

## Bibliographic Ghostbusting: The Evanescent Life and Spirited Times of the Canadian Journal of Homoeopathy (1856-57)

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### Résumé de l'article

Jusqu'à récemment, l'analyse du Canadian Journal of Homoeopathy s'est révélée difficile; la possibilité que ce périodique soit un fantôme bibliographique était plausible. Cette discussion se fonde toutefois sur une lecture attentive de la publication, maintenant que l'exercice est entièrement et aisément possible. Ce compte rendu examine les contextes sociaux et intellectuels ainsi que les contenus du périodique consacré à la réforme médicale au milieu de l'époque victorienne, en particulier à la pratique médicale sectaire de l'homéopathie au Canada occidental (autrefois le Haut-Canada, puis l'Ontario), tout en situant sa production et sa publication dans le cadre d'autres études sur la culture de la presse écrite et du journalisme médical au Canada. Les efforts du rédacteur fondateur et éditeur de W.A. Greenleaf, homéopathe à St. Catharines et à Hamilton, ont été déterminants dans cette entreprise.

# Bibliographic Ghostbusting: The Evanescent Life and Spirited Times of the Canadian Journal of Homoeopathy (1856–57)

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**Abstract:** *Until recently, analysis of the **Canadian Journal of Homoeopathy** proved to be difficult; the possibility that this periodical was a bibliographic ghost was plausible. This discussion is based on a close reading of the publication, however, now that a complete run of it is readily and conveniently accessible. This account examines the social and intellectual contexts and also the content of this periodical devoted to mid-Victorian medical reform, in particular the medical sectarian practice of homeopathy in Canada West (previously identified as Upper Canada then later as Ontario), while situating its production and publication within other studies of print culture and medical journalism in Canada. Pivotal in this enterprise as founding editor and publisher were the efforts of homeopath Dr. W.A. Greenleaf of St. Catharines and Hamilton.*

**Résumé :** *Jusqu'à récemment, l'analyse du **Canadian Journal of Homoeopathy** s'est révélée difficile; la possibilité que ce périodique soit un fantôme bibliographique était plausible. Cette discussion se fonde toutefois sur une lecture attentive de la publication, maintenant que l'exercice est entièrement et aisément possible. Ce compte rendu examine les contextes sociaux et intellectuels ainsi que les contenus du périodique consacré à la réforme médicale au milieu de l'époque victorienne, en particulier à la pratique médicale sectaire de l'homéopathie au Canada occidental (autrefois le Haut-Canada, puis l'Ontario), tout en situant sa production et sa publication dans le cadre d'autres études sur la culture de la presse écrite et du journalisme médical au Canada. Les efforts du rédacteur fondateur et éditeur de W.A. Greenleaf, homéopathe à St. Catharines et à Hamilton, ont été déterminants dans cette entreprise.*

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**Keywords:** Canadian Journal of Homoeopathy; homeopathy; bibliographic ghost; print culture

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THE VICTORIAN MEDICAL PERIODICAL *Canadian Journal of Homoeopathy* (CJH) has never been analysed, owing to past difficulties in locating actual copies of it. Indeed, until recently, it was inescapable but to conclude that the CJH was what librarians, bibliographers, and book historians call a bibliographic ghost. The supposed existence of any publication based on evidentiary traces that appear only in secondary or tertiary printed sources without being substantiated by direct viewing or physically handling the primary document in question is such a “ghost.”<sup>1</sup> This discussion, however, examines for the first time the context and content of this periodical devoted to Victorian medical reform, in particular the medical sectarian practice of homeopathy, in Canada West (previously identified as Upper Canada then later as Ontario), while situating its production and publication within other studies of print culture and medical journalism in Canada. Any possibility of labelling the journal a bibliographic ghost is dispelled, while reasons for its early demise are identified. This analysis further considers if the

*CJH*, despite its name, is even better described bibliographically not as a journal, but as a serialized pamphlet.

### **“No copy located”: Tracing the trail of the *CJH***

Although Charles Roland and Paul Potter in their relatively exhaustive guide to Canadian medical periodicals in 1979 identify the *CJH*, other bibliographical details of this journal are scant and unhelpful as to its existence; for the volume run, their annotated bibliography reads “1--?...1856-?”. Noted, however, is that the *CJH* editors were W.A. Greenleaf and A.T. Bull, and also that the journal came out of St. Catharines, which was in Canada West; the entry concludes with “No copy located.”<sup>2</sup> Yet it is highly plausible to posit the publication of the *CJH* in Canada West during the mid-1850s, for this jurisdiction at this time experienced much public and professional activity related to the sectarian medical practice of homeopathy, as will be discussed. Thus, another possible avenue to aid in confirming the existence of the *CJH* is through other traces that might be found in contemporaneous medical journals, especially international homeopathic periodicals. In Canada, around 1856, only one medical journal existed: the *Medical Chronicle* or, *Montreal Monthly Journal of Medicine & Surgery*, which operated from 1853 to 1859. A close review of published issues for the years 1856 and 1857 reveals a total silence concerning the *CJH*, despite publishing much medical news and information from Canada West. A similar review of American and British homeopathic journals turns out to be helpful, however. *The North American Journal of Homœopathy*, based in New York City and launched in 1855, carried an announcement and an editorial assessment of the early issues of the *CJH*. It noted, in part, that the editors of the journal, Greenleaf and Bull, were located in Hamilton and London, respectively.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, the British *Monthly Homœopathic Review*, first published in 1857, not only ran a notice about the inaugural issues of the *CJH* noting they emanated from Hamilton and London, “C.W.,” but also reprinted extracts from them.<sup>4</sup> Suffice it to say that these American and British journal items help transform the *CJH* from its ghostly form to an entity with somewhat more material substance.

A little more helpful is the National Library of Medicine (NLM) in Bethesda, Maryland. The institution began as a collection of books belonging to the US Surgeon-General in the early 1800s that then became the Army Medical Library (AML) in 1836 based in Washington, DC, but under the far-sighted and energetic leadership of Dr. John Shaw Billings (1838-1913) the organization considerably expanded its collections.<sup>5</sup> In particular, beginning in the early 1870s Billings undertook to collect copies of every medical periodical and publication, especially those originating in North America. Fortuitously, in 1872 US Army Surgeon Alden, who acted as an agent for Billings and the AML, contacted a Dr. A.T. Bull of Buffalo, New York. Alden informed Billings of the bibliographic fruitfulness of this meeting:

I had better luck with the homeopath yesterday than I expected & send you by express tomorrow morning a box of pamphlets chiefly homeopathic & eclectic & quack. There

are a good many things as you will see from the enclosed list that fill gaps in your files but there is a good deal besides. I thought best to send you all the duplicates as they were freely given & I fancy material of this kind may not be so easily obtainable as regular journals & they may be therefore useful for exchanges.<sup>6</sup>

We can be assured that the homeopath A.T. Bull of Buffalo is the same doctor who was founding co-editor of the *CJH* when he was based in London, Canada West in the mid-1850s. According to local London medical historian and physician Edwin Seaborn, Bull first practised homeopathy in London then relocated to Buffalo sometime after 1866.<sup>7</sup> It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that in the “box of pamphlets chiefly homeopathic & eclectic & quack” were issues of the *CJH* that would be integrated into the extensive medical journal collection of the AML/NLM. Despite the assiduous efforts of Billings and his colleagues, the run of the *CJH* today in the NLM remains incomplete—worse, what “hard copy” issues that were collected sadly no longer exist except in microfilm; nevertheless their very existence, even if only in facsimile form, removes all doubt as to the materiality of the journal.<sup>8</sup> More fortuitous was the donation by physician-medical historian Edward C. Atwater in 1994 of his extensive collection of journals, books, and pamphlets and other ephemera all related to popular health and medical reform in the US to the University of Rochester Medical School. Among the thousands of items that catalogued was a bound volume of 176 pages constituting all issues of *CJH* for the year 1856. Also included was the title page for volume two commencing 1857, but without any of the actual issues themselves present.<sup>9</sup> More ghostbusting evidence exists in the two volumes of the *CJH* in The New York Academy of Medicine (NYAM). Like Atwater’s, a volume of the *CJH* at the NYAM consists of all issues for 1856, while only the first three issues for 1857 comprise the second volume. When the NYAM, founded in 1847, might have acquired its holdings of the *CJH* has not been determined, but it certainly was before the mid-1960s.<sup>10</sup>

It remains curious that previous Canadian medical bibliographers did not extend their inquiries to include American institutions, to avoid categorical statements such as “no copy located” with respect to the *CJH*; yet it remains a fact that no original copies exist in Canada. Very recently, however, Canadiana online, the ultimate successor to the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM), has mounted digital copies based on the holdings of the NYAM thus permitting researchers, Canadian or otherwise, to get convenient and immediate access to what is believed to be the most complete journal run of *CJH*.<sup>11</sup> Based on copies of representative issues of the *CJH*, this discussion on the one hand unequivocally puts to rest any notion that the *CJH* was a bibliographic ghost. On the other hand, the repudiation of its spectral existence through analysis of its content raises another, different bibliographic question: Was it really a journal? Ought it to be characterized differently? Unlike almost all other medical journals in Victorian Canada which aimed to reach as broad a professional medical readership as possible, the *CJH* occupied a special double niche at a particular historical moment. As was often expressed in its pages, the *CJH* directed its

content to two readership groups, which included lay patients or “patrons,” along with practitioners; uniting all was their interest in and commitment to homeopathy. That the *CJH* informed its readers was certainly true, which was an aim shared by all other medical journals. But the *CJH* also explicitly aimed to agitate through its advocacy campaign for the sectarian medical practice of homeopathy at the expense of “regular” doctors. “Regular” medical journals, too, often ran pointed and critical editorials concerning important issues of the day, but overall these periodicals did not function primarily to promote a particular partisan position. As such, the *CJH* was more akin to a medical pamphlet as explicated by Jennifer J. Connor. She explains how pamphlets, small printed booklets, “fulfil a particular rhetorical function that differentiates them from ...other publications. ...[T]he primary goal of medical pamphlets was to encourage or persuade readers to take a particular course of action.”<sup>12</sup> In the history of medical journalism in Victorian Canada the only other periodical that closely resembled the *CJH* was *The Unfettered Canadian*. This appeared during the year of 1849 in Upper Canada with the aim of specifically promoting the botanically-based medical sectarian practice of Thomsonianism, which was embedded in the rhetorical discourse of political reform and action.<sup>13</sup> Although *The Unfettered Canadian* appeared for many published consecutive issues, Connor interestingly judges it to be less of a journal and more a “serialized pamphlet.”<sup>14</sup> Contextualizing the *CJH* for the purposes of bibliographic studies, it may similarly be best described as a serialized pamphlet. Considering the *CJH* as a serialized pamphlet is also helpful for situating it more broadly within medical history. The demise of this periodical, as will be shown, can be readily attributed in great part to financial woes. Yet, it may be postulated that its life may have been evanescent, regardless. Pamphlets are written and published, typically, in response to an event, a crisis, or a political moment. But if the aims of a cause are achieved, then the need to persuade is diminished.

### Homeopathy in 1850s Canada West and beyond

The appearance of the *CJH* in the mid-1850s maps to a period when the promotion of homeopathy was intensifying, not only in Canada but elsewhere. It was the organ of a cause; it was a pamphlet to promote and advocate for change. Briefly, based on the medical practice’s founder the German physician Samul Hahnemann (1755–1843), the tenets of homeopathic medical practice included treating diseases and ailments with small pills or globules infused with extremely highly diluted tinctures—“infinitesimal doses”—of mineral and botanical compounds. These compounds under normal circumstances might induce symptoms in healthy persons of the disease under treatment; this belief was captured in the homeopathic maxim “like cures like.” There was also the concept of a vital or life force that functioned in the human body; such an underpinning vitalist philosophical doctrine was not unique to medical therapeutic systems devised during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries.<sup>15</sup> Critics of homeopathy such as “mainstream,” “regular,” or “allopathic” physicians dismissed it as lacking any rational foundation and that its treatments were useless; it was quackery. Its

proponents countered that homeopathy was a healthful alternative to aggressive medical measures such as excessive bloodletting and/or the administration of often dangerous drugs. Tensions and rivalries between members of opposing schools of medical thought existed, but the intense level of antagonism as often erupted in the United States was not to be found in Canada due, in part, to prevailing licensing legislation.

During the Victorian era, homeopathy was practised in what is now Quebec (previously Lower Canada, and then Canada East), but mostly in Montreal; the Maritimes less so, but it was found particularly in New Brunswick. Western Canada was not generally receptive to the medical sect. But it was in Canada West/Ontario, especially in the southwestern region that embraced the larger communities of Toronto, Hamilton, and London, along with their environs, that homeopathy flourished relative to other parts of Canada. In the early 1850s, the public might learn of homeopathy through practising homeopaths when lecturing at Mechanics Institutes and other similar educational venues. More likely, word was disseminated through reading and publishing pamphlets for lay audiences; such promotional activities, as already noted were usually partisan, if not polemical. Examples, more than likely paid for by their authors and usually printed and published by newspaper offices that also acted as job printers, are extant from the Maritimes, Quebec, and Canada West. For example, R.J. Smith of Toronto in his pamphlet of 1852 titled *Lecture on the History of Medicine and the Science of Homeopathy* expounded on the “vast difference” between homeopathy and regular or allopathic medicine. By invoking numerous nature similes and metaphors, Smith contrasted the violence of mainstream medicine with the gentleness of homeopathy: “Allopathy rushes over the organism like a volcano, or an avalanche exhausting all her resources; or, perhaps we may illustrate it by the tornado that tosses the mariner’s bark so furiously upon the lap of the ocean, as to try, and strain, and crack every timber in her works.” In comparison, Smith wrote, “Homeopathy carries on its curative operations with a stillness and quietness.” By personifying nature, health, along with homeopathy, he continued that “[w]hen she is agonizing and writhing in her conflicts with disease, she needs not to be goaded on like the baited brute in the amphitheatre; but it is then she needs the well-timed and soothing aid of a modest friend.”<sup>16</sup> Smith’s style, approach, and arguments in favour of homeopathy resonated with editorials and articles that would be published in the *CJH*.

Assessing why exactly homeopathy began to gain popular and professional traction is complicated. Certainly for some practitioners and patients alike was the understanding that homeopathic treatment was safer than the “heroic” modalities of allopathic doctors who employed copious bloodletting and purging. Yet as both British and American historians of homeopathy have noted, other economic, social, gendered, and intellectual parameters were also probably at play in its adoption. Considering their work with respect to Canada is apposite as the uptake of homeopathy there was an amalgam of influences and trends that flowed from both the motherland and from its constantly churning neighbour

to the south. First, typically, it fell to the mother in a household to be concerned about the healthcare of her family, so perhaps not surprisingly women were disproportionately attracted to the purported gentler actions of homeopathy. Second, owing to the availability and active promotion of inexpensive domestic homeopathic medical kits consisting of a range of compounds for the treatment of common ailments, factors of convenience and economics no doubt also were considerations.<sup>17</sup> Finally, at a much more conceptual level was another possible justification, which might be roughly categorized as religious and spiritual, or more generally as metaphysical. Intellectual historians and historians of religion have commented on the cultural changes respecting organized religion in mid-Victorian Canada, especially its increasing democratization through American-style evangelism, along with other charismatic movements. At the same time long-held religious beliefs were being challenged by new scientific theories such as Darwinism. In sum, this was an era of intellectual flux. More specifically, as historian Ramsay Cook observed, in the 1850s in Canada, United States and Britain, “spiritualist activities had begun to arouse public interest. Spiritualist lecturers, like itinerant preachers on virtually every other subject from secularism to temperance, crossed the intellectually undefended border with increasing regularity.”<sup>18</sup> It is feasible to posit that temperamental affinities existed between those who might begin to question traditional creeds on the one hand, while on the other hand might wish to explore new ways of thinking and acting, including the realm of medical treatment thus being persuaded to become believers and adopters of homeopathy—especially in light of the homeopathic notion of the existence and healthful role of a seemingly somatic but yet imperceptible vital spirit.

Certainly, the mind and body healing and cognate activities of Dr Susan Kilborn (1815-1868), are an instance. Born and raised in Stanstead, Canada East, Kilborn received her medical training first as an apprentice to Dr Moses Colby, also of Stanstead, then formally at Geneva Medical College in New York State; in the early 1860s she enrolled in courses at Boston’s New England Female Medical College, which was a “regular” medical school but also one homeopathically oriented. In 1863, Kilborn became a faculty member at the New York Medical College and Hospital for Women, which became the most important site in America for the homeopathic training of women. According to her biographer the religious historian Marguerite Van Die, Kilborn’s idiosyncratic blend of homeopathic healing and spiritualism is a prime example of “lived religion.”<sup>19</sup> The medico-religious example of Kilborn, however, ought to be understood as the exception and not the rule. As medical historian S.E.D. Shortt has shown, established medicine at this time rejected spiritualism.<sup>20</sup> More important, contemporary homeopaths were similarly sceptical. Writing in the *North American Journal of Homœopathy* in 1860, the Canadian homeopath J.C. Peterson made clear that it was the duty of his colleagues to “purge homœopathy of all that borders upon the transcendental and mysterious.”<sup>21</sup> Peterson was a sales agent and supporter of the *CJH*.<sup>22</sup>

### The CJH and the push to organize and validate homeopathy

In 1854, the Homoeopathic Medical Society of Canada was founded; five years later twenty petitions representing 1,800 residents of Canada West/Ontario were presented to the Legislative Assembly in support of the official licencing of homeopaths. Legislation was processed speedily so that Royal Assent was granted on 4 May, 1859; this new act governed homeopathic educational and training standards. Among those now officially licensed to practice as of 13 June, 1859 were Drs. Alexander T. Bull (a medical graduate of New York University) and William A. Greenleaf (who graduated from Cincinnati Medical College).<sup>23</sup> A decade later saw new legislation along with the creation of a wholly different overarching governing medical body (the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario in 1869) in the newly formed province, yet homeopathy continued to be officially recognized despite the relative numerical weakness of its doctors (in 1870 there were approximately 50 homeopaths relative to over 1,000 “regulars”).<sup>24</sup>

The publication of the *CJH* in 1856 to 1857 in Canada West corresponds directly to the efflorescence of activities to organize and promote the homeopathic project there; the inauguration of the journal, then, can be seen as both a cause and effect of that process. Its appearance, too, in the Toronto-Hamilton-London corridor also makes sense based on its concentration of both homeopathic practitioners and supporters. More specifically, that St. Catharines was the initial *CJH* home base reflected not only the then residence of its co-editor W.A. Greenleaf, it also attested to that town’s burgeoning commercial prosperity and growing reputation as a popular health resort owing to its mineral water spas.<sup>25</sup> But as noted in previously mentioned bibliographic annotations for the *CJH*, nearby Hamilton also became a place of record of its publication. Again, this connects with Greenleaf, for he later relocated to that larger city to establish a medical practice. A columnist with the nom de plume of Junius announced in the *St. Catharines Journal* in 1856 that “Dr. F.M. Havens (Homœopathist) is successor to Dr. Greenleaf, our esteemed friend, who has but recently removed to Hamilton; and who was greatly patronised, much respected, and highly esteemed by many here. We wish both, our friend Dr. Greenleaf in his new field of labor, and Dr. Havens in this his commencement of practice, many rewards and great posterity in their present spheres of usefulness.”<sup>26</sup>

Visual examination of the *CJH* [Fig. 1] further adds to our historical understanding of it as a printing and publishing artifact, which is also contextually significant. In almost all respects it resembled other medical journals of the day in format and structure, as early volumes show, but initially it had fewer pages (around eight) than other similar publications. Each issue was octavo size (approximately 6” by 9”) with two separate columns of text on the page, although later issues would replace that format by having text run the full width of the page. The journal title was set in large Black Letter font similar to that used in many newspapers’ mastheads. Running under this was a quotation in Latin: *Plus apud nos vera ratio valet, quam vulgi opini*, which translates as “for us true reason has more weight than popular opinion.” This not wholly accurate excerpt origi-

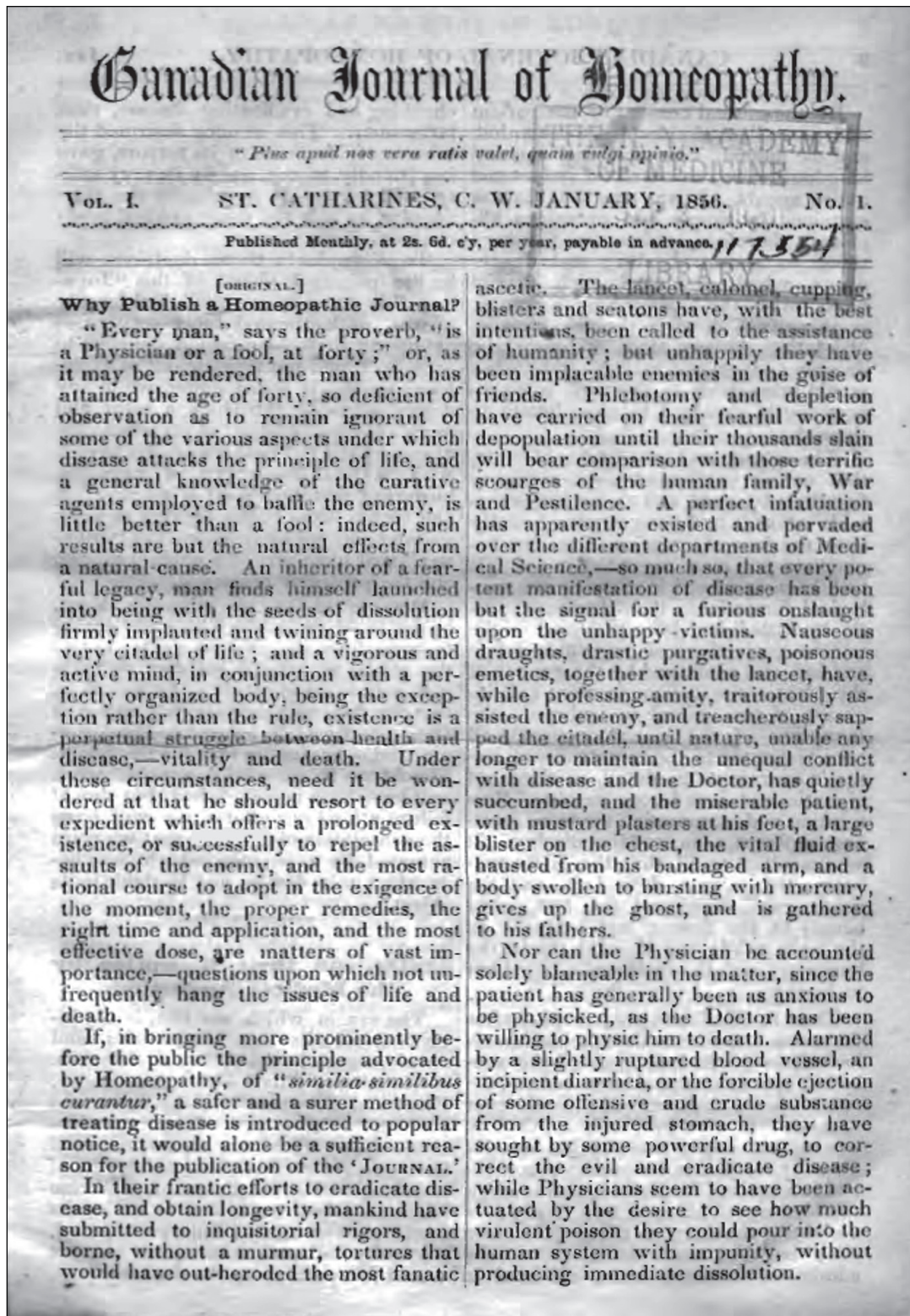


Figure 1. *Canadian Journal of Homeopathy*. *Canadiana.ca* [http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06806\\_1/1?r=0&s=1](http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06806_1/1?r=0&s=1)

nated from the writings of the first century BCE Roman orator Cicero, but would be recognizable to many genteel and literate persons of the Victorian era—a segment of polite society that homeopathic practitioners frequently favoured and actively courted.<sup>27</sup> Not only did such a quotation add an air of learning to the journal, it also set the tone and agenda for the *CJH*: the “true reason” of homeopathy carried more weight than the collective opinions of those who ridiculed or criticized it, i.e. “regular” doctors.

Although initially not excessively strident in its advocacy, the overt polemical nature of the *CJH* cannot be dismissed: its introductory article titled “Why Publish a Homeopathic Journal?” was both a prospectus and a call to arms. Although unsigned but identified as “original” to the *CJH*, this essay presumably was the work of Greenleaf: “If, in bringing more prominently before the public the principle advocated by Homeopathy, of ‘similia similibus curantur,’ [like cures like] a safer and surer method of treating disease is introduced to popular notice, it would alone be a sufficient reason for the publication of the ‘Journal.’”<sup>28</sup> What followed was the familiar critical refrain of the shortcomings and dangers of mainstream medical practices, along with patients’ failure to reject them:

The lancet, calomel, cupping, blisters and setons have, with the best intentions been called to the assistance of humanity, but unhappily they have been implacable enemies in the guise of friends. Phlebotomy and depletion have carried on their fearful work of depopulation until their thousands slain will bear comparison with those terrific scourges of the human family, War and Pestilence....Nor can the Physician be accounted solely blameable in the matter, since the patient as generally been anxious to be physicked, as the Doctor has been willing to physic him to death.<sup>29</sup>

It was therefore to be the “principal object” of the *CJH* to disseminate the doctrines of homeopathy “largely in well authenticated facts,—FACTS, —“stub-born facts,” which bid defiance to argument...if we save but one victim from being hurried through poison to an untimely grave, the ‘JOURNAL’ will have served a noble purpose, and the publisher rewarded.”<sup>30</sup> Most of the remaining original articles in this and subsequent issues were similar with titles such as “Truths, and their Reception by the Medical Profession,” “Homeopathy Weighed in the Balance,” and “What is Homeopathy?”. Other printed matter was excerpted and reprinted from both American and British homeopathic journals. The overall nature of the *CJH* was ably captured in a brief review in the *North American Journal of Homœopathy*, noting it was “rather a popular than a strictly medical Journal. ...Still its articles are always well written, its selections good, and its whole tone is gentlemanly and literary.”<sup>31</sup>

To be considered the producer of a “gentlemanly and literary” journal likely greatly satisfied Greenleaf, for such terms may be interpreted in the understanding of the times as less gendered and more professional or being of suitable status.<sup>32</sup> But is it possible to gauge the appeal and measure the success of *CJH* as a publishing venture? In her analysis of Victorian medical journals in Canada, Jennifer J. Connor concludes that costs, logistics, and editorial demands associated with such periodicals could be complicating and taxing. So much so, that

the publication life cycle from birth to death was often short as promoters run out of money, material, and personal energy.<sup>33</sup> Her research prompts several fundamental questions regarding the *CJH*: How was it produced and distributed? How did it function? What was its readership? Were there many subscribers? Might other sources of income sustain it? What was its eventual fate based on the bibliographical rarity of surviving issues? It is possible to sketch answers to these questions through examination of details contained in the *CJH* that medical historians typically might ignore but which are helpful to book and print culture historians. When based in St. Catharines, the journal was typeset and produced in the printing office of H. Leavenworth.<sup>34</sup> Hiram Leavenworth (1797–1857) was an American who migrated from upstate New York to the Niagara region in the early nineteenth century; he would be among the first cohort of printers in Upper Canada, and he produced the *Colonial Advocate* newspaper for William Lyon McKenzie in Queenston (although it was likely first printed in New York by Leavenworth).<sup>35</sup> That Leavenworth was one of the most experienced printers in Canada West is indisputable, which probably accounts for the general quality and lack of printing errors or spelling mistakes in the *CJH*. It is possible, however, that the actual printer was his son, H.F. Leavenworth, who took over the print shop from his ailing father around the time of the first issues of the *CJH*.<sup>36</sup>

Distribution of the *CJH* was through booksellers, specialty pharmacies, and a network of subscription agents who were also homeopathic physicians. In St. Catharines, issues of the *CJH* could be purchased from the two bookshops of Barr & Thompson's and Walker's; further afield they could also be had in Hamilton at the homeopathic pharmacy of Dr A.N. Woolverton who also practiced homeopathy in Philadelphia at the well-known homeopathic pharmacy (and publisher) of Boericke & Tafel.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, homeopaths practising in Canada West in Beamsville (McLean), Port Colborne (Carter), Hamilton (Peterson), Woodstock (Ferguson), London (Bull), Toronto (Adams), and Newmarket (Codey) were authorized to gather the annual subscription fee of two shillings and six pence. A number of complimentary copies also were sent to "our friends whom we have not communicated. Should they desire it, they will please inform us before the time of publishing the second No." However, the publisher/editor craved the "indulgence" of these same friends for the lateness of the appearance of this first issue; the "next No. will be issued in better season," Greenleaf assured readers.<sup>38</sup>

Issue number two (February, 1856) ran to twenty pages, signalling considerable growth; indeed, the editorial titled "Prospects of Success" confirmed this. "It is with feelings of satisfaction," Greenleaf wrote in it "that we send the second No. to our patrons enlarged and otherwise improved." One improvement was the accession of Dr. Alexander T. Bull of London as a co-editor and publisher, which would aid in making the "Journal interesting, instructive and popular." An invitation was extended to "our Medical Friends" to contribute "carefully written articles, illustrative of the principles of Homeopathy...and the success of the cause of Medical Reform in your vicinity." More pointedly and practically, "do not relax your efforts to extend the circulation of the Journal [Greenleaf exhorted]; for I scarcely need remind you, that our interests are common, with this

exception, that we have the labor of publishing without remuneration, (beyond the cost of printing and paper) while you have the pleasure of seeing the cause increase in your midst. So send on subscribers, not forgetting the ‘material aid,’ and we will try to furnish you an equivalent.”<sup>39</sup> And send them on they did from Canada West and Canada East. Twelve physicians were identified who had submitted remittances for journal subscriptions from 242 persons; Dr. A.T. Bull himself, accounted for 150 of them. In addition, another 76 were sent from individual subscribers, including several women (identified as “Mrs.”—as noted, many women were attracted to homeopathy as its methods were considered more suitable for them and their children).<sup>40</sup> Such metrics, while basic, are revealing as it is often difficult to ascertain how many subscribers any Victorian medical periodical might have had; but with over 300 remittances/readers, the *CJH* may be deemed to have been successful. Moreover, we can infer that a good number of them came from the general lay public as at no time were there that number of practicing homeopaths in Canada. In sum, the *CJH* fulfilled its dual objective of appealing to popular audience (both male and female) and to a professional one (overwhelmingly male).<sup>41</sup>

Yet there were problems of distribution beyond the control of the publishers/editors. Letters complaining that the January issue had not been delivered to some subscribers had been received; in response, somewhat plaintively, was the reply: “We mailed carefully, a copy to the address of each of those, whose names we had, at the time of publishing.”<sup>42</sup> There is implicit here the enduring lament of blaming the vagaries of the postal service for mail gone astray, but the time and effort to presumably handwrite address labels, package issues, affix postage stamps, and then transport all to a post office must have been appreciable. (Perhaps an advantage for Greenleaf was that during the early 1850s the St. Catharines’s postmaster was also jointly a bookseller and a stationer.<sup>43</sup>) And that in addition to many of the other behind-the-scenes tasks he had to undertake in addition to writing, conveying and collecting copy to and from the printing office, proofreading, accounting, and promotion and marketing duties.

Revenue, in addition to subscribers’ payments, possibly flowed to the journal from its advertisers. Ads in medical journals were not uncommon; those in the *CJH* primarily took the form of professional calling cards announcing a physician’s location and hours of office practice. Pharmacies also advertised noting the compounds and other items they prepared and stocked, with business from Canada (Hamilton) and the United States (Philadelphia, and New York City) being represented. Without exception physicians and pharmacies alike were homeopathic in orientation. Also appearing were larger display ads for American medical colleges such as the Pennsylvania Homeopathic Medical College in Philadelphia and the Western Homeopathic College in Cleveland, Ohio. Information was conveyed to prospective students about the length of courses and terms, fee structures, and who comprised the faculty. The numbers of ads steadily increased over time, especially those for American businesses, suggesting, on the one hand, an increasing professional profile for the *CJH*. On the other

hand however, it also might be interpreted that funds from ads were increasingly becoming more of a necessity to support the journal. Another change was the shift in publication from St. Catharines to Hamilton, beginning with the fourth issue in April 1856, which was a result of a personal decision by Greenleaf to leave his rural practice for an urban setting owing to his health. His country practice had been successful yet his long travels in “continued exposure to the storm and wet” now fatigued him: “A physician, to endure a country ride, should receive the most severe physical training from his youth up, or he will find a few years will make him a wreck of what he otherwise would be.”<sup>44</sup>

The content and tenor of the journal, too, changed with successive issues containing fewer original contributions by its co-editors, or by Canadian homeopathic authors; pages were increasingly filled with reprinted material from American and British sister journals, which while informative, may perhaps not have appealed to all readers. Never the less by mid-year, Greenleaf expressed his satisfaction with the progress and success of the *CJH*, thus he expressed his thanks to all those who had supported it; but a “paper cannot be published in this country without it has the ‘sinews of war.’ The low price at which it is afforded requires a good list of patrons to sustain it in its present form....”<sup>45</sup> Later in 1856, a new feature of the journal was its role in communicating the meeting activities of the Homeopathic Medical Society of Canada, of which Greenleaf was Secretary. The report for the semi-annual meeting held in Woodstock in September 1856 carried news of new members elected, the censuring of one doctor who had brought “reproach upon Homeopathy,” and a decision to procure a seal for the Society. Although the *CJH* was not formally connected to the Society, a printing committee was struck (consisting of Drs. Greenleaf, Bull, and Ferguson), along with a resolution that Greenleaf and Bull continue publishing the journal for another year—all suggesting a tighter link between the Society and the periodical.<sup>46</sup> December marked the conclusion of the first year of publication, which was acknowledged as a success by any measure. The principles and practice of homeopathy had been explained and promoted unceasingly in the pages of the *CJH*, but “it is not time for us to relax our energies, but to follow our past successes with renewed efforts until the principles of medical reform are known and followed throughout the length of this prosperous province. The press is the only means by which correct principles can be rapidly disseminated” Greenleaf exclaimed. Of course, there was a real cost to promoting medical reform, thus journal subscriptions were to rise to one dollar annually beginning in 1857. “We do not expect to grow rich by this publication,” Greenleaf continued, “yet we hope we receive enough to pay the printer, leaving out remuneration to the editor; hence, every physician has as much interest in sustaining the Journal as the publishers themselves, as they desire no benefit but such as is common to all our practitioners.”<sup>47</sup>

### The CJH, medical reform, and the “Medical Monopoly”

The *raison d'être* of the *CJH* was, of course, to promote homeopathy: the Latin quotation that was part of the initial journal masthead signalled this, as did earlier editorials that referred to the failings of “regular” doctors, along with the need to support the “cause of Medical Reform.” All articles, whether original or reprinted, focussed on homeopathic medical practice; similarly all the ads. Yet, particularly in the issues that constituted the second volume (1857), there was a more readily detectable belligerent position towards “regular” or “old school” medicine in whatever original editorial matter that did appear, with the register or tenor of the discourse becoming more pronounced and adversarial—it became, overall, less “gentlemanly.” “IS HOMEOPATHY PRACTICABLE?” pithily queried the first editorial of 1857. The not so concise one-sentence response exhorted readers that “We would not ask that our own ipse dixit be taken as proof, but could point the enquirer to the accumulated and constantly augmenting evidence of a multitude of competent and scientific observers, extending over a space of half a century forming a mass of evidence that would make a question of fact doubly conclusive, and to patients and patrons, now numbered by millions, who will cheerfully add their grateful testimony to a truth that has been full of life and joy to them and theirs.”<sup>48</sup> And, in conclusion:

The principles of homeopathy, we venture to premise, will not be considered impossible by any unprejudiced reasoner. ...The truth of the power of small doses is already sustained by a mass of evidence such as never supported any system of medicine before, and is daily increasing with the development of the science. We can venture to say, that no physician of the old school who would examine the amount and nature of the evidence afforded, could excuse their neglect of a fair, faithful, and impartial examination.<sup>49</sup>

Physicians of the old school were thus characterized as biased, close-minded, and unscientific. More ammunition for attacks by the homeopathic organ became readily available, because in addition to these perceived faults, members of the old school in Toronto at this time had descended into complete organizational and professional disarray to reveal how riven they were. It is well documented that the mid-1850s were tumultuous times for medical education in that city due to medical school faculty mutinies and defections grounded in intense institutional competition in addition to religious and political partisanship; this internal strife and manoeuvrings became public knowledge through newspaper reports and legal inquiries. Briefly, at the heart of the matter were independent proprietary medical schools whose instructors derived remuneration from tuition fees; thus poaching students to increase enrolment was not uncommon. Moreover, as one medical school might be Anglican/Tory in orientation, another Methodist, and another Reform-minded, these institutions became local battlegrounds for larger, long-ongoing feuds. One catastrophic case that may be considered exemplary of the fallout of such enmities was the death of a patient at the hands of two students from competing “regular” medical schools, with faculty both from institutions defending the actions of its student during the inquest, while condemning those of the other. Commenting on the tragedy, George Brown, editor/publisher of

the Toronto newspaper, *The Globe*, wrote that “Were we writing a theme in favour of homeopathy..., we could not desire a better text. ...[H]ow many do the rest of the regular profession kill in the city and throughout to province?”<sup>50</sup> The administration and the activities of the Toronto General Hospital were also greatly compromised at this time due to the machinations of “regular” medical men.<sup>51</sup>

Quoting liberally and somewhat gleefully from another contemporary newspaper article about the medical school debacle, the *CJH* made sure its readers were fully acquainted with the matter, while also adding its own caustic commentary. Using much punning and extended metaphors, it noted that “‘With feelings of disgust,’ the *Hamilton Banner*...approached the ‘subject’ of Medical Schools in the Western Province. Whether this disgust was caused from the cadaverous odor that would naturally arise from bodies so long defunct, or the association of the subject with pills, powders, and blisters, he does not inform us.” None the less, “Two [medical schools] have passed through the sickening, decline, and pangs of mortality to a premature end. Atrophia famelicorum [emaciation due to lack of mother’s milk] appears to have been the cause of their early demise, hastened, no doubt, by the remorse excited in an over sensitive conscience for their culpable conduct.... That old school medicine needs help, just as Peter did when sinking into the waves, is quite evident.” Continuing with the trope of the body, while attacking the possibility of government intervention to ameliorate the old school’s condition that might be at the expense of homeopathy, the editorial continued:

To foster weak and infant institutions, the objects of which are good, by legislative aid, consistent with public justice and individual rights, is no doubt highly commendable; but what must we think of the allopathic profession, coming forward in the strength of mature manhood, aided by age and experience, standing and popularity, and asking for exclusive privileges and government aid to be used for the support of a clique or association, who from the weakness incident to human nature or selfish motives, will deliberately sustain medical error sooner than admit the fallibility of their confrerie?<sup>52</sup>

In the following issue of March 1857, there appeared another scathing editorial titled “The Medical Monopoly;” accompanying was a lengthy extracted article from *The Globe*, which also excoriated the “allopathists” while showing sympathy for the tenuous position of the rival “homoeopathists.”<sup>53</sup> The root problem was the presence and nefarious activities of one “Dr.” Francis Tumblety. Without doubt, Tumblety the “Celebrated Indian Herb Doctor,” was a quack, a charlatan, and a snake oil salesman supreme — even contemporary “regular” and homeopathic doctors all agreed on that; current historical analysis confirms this, along with the charge that he was likely also an abortionist and perhaps Jack the Ripper!<sup>54</sup> When he began peddling his wares in Canada West, a regular physician brought a suit against him for the illegal practice of medicine as he was unlicensed by the provincial Medical Board, but under the same law so too could any “respectable” homeopathic practitioner be sued, *The Globe* noted. “There is no difference between the two parties in the eye of the law. Both parties have given medicine without licence, and are equally answerable” it continued. As this was a matter of principle,

All who will not go before a Board composed of old school physicians and submit to the views propounded there, must be punished by fine and imprisonment if they give advice and take a fee. We feel convinced that by making this demand, the regular profession will incur unpopularity, and will gain nothing. It is quite impossible to put bonds on a sick man and say, this person only you must consult, and no one else.<sup>55</sup>

According to the *CJH*, *The Globe* column contained “more good sense than all medical laws that were ever enacted.” Yet, given the demands and constraints of the law, the “only course open to medical reformers, those who are convinced of the fallacy of old school [sic], and are humanely laboring to maintain a more safe and rational mode of medical treatment, is to submit to the punishments of a disgraceful statute enforced by the malice of jealous minds, and hope for better and more enlightened enactments.”<sup>56</sup>

The close timing of the medical school imbroglio and the Tumblety affair provided plenty of editorial fodder respecting medical reform, but the *CJH* had its own internal publishing concerns. In early 1857, it noted that the “enterprise of sustaining a periodical devoted to the interests of medical reform” was both new and difficult. Again, the lament was made that all labour was without “direct remuneration” for the time devoted thus it was hoped “friends of the cause will not think us exacting too much in asking their aid in its support.”<sup>57</sup> Likely this was a hint that revenue was less than expenses incurred, if so it explains why the *CJH* increased the number of those who were subscription agents to include all homeopathic practitioners in the province, along with representation in New Brunswick, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.<sup>58</sup> But the writing was not only on the wall, it also appeared in print. “An Apology and an Appeal” was a blunt notice to *CJH* readers that the journal was headed for trouble due to a monetary shortfall and what might be termed editor burnout. The March issue had appeared one month late owing to the editor’s failure to follow up on the task of production as the time devoted was in “such moments as we can snatch from our professional engagements....[W]e have been quite unable to give much attention to its publication, and less to seeing it properly and carefully mailed.” Worse, as many subscribers were many months in arrears the journal’s future was in real jeopardy. “Now, we are not going to dun...but we wish to intimate to those who receive and read the Journal, and to those who are interested in its prosperity and circulation, that we shall not continue it unless it is pecuniarily [sic] sustained.” The editor, W.A. Greenleaf, made his and the journal’s precarious situation clear:

We expect no pecuniary gain from its publication; neither are we willing to submit to pecuniary loss further than the time we may devote in arranging it for publication. We have no ambition to gratify, or personal end to serve other than the common interest of all homeopathic physicians and the advantage of the patrons of the homeopathic practice. So that if we are compelled to discontinue, which we trust will not be the case, we shall have no more regret than many who have taken a deep interest in the Journal from its commencement.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the claim that the April issue would be ready for mailing later in that month, the issue of March 1857 would mark the final appearance of the *CJH*.

A diagnosis of *Atrophia famelicorum* also could be deduced for the *CJH*, as the wasting away due to insufficient funds and editorial energy proved fatal. Such a short life cycle might not be unusual for Canadian medical journals in general, as Jennifer J. Connor has noted. The pressures of publication, typically borne by one person, often turned out to be too exhausting leading to the early demise of the enterprise.<sup>60</sup> While this prognosis and premature death might be contextualized as perhaps not unexpected as was the case of numerous other medical journals whether “regular” or not, the *CJH* ought still to be understood as still one of special interest. As noted, the spirited times the *CJH* was a part of culminated in the official medical licensing of homeopaths in Canada West/Ontario. After the passage of that act, the *CJH* might have continued, but in many respects its *raison d’être* was removed; the battle it fought for had been won. From the point of view of the “regular” medical profession, homeopathy might still haunt society; but the cause of medical reform became bereft of its spirit. Analysis of the *CJH* can also be contextualized within the broad field of medical publishing and technical communication in general in Victorian Canada. Without assigning priority or importance to any single genre, a spectrum can be envisaged: at one end, are medical textbooks and specialized monographs written by and published expressly for the medical profession, while at the other end one could assign books that, although usually were written by doctors, were geared for lay audiences, and included domestic and self-help family medical manuals.<sup>61</sup> Close to medical textbooks would be professional medical journals, while pamphlets for a popular audience can be placed close to domestic medical literature. And now that it has been possible to characterize the *CJH*, it may be placed near the middle of the spectrum, as Janus-like, it faced both ways.

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**Note:** Regarding terminology and spelling, the *æ* diphthong was traditionally used in continental Europe and Britain when spelling “homæopathy;” occasionally, the spelling would include the sequence “*oeo*,” but without the diphthong. In the United States, both forms of spelling might be used, but typically the diphthong was dropped, as was also the initial “*o*” in “*oeo*,” thus “homeopathy” was the usual American spelling. Due to the infiltration of both American and British influences on the growth of this medical sectarian practise, Canadian spellings fluctuated with all forms being found to be in use. In the present discussion, the spelling will conform exactly to that of the book or journal title or actual direct quotation of the time. In the main body of the text however, “homeopathy” will be used for consistency.

## Endnotes

- 1 Roy Stokes, *A Bibliographic Companion* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1989), 127-8.
- 2 Charles G. Roland and Paul Potter, *An Annotated Bibliography of Canadian Medical Periodicals, 1826-1975* (Toronto: Hannah Institute for the History of Medicine, 1979), 19. To support such information, Roland and Potter point readers to the 1934 publication *A Bibliography of Canadian Medical Periodicals with Annotations* by H. E. MacDermot, a Montreal physician who was also a noted amateur medical historian, along with being an editor of the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*. But the informational relationship between these two bibliographies regarding the *CJH* is circular, for MacDermot's reference to the *CJH* notes only "St Catharine's, Ont. [sic] v. 1, 1856 +;" see, H. E. MacDermot, *A Bibliography of Canadian Medical Periodicals with Annotations* (Montreal: McGill University and Renouf Publishing Company, 1934), 16. One suspects, too, that MacDermot did not have access to or was able to locate an original copy of *CJH*, as he did not include an annotation to this entry which was the case with other listings in his *Bibliography*. The only hint as to where MacDermot learned of the *CJH* is reference to both the *Union Serial List* [*in Libraries of the United States and Canada*] first published in 1913 and the "Surgeon-General's Catalogue." Also unhelpful is Julian Winston's *The Heritage of Homœopathic Literature: An Abbreviated Bibliography and Commentary* (Tawa, New Zealand: Great Auk Publishing, 2001), for this recognized historian of homeopathy in an otherwise definitive international reference guide makes no mention whatsoever of the *CJH*. Even as recently as January 2020, David Crawford in his current online *Bibliography of Canadian Health Sciences Periodicals 1826-1980* adds little to what was already known, noting "v.1 - v.2:3, St. Catharine's, Ont., January 1856 - March 1857. Editors: W.A. Greenleaf and A.T. Bull. WorldCat catalogues this title as *Canadian Journal of Homeopathy* (sic) and states that some issues were published in Hamilton" available at <http://international.mcgill.ca/bibliography/introduction.htm>
- 3 "The Canadian Journal of Homœopathy," *North American Journal of Homœopathy* 5 (1857): 294.
- 4 "The Canadian Journal of Homœopathy," *Monthly Homœopathic Review* 1 (1857): 484.
- 5 On the interconnected activities that constituted Billings's career, see: Carleton B. Chapman, *Order Out of Chaos: John Shaw Billings and America's Coming of Age* (Boston: Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, 1994); James H. Cassedy, *John Shaw Billings: Science and Medicine in the Gilded Age* (Bethesda, MD: Xlibris Corporation, 2009); Michael G. Rhode and J.T.H. Connor, "A repository for bottled monsters and medical and curiosities": The Evolution of the Army Medical Museum" in *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities*, Amy K. Levin and Joshua G. Adair, eds., (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 175-92; R.S. Henry, *The Armed Forces Institute of Pathology - Its First Century 1862-1962* (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1964); Paul Stone, *Legacy of Excellence: The Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, 1862-2011* (Fort Detrick, MD: Borden Institute, US Army Medical Department, 2011); Edgar Erskine Hume, "The World's Largest Medical Library: The Army Medical Library of Washington," *The Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine* 24 (January 1936): 106-35; Various authors, *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Army Medical Library, Washington, DC, 1936* (Washington, DC: [Army Medical Library,] 1936); Wyndham D. Miles, *A History of the National Library of Medicine: The Nation's Treasury of Medical Knowledge* (US Department of Health and Human Services, Public Health Service, National Library of Medicine, 1982); and Michael Sappol, ed., *Hidden Treasure: The National Library of Medicine* (Bethesda, MD and New York, NY: National Library of Medicine and Blast Books, 2012).
- 6 Miles, *History of the National Library of Medicine*, 59.
- 7 Edwin Seaborn, *The March of Medicine in Western Ontario* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1944), 199.
- 8 Issues of vol. 1, no. 3, 8, and 10 (1856) are available on microfilm from the NLM.
- 9 Christopher Hoolihan, comp., *An Annotated Catalogue of the Edward C. Atwater Collection of American Popular Medicine and Reform, vol. I: A-L*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001), 63.
- 10 See, *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1965), Vol 2, 911, cited in Hoolihan, *ibid*.

- 11 Émilie Lavallée-Funston (Member Services and Licensing Officer, Canadian Research Knowledge Network [CKRN], Ottawa), email to author, 20 February, 2020. I am most grateful for the vitally helpful assistance received from *Canadiana* online/CKRN. Facsimile copies of issues of vol. 1 (1856) nos. 1-10 and 2 (1857) nos. 1-3, are now mounted on *Canadiana* online [http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06806\\_1/1?r=0&s=1](http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06806_1/1?r=0&s=1).
- 12 Jennifer J. Connor, "The Medical Pamphlet and Pamphleteering in Canada," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 32, no. 2 (1994): 87-119; see p. 87. For her analysis of homeopathic pamphlets, see pp. 95-6.
- 13 Jennifer J. Connor and J.T.H. Connor, "Thomsonian Medical Literature and Reformist Discourse in Upper Canada," *Canadian Literature* 131 (Winter 1991): 140-55; see also, Jennifer J. Connor, "Thomsonian Medical Books and the Culture of Dissent in Upper Canada," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 12 (1995): 289-311.
- 14 Connor, "The Medical Pamphlet," 96-7.
- 15 On the origins of homeopathy, see Alice K. Kuzniar, *The Birth of Homeopathy Out of the Spirit of Romanticism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).
- 16 This synopsis is based on J.T.H. Connor, "Homoeopathy in Victorian Canada and its Twentieth-century Resurgence: Professional, Cultural and Therapeutic Perspectives," in *Culture, Knowledge and Healing: Historical Perspectives of Homeopathic Medicine in Europe and North America*, eds. Robert Jütte, Guenter B. Risse and John Woodward (Sheffield: European Association for the History of Medicine and Health Publications, 1998), 111-3; see also J.T.H. Connor, "'A sort of jelo-de-se': Eclecticism, Related Medical Sects and Their Decline in Victorian Ontario," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 65, no. 4 (1991): 503-527. For additional context, see Martin Kaufman, *Homeopathy in America: The Rise and Fall of a Medical Heresy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971) and Norman Gevitz, ed., *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).
- 17 On these and other strictly non-therapeutic issues related to the adoption of homeopathy, see Anne Taylor Kirschmann, *A Vital Force: Women in American Homeopathy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004); and various essays in Martin Dinges, ed., *Patients in the History of Homeopathy* (Sheffield: European Association for the History of Medicine and Health Publications, 2002), in particular, Phillip A. Nicholls, "Class, Status and Gender: Toward a Sociology of the Homoeopathic Patient in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 141-56.
- 18 For the context of changes in organized religion and intellectual thought at this time, see: William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Michael Gauvreau, "Protestantism Reformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 48-97; and A.B. McKillop, *Contours of Canadian Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), especially ch. 5, "Science, Ethics, and Poetic Fancy." See also, Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 66.
- 19 Marguerite Van Die, "Practicing Medicine and Spiritualism in the 1860s: Sacred Encounters of Drs. Moses Colby and Susan Kilborn as 'Lived Religion,'" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 42, no. 84 (2009): 447-78.
- 20 S.E.D. Shortt, "Physicians and Psychics: The Anglo-American Medical Response to Spiritualism, 1870-1890," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 39, no. 3 (1984): 339-55.
- 21 J.C. Peterson, "On the Dissentions between the Schools," *North American Journal of Homœopathy* 9 (1861): 308-12, at p. 309.
- 22 For much broader analyses on historical connections between medicine, health, healing, religion, transcendentalism, and the metaphysical in nineteenth-century North America, see: Robert C. Fuller, *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Catherine L. Albanese, *Nature Religion in America: From the Algonkian Indians to the New Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); James Opp, *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), and Patricia Jasen, "Mind, Medicine, and the Christian Science Controversy in Canada, 1888-1910," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 4 (Winter 1997-1998): 5-22.

- 23 See “Medical Licences issued in Ontario and Quebec prior to 1867,” available at <https://internatlib.mcgill.ca/Licences/Medical%20Licences.htm> s.v. Bull and Greenleaf.
- 24 Connor, “Homoeopathy in Victorian Canada,” 121.
- 25 A contemporary promotional pamphlet account is E.W. Stephenson, *The Medical Properties of the St. Catharines Mineral Waters* (St Catharines: H.F. Leavenworth’s “Herald” Power Press, 1864). Historical analyses include J.T.H. Connor, “Preservatives of Health: Mineral Water Spas of Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Ontario History* 75, no. 2 (1983): 135-52; and Lynne Prunskus, *The Last Resort: Spa Therapy and the Docile Body in Victorian St Catharines* (MA thesis, Brock University, 2006).
- 26 Junius, “A Walk Around Town! K” *St. Catharines Journal* (1856) reproduced as a facsimile reprint in *St. Catharines A to Z* (St Catharines: St. Catharines and Lincoln Historical Society, 1967), no pagination.
- 27 I am grateful to my colleague, Dr Kathryn Simonson, Department of Classics, Memorial University, for the translation, source, and context of this quotation.
- 28 “Why Publish a Homeopathic Journal?” *CJH* 1 (January 1856): 1.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid., 2.
- 31 “The Canadian Journal of Homœopathy,” *North American Journal of Homœopathy* 5 (1857): 294.32. See R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-century Ontario*, (Ontario Historical Studies series, University of Toronto Press, 1994); and Tracey L. Adams, *A Dentist and a Gentleman: Gender and the Rise of Dentistry in Ontario*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).
- 33 Jennifer J. Connor, “Publisher Ownership, Physician Management: Canadian Medical Journals in the Victorian Era,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, no. 4 (2010): 388-428. I am most grateful for the assistance received from Jennifer Connor, and for her pointing me to useful sources.
- 34 *CJH* 1 (January 1856): 8.
- 35 Shauna Bream, *Mackenzie Heritage Printery: A Printing Museum* (MS thesis, Rochester Institute of Technology, 1999) 5-7.
- 36 Junius, “A Walk Around Town! P” *St. Catharines Journal* (1856) reproduced as a facsimile reprint in *St. Catharines A to Z* (St Catharines: St. Catharines and Lincoln Historical Society, 1967), no pagination.
- 37 The firm of Boericke & Tafel was an important manufacturing pharmacy based in Philadelphia, but it also developed into one of the most influential publishers of homeopathic medicine internationally. Many generations of the family operated the expanding business well into the twentieth century with the brand name continuing to the present; see Julian Winston, *The Faces of Homœopathy: An Illustrated History of the First 200 Years* (Tawa, New Zealand: Great Auk Publishing, 1999) 86-8. The broad range of activities of Boericke & Tafel, along with those of the Hahnemann Medical College and its hospital made the city into a mecca for homeopathy; see Naomi Rogers, *An Alternative Path: The Making and Remaking of Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Philadelphia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998).
- 38 *CJH* 1 (January 1856): 8.
- 39 “Prospects of Success,” *CJH* 1 (February 1856): 18.
- 40 “Remittances for Vol.1,” *CJH* 1 (February 1856): 18. Regarding the treatment of families, see Connor, “Homoeopathy in Victorian Canada,” 119.
- 41 See also “Letters Received,” *CJH* 1 (February 1856): 18.
- 42 *CJH* 1 (February 1856): 18.
- 43 Yvan Lamonde, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, and Fiona A. Black, eds., *History of the Book in Canada: 1840-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005) 215.

- 44 “A Word Personal,” *CJH* 1 (April 1856): 46.
- 45 “Retrospective,” *CJH* 1 (July 1856): 92-3 at p. 93.
- 46 “Semi-Annual Meeting of the Homeopathic Medical Society of Canada,” *CJH* 1 (October 1856): 139-40.
- 47 “Journal of Homeopathy,” *CJH* 1 (December 1856): 174-5; see also, “Prospectus,” *CJH* 1 (December 1856): 176.
- 48 “Editorial Department,” *CJH* 2 (January 1857): 16.
- 49 “Editorial Department,” *CJH* 2 (January 1857): 17.
- 50 Quoted in R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, “The Origins of Organized Medicine in Ontario, 1859-1869,” in *Health, Disease, and Medicine: Essays in Canadian History*, ed. Charles G. Roland (Toronto: Hannah Institute for the History of Medicine, 1982), 70. This work also describes the contours and complexities of the medical scene at mid-century. Also still informative in this context is, George W. Spragge, “The Trinity Medical College,” *Ontario History* 58 (1966): 63-98.
- 51 See J.T.H. Connor, *Doing Good: The Life of Toronto’s General Hospital* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 70-8.
- 52 “The Hamilton Banner and the Medical Colleges,” *CJH* 2 (January 1857): 18-20.
- 53 “The Medical Monopoly,” *CJH* 2 (March 1857): 67-9.
- 54 For an account of some of his life according to Tumblety himself, see *Narrative of Dr. Tumblety...An Exciting Life Sketch* (New York: Russells’ American Steam Printing House, 1872) available at <https://archive.org/details/narratedrtumb00tumbgoog/page/n6/mode/2up>; see also Timothy B. Rioridan, *Prince of Quacks: The Notorious Life of Dr. Francis Tumblety, Charlatan and Jack the Ripper Suspect* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009). On Tumblety in Canada, see Peter L. Twohig, “The ‘Celebrated Indian Herb Doctor’: Francis Tumblety in Saint John, 1860,” *Acadiensis* 34, no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2010): 70-88; and Michael McCulloch, “‘Dr. Tumblety, the Indian Herb Doctor’: Politics, Professionalism, and Abortion in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Montreal,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 10 no. 1 (1993): 49-66.
- 55 “The Medical Monopoly,” 69.
- 56 Ibid., 68.
- 57 *CJH* 2 (January 1857): 20.
- 58 *CJH* 2 (February 1857): 44.
- 59 “An Apology and an Appeal,” *CJH* 2 (March 1857): 67.
- 60 Jennifer J. Connor, “Publisher Ownership, Physician Management,” 392. Even in non-medical circles, the production of a journal, while indicating an important early stage of the professionalization of a scientific field or discipline, could be exhausting and expensive; see, J.T.H. Connor, “Of Butterfly Nets and Beetle Bottles: The Entomological Society of Canada, 1863-1960,” *Scientia Canadensis [HSTC Bulletin]* 6 (1982): 151-71; and J.T.H. Connor, “To Promote the Cause of Science: George Lawson and the Botanical Society of Canada, 1860-1863,” *Scientia Canadensis* 10, no. 1 (1986): 3-33.
- 61 On the range of medical publishing in Victorian Canada, see Jennifer J. Connor, “Self-Help Medical Literature in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Canada and the Rhetorical Convention of Plain English,” *Journal of Technical Writing and Communication* 243 (1994): 265-83; and Jennifer J. Connor, “Stalwart Giants: Medical Cosmopolitanism, Canadian Authorship, and American Publishers,” *Book History* 12 (2009): 209-39.