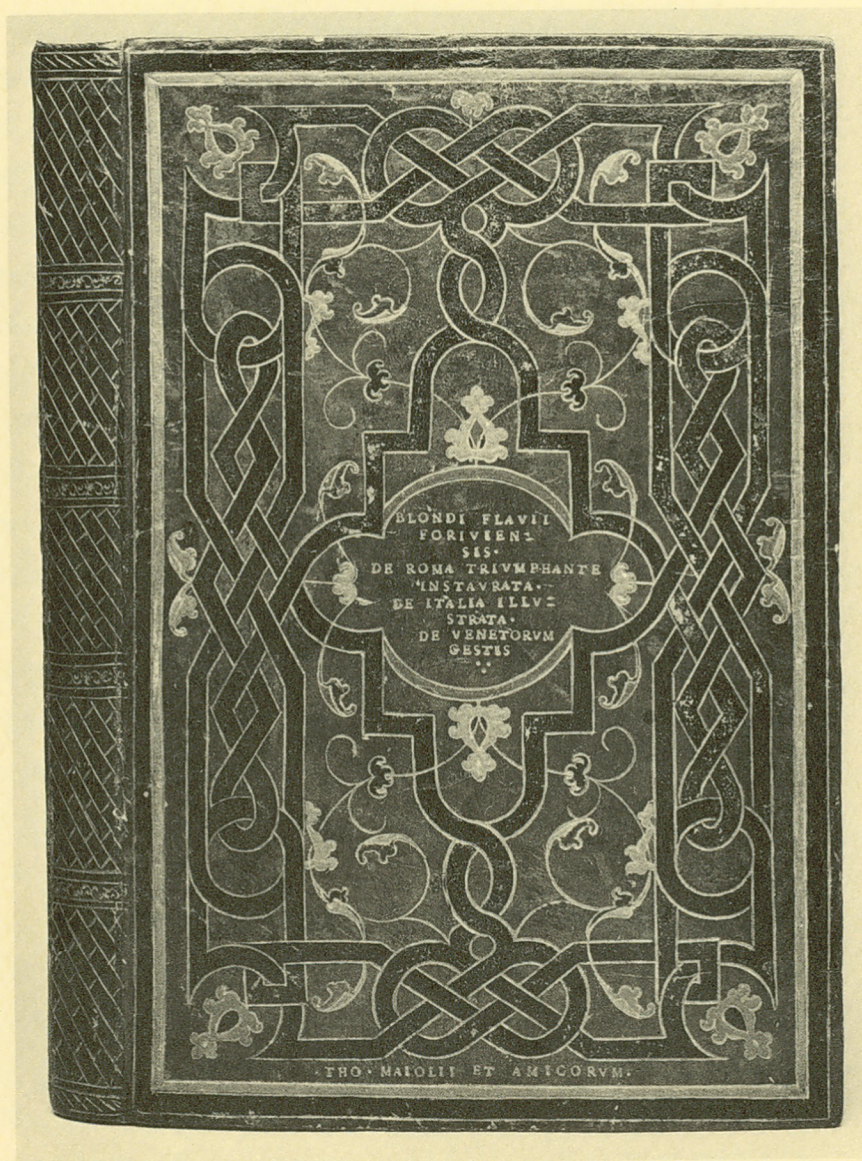


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# One Hundred Books Famous in Medicine: Notes on the Exhibition

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**T**he Grolier Club exhibition of *One Hundred Books Famous in Medicine* was inspired by and modeled after the exhibition of *One Hundred Books Famous in Science* held at the Grolier Club in 1958. Although I did not attend it, as a young bibliophile I soon became acquainted with the Grolier Science One Hundred from references made to the list by the antiquarian booksellers with whom I had contact. In the early 1960s, thanks to Herbert M. Evans, the eminent scientist and bibliophile, I was introduced to the curator of the Science One Hundred, Harrison D. Horblit (Grolier Club 1947–1988), and visited him often thereafter. Getting to know Harrison, and seeing his magnificent library was a great education for me. During one visit to Harrison, I proposed an exhibition of One Hundred Books Famous in Medicine. He agreed to support the idea, and brought it to the attention of the Council of the Grolier Club. In 1967 he informed me that the idea had been discussed but that nothing had come of it. I did not take the project up again until 1991, and this time with obvious success.

In the *One Hundred Books Famous in Science* exhibition, Horblit presented the development of Western science through “key” printed books, beginning with ancient Greek texts and ending in the early part of the twentieth century. Horblit’s earliest printed book was Caius Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* (1469), the first important printed book in science, and his most recent publication was Albert Einstein’s “Die Grundlage der Allgemeinen

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This article is based on Dr. Norman’s remarks at the opening of the One Hundred Books Famous in Medicine Exhibition on 20 September 1994.

Relativatstheorie," which appeared in *Annalen der Physik* in 1916, and described the basis of the general theory of relativity for the first time. Similarly, the committee I formed to select the most famous books in medicine chose to trace Western medicine from the Greek father of medicine, Hippocrates, to the latter part of the twentieth century. Our earliest *dated* printed book is Paolo Bagellardo's *De infantium aegritudinibus et remediis* (1472), the first book on pediatrics. Our latest is G. N. Hounsfield's "Computerized Transverse Axial Scanning (Tomography) . . .," which appeared in the *British Journal of Radiology* (1973) and describes the invention of the CAT scan.

As curator, I followed Horblit's example in not limiting the exhibition to precisely one hundred books, and added in subordination additional books that served to introduce, supplement, amplify, or complete the meanings of the specific copies. This brought the actual number of books exhibited to 147. For example, William Harvey's *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus* (Frankfurt: W. Fitzer, 1628) had as a supplement Girolamo Fabrici's *Opera anatomica* (Padua: Antonio Meglietti, 1625). The Harvey is regarded along with Vesalius as one of the two greatest books in the history of medicine. Andreas Vesalius revolutionized the science and teaching of anatomy. Harvey discovered and provided experimental proof of the circulation of the blood and thereby revolutionized physiology and medicine. Harvey had been a student of Fabrici at Padua at about the time Fabrici discovered the venous valves, but without understanding their function. Fabrici published this discovery in a book *De venarum ostioliis* (Padua: L. Pasquati, 1603), which was later reprinted in his *Opera anatomica* (1625). Harvey stated that it was his recognition of the significance of Fabrici's observations on the venous valves that contributed to his own discovery. The exhibition copy of Fabrici's *Opera* (1625) was Harvey's own copy with his annotations, and is assumed to be the copy he used while he was writing his own book. There is a great similarity between the plate of the venous valves in Harvey's book with

that in the Fabrici. It broadens our understanding to see the Harvey with the Fabrici.

This exhibition also provided a unique opportunity to assemble from thirty-four North American institutions and private collections special copies of many of our selections. These were mainly first editions noted for their provenance and included authors' own copies, dedication copies, and presentation copies. Of the six authors' copies displayed, one of my favorites is Sir William Osler's *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* (1892), which is interleaved and heavily annotated. Osler's book is widely regarded as the most important medical textbook ever written. The copy in the exhibition had inscribed on the title page: "Private Copy. May all the curses of the good bishop, Ernulphus, light on the borrower—and—not returner or upon the stealer of this book." Another favorite is Harvey Williams Cushing's *The Pituitary Body and Its Disorders* (1912), the monograph that initiated clinical endocrinology. This was Cushing's own copy and contains notes, letters, and photographs.

Three dedication copies were included in the exhibition. One was Andreas Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (1543); another was Ambroise Paré's *La maniere de traicter les playes faictes tant par hacquebutes, que par flèches* (1551); and the third was Michael Underwood's *A Treatise on the Diseases of Children* (1784). The Vesalius is bound in imperial purple silk velvet and has woodcut illustrations colored and highlighted in gold by a contemporary artist. Vesalius carried this copy by hand to the dedicatee, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The Paré, the author's first work, is the earliest book devoted solely to gunshot wounds, and was first published in 1545. The copy shown in the exhibition had a restored contemporary binding of light brown calf, and sides tooled in a Grolieresque pattern. It was the only book in the exhibition printed on vellum and was also beautifully colored. It is dedicated to King Henri II and his mistress, Diane de Poitiers. The third of this trio of dedication copies, Underwood's important pediatric text, which initiated the

modern study of the diseases of childhood, is appropriately dedicated to Queen Charlotte, the wife of King George III of England, who bore fifteen children. It is bound in contemporary full red straight grained morocco.

There were also several remarkable presentation copies in the exhibit. One was René-Théophile-Hyacinthe Laënnec's *De l'auscultation médiate* (1819) inscribed by him to Guillaume François Laënnec, his uncle whom he regarded as a second father since it was he who sent him to Paris to study medicine. It is in this book that Laënnec described his invention of the stethoscope and its application in physical diagnosis.

Another unique presentation copy exhibited was Hermann von Helmholtz's *Beschreibung eines Augen-Spiegels zur Untersuchung der Netzhaut im lebenden Auge* (1851) in which he described the invention of the ophthalmoscope. The inventor inscribed the copy shown "To his [wife] Olga, in remembrance that her eye was the first to reveal its interior to the searching eye, the Author."

A somewhat less romantic presentation copy was William Osler's *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* inscribed to his fiancée, "Grace Revere Gross from her friend Wm. Osler, February 25, 1892, Phila." Legend has it that Osler had proposed to Mrs. Gross, a widow, who was an old friend, while he was writing his textbook, and that she had suggested that "the shoemaker stick to his last." Osler went to see Mrs. Gross the day after he received the first copy of his book, and tossed it in her lap, saying, "There, take the darn thing; now what are you going to do about the man?"

The fourth of the unique presentation copies shown was Sigmund Freud's *Die Traumdeutung* (1900) inscribed "For my dear Wilhelm"—Freud's good friend, Dr. Wilhelm Fleiss, whom he described as the "Godfather" of the book, which is well known in English as *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud's manifesto of psychoanalysis.

Some of the association copies displayed were particularly noteworthy. One that was especially fitting for an exhibition at

the Grolier Club was a copy of the second volume of Aristotle's *Opera* (1497) in Greek, bound for the library of Jean Grolier during his first period in Milan (1508-13) when he was treasurer and receiver-general of the French in Lombardy.

Two of the incunables exhibited were from the library of a Grolier contemporary, the physician Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) best known as the compiler of *The Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493). One of the incunables, *Articella* (1483), contains the first printing of the Hippocratic Oath; the other is Aulus Cornelius Celsus's *De medicina* (1478), the great book of Roman medicine.

The exhibition copy of Giacomo Berengario da Carpi's *Commentaria . . . super anatomia Mundini* (1521) came from the library of Nicholas Pol (1470-1532), physician to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, who amassed a library of some 1,500 volumes. Berengario was the most eminent of the pre-Vesalian anatomists. Pol's copy later belonged to a series of eminent bibliophiles, Leroy Crummer, Herbert M. Evans, and, finally, Lessing J. Rosenwald.

A more recent fine association copy is Henry Gray's *Anatomy, Descriptive and Surgical* (1858), one of the most successful textbooks on anatomy ever published for medical students and practitioners. The thirty-seventh American edition was published as recently as 1989. The copy exhibited belonged to Oliver Wendell Holmes, the American writer, poet, and physician who was also recognized in the exhibition for his pioneering work in the prevention of puerperal fever. The exhibition copy of Gray's *Anatomy* contains Holmes's bookplate with the illustration of the chambered nautilus, the subject of his most famous poem.

I differed from Horblit in choosing offprints of articles in preference to the original journals in which those articles first appeared. Horblit maintained that it was in the journals that the articles were first printed, and "usually in which form their impact was achieved." He felt "we are true to the history of science and hence inevitably to the collector in the field, if we conclude that 'the journal is the thing,' and that the offprint is the convenient

form in which the article appears alone.”<sup>1</sup> I, like most collectors today, prefer the offprint. It is the offprint, issued in limited quantities of twenty-five to fifty, which authors often sent to friends, frequently with their inscriptions. For this exhibition, I made an effort to locate offprints of the articles printed in journals to the extent that they were available. For example, both Horblit and I included the foundation article of electrophysiology by Luigi Galvani, “De viribus electricitatis . . .” (1791). Horblit exhibited the journal *De Bononiensi Scientiarum et Artium Instituto atque Academia Commentarii*, volume seven, and illustrated the title page of the volume in addition to the page of the article. I, on the other hand, exhibited the first and second issue of the offprint of the same article, the first issue with the half title only, and the second with the full title. While the journal itself is extremely rare, the offprints are even more rare.

Three items planned for inclusion in the exhibition led to surprising new information about them. The three books were Celsus’s *De medicina*; Florence Nightingale’s *Notes on Nursing*; and James Watson and Francis Crick’s paper on DNA.

Aulus Cornelius Celsus’s *De medicina* (1478) is the oldest Western purely medical document after the Hippocratic writings, and one of the first medical books to be set in type. Celsus, who was a Roman and probably not a physician, wrote this work in Latin in about A.D. 30. It is our principal source about what is known of medicine between the time of Hippocrates and Celsus’s own day.

Two copies of the Celsus were displayed in the exhibition. The first, bound in red morocco gilt with a beautifully illuminated first page, has on its last page the ownership inscription of Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, the uncle and tutor of Amerigo Vespucci, for whom America was named. This copy was lent by the College of Physicians, Philadelphia and had particular appeal because of its provenance: It had been obtained for the library of the College of Physicians by Sir William Osler (Grolier Club

1. Harrison D. Horblit, *One Hundred Books Famous in Science* (New York: The Grolier Club, 1964), p. 5.

1902–1919), whose portrait by John Singer Sargent we also borrowed from the College for the exhibit. Since we have already mentioned Osler's *Principles and Practice of Medicine*, this is an appropriate place to mention his uniqueness as a book collector. In his Sandars Lectures on Bibliography (1948), John Carter said, "Osler was . . . the prototype of the humane specialist. His particular brand of bibliophily, carried on and developed by his pupil and biographer, the great and beloved Harvey Cushing, and spread contagiously across America by graduates of the Yale Medical School, has probably begotten more distinguished special collections than can be credited to any one man in the whole history of book collecting."<sup>2</sup>

Osler not only collected for himself but also delighted in adding books to the many libraries with which he had contact. He had been a professor of medicine at McGill, the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, and at Oxford. It is significant, therefore, that in 1912, Osler did not regard the first Celsus we exhibited as either very rare or very expensive. He had already purchased copies for £2, £9 and £16.<sup>3</sup> When he saw the Henry Huth copy in a Quaritch catalogue in 1912, he considered the price of £84 as "shocking," yet since it was a "superb copy," "the best copy of *De medicina* [he had seen] with the exception of the Grolier copy in the British Museum,"<sup>4</sup> he urged its purchase. As a medical bibliophile, and a second generation Oslerian, it was the memory of this anecdote about the Celsus that prompted me to select it for the exhibition. At that point, I believed I had chosen the best copy available in North America.

I had not intended to display a second copy of the Celsus, although I was aware of the one owned by the New York Academy of Medicine, beautifully bound in blind stamped mo-

2. John Carter, *Taste and Technique in Book Collecting* (New York: Bowker, 1948), p. 48.

3. William Osler, *Incunabula Medica: A Study of the Earliest Printed Medical Books, 1467–1480* (Oxford University Press, 1923), Vol. 1, p. 227, note 1.

4. The Grolier copy in the British Museum is the fourth edition of 1497.



rocco with metal bosses and clasps. It had the hand-lettered book label of Dr. Hartmann Schedel and the later bookplate of the Duke of Bavaria. The copy's only "flaw" was that it lacked four leaves. Later, while doing research at the Biomedical Library at the University of California at Los Angeles, I came across an entry in their Benjamin Collection catalogue describing four leaves from a 1478 Celsus, the first of which contained Hartmann Schedel's diagram and the fourth, his initials. Realizing that these four leaves could be the exact ones missing from the Academy's copy, I sent copies of three of the UCLA leaves (one leaf, the incipit, is missing from the Benjamin Collection) to Ann Pasquale Haddad, the librarian at the New York Academy of Medicine. Examination revealed that they were indeed the missing leaves. When this discovery was communicated to Katherine E. Donahue, the librarian at the UCLA Biomedical Library, she agreed to deaccession the three available leaves so that they might be reunited with the book from which they had obviously been removed. Ms. Donahue also promised to send the missing first leaf should it be found. The book had probably been eliminated as a duplicate from the Schedel collection at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich in the nineteenth century. It had come to the New York Academy of Medicine with the purchase of the Streeter Collection in 1926. Mrs. Haddad informed me that the four leaves were missing when Dr. Streeter purchased the book in 1910.

The four leaves were purchased by Dr. Benjamin from the English dealer, Ernst Weil in 1953. Because of this coincidence I decided to add the second copy to the exhibition along with the initialed last leaf. More recently Mrs. Donahue sent me a slide made in 1963 of the very attractive illuminated missing first leaf. What was referred to as Schedel's diagram seemed to be a Moors' head which was then common in the coats-of-arms of Nuremberg families, and appeared in Schedel's crest.<sup>5</sup> If the incipit leaf

5. Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1976), p. 65.

is found and all four leaves are restored to this copy, it will probably be at least equally important, if not more important, than the first copy because of the beautiful binding.

We also exhibited a unique copy of Florence Nightingale's *Notes on Nursing: What It Is, and What It Is Not* (1860) lent by the Lilly Library, Indiana University. A copy of the first issue, without the notice concerning translation on the title page, and without the ads on the endpapers, this copy (~~lent by the Lilly Library~~) is of particular interest as it has two presentations: one stamped in gold on the front cover to "Miss Bevington . . . from Florence Nightingale" and another inscribed on the front endpaper by Nightingale's mother to the Reverend W. Chawmer.

As is well known, Florence Nightingale's great achievement was to make nursing into a profession that attracted able and intelligent women. In 1855 as a reward for her services to the army at Scutari during the Crimean War, a Florence Nightingale Fund was established that had as its goal the founding of a training school for nurses. By 1859, the fund had £45,000 at its disposal and with that sum the Nightingale School and Home for training nurses was founded at St. Thomas's Hospital, London. It opened in 1860. At the same time, she wrote a seventy-nine-page book intended for use by all women who were responsible for the health of their households: "I do not pretend to teach her how, I ask her to teach herself, and for this purpose, I venture to give her some hints." The principles of hygiene and sanitation she had employed at Scutari were fundamental to this text, which became an immediate success when it was published in January 1860. Within the first month after publication, fifteen thousand copies were sold at 5 shillings. As the first major book on the subject, and Nightingale's most popular and successful one, it was translated into many foreign languages and—despite its limitations—remains a landmark for the nursing profession and may be read with profit even today. A new edition was published by the Royal College of Nursing's Scutari Press as recently as 1992.

Naturally I was curious to learn about Miss Bevington and the Reverend Chawmer, recipients of the copy we had borrowed. To help me with the research, I enlisted the aid of Richard Gurney, the eminent English rare bookdealer, now retired, through whose hands many copies of the book had passed during forty years, and who had written the description of the book for our catalogue. I was also assisted in my research by Nigel Phillips, another English antiquarian bookdealer.

Gurney discussed the puzzle of the recipients' identities with Alex Attewell, Deputy Director of the Florence Nightingale Museum at St. Thomas's Hospital. Although the Museum had thirty copies of this first edition, Mr. Attewell had never seen a copy with a stamped presentation before, nor was he then able to give us any information about either of the recipients. Gurney also searched the indices at the library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, which also had thirty copies of the book, as well as some thirteen thousand Nightingale letters but could not locate Miss Bevington there either.

Because there was some question as to whether the second inscription was in Florence Nightingale's hand rather than her mother's, Gurney contacted the archivist at the Nightingale family museum at Claydon House, who verified that the inscription was in Mrs. Nightingale's hand. In time, I heard from Phillips that both he and Gurney had identified the Reverend W. Chawmer as Vicar of Crich in Derbyshire, three miles from the Nightingales' home at Lea. Prior to that he had been curate to the Liverpool Infirmary.

Phillips called my attention to the work of Victor Skretkowicz, Ph.D., senior lecturer at the University of Dundee, who is the leading authority on the bibliography of this book of Nightingale's and the editor of the 1992 edition. Since 1989, Skretkowicz has examined over 100 copies of the Nightingale book and he informed me that he had never before seen a stamped presentation inscription on either the inside or the outside of any copy. All of Florence Nightingale's presentation

inscriptions he had seen were in her own hand. Of this copy, he said, "This seems to be a hand-set printed one impressed into the cloth front cover in a manner similar to the title."<sup>6</sup> Subsequently Attewell informed Skretkowicz that he had found a reference to a Miss Bevington in a thirty-year-old typed catalogue of the Nightingale Museum collection, but he believed that the item was no longer in the collection. Skretkowicz's opinion was that "this strengthens the case of the information in the stamped dedication being genuine."<sup>7</sup>

It is our conclusion, therefore, that the Lilly copy with its printed presentation, is probably unique. Could this copy be the one which is apparently missing from the Nightingale Museum? It seems unlikely since Joel Silver of the Lilly Library advised me that David Randall had appraised the book almost forty years ago, in 1956, for \$275 and the Nightingale Museum copy had been lost only thirty years. Speculation, about the mode of the two inscriptions and their shadowy recipients, however, is likely to continue.

We now turn to the bibliographic challenges arising from the 1953 paper entitled "A Structure for Deoxyribose Nucleic Acid," in which James D. Watson and Francis H. C. Crick described the double helix model of the molecular structure of deoxyribose nucleic acid (DNA), the main component of chromosomes. This publication initiated the science of molecular biology, because using this model they soon were able to explain how genes duplicate and pass on their information to succeeding generations. James Watson, in his autobiographical statement, immediately and accurately recognized that "this was the most famous event in biology since Darwin's book"<sup>8</sup> and, in fact this paper is considered by many the single most important contribution to biology and medicine in the twentieth century.

6. Personal communication from Dr. Skretkowicz, 25 November 1993.

7. Personal communication from Dr. Skretkowicz, 25 November 1993.

8. James D. Watson, *The Double Helix* (New York: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 140.

It was agreed that the 1953 Watson and Crick paper should be printed simultaneously with two other important works relating to DNA: "Molecular Structure of Desoxyribonucleic Acids" by Maurice Wilkins, A. R. Stokes, and H. R. Wilson, and Rosalind Franklin and Raymond Gosling's "Molecular Configuration in Sodium Thymonucleate." The three papers were then published in *Nature* (171) 23 April 1953, under the general title, "The Molecular Structure of Nucleic Acids." Watson, Crick, and Wilkins received the 1962 Nobel Prize for Medicine.

Since I knew that the distinguished authors were still alive, I decided to investigate the possibility of borrowing an author's copy for the exhibition as well as some relevant manuscript material, and communicated this wish to Dr. James Watson. Eventually he agreed to lend his signed offprint. I was able to obtain a photograph of it for our catalogue, and discovered that it consisted of a single leaf, printed on both sides, containing only the Watson and Crick paper, and signed on the verso by Watson. There is another offprint consisting of all three papers, as described above, and consisting of seven leaves totaling fourteen pages. When we compared them, the two versions appeared to be printed from the same setting of type and were issued by the same printer. However, the arrangement was different. Watson's paper was printed in double columns whereas the fourteen-page paper was printed in a single column. At this time, our communications with Dr. Watson were through his staff. When we raised with them the question of the priority of their offprint, they informed us that theirs was the first issue. We decided to exhibit the original journal number and both offprints.

The story does not end here. It seemed important to me to attempt to establish which of the two offprints was the first issue. With the assistance of my associate, Diana Hook, I made a number of inquiries. Diana was able to contact Francis Crick but found him noncommittal about the Watson offprint. The editors of *Nature* were unable to offer much assistance, although they guessed that both reprints had been done at the same time.

I again enlisted the assistance of Nigel Phillips, who provided the information that the original printer could not be traced and probably was no longer in business. Phillips contacted Maurice Wilkins who responded that he was familiar only with the three-paper offprint. Eventually, we learned from Phillips that none of the surviving English authors whose names appeared on the three papers, knew of the single-leaf offprint. We obtained a detailed and thoughtful reply from Peter Pauling, the son of Linus Pauling, who had been in Cambridge in the 1950s. Peter Pauling also was familiar only with the three-paper offprint, and regarded the single-leaf issue as later. "It has been recased. The most obvious clue is the position of the figure in the text. In the original article, the figure occupies one-half of the single column, the other half is occupied by the text. In the full-page Watson reprint, the double helix figure occupies the whole column."<sup>9</sup>

I acquainted Dr. Watson with our dilemma in a letter dated 22 September 1993. He responded, "My best guess now is that the three-paper reprint came second, being given in the fall of 1953 by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis which had sponsored me during my second year at Cambridge. Given the awkward personality situations then existing, I doubt that Francis Crick and I would have asked in the spring of '53 that all three papers be bound together. Favoring this view is the fact that the one-page reprint exactly reflects the size of the *Nature* page." Had the catalogue gone to press on schedule, this would have been the last work on the subject.

I had read in a book written by Francis Crick that it was "Mainly due to Max Delbruck [that] copies of the initial three papers were distributed to all those attending the 1953 Cold Springs Harbor Symposium, and Watson's talk on DNA was added to the program."<sup>10</sup> I wrote Crick asking if he could give

9. Personal communication.

10. Francis Crick, *What Mad Pursuit* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), p. 76.

me the date of the symposium, and let me know in what form the three papers were distributed. Crick replied by telephone, informing me that the symposium had occurred in June, that he had not attended, and therefore could not clarify what was distributed. Since Max Delbruck was dead, Crick suggested that I contact Dr. Watson. I wrote Dr. Watson about this and also contacted the archivist at the California Institute of Technology where the late Max Delbruck had worked, and asked if there was pertinent information in their files. I was advised that they did not have a copy of either offprint. However, from correspondence between Delbruck and Watson in 1953, it seemed evident that mimeographed copies were distributed at the conference.

In response to my second letter, Dr. Watson advised me in a letter dated 23 November 1993, that: "After your letter of 19 October arrived, I saw Francis Crick at a meeting in Houston. He feels very strongly that the three-paper reprint was in fact the first one and that the two-page reprint was printed afterward for the National Foundation. He is probably correct, but to be certain, you should check directly with the editors of *Nature*."

Another communication with the editors of *Nature* produced the same response as the earlier one. Since Dr. Watson mentioned twice that his reprints were made for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, which had sponsored his research, I attempted to contact the Foundation for this information through its successor organization, the March of Dimes, but without success. In the interim, I had also written Dr. Linus Pauling who had been working in the same field at the time, and received the following letter from him: "I am pleased to answer your letter about the reprint of Watson and Crick's 1953 paper on DNA. I know that I received a copy of the reprint (the single-page version), but I do not know where it is at the present time. I am not able, because of too great a load of work, to search my files at the present time. It is my memory that the paper included thanks to my former student Jerry Donohue who set them right about the structures of purines and pyrimidines.

I do not remember having received a copy of the three-page reprint.”<sup>11</sup>

After completing this article I received the English rare bookdealer, William Patrick Watson’s Catalogue 5 in which he offered as item 145 a copy of the three-paper offprint signed by all six living authors. W. P. Watson commented that the only copy known to him to have previously been offered for public sale was Delbruck’s unsigned, unbound three-paper offprint, which was in Zeitlin and Ver Brugge’s catalogue 285 (1985). W. P. Watson further commented:

Only a very small number of copies of the offprint were printed (in contrast with highly specialised journals, where offprints were produced in fairly large quantities as authors’ main means of disseminating their writings among colleagues, *Nature* had a very wide circulation and the call for offprints was consequently restricted). The format is smaller, the journal being printed in double columns, whereas the offprint is in a single column. *Nature* was set in Monotype, and an electrotype plate was made from the standing type; the journal was printed from the plate and not directly from the type. The offprint, however, was printed from the standing type, reset only in so far as the diagram of the double-helix is here printed at the head of page two, whereas in the journal it was embedded in the text.<sup>12</sup>

On inquiry Mr. W. P. Watson informed me that his source was none other than Nicholas Barker who in the 1950s was production manager at Macmillan, then the publisher of *Nature*.

My conclusion is that the preponderance of evidence favors the three-paper offprint as the first issue. It vividly illustrates the difficulty in establishing the priority of issue of an offprint, even when the authors and their colleagues are still alive. We are particularly grateful to all the scientists who were willing to give their time and thought to clarify what we feel quite sure was for them a minor matter.

11. Personal communications, 14 December 1993.

12. William Patrick Watson, Catalogue Five 1994, Science, Medicine and Natural History, London, No. 145.



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*It has been a great pleasure and privilege after almost thirty years to plan and curate this exhibition of One Hundred Books Famous in Medicine, as well as to coordinate work on the catalogue. None of this could have happened without the support of many persons. To be included are the officers, staff and members of the Grolier Club, especially former President Kenneth A. Lohf and President William B. Warren; Martin W. Hutner, Chairman of the Committee on Public Exhibitions, William S. Reese, former Chairman, and James O'Halloran, Chairman of the Committee on Publications, and Martin Antonetti, Librarian. They agreed to sponsor, finance, and assemble the exhibition, and to publish the catalogue. I am indebted to the colleagues who assisted in the initial planning. Without the librarians and bibliophiles who made their books available, this exhibition could not have occurred. Thanks also to the many colleagues, bibliophiles, librarians, and medical historians who contributed descriptions of the books for the catalogue. Especially helpful was William H. Helfand, a member of the Grolier Club, who served as my liaison with the staff and committees of the Club. He organized and accompanied me on my visit to eastern libraries, and later wrote the captions for the exhibition. My son, Jeremy M. Norman, also a member of the Grolier Club, expanded the captions and had them printed in a preliminary catalogue for the opening of the exhibition. I express my gratitude to all these people.*