Final Report of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study Ad Hoc Advisory Panel* (Government Printing Office: Washington, DC, 1973) excerpts

Allan M. Brandt, "Racism and research: The case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study," In Leavitt and Numbers, editors, *Sickness and Health in America*. pp. 392-404.

Evelynn Hammonds, "Your Silence Will Not Protect You: Nurse Rivers and the Tuskegee Syphilis Study," *Tuskegee's Truths: Rethinking the Tuskegee Syphilis Study*, ed. Susan Reverby (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2000) pp. 340-7

Susan M. Reverby, "Ethical Failures and History Lessons: The U.S. Public Health Service Research in Tuskegee and Guatemala," *Public Health Reviews* 2011; 34(1):1-18

Harry M. Marks "Managing Chance: Statistics and Therapeutic Experiments 1950-1960." In *Progress of Experiment: Therapeutic Reform in the United States, 1900-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 136-63.

##### April 26 Health and its Publics in the Twentieth Century

Bynum, *Science and Practice*, 218-26

Allan M. Brandt, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product that Defined America* (New York: Basic Books, 2007): pp. 158-207 (+ notes, 527-34).

Jeremy A. Greene, "The Abnormal and the Pathological: Cholesterol, Statins, and the Threshold of Disease" in *Medicating Modern America: Pharmaceutical Drugs in History*, ed. Andrea Tone and Elizabeth Watkins. New York University Press, 2007.

Beatrix Hoffman, "'Don't Scream Alone': The Health Care Activism of Poor Americans in the 1970s" Chapter 6 in Hoffman, Beatrix Rebecca, Nancy Tomes, Rachel Grob, and Mark Schlesinger, eds. 2011. *Patients as Policy Actors. Critical Issues in Health and Medicine*. New Brunswick, N.J; London: Rutgers University Press, pp. 132-47.

Gerald E. Markowitz David Rosner. *Lead Wars: The Politics of Science and the Fate of America's Children*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013, "Controlled Poison," Chapter 6, 143-67 (+ notes 266-73).

Alex Mold, "Repositioning the Patient: Patient Organizations, Consumerism, and Autonomy in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 2013, 87 (2), 225-49.

Naomi Rogers, "Feminists Fight the Culture of Exclusion in Medical Education, 1970-1990" in More, Ellen S., Elizabeth Fee, and Manon Parry, editors. *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. 205-243

Keith Wailoo, "Sickled Cells, Black Identity" *Dying in the City of the Blues: Sickle Cell Anemia and the Politics of Race and Health*. Durham: UNC Press, 1997; 137-64. (+ notes, 288-300).

##### May 3 Global Formations

Vincanne Adams, "Metrics of the Global Sovereign: Numbers and Stories in Global Health." In *Metrics: What Counts in Global Health*, edited by Vincanne Adams. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016. 19-54.

Paul Farmer, *Infections and Inequalities: The Modern Plagues* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999), pp. 37-58 (chapter 2) and 184-210 (chapter 7)

Julie Livingston, *Improvising Medicine: An African Oncology Ward in an Emerging Cancer Epidemic*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012. 52-84 (notes, 190-3).

Randall Packard, "Medicalizing Global Health" in *History of Global Health: Interventions into the Lives of Other Peoples*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. (305-328+notes)

**Assignment #2: (5-7pp)** Write a brief essay using as primary sources multiple editions of Cecil's *Textbook of Medicine*. Discuss the changing entries for a single diagnostic category that can be traced from the 1<sup>st</sup> edition (1929) to the 25<sup>th</sup> edition (released in 2015) analyzing at least three other editions in between. Making use of at least three other secondary sources read in the second half of this survey, discuss the changing form and content of these textbook entries, with reference to the shifting basis of medical knowledge, therapeutic practice, social contexts, and conception of the respective roles of physicians and patients.