

The Proceedings of the
20th Anniversary
History of Medicine
Days Conference 2011

The Proceedings of the 20th Anniversary History of Medicine Days Conference 2011: *The University of Calgary, Faculty of Medicine, Alberta, Canada*

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The Proceedings of the 20th Anniversary History of Medicine Days
Conference 2011: The University of Calgary, Faculty of Medicine, Alberta,
Canada

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Natalie Ball	University of Calgary
Brydon Blacklaws	Dalhousie University
Jake Blacklaws	Dalhousie University
Debora Boulton	University of Calgary
Antonia Cappella	University of Calgary
Neel Chadha	University of Calgary
Jason Chan.....	University of Western Ontario
Brianne M. Collins	University of Calgary
W. Mikkel Dack	University of Calgary
Adam Fowler	University of Saskatchewan
Aravind Ganesh	University of Calgary
Sheila Gibbons.....	University of Saskatchewan
Ankur Goel	University of Calgary
Alexandra Hrabowych.....	University of Manitoba
Anil Imbulgoda.....	Memorial University of Newfoundland & Labrador
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Fady Kamel	University of Calgary
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Christine Li.....	University of Calgary
Kelsey Lucyk.....	University of Alberta
Fiona Main	Northern Medical Unit, University of Manitoba
Steve Malone	University of Western Ontario
Chinmaya Mishra.....	University of Calgary
Karim Mohamed.....	Queen's University
Abdul Naem.....	University of Western Ontario
Kristin Newman.....	University of Calgary
Aliya Nurmohamed	Queen's University
Boluwaji Ogunyemi.....	Memorial University of Newfoundland & Labrador
Reena Pabari	University of Calgary
Alby Richard	University of Calgary
Michel Shamy	University of California, San Francisco
Paul Szelemej	University of Manitoba

Daniel Ting	Queen's University
Alessandra Uifalusi	University of Calgary
Helen Vandenberg	University of British Columbia
Andrew Weiss	University of Calgary
Kathryn Wheeler	Memorial University of Newfoundland & Labrador
Alexandra Whittick	University of Calgary
Sophya Yumakulov	University of Calgary
Justin Zhu	University of Western Ontario

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation and editing of the 20th Anniversary volume of the University of Calgary's History of Medicine Days Proceedings represents the third edited collection in a new, peer-reviewed series of the conference proceedings with Cambridge Scholars Publishing.¹ The process has been a great source of pride and satisfaction for the editorial team. The 20th Anniversary History of Medicine Days (HMDs) conference took place on Friday March 11, 2011 and Saturday March 12, 2011 at the Libin Theatre in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Calgary, located in Alberta, Canada. Here, undergraduate and early graduate students from across Canada, the United States, United Kingdom and Europe gave paper and poster presentations on many diverse topics from the history of medicine and health care. During this year's conference, a special anniversary panel on the HMDs was held. An invitation to this panel was open to former alumni students of the Calgary History of Medicine and Health Care Program (HOMHCP), professors of the history of medicine from several Canadian Medical Faculties, and representatives from the major funding institutions that have supported the History of Medicine Days conference since its origins in the 1990s: Associated Medical Services (AMS), Inc. (formerly known as the Hannah Foundation and Institute)² in Toronto, and the Alberta Medical Foundation (AMF) in Edmonton.³

In this preface, the editors would like to express our sincere and special thanks to all of the participants of the anniversary panel at the 2011 History of Medicine Days conference in Calgary. This panel was graciously chaired by the Senior Associate Dean of Undergraduate Medical Education, Dr. Bruce Wright, from the University of Calgary's Faculty of Medicine, along with the Dean of the University's newly

¹ Also, see *Proceedings of the 18th History of Medicine Days Conferences at the University of Calgary, AB*, ed. Lisa Petermann, Kerry Sheng-Sun and Frank W. Stahnisch (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

² Associated Medical Services, "AMS – Partners and Colleagues: University of Calgary," in *AMS – Making a Healthy Contribution*, ed. Associated Medical Services (Toronto: Associated Medical Services, 2013), accessed November 8, 2013, http://php.ams-inc.on.ca/?q=partners_and_colleagues/university_of_calgary.

³ Dawna Gilchrist, "With Your Support, AMF Can Support the History of Medicine," *Alberta Doctors' Digest* 36 (July/August, 2009): 22.

amalgamated Faculty of Arts, Dr. Kevin McQuillan. Unfortunately, two members of the History of Medicine community could not attend our anniversary in person: Dr. William A. Whitelaw, who chaired the History of Medicine Program between 2001 and 2006 as a professor of internal medicine, and Dr. Dawna Gilchrist, who leads the History of Medicine Program at the University of Alberta in Edmonton and whose students often participate in and present at Calgary History of Medicine Days conference. These individuals were greatly missed as active participants at our jubilee event on the south-eastern side of the Rocky Mountains. In lieu of their absence, their addresses and welcoming words to the students, faculty, and doctors in the audience were read aloud to conference participants. These opening remarks provided further insight and background experience to the anniversary panel during the twentieth year of HMDs conferences at the University of Calgary.⁴

We include in this volume a brief medical history account of the continued series of the HMD conferences by publishing the addresses from the opening panel of this 20th Anniversary conference. During the one-year preparation period for this conference, the planning committee reflected many times upon this panel, to make it all the more successful and engaging. As we keenly had hoped when planning this year's special anniversary event, the presenters of this panel had all been involved with in the Calgary History of Medicine and Health Care Program and the History of Medicine Days conferences, either during the past or present. The panellists therefore offered a very rich sequence of broad perspectives while reflecting on the 20th Anniversary of the HMDs. These perspectives have now been compiled as a 45-page section presented in this volume. The contributions from panellists in the first part of this book also provide many historical insights that were gained from the jubilee 2011 conference. It has been a wonderful occurrence that most of the panellists who participated in sharing their experiences and views with the audience at the conference itself, are now able to share them with readers of the this current volume of its proceedings.

An important observation by one of the panel presenters, Dr. Robert Lampard from Red Deer in Alberta, warrants consideration. Dr. Lampard had rightly pointed out that the former head of the University of Calgary Department of Surgery, Dr. Peter J. Cruse (1927-2006), was only seldom written about or acknowledged with respect to his many achievements in surgery and surgical epidemiology, along with his contributions to the Calgary History of Medicine Program. Approximately twenty years ago,

⁴ Peter Cruse, *Program [of the 1st] History of Medicine Days* (Calgary: Faculty of Medicine, University of Calgary, 1991).

Peter Cruse started the History of Medicine Days as a nation-wide conference for medical students, following the inauguration of a history of medicine course he developed for residents of the surgery department, near the very beginning of the University of Calgary's Faculty of Medicine in 1972.⁵

Following the recognition by all participants of the 20th Anniversary conference that the presence of Peter Cruse was "still very much felt in the room," at the beginning of the conference on the morning of March 11, 2013, Dr. Robert Lampard sat down to write a contribution of twenty-one pages on the life and work of Dr. Cruse.⁶ Lampard's special chapter also acknowledges Cruse's important work in starting the Calgary History of Medicine and Health Care Program and convincing the Alberta Medical Foundation in Edmonton, along with the former Hannah Foundation in Toronto, to endow a professorial position in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Calgary in 1992. This position was subsequently filled in 2008, after both Dr. Cruse and Dr. Whitelaw had retired from their faculty positions at this institution.⁷

Peter Cruse was capable of generating a large interest in revisiting the history of medicine among his surgical residents and undergraduate medical students within the University of Calgary's medical school. He also managed to make the subject increasingly popular during his surgery teachings, as well as through the history of medicine sessions he gave at annual meetings of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada (RCPSC).⁸ This ability has been observed and emphasized once before, during the 25th Anniversary of the History of Medicine Course in 1997, when the University of Calgary examined the popularity of this elective course offering and its good reception, particularly among medical students.⁹ The course had always been outside of the three-year medical reform curriculum and was not fully integrated in its Undergraduate Medical Education program for over forty years.

⁵ Robert Lampard, "Dr. Peter Cruse, 1927-2006," in *AMA in Medical History – Patients First® for Over 100 Years*, ed. Alberta Medical Association (Edmonton: Alberta Medical Association, 2013), accessed November 8, 2013, <https://www.albertadoctors.org/about/medical-history/patients-1st-for-over-100-years/peter-cruse>.

⁶ See Robert Lampard's biographical chapter "Peter Joseph Erasmus Cruse, MB ChB, FRCS (C&E), FACS (1927-2006)" on pages 1-30 in this edited volume.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Jacques Robichon, "Meeting Highlights – Points saillants du congrès annuel," *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada* 13 (1980): 8.

⁹ Peter Cruse, "University of Calgary Students Keen to Revisit Medical History," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 165 (1997): 628.



1-1 Photograph of Dr. Peter Cruse in an operation theatre at the Calgary Foothills Medical Centre, 1986. Photograph Reprinted with permission from the University of Calgary Archives, 84.005/51/29_1.

Between twenty to forty percent of all medical students — with varying frequency — have continued to not offered for credit within the University of Calgary’s Faculty of Medicine. However, with the gracious support of the Alberta Medical Foundation (AMF) in Edmonton, the History of Medicine and Health Care course has received “a fresh hands on approach to integrating an understanding of the past with a vision of the future.” This remains greatly appreciated by students who take the course, today, and is shown by their participation in the series of lectures and interdisciplinary workshops this course offers. Partially, the attractiveness of the course is its active library sessions and field practica that use the Dr. Peter Cruse Collection in the History of Medicine and with the Mackie Family Collection in the History of Neuroscience as resources.¹⁰ Students conduct research projects using these resources, and construct presentations that are based on their projects. These are undertaken alongside students’ preparation for the annual History of Medicine Days conferences in the spring of each year, where students may present their term projects to the conference’s audience. Many students thus register for the course “because they get excited about the history of their profession and with the idea that

¹⁰ Jordana Heller, “Rare Book Collection Unites Neuroscience History and Future,” in *Faculty of Medicine*, ed. University of Calgary Faculty of Medicine (Calgary: Faculty of Medicine, 2010), accessed November 8, 2013, <http://www.medicine.ucalgary.ca/about/rareneuro-sciencebooks>.

if they look to the past, they can get an idea of how to conduct their own affairs.”¹¹

Since Peter Cruse’s time, the course has also maintained a practical side. Students are provided with many opportunities to develop their individual speaking skills at public forums, share ideas about how they might arrange materials and slides for these presentations, and also how they might prepare a publication in the HMDs Proceedings Volumes. These peer-reviewed volumes highlight edited papers that have been chosen from the conference’s proceedings. Furthermore, medical students taking the History of Medicine and Health Care course are offered the excellent opportunity for communication and supervision with their faculty supervisor and additional preceptors from the disciplinary areas of their chosen research topics, as they prepare their projects in the history of medicine. The History of Medicine and Health Care course thereby covers many different topics, including those from the Ancient History of Medicine, Health and Healing in the Medieval Period, the Scientific Revolution in Western Medicine, the History of Anatomical and Clinical Pathology, Complementary and Alternative Medicine, Aboriginal Healing Approaches, and the History of Public Health and Modern Medical Specialization and Interdisciplinarity in 20th Century Biomedicine.¹²

The course runs for two terms from fall to spring each year and most of students present their historical research projects to the annual History of Medicine conference. This provides students with excellent experience preparing their work for the field in conjunction with the networking opportunities the conference provides medical students from across the country, and often internationally. These, among other reasons, have developed great appeal for the History of Medicine Days at the University of Calgary. Students from many medical schools, health sciences centres, nursing faculties, and health-related interests in programs at faculties of arts and humanities have been invited to participate in these conferences every spring.¹³

As for this year’s History of Medicine Days conference, the selected 2011 conference papers, which are assembled in the current volume,

¹¹ Cruse, *University of Calgary Students Keen to Revisit Medical History*, 628.

¹² In this sense, the Calgary course in the History of Medicine and Health Care is a regular and very comprehensive course. It represents a central course offering which most Medical Schools and Arts Faculties in Canada lack. See the most recent survey by Jonathan Fuller and Margaret Olszewski, “Medical History in Canadian Undergraduate Medical Education, 1939-2012,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 30 (2013): 199-209.

¹³ Ibid.

particularly comprise contributions to the Ancient History of Medicine, the History of Eugenics and on Women, Health, and Reproduction. Further content areas include Institutes and Deinstitutionalization, along with issues related to Brain, Mind, and Mindlessness, which are represented by papers on the history of North American Eugenics and Mental Health, and the modern neurological history of Multiple Sclerosis in Canada. Interdisciplinary perspectives on the history of medicine close this volume, such as the philosophy and medicine, from two extended summer research projects from a neurological fellow (Michel Shamy, University of California at San Francisco) in the United States and a local health sciences student (Alexandra Whittick, University of Calgary). Furthermore, a history graduate student, Erna Kurbegović (University of Calgary) and undergraduate student Kelsey Lucyk (University of Alberta), have submitted their research papers based on course work in partial fulfilment for their degrees. Some additional students and speakers have travelled from greater distances, such as Oxford University in England, Texas A & M University in College Station, Texas and New Jersey in the United States.

In total, thirty-nine oral presentations, ten poster presentations, and ten additional posters from a theoretical student project at the University of Calgary's Faculty of Environmental Design (EVDS) were shown at the 2011 Anniversary conference. These poster exhibits and the following discussion of works related to biological and medical history metaphors, as used in the architectural undergraduate design studies, was chaired by Professor in Architecture, Dr. Joshua Taron, who also leads the Laboratory for Integrative Design (LID) at the EVDS. Altogether, one fourth of the presentations at the 20th Anniversary History of Medicine Days conference were given by students from the University of Calgary. Many other local students were involved in preparation for the conference, from actively volunteering on various organizing committees, to billeting of external student presenters, to helping organize the program. Without their most valuable and generous help, the organization of the conference would not have been nearly as smooth or as successful as it was.

Altogether, more than one hundred and sixty students and faculty colleagues attended the individual sessions from the University of Calgary campuses. Many faculty members from both the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Arts supported the chairing and judging process of the many presentations given at the 20th Anniversary conference. This included their involvement in two more specialized and interactive exhibition sessions, which were co-organized by colleagues from the English Department and Narrative Medicine Interest Group at the Faculty of Medicine, and the

Biodesign studio at the Faculty of Environmental Design, as outlined above.

The Keynote Speaker of the 2011 History of Medicine Days was delivered by one of the most eminent Canadian historians of medicine, Dr. George Weisz (Cotton-Hannah Chair in the History of Medicine at the Department of Social Studies of Medicine) from McGill University (Montréal, Québec), who presented a widely received and well-appreciated address to the conference. His topic “The Reinvention of Chronic Disease in the 20th Century” was centred largely on a parallel article submission to the *American Journal of Public Health* (AJPH).¹⁴ With the kind permission of the author and the section editor-in-chief for the history of public health at *AJPH*, Dr. Theodore M. Brown at Rochester University in New York, Dr. Weisz’s article appears here as a full reprint in this volume, to represent the 2011 keynote address at the University of Calgary to the 20th Anniversary History of Medicine Days conference. In 2011, the invited keynote lecture was again a co-sponsored event by the Institute for Public Health (IPH), the Calgary History of Medicine Society (CHOMS), and the Science, Technology, Environment and Medicine Studies (STEMS) colloquium, for which the organizers were all very grateful.



1-2 Chemist Lee Geismar shown reviewing a new drug application for the Food and Drug Administration. Geismar was involved in the review for thalidomide in the early 1960s. Photograph courtesy of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

¹⁴ George Weisz, “Epidemiology and Health Care Reform: The National Health Survey of 1935-1936,” *American Journal of Public Health* 101 (2011): 438-447.

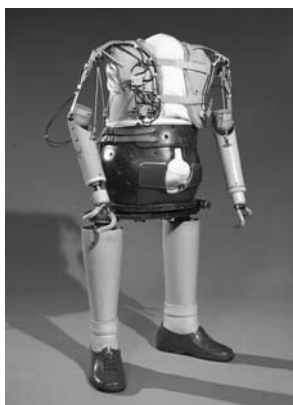
Beyond this already extensive program, another specialized session was offered at the conference with partial participation from representatives of the pharmaceutical industry, entitled “Panel on the 50th Anniversary of the Thalidomide Catastrophe” on Friday, March 11, 2011. It commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the withdrawal of thalidomide from drug markets in the year 1961 and was dedicated to the remembrance of the sad and devastating thalidomide scandal in medicine. Primarily instigated by the biochemist and ethics researcher, Dr. Gregor Wolbring, who is a thalidomider himself, this panel received significant support from the Thalidomide Victims Association of Canada and its Executive Director, Ms. Mercedes Benigbi. Both had been driving forces in the planning process behind the scenes, as early as 2010, for this special panel at the History of Medicine Days conference in spring 2011. The search for panellists began with the aim to invite delegates who could represent a wide variety of important perspectives and potentially controversial views. For example, what did the thalidomide disaster mean to the people who were directly victimized by this drug, which at the time was advertised and highly recommended as a “harmless morning-sickness pill” for pregnant women?¹⁵ At the Calgary panel, invited speakers were also asked to discuss the continuation of research on thalidomide, and the development of many chronic health conditions experienced by thalidomiders. Most certainly, the thalidomide scandal has had a major impact on the pharmaceutical industry, its research ethics considerations, and the marketing practices of highly sensitive drugs on the global pharmaceutical market as well.

The fiftieth anniversary of the thalidomide scandal marked the preliminary end of the drug “Thalidomide” (Contergan®), since it was retracted from the pharmaceutical market globally. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) of the United States of America had made this decision following the tens of thousands of teratogenic birth cases that had occurred worldwide since the 1950s.¹⁶ Most countries followed the decision of the American FDA to pull the drug after its scientific officer, Frances Oldham Kelsey (b. 1914), had made this decision. Oldham led an investigation into thalidomide when news of its teratogenic effects erupted, particularly through the European media, medical, and scientific journal publications. With the support of the Thalidomide Victims Association of Canada (TVAC), two thalidomide victims spoke on the panel, including Alberta social worker Nancy Blain, who gave “An

¹⁵ Ibid., 781.

¹⁶ Michael Emanuel, Michael Rawlins, Gordon Duff, and Alasdair Breckenridge, “Thalidomide and its Sequelae,” *Lancet* 380 (2012): 781-783.

Account from Personal Experiences.” The University of Calgary’s own biochemist and disability studies researcher from the Department of Community Health Sciences and Community Rehabilitation and Disability Studies, Gregor Wolbring, presented a moving personal account on “Being a Biochemist and a Thalidomider.”



1-3 Artificial limbs for a thalidomide child, 1961-1965. Photograph property of the Science Museum of London.¹⁷

The local organizers of this panel on the medical history of the thalidomide drug scandal were very pleased with TVAC’s support, for it allowed the speakers and panellists to deliver one of the most poignant and most talked-about panels of the entire conference. This panel also saw the largest number of attendees (physicians and members of the interested public) assembled in the Libin Theatre in the afternoon from 2:30 to 4:00 pm, which shows the great visibility of this event. This panel followed the conference’s keynote lecture on the “Reinvention of Chronic Disease in the 20th Century,” given by medical historian George Weisz, who had set the stage for the “50th Anniversary of Thalidomide Panel.” Very appropriately, his earlier talk reflected on the general factors of increasing chronic health conditions which shaped the context of many medical developments during the last century, as well as the roles that both

¹⁷ Licensed under Creative Commons:

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/sciencemuseum/9660575567/in/photolist-fFxaYR-4q4mXi-aq5hjE-atCptk-atDsVx-bjhR1z-ecmdaE-bjhNqM-bjhCnK-fHEYxH-a96Rfj-7wwzT3-6nqtot-6nuDim-6nuCpb-6nuC1m-6nuDjw-6nuCPS-7LpCXQ-8NxJ6R-7o28p5-9eAXcB-bT66D>.

the “National Institutes of Health” (NIH) and the FDA took in medical progress over the past sixty years.¹⁸

Dr. George Weisz kindly chaired the thalidomide session and contributed vividly to the discussion that followed the individual panel presentations. The panel began with Nancy Blain, a thalidomider who lives in a rural community in the Canadian Province of Alberta, the Western Regional Representative of the Members of the TVAC Board, and a community worker in a small Albertan town. Ms. Blain emphasized that she would not have found the same level of acceptance and acknowledgement in a bigger city, such as Calgary or Edmonton, as she had found in her small town where offices, shops and community activities were and still are more accessible and enabling.

The second talk by Dr. Gregor Wolbring reflected on the various levels of his professional history, in the context of being a thalidomider himself, and the constraints this had placed on his career development. Likewise, Dr. Wolbring commented on the differences between the health care systems of Canada and Germany, as well as on the developments in thalidomide research and marketing on both sides of the Atlantic. He then showed how his ability to travel and communicate with supporting individuals at various levels of the scientific hierarchy finally helped him to make possible his entry into biochemistry and foresight studies, and enabled him to develop a full career as an academic researcher.¹⁹

The third and final speaker of the panel was the Chief Medical Officer of the Celgene Corporation, Dr. Jerry Zeldis, from Warren, New Jersey.²⁰ Dr. Zeldis gave an account of the emerging evidence in medical literature that shows how residual stocks of thalidomide were still in use during the 1960s and 1970s, often for the effective experimental treatment in specific skin diseases and tissue wasting conditions, such as HIV/AIDS.²¹ This presentation was particularly insightful in that it described a responsible way for the pharmaceutical industry to start co-operation with thalidomide

¹⁸ Weisz, *Epidemiology and Health Care Reform*, 438-447.

¹⁹ Also see, Gregor Wolbring, “Confined to Your Legs,” in *Living with the Genie: Essays on the Technology and the Quest for Human Mastery*, ed. Alan Lightman, Daniel Barewitz, and Christina Desser (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2004), 139-156.

²⁰ Anonymous, “Jerome Bernard Zeldis, M.D., Ph.D.,” in *Health Care Sector – Biotechnology Industry*, ed. Bloomberg Business-week (London: Bloomberg Businessweek, 2012), accessed November 8, 2013, <http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/people/person.asp?personId=1417321&ticker=IRBS>.

²¹ For example, see Steve K. Teo, Ken E. Resztak, Michael A. Scheffler, Karin K. Kook, Jerry B. Zeldis, David I. Sterling, and Steve D. Thomas, “Thalidomide in the Treatment of Leprosy,” *Microbes and Infection* 11 (2002): 1193-1202.

victims and their associations. A very intensive discussion ensued about future issues of thalidomide along with concerns about drug safety in general.

Looking at the current HMDs Proceedings Volume, the editorial team is very grateful that after the peer-review process, eighteen manuscript contributions could be included in this collection.²² The volume further includes the abstracts of all 2011 conference presentations and posters in a separate appendix, and has been illustrated with images and diagrams pertaining to the various topics from the history of medicine as they are assembled here. Throughout the 20th Anniversary conference of the History of Medicine Days in 2011 at the University of Calgary, research enthusiasm, oratory and audio-visual competence of the speakers were again of very high quality. The conference audience was not only magnificently entertained, but the local and national delegates contributed to a highly stimulating and engaging discussion throughout the whole event too. The proceedings' editors are further indebted to all participants for their active contributions and support, which have helped to make this year's academic conference a great success.

Both the publication of the Proceedings Volumes and the organization of the 20th Anniversary History of Medicine Days at the University of Calgary would not have been possible without the continued and substantial financial support through Associated Medical Services in Toronto, along with the Alberta Medical Foundation in Edmonton, for which we are very grateful. In addition, we also want to thank the Institute for Public Health in Calgary and the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Calgary for their continuing and significant support. We likewise extend our warm thanks to Beth Cusitar for her kind and thorough editorial help before this volume was finalized.

Frank W. Stahnisch, Kelsey Lucyk, and Aleksandra Loewenau
(University of Calgary, June 9, 2014)

²² All of the contributions in these proceedings, for which the volume editors have received explicit *Copyright Transfer Forms* and *Author Consent Forms*, will also be made available online through the University of Calgary Internet Repository *dSpace*: History of Medicine Days Community Homepage:
<http://dspace.ualgary.ca/handle/1880/47439>.

**20TH ANNIVERSARY PANEL
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OF MEDICINE DAYS CONFERENCE**

