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The Great Journal Hunt

BILLINGS CONCENTRATES ON COLLECTING JOURNALS

THE purchase of medical publications was restricted by funds appropriated by Congress. For fiscal year 1872 Congress gave the Medical Department \$7,000 to be divided between the Library and museum. From 1873 until 1884 Congress appropriated \$10,000 each year, to be shared. Even though the price of publications was lower than now, Billings did not have much money to build a "national" medical library. He never had sufficient funds to buy all the books and journals that were published, and he had to decide what works were most useful and would be bought and what works would have to be passed over. From the beginning to the end of each fiscal year he had to watch the balance of appropriations. The necessity for conserving funds was a constant influence in Billings' life during all his years as Librarian.

Billings' collecting had two characteristics: an effort to collect every type of publication relating to medicine, and to obtain publications from every possible source. In addition to perusing book catalogs in search of bargains, he used every other legitimate means of obtaining printed materials. He wrote to physicians, publishers, editors, health officials, government officials, librarians, and society officers, in short, to every person and organization that had works he desired, hoping to receive donations, arrange exchanges, or, as a last resort, buy publications at a low price. He was an unusual bibliomaniac. He did not covet books for himself but for the Library, almost as though the Library were his own. Indeed, after his family, he considered the Library the most important thing in his life, telling a friend: "Providence has put three duties straight before me, i.e. 1, my wife + children: 2, this library + catalogue: 3, The Johns Hop Hospl. They are too much for me, by themselves, but I am doing my best for them . . ." Billings' letter writing and bibliomania set him apart from other departmental librarians of his time, who continued to enlarge their libraries in the customary manner, obtaining publications through the usual trade channels. Nowhere was Billings' tenacity, persuasiveness, and perserverance better illustrated than in his quest for journals.

During the acceleration of collecting in 1871 Billings added 3,760 publications to the Library, three times as many as in his previous most active year.

Most of the new arrivals were books and pamphlets. Billings did not ignore journals, but neither did he show any unusual interest in them.

Toward the end of 1871, as he and his clerks were readying titles for a new catalog, Billings came to realize that there were large gaps in the Library's collection of American and foreign medical journals. He began to gather bibliographical information on the subject. He sent a clerk to the home of his friend collector-bibliographer-historian Joseph Toner to copy Toner's list of American periodicals.² He had a duplicate made of the list of current journals in *Physician's Annual*.³ Undoubtedly he obtained information from journals themselves, from their practice of citing exchanges and reprinting or abstracting articles from other journals. He asked his European book agents for lists of foreign periodicals.⁴ Once Billings became aware of the incompleteness of the periodical collection he began to fill the gaps as fast as possible.⁵

MEDICAL OFFICERS SERVE AS BILLINGS' BOOK SCOUTS

Billings soon learned that booksellers could not supply out-of-date American journals quickly, if at all. One of his colleagues reported that New York book dealers looked upon old periodicals as "useless lumber, seldom called for, usually bought by weight as waste paper." Billings had little response, other than promises, from dealers to whom he wrote. He decided to try to obtain old journals from elderly physicians with the assistance of his brother officers. Medical officers had collected and sent thousands of exhibits to the Army Medical Museum; perhaps this gave Billings the idea of asking them to seek out and send obsolete journals.

The Medical Department had more than 200 surgeons, assistant surgeons, purveyors, and storekeepers stationed at barracks, forts, posts, and depots. Some officers were in the western wilderness, but others were close to populated areas, and it was to the latter that Billings wrote and asked for help. He drafted a letter for his clerk to copy and send to Surgeons Andrew K. Smith, McPherson Barracks, Atlanta; James F. Weeds, Nashville; John F. Randolph, New Orleans; Alexander B. Hasson, Charleston; and Assistant Surgeons Bolivar Knickerbocker, Savannah; William J. Sloan, Louisville; and probably others:

We are trying to make the files of medical journals (American) in our Library complete, so that there may be one complete collection of that sort to refer to, which at present is not the case. To this end we want to procure by purchase, exchange or otherwise the journals mentioned in the enclosed memorandum. Will you please try to procure for us all or a part of the journals wanted. It is unlikely that this can be done by a bookseller, though it would be well to put one on the look out, but they are undoubtedly in the hands of some of the physicians in the city, who might be willing to part with them in consideration of the purpose for which they are wanted. Please give the matter your best attention, and forward the journals by mail as you procure them, with memorandum of the cost which I will refund. Or if the publications of this Office in exchange can be used I will send them.

Billings wrote similar but more expansive letters to officers whom he knew

personally, as the following note to Surgeons Eugene Abadie, Detroit, and Warren Webster, Fort Independence, Boston:⁸

I have been as you know trying to buld up a Lib for this Off. + have succeeded very well so far. We have now about 14000 vols + I hope by the middl of the next month to have a cat of it thro the press. The prep of this cat has enabled me to discover the gaps, + my next labor is to try + fill them up; especially do I wish to complete the files of Am. med. pers. [periodicals] for I think that we ought to have here every Am. med. j. good, bad, or indif, wh has ever been pub. I inclose herewith a list of some desiderata wh. you may be able to help me to procure + if you have the time + opportunity you will confer a favor not only upon myself but upon the Off if you will try to procure these for us. I am willing to pay any reasonable price for them, or to exchange the pub's of this Off or some of our dups for them. If you cannot procure all of the irs asked for, odd vols, or even odd nos., will be better than nothing, as I may be able to complete the sets elsewhere. You will see by a glance at the list that there is little hope of finding anything on it fr. any regular book seller. This last chance is to find some public spirited old phys, or descendant of an old Phys who may have the books + be willing to part with them for the purpose for which they are designed, for a Nat Med Lib to represent Am. med. lit.

The lists of wanted journals that Billings attached to his letters were handwritten at first. A few months later he had several different want-lists printed in editions of from 40 to 250 copies for distribution to his colleagues, agents, and correspondents. On the contract of the contr

Receiving Billings' message, his volunteer book scouts ransacked secondhand bookstores, contacted editors, tracked down descendants of dead doctors, and raided libraries of living physicians. They cajoled physicians into donating desirable publications by appealing to patriotism and professional pride; and when appeals failed they offered exchanges or, as a last resort, money.

Assistant Surgeon Charles Smart, New York, sought out Samuel Smith Purple, one of the leading medical book collectors of his time. Smart told Billings of his reception:¹¹

I found Dr. Purple at home this P.M. He was very amiable, disposed of many duplicates he had a few years ago on the occasion of moving to a new house, but is hopeful that he may be able to assist a little yet as he has a box which contains he knows not what, but it may pay to overhaul it. He inquired if I had been to Miller and Christopher and gave me directions to find an Irishman named Lalor in University Square who has lots of old used medl books which may repay the time spent in looking over them. I shall hunt him up tomorrow and make a list of what he may have for your selection. I left a note of the journals wanted with Dr. P. and will call again about the end of the week. He says the four at the end of the list are quacks, more especially Hunters Specialist and you need not be anxious about them. He showed me them. He has a very handsome library, spent years in completing his magazine files, advertising, etc. found great difficulty anent certain western journals, and is extremely proud of the result of his labors on the well filled shelves around him. . . .

Smart visited the shop suggested by Purple, and told Billings of his success:¹²
The old book store mentioned in my note of yesterday is a hard place to find

Wanted to complete Files in the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, Washington, D. C.

> Dr. J. S. BILLINGS. Aust. Surgeon, U.S. Army, Librarian

BRITISH AMERICA.

British-American Medical and Physical By Arch, Hall. New Serie Journal. Montreal. Monthly.

Want no, 10; vol. vi; no, 10, vol. vii/1830-52) By W. E. Bowman Canada Loncet.

Monthly. Monreal. Want nos. II. 25, and all subsequent of vol. i Upper Canada Journal of Medical, Sur-(1860-5); and all after vol. i.

Canadian Journal of Homeopathy. By W. A. Greenleaf and A. T. Ball. Monthly. St Catharines.

Want all except no. 3, vol. i (March, 1856). Gazette medicale: revue mensuelle, medicochirurgicale. By Drs. Lemire and Dagenais,

4a. Montreal. Commenced about 1806.

Want all or any part. La Lancette ('anadienne, (1847). Want all or any part.

Montreal Medical Gazette. By F. Budgley and Wm Satherland, Monthly, So. Hapt all after vel 1 (1914-5).

Provincial Medical Journal. By W. B. Independent Bolanic Advocate. By t'mp. Slayter, E. Farrell and R. W. McKeagney. Quarterly, Halitas.

Want nos 1, 2 4 vol. icl868, and all subsequent.

Quebec Medical Journal. sior. Quarterly, Quebec. Want all after (whole) no. 6 (April, 1827).

Unfettered Canadian - By R. Dick. Month ly. Brockville, C. W

Want nos. 7, 9, etc., vol. 1 (1849); and all subquent.

gical and Physical Science. By S. J. Stratford. Toronta.

Want no. 7, vol. i (October, 1851); nos. 2, 3, 5, ii; nos. 10, 12, vol. iii; and all subs

CALIFORNIA. :

Marysville Medical and Surgical Reporter. By L. Hubbard. Marysville. Commenced about 1858.

Want all or any part, or prospectue.

CONNECTICUE.

Hartford Analectic Journal of Medicine and Surgery. Hartford.

Commenced about 1823,

Want all or any part; perhaps some as Monthly Journal of Medicine.

Botanic Medical Society. Monthly. Hartford Want vol. 1; no. 3, vol. 16 (Angust 1840) vol 111 and all subsequent.

One of the want-lists that Billings sent to booksellers, physicians, librarians, book collectors, and medical officers.

anything. The old fellow has no idea of what he has got. I hunted around this P.M. with the following result. But there is work for tomorrow there also. Almost the first book I came across was a copy of that 41–42 Medical Gazette — It never rains but it pours. [Then follows titles of 25 books he had found]

Two weeks later, after giving Purple an opportunity to search for duplicates, Smart returned to see the old bookworm. He informed Billings¹³

Dr. Purple examined his box of duplicates and found that none of them filled any of your gaps the which he regrets very much. He says he is much given to looking over the old book stores; and many medical men in the city who know his penchant for old Am med literature, when they see or pick up anything of the kind come to him to mention it. If you correspond with him he might be able to help you, and seems very anxious to do all in his power.

Surgeon Webster talked with publishers, librarians, and physicians in and around Boston. Among the duplicates at Boston Public Library he found volumes of Boston Medical Intelligencer, New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery and the Collateral Branches of Science, Medical Magazine, New England Medical Review and Journal, Medical World, Journal of Health and Monthly Miscellany, and Boston Journal of Chemistry. From publishers he obtained volumes of Good Health, New England Quarterly Journal of Medicine and Surgery, Boston Medical Intelligencer, and Boston Journal of Chemistry. Henry Bowditch offered him Georgia Blister and Critic, and other physicians surendered Guardian of Health and additional journals. Webster asked Harvard for permission to search through the duplicates in its library, and he wrote to the librarians of Essex Institute and American Antiquarian Society. Unable to inspect every physician's library in the large city, he distributed copies of Billings' want lists. 14

Surgeon Andrew K. Smith in Atlanta went to the publisher of *Georgia Medical Companion* and obtained recent issues and promise of a search for obsolete issues. With assistance from local physicians he secured numbers of *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, Galveston Medical Journal, Southern Medical and Surgical Journal, Southern Dental Examiner,* some medical pamphlets, and medical regulations and orders of the Confederate States Army.¹⁵

Surgeon John F. Randolph, New Orleans, obtained complete runs of Dental Obturator, and New Orleans Medical Record, and issues of New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, New Orleans Medical News and Hospital Gazette, Galveston Medical Journal, Southern Medical and Surgical Journal, L'Union Médicale de la Louisiana, and New Orleans Monthly Medical Register. "A good many medical pamphlets, etc., have [been] found among the old rubbish," he told Billings. 16

On the other side of the continent, Assistant Surgeon Edwin Bentley, Point San José, California, obtained a complete set of San Francisco Medical Press as well as numbers of California Medical Gazette, California State Medical Journal, and San Francisco Medical Journal. But the Marysville Medical and

Surgical Journal, an excessively rare periodical, defeated him, as he informed Billings:¹⁷

I have applied myself with diligence to obtain the numbers. Dr. [Lorenzo] Hubbard [the editor] is dead. I have sought out his widow, and have had two interviews with her, without obtaining any definite information about it. I have inquired of all the physicians here, who would be likely to know anything of it. Some of them [illegible] others lived at Marysville at the time Dr. Hubbard did. I have written a number of letters and have caused others to be written in regard to it.

Despite Bentley's efforts, the Library never did acquire all the issues of the Marysville journal.

In Buffalo, Surgeon Charles H. Alden, Fort Porter, called on Thomas F. Rochester four times before finding him at home but then obtained numbers of Western Lancet, Canada Lancet, Detroit Review of Medicine and Pharmacy, Buffalo Medical Journal and Monthly Review, New York Journal of Medicine and the Collateral Sciences, American Medical Gazette, and American Medical Monthly. He told Billings about his visit to the home of Julius F. Miner, a teacher in the medical department of the University of Buffalo and an editor of Buffalo Medical and Surgical Journal: "He kindly let me go into his attic myself, but while willing I should take what was necessary to complete files, he desired me to take nothing else, though there were other things I think you would have liked." From Miner he obtained 247 items including transactions of societies, numbers of 23 journals, nine hospital reports, 38 medical college announcements, and 25 medical pamphlets.

Alden was also successful at the home of James P. White, another teacher in Buffalo's medical department. "Yesterday afternoon," Alden wrote Billings, "I spent in Dr. J. P. White's garret + got some needed pamphlets." Among these were issues of seven journals, several *Transactions of the New York State Medical Society*, old announcements of medical colleges, and duplicate journals. Alden estimated his loot "would about fill 3 whiskey boxes."

Alden tracked down the libraries of two deceased physicians and through the courtesy of the new owners obtained 130 items from one collection and 30 from the other, including journals, proceedings of societies, college catalogs, hospital reports, books, and pamphlets. After making seven visits to the home of George N. Burwell, Alden finally pried loose from the reluctant physician 46 pamphlets and journals. Regarding another Buffalo resident Alden wrote:¹⁸

One old German physician had had a complete file of one of the German journals wanted but unfortunately it was destroyed by fire quite recently. . . . He was apparently so much disappointed at not having anything for me that he brought out some old medical works which he offered to contribute They are Bell's Surgery 6 vols, Cullen's Synopsis (Latin), Cullen's Practice 3 vols + Brooks Surgery. I took only a hasty memorandum but I think this edition of Cullen's Practice is not in your catalogue nor do I find Brooks Surgery in it.

Surgeon Francis L. Town, Fort Preble, Maine, acquired *Transactions of the Maine Medical Society*, the society's code of ethics, and a pamphlet on the

Maine General Hospital, under construction, but he had difficulty obtaining Maine Medical and Surgical Reporter, a short-lived periodical published in Portland, 1858–59. He told Billings:¹⁹

Dr. Gilman, one of the old practitioners here, has repeatedly promised to let me have them, he says he knows that he has them stowed away with other med. literature in his garret, and will certainly hunt them up. Now Dr. Gilman is one of these easy going old gentlemen rather fond of his alcohol, though a leading practitioner, who fully lives up to the reverse priciple of never doing today what can possibly be deferred until tomorrow, or next week preferably. Simply I can not get him to look them up, but will suggest to him the propriety and desirability of doing so at suitable intervals.

After 2 months slipped by without any action from Gilman, Town tried another tack:

I finally called upon Mrs. G, and stated my case. Mrs. G. kindly undertook to look them up herself. By an extraordinary coincidence every number was found except nos 8 and 12 [which Billings needed]. Mrs. G. stated that she made careful personal search but could not find the two missing nos.

Neither Billings nor Town knew at the time that the journal had expired after number 11 had been published, and that number 12 did not exist. Fortunately, number 8 came into Billings' possession later.

Surgeon Town's search for journals was heard of by R. D. Bibber, a physician of Bath, Maine. Bibber was just beginning to practice and was so debtridden that he could not afford to subscribe to the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*. He offered volumes from his library if Billings would lend him the *Boston* periodical for a year; but if regulations would not permit this, he would donate his volumes to the Library. Billings subscribed to the *Boston* journal in Bibber's name, and offered to send him other journals.²⁰

In St. Louis, Acting Assistant Medical Purveyor George T. Beall obtained issues of St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal and St. Louis Medical Reporter with assistance of a former editor, William M. McPheeters, who "had some trouble in collecting them." Trying to locate a copy of Saint Joseph Medical Journal, 1859–1860, by writing to a friend who lived in Saint Joseph, Beall learned that Joseph Toner had searched for the periodical. This was one of several instances when Billings' path intersected those of the other major medical collectors of his time. Beall was assiduous in gathering pamphlets, books, and journals, but some of his visits to physicians were in vain. He told Billings:²¹

I made several calls on Dr. Geo. Johnson and on saturday night I called and waited for him. He informed me that Dr. Judd and several others had called on your behalf, but unfortunately he had given all of his journals, etc. to a young doctor who was now residing out of the city. I called on Dr. Hammer twice, looked through his library, and found nothing but bound works in German and French. . . . Dr. Martin when I called and presented your note said that he had promised his journals + pamphlets to a Dr. Gill who had called on him several days previous, but that he would look over his books and let me have some. I very politely informed him that I had a great deal of spare time and if he would permit me I would select such journals etc that was required and he

could inform me afterwards which I could take. He replied that he had plenty of time and preferred looking himself. . . .

Surgeon James Weeds called on Nashville physicians and editors:²²

I have devoted a part of every week day for the last three weeks to this duty and I am now going four miles in the country to see Dr. Jones who was the editor [of] one of the journals required. And I will continue the labor daily and visit every phy in the city and will collect a journal here and there as I find them. The State Med. Society meets here on the 2d May. I will have a number of the lists you sent me printed and circulated amongst the members of the Society, and will introduce the subject to them and ask urgently for their cooperation.

Weeds found only one set of the extinct Nashville Monthly Record of Medicine and Physical Science in the city and cajoled former editor Thomas L. Maddin into parting with it. He obtained five volumes of Southern Medical and Surgical Journal from ex-editor Paul F. Eve. He visited the medical department of University of Nashville and found a lot of journals in "an out of the way closet." He arranged a trade whereby a former editor of Nashville Journal of Medicine and Surgery gave three volumes of the periodical and a promise to search for others in exchange for volumes of the London Practitioner and the London Medical Times and Gazette. He obtained other volumes of Nashville Journal from former editors W. K. Bowling and William L. Nichol, who "ransacked their private libraries and the library at the Medical College," and from Eve. But some issues of this journal continued to elude him except in the complete set owned by the current editor George Blackie. Blackie, who had had his set bound at a cost of \$1.50 per volume, remained impervious to Weeds' appeals that he donate them; and after waiting months while Weeds searched vainly for the missing issues, Billings surendered and paid Blackie \$4 each for the 30 volumes in his set. This was a rare occurrence, for seldom were Billings and his scouts unable to persuade book owners to give their treasures, or sell them at Billings' unbelievably low prices.

In Cincinnati, Acting Assistant Surgeon L. A. James "looked over the libraries of our older physicians where [I] would be most likely to find these old journals" and came away with volumes of Western Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences, Western Lancet, Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal, Columbus Review of Medicine and Surgery, Dental Register, Baker Journal (Medical News), Medical Counsellor, and Botanico-Medical Recorder. He tracked down an editor and obtained from him the complete American Psychological Journal. From the son of a deceased physician he obtained "forty or fifty" numbers of Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery. Within 3 weeks he sent five boxes of journals to the library. "I find that Doctors are prompt in making promises," he told Billings, "but poor to execute them, and . . . the way I . . . obtained the large number of journals I sent you, was by coaxing . . . the ladies, to let me look over their libraries, which I did most thoroughly." A month after starting his search he reported: "I have looked over carefully some

dozen libraries & some of them three or four times & where to look next I am at a loss to know." But James kept going until he had literally cleaned out Cincinnati. He extracted at least five more boxes of journals, books, and reports from the libraries of at least nine physicians. 23

James was defeated trying to obtain a complete copy of volume 7 of Western Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences to replace the volume in Washington, which lacked several pages. The only copy he could find in the city belonged to William H. Mussey, who had collected and donated the Mussey Medical and Scientific Library to the Cincinnati Public Library. Finally James persuaded Mussey to swap his supposedly perfect volume for Billings' imperfect volume. But when Mussey's volume arrived at the Surgeon General's Library Billings discovered that eight pages and parts of two other pages were missing. So Billings took the pages he needed from Mussey's volume and returned the remains.

Assistant Surgeon Ely McClellan did not have much luck in Kentucky. He sent Billings' want list to nine county medical societies but obtained only a few volumes. "It is hard work to get these doctors to take sufficient interest in anything from which they can expect no personal gain," he informed Billings.²⁴

Retired Surgeon Burton Randall, who lived on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay, did not have any success. "I persuaded Dr. Handy the partner of Dr. Claude to examine all Dr. C books," he wrote Billings, "and he assures me there is but one your list calls for, and that is the one of the journals of Dr. N. Smith, which contains a description of his splint, and that he refused to let you have. Dr. Ridout refuses to part with any more of his books."

Surgeon William J. Sloan picked up only one issue of a journal in Louisville. He informed Billings: "I have worked faithfully and unsuccessfully among sleepy doctors, who made promises which they did not keep . . . When in dispair I appealed to Dr. Griffiths, who knows everybody and is persistent. He has worked faithfully and is still at it. He is entitled to all the credit and I to none except applying the spurs to him." Sloan's major contribution was in recruiting Thomas J. Griffiths who scouted well for the library, and recruited other scouts. ²⁶

Assistant Surgeon Harvey E. Brown received Billings' request shortly before Brown sailed from New York to examine the condition of quarantines along the Atlantic and gulf coasts, a study that Congress had requested in the hope that quarantines could be improved, thereby barring yellow fever and other epidemic diseases from the United States.²⁷ At each port Brown visited he spread news of the developing library. From Norfolk he wrote back to Billings:²⁸

I arrived here day before yesterday, and have had an opportunity of seeing a number of the med'l gentlemen of the city, with whom I have conferred in reference to the Library. Dr. Wm G. Moore and Dr. Wm Selden of the regular school, and Dr. Hardy of the homeopathic persuasion have taken an especial interest in our enterprise. Dr. Moore is the president of the Norfolk Co. Med'l Soc, and wishes me to ask you to send him a dozen or so copies of the list of medical journals you need, and he will do all in his power to assist you. So will Dr. Selden who is the oldest + most respected physician in the place. Dr.

Hardy, who although a homeopath, seemed like a very nice gentleman, told me he would do all in his power for the library. . . . I think if you could send each of these gentlemen I have named a copy of your catalogue and also of some of the reports issued from the S.G.O. viz, those on excisions at the hip etc, you would more than get it back in the work they would do for you. But if you cannot do that, at all events send Dr. Moore a dozen copies of the lists of med'l journals you want so that he can distribute them among the members of his society.

After Brown had sailed to Charleston and become acquainted with physicians there, he told Billings:²⁹

At Wilmington I met two most estimable physicians, Drs E. A. Anderson and W. G. Thomas, before whom I laid the library project. They both became very much interested in it, and the former especially was quite enthusiastic about it, promising the warmest cooperation. He told me of the library of a former partner of his, Dr. McCrea, now deceased, which contains an immense number of old journals and pamphlets, which he was sure were not at all valued by their present possessor who would doubtless part with them willingly.

Reaching Savannah Brown continued to act as the recruiting officer for Billings' growing army of book scouts.³⁰

To the list of physicians who will aid you in regard to the library to the extent of their ability let me add Dr A. S. Baldwin of Jacksonville, Fla, with whom I had a long conversation a few days ago. I found that my good friend Prof. Porcher of Charleston was very much interested in the matter, so I did not lay the matter before any other of the Charleston doctors, though I think you would find Drs Frank Robertson and Manning Simons very good men to write to. I find that Knickerbocker who is stationed here has the matter in hand so I have done nothing here. Dr W. G. Bullock of this place told me Dr Cuyler had written to him about it. Dr R. G. Arnold also seemed interested in the project, and gave me some pamphlets of his own which I will send you after I get through with them. I sent you this morning a lot of Mayor's reports of this city, that contain some valuable vital and mortuary statistics. I am going to leave for New Orleans this evening and will continue to say a word for the library when I have a chance, though I find my time so much occupied with my proper work that I can do but little personally toward collecting.

In New Orleans at the end of his tour of inspection, busy writing his report, Brown found time to publicize the growing library in Washington:³¹

I send you this morning a valuable manuscript history of the epidemic of yellow fever in Wilmington, N.C. in 1862, from the pen of Dr E. A. Anderson, which has never been published. I have also quite a large number of other pamphlets which I will send when I have finished them. You will find Drs S. M. Welch and G. W. Peete of Galveston willing to help you about the library.

I have just had a very pleasant talk about the library with Dr. M. Schuppert, a most intelligent German practitioner and author of this city. He took great interest in the subject and promised to do his share and as a first installment asked me to forward with his compliments the accompanying copy of "Weidmann on Necrosis of Bones." I see you already have it in the library but a second copy

may be useful for exchange, and I did not like to refuse what the Doctor evidently considered a valuable gift.

Dr. M.S. told me he was going to Europe next year and that if you would send him a copy of the catalogue and accompanying supplement he thinks he could be of a good deal of service to you there, and would be glad to devote a portion of his time to the matter . . .

I am getting along very well but shall be glad to get back north again. I am hampered in my work for want of books of reference, and could do more work in one day in the library than here in a week.

Joshua Simpson, retired medical officer, searched through three secondhand book stores in Baltimore without success but obtained the Journal and Transactions of the Maryland College of Pharmacy from the president of the institution. 32 Assistant Surgeon Bolivar Knickerbocker, Savannah, Georgia, made and distributed copies of Billings' want lists and thus obtained some journals. 33 Surgeon John H. Frantz, Columbia, South Carolina, also gathered southern journals.34 Assistant Surgeon Samuel M. Horton, Plattsburgh Barracks, New York, sent 46 issues of Nelson's Northern Lancet from a physician who promised to look for other numbers.35 Surgeon John F. Hammond, aided by one Dr. Sharp, "made as thorough a search as practicable" through San Antonio, Texas. 36 Later, asked by Billings to find several issues of Texas Medical Journal Hammond replied: "The town has been searched . . . not a number has been found."37 Surgeon Glover Perrin, Fort Leavenworth, forwarded journals located by Acting Assistant Surgeon A. C. Van Duzen.³⁸ Assistant Medical Purveyor Charles Sutherland, New York City, obtained issues of a Canadian dental journal from a friend of a friend. 39 Surgeon Alexander B. Hassan found at least one patron, S. W. Barker who informed him: "My set of the Charleston Journal was raided upon during the war, when I lost several numbers," but the remainder was "at the service of the Surgeon General." 40 Assistant Surgeon J. V. D. Middleton, Baton Rouge; Acting Assistant Surgeon R. M. Reynolds, Mt. Vernon Arsenal, Alabama; Assistant Medical Purveyor Robert Murray, San Francisco; and Assistant Surgeon Morse K. Taylor, Thomas Barracks, Huntsville, Alabama, looked over old libraries and sent first copies and duplicates. 41

Billings owed much of his success in collecting scarce, back-issue medical journals (and other publications) to his volunteer army of journal scouts. Without the help of these men Billings would never, in my opinion, have been able to put together the fine collection of American medical journals that now rests on the shelves in the National Library of Medicine. Although Billings and his scouts gathered the most complete collection of American medical journals in existence, many issues eluded them in spite of their zeal. Southern journals had been decimated during the Civil War. "So many libraries were removed, scattered & burnt during the war the medical journals are hard to procure," wrote Peter Porcher of Charleston. ⁴² Fires had burned physicians' homes and libraries. ⁴³ Widows and children had sold unbound journals to paper mills. ⁴⁴ Some journals published in rural communities had been printed in small num-

A HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE

bers, are among the rarest of American medical periodicals, and were extremely difficult to find as early as the 1870's.

ACQUIRING OLD JOURNALS FROM EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS

While Billings' scouts were reaping a harvest of journals, books, and pamphlets from physicians, Billings was trying to garner back issues and sets of periodicals from editors and publishers. One of the first editors to whom he wrote was Austin Flint, a prominent New York physician, author, and teacher at Bellevue Hospital Medical College:⁴⁵

I am trying to form for the library of this Office a complete collection of American medical periodicals, and to this end am desirous of obtaining sets as complete as possible of the old Buffalo Medical Journal, and of the New York Monthly Review of Medical and Surgical Sciences, of which, I believe you were, at one time, editor. Have you either a set, odd volumes or numbers, of these journals that you could spare for this purpose or, if not can you give me information as to the source from which it is most probable that I can obtain them by purchase, exchange or otherwise?

Assistant Surgeon Smart, who went to Flint's home on Billings' behalf, reported that the elderly surgeon "was very kind and anxious to oblige, hunting all over the upper shelves of his library with the activity of a young man." 46

Another ex-editor whom Billings approached was Paul F. Eve, a former professor of surgery at University of Nashville and Confederate Army surgeon, who had been associated with the defunct Southern Medical and Surgical Journal and Nashville Medical and Surgical Journal:⁴⁷

I am trying to make our Library a complete collection, especially as regards American medical literature. We now have over 16,000 volumes besides 3000 or more pamphlets, have got the books safely and conveniently arranged on iron shelving in a fire proof building, and it is now understood to be a part of the National Library and is open to the public on the same regulations as the Congressional Library. We hope for regular appropriations and desire to make it a counterpart of the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons in London. The greatest difficulty is to get hold of the old medical pamphlets, addresses, lectures, &c, and to complete the files of American medical journals. I have made this statement thinking that if you knew the purpose and scope of the Library you might be able to help us. I enclose a list of desiderata in the way of journals.

I hope to get out a preliminary catalogue of the Library (450 pages) in about three weeks. I want next to print a bibliography of American medical journals and periodical literature and would be much indebted to you for any data or memoranda which you can give with regard to western and southern journals, their dates of commencement and cessation &c. The scope of the Library includes irregular journals of all kinds if American.

Eve relied with bibliographical information and promised to donate journals. ⁴⁸
Bennet Dowler, retired editor of *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*and *New Orleans Medical Record* received a visit from Surgeon John F. Randolph, who handed him the following letter from Billings: ⁴⁹

The Library forms the medical section of the National or Congressional

Library, and now contains about 18,000 volumes. . . . And my purpose in writing to you is to respectfully ask your aid in completing the files of Southern journals and also whether you have not some old medical pamphlets which you would be willing to spare for the Library. . . .

In conclusion it may be proper to remark that the Library is now open to the public, conveniently arranged and catalogued, is in a fire proof building, and will, at no distant day it is hoped, be an object of pride to the medical profession of this country.

Dowler gave and sold journals and other publications to the Library. 50

On one occasion Billings assembled all the volumes of a journal when even the editor could not put together a set for himself. Seeking issues of *Ohio Medical and Surgical Journal*, Billings learned that Surgeon Woodward of the medical museum knew a Mr. Sullivant of Columbus who was acquainted with the current editor Theodore C. Wormley. Billings wrote to Sullivant, who obligingly visited Woormley, who replied with the missing issues and the following note:⁵¹

I send you with this mail nos 4 & 5, vol iv of the Ohio Med & Surg. Journal, which I believe completes your set of the journal. I have not yet been able to obtain No. 1, vol. 1, No. 2, vol. iv; & No. 3, vol. vi, of that journal for my own library. If you have duplicate nos of any of these, I would be much obliged for them.

Trying to get a copy of the first Canadian medical periodical, *Journal de Médicine de Québec* published in 1826 and 1827, he wrote to P. O. Tessier, son of the editor:⁵²

I enclose to you a list of medical journals which I am trying to make complete for the Library of this Office, and also a special manuscript list showing what we desire to obtain of British American journals so far as I know of their existence. This Library now numbers over 17,000 vols and we want to make it as complete as possible and especially in the medical literature of North America. And my purpose in writing to you is to respectfully request your assistance in completing our files, hoping especially that you can procure for us a copy of the Quebec Medical Journal edited by Xavier Tessier. I do not know how many volumes were published. I am willing to purchase any of the journals wanted for our files, or to furnish the valuable medical and surgical publications of the Office in exchange for them.

Besides the journals I am desirous of obtaining old medical pamphlets and reports of all kinds, or printed theses. Such pamphlets can only be procured from the libraries of old physicians who may be willing to part with them in consideration of the object for which they are desired viz. to form on this side of the Atlantic one medical library of reference and record as complete as it can be made.

If you will call the attention of some of the old physicians in Quebec to this request, and will act as agent for us in this matter you will confer a great obligation which I shall endeavor in some way to meet.

Tessier promised to "spare no trouble" to procure the volumes for Billings but remarked that old journals were difficult to find because Quebec had been burned by four fires within a period of 27 years. Apparently he was unable to

do so, for the volumes now in the Library were obtained almost two decades later. 53

Presumably Billings wrote to every editor and publisher whose journal he needed, among them George E. Fenwick, surgeon to the Montreal General Hospital, professor of clinical surgery and medical jurisprudence at McGill, and one of the founders and coeditors of Canada Medical Journal;⁵⁴ Henry C. Lea, Philadelphia publisher, for copies of the old extinct American Medical Intelligencer and the Medical News and Library; 55 Samuel S. White of Philadelphia, manufacturer of dental supplies, and publisher of Dental Cosmos and the extinct Dental Newsletter; 56 Clarkson T. Collins, now of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, who had been a dispensary physician at New York Asylum for Lying-in-Women, a ward vaccine physician, and editor, 1845 to 1847, of the short-lived New York Medical and Surgical Reporter;⁵⁷ Samuel Worcester Butler, editor and publisher of Half-Yearly Compendium of Medical Science, Medical and Surgical Reporter, and many other medical works:58 George Jacob Ziegler, formerly an editor of Dental Cosmos and now proprietor of Medical Cosmos;⁵⁹ Anson L. Clark, professor of obstetrics and diseases of women and children, and H. D. Garrison, professor of chemistry, pharmacy, and toxicology, Bennet College of Eclectic Medicine and Surgery, who had recently taken over the editorship of Chicago Medical Times; 60 H. A. Tilden, New Lebanon, New York, pharmaceutical manufacturer, editor and publisher of *Journal of Materia* Medica:⁶¹ John Fulton, professor of physiology and institutes of medicine at Trinity College Medical School in Toronto, and editor of Canada Lancet;62 the firm of Johnson & Lund, manufacturers of porcelain teeth and other dental items, and publishers of Dental Quarterly; 60 Homer Judd, professor of institutes of dental science in Missouri Dental College and editor of Missouri Dental Journal, 64 Stanford E. Chaillé, professor of physiology and pathological anatomy in University of Louisiana Medical Department and a former editor of New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal; 65 I. Tisdale Talbot, soon to be the dean of the Medical School of Boston University, and editor of New England Medical Gazette; 66 Francis H. Brown, editor of Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, 67 Cl. T. Campbell, Stratford, Ontario, Canada, editor of the short-lived Canada Health Journal:68 and Samuel D. Gross, noted surgeon of Philadelphia and formerly an editor of Western Medical Gazette, Lousiville Review, and North American Medico-Chirurgical Review. 69

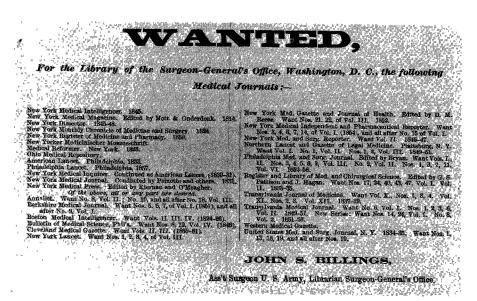
All of the forementioned editors and publishers reacted in a friendly manner to Billings. They donated, exchanged, or sold issues or volumes, relayed his requests to other editors, provided him with bibliographical information, and occasionally assisted him by mentioning, in their periodicals, the Library and its search for journals.

Editors seem to have been very helpful in Canada, where Billings had no medical officers serving as part-time book scouts. John Fulton published Billings' letter in *Canada Lancet* and thereby brought donations and exchanges from cooperative Canadians. ⁷⁰ J. E. Fitzpatrick of Bay St. Paul, Quebec, sent

rare Quebec journals, annuaires of Laval University, and other publications. ⁷¹ H. J. Saunders, Kingston, Ontario, sent volume 6 of Medical Chronicle or Montreal Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery and numbers of British American Journal of Medical and Physical Science in exchange for circulars of the Surgeon General's office. ⁷² D. Robertson, Milton, Ontario, offered the first five volumes of Medical Chronicle, which, with Saunders' volume, gave the library a complete set. ⁷³ James McIntosh, Vankleek Hill, Prescott County, Ontario, offered volumes of Canada Medical Journal, Medical Chronicle, British American Journal, and Northern Lancet and Gazette of Legal Medicine. McIntosh scouted around for Billings and found pamphlets, books, and journals that he forwarded to Washington. ⁷⁴ C. A. Jones, Holstein, Ontario, offered issues of British American Journal of Medicine, Canada Medical Journal, Upper Canada Medical Journal, and Medical Chronicle. ⁷⁵

A year later, still searching for elusive Canadian publications, Billings ran an advertisement in the Lancet. To Daniel Clark, Princeton, Ontario, saw the ad and sent Billings issues of Canada Lancet and Canada Health Journal, in exchange for circulars. Thomas Hawkins, Oxley, Ontario, sent numbers of Upper Canada Journal of Medical, Surgical and Physical Science.

Editors and publishers helped Billings obtain recent issues of periodicals, but seldom could they supply back issues. Publishers, not having much storage space and not receiving many requests for old numbers, did not carry much of a stock of out-of-date issues. And there were other reasons why editors could



One of the advertisements placed in medical publications by Billings, attempting to fill gaps in the Library's collection of journals. This appeared in the New York Medical Record, September 15, 1873.

not provide back copies. All of the supply of *Medical Investigator* had burned during the great fire that destroyed 3½ square miles of Chicago in October 1871. Editor Thomas C. Duncan tried to find a complete set among his subscribers to send to Billings, but physicians who owned sets refused to part with them. ⁷⁹ Samuel Butler, one of the country's most industrious medical publishers, wanted to assist Billings but could not because he had kind-heartedly helped another physician some time before. "Several years ago," he wrote, "I permitted a Dublin, Ireland, surgeon to make a raid on my files of journals and he made very nearly a clean sweep up to that time (1867). I have never ceased regretting it." ⁸⁰

POSTMASTERS LOCATE EDITORS FOR BILLINGS

Unable to find the addresses of editors of several extinct journals, Billings conceived the idea of writing to postmasters in towns where the periodicals had been published and asking them to pass his message to a local physician who might know something about the journal. He sent the following letter to the postmaster at Keokuk, Iowa:⁸¹

The Surgeon General is desirous of obtaining, for the Library of this Office, all that was published of a medical periodical called 'The Western Medico Chirurgical Journal' edited by J. F. Sanford and S. G. Armor and published monthly at Keokuk in 1851–54 and perhaps longer. You will confer a favor if you will place this communication in the hands of some physician who will probably be willing and able to assist us. The Surgeon General will be glad to purchase the journal, or to furnish some of the valuable publications of this office in exchange.

Through this postmaster or someone to whom the postmaster gave the letter, Billings learned that Armor had moved east and was now associated with Long Island College Hospital. He wrote to Armor who promised to donate his own copy of the journal when his books, in transit, arrived from the West. ⁵²

Billings' clerk used the Keokuk letter as a model in writing to postmasters at Knoxville regarding East Tennessee Record of Medicine and Surgery; Bridgeport, Belmont County, Ohio, for Belmont Medical Journal, Sandersville, Georgia, for Georgia Medical and Surgical Encyclopedia, Princeton, Indiana, for Indiana Scalpel; Galveston, Texas, for Galveston Medical Journal; Syracuse for New York Eclectic Medical Journal, Union Medical Journal, and Syracuse Medical and Surgical Journal; Concord for New Hampshire Medical Journal; Hartford, Connecticut, for Monthly Journal of Medicine; Abbeville, South Carolina, for Peoples Medical Gazette; Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, for Middle States Medical Reformer and Journal of Health; and London, Ontario, for Canada Health Journal.83

Postmasters at Knoxville, Princeton, Concord, Abbeville, Bloomsburg, and London apparently were unable to help, but other postmasters assisted. The clerk at Galveston carried the letter to Greensville Dowell. an editor of *Galveston Medical Journal* from 1866 to 1871. Coincidentally, Surgeon Lewis A.

Edwards, stationed at San Antonio, had written to Dowell seeking the journal for Billings. Back issues were scarce, for Dowell's office had burned twice, but he told Edwards, "I am anxious to fill the file in the Surgeon General's office," and he gave the post office clerk several numbers to send to Washington. 85

The postmaster at Bridgeport handed the letter to John G. Affleck, publisher and an editor of *Transactions of the Belmont Medical Society*, 1847 to 1855, and of *Belmont Medical Journal*, 1858 to 1860. Affleck advertised in the two county newspapers trying to obtain copies of the periodicals, but when he received no replies he sent his own sets to Billings, asking for "no recompense," but willing to accept any new or interesting publications.⁸⁶

At Hartford the postmaster passed the letter concerning Monthly Journal of Medicine to Nathan Mayer, who had been a surgeon with a volunteer regiment during the Civil War.⁸⁷ Mayer tried unsuccessfully to obtain the old journal, already almost half a century out-of-print, but the Library acquired it a few years later.

The postmaster at Syracuse passed the letter to Edward E. Van de Warker, another ex-surgeon of volunteers. Van de Warker could not locate a complete set of *Eclectic Medical and Surgical Journal* (later, *Union Journal of Medicine*), but he offered Billings individual issues. 88

In Sandersville the postmaster apparently presented his letter to Horatio N. Hollifield, one of the coeditors of *Georgia Medical and Surgical Encyclopedia*, a journal that lived less than a year in 1860. Hollifield obtained all the issues except one and mailed them to Billings. ⁹⁹

OBTAINING JOURNALS FROM IRREGULARS

During Billings' day there existed several different "schools" of physicians, each with its own philosophy about the cause and cure of disease. There were botanic, Thomsonian, eclectic, and homeopathic physicians, all derisively referred to as "irregulars" by orthodox physicians, who called themselves "regulars." Rivalry existed between the schools, each believing its opinions and methods to be correct. Regulars looked down on the irregulars and would not consult with them or mingle with them professionally.

Initially Billings was a typical regular. His bias toward irregulars was mirrored in the suggestions he sent to his journal scout Acting Assistant Surgeon L. A. James: "as to the Eclectic and Homeopathic Journals you can get some non-professional person to go and see the Editors of those now in existence and see what they can do." James accepted this advice, telling Billings: "I have placed the collection of these homeopathic journals into the hands of a homeopathic doctor, who has promised me to get a large number." 191

John J. Woodward, Billings' associate in the Surgeon General's office, felt the same way. Questioning Billings about the policy for acquiring publications he asked: "a friend writes to know the extent to which homeopathic books are acceptable? Please tell me how to answer. Of course we will receive all that are presented will we not? But do we care to buy? and if so how far?" 92

The aloofness of Billings and his fellow medical officers kept them from making the personal, friendly contacts with irregulars that they had made with regulars, consequently the Library did not at first acquire homeopathic, eclectic, Thomsonian, and botanic journals with the same rapidity as it acquired regular journals. But Billings' desire to build the collection soon overcame his prejudice, and he wrote to editors of these periodicals. He found them as cooperative as editors of regular journals. Robert S. Newton, editor of American Eclectic Medical Review, received the following appeal from Billings:⁹³

Surgeon Moore USA wrote me that you would furnish some medical journals for the Library of this office and I have been hoping to hear from you especially in regard to eclectic journals. I have not been able to get any satisfactory bibliography of eclectic medical literature, and I have no doubt that there are several eclectic journals which I have not on my list. I should be much obliged for any information which you can give me on this subject. I have sent to press a list of all American journals that I know of, showing what we have, and I should like to receive your reply and any journals which you can let us have in time to use in correcting proof. I send you this day by mail circ's 1, 2, 3, 4 of this office, and will have other exchanges for you Pamphlets relating to eclectic medicine or its history in this country will be much appreciated.

Newton not only contributed but offered to become one of Billings' book scouts:94

During the latter part of this week I will send you a small library.

I find in this city several volumes of the rarest journals in your list of wants for which the holders ask from 50¢ to \$1.50 per vol. Shall I purchase such for you. If you give the order and you should obtain duplicates I would receive them back and place them in my own library. So far as my own publications are concerned I will take great pleasure in donating them to the Library. I think I can send you from 40 to 50 volumes

Is it your purpose to make a collection of medical books as well as journals. I am highly gratified and pleased to know that the Government, through your department has determined to carry out the purposes you have in view. Every medical man of every school no doubt will be proud of this National Museum and Library connected with and under the control of the War Department.

Amos R. Thomas, professor of anatomy at Hahnemann Medical College in Philadelphia and editor of American Journal of Homeopathic Materia Medica and Record of Medical Science, contributed homeopathic and eclectic journals, pamphlets, and books, and arranged exchanges between the libraries of Hahnemann and the Surgeon General. He spoke about the Library at a meeting of the American Institute of Homeopathy, resulting in the Institute's contributing periodicals and offering to help Billings fill his want list. He told Edward D. Buckman, a teacher at Eclectic Medical College of Philadelphia and editor of Philadelphia University Journal of Medicine and Surgery, that Billings needed a set of that periodical. Buckman offered the journal plus other journals to Billings as an exchange. 95

As news of the "National Medical Library" spread among irregulars Billings benefitted. He received a letter from Isaac M. Comings, New York City, asking for a list of wanted journals. Then Comings, who had edited Southern Botanico-

Medical College Journal in 1843, Journal of Medical Reform from 1854 to 1856, and Southern Medical Reformer and Review from 1857 to 1858, sent 20 volumes of rare journals. He later provided information on dates of publication and other data concerning botanic journals and sent names and addresses of editors and publishers. 96

Edwin A. Lodge, publisher and editor of American Homeopathic Observer, received the want list and offered to sell volumes of 10 journals from his private library. ⁹⁷ Later he sent lists of other journals and pamphlets that he was willing to part with. ⁹⁸

Medical officers fared as well as Billings. Assistant Surgeon James, "stirring up the Quack Doctors" in Cincinnati, obtained volumes of the following scarce periodicals: American Medical Journal, Family Journal of Health, Journal of Rational Medicine, Journal of Education and of Physiological and Medical Reform, Syracuse Medical and Surgical Journal, Thompsonian Recorder, and Physio-Medical Recorder. 99

Surgeon Alden, making a thorough sweep through the Buffalo medical fraternity, approached A. T. Bull, a homeopathic physician. Alden told Billings: 100

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 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.

Among the periodicals were issues of Canada Journal of Dental Science, Canada Lancet, Canada Health Journal, Canada Medical Journal, Chicago Medical Times, Medical Investigator, New England Medical Gazette, Western Homeopathic Observer, American Homeopathic Review, Bistoury, Herald of Health, Medical Gazette, North American Journal of Homeopathy, Dental Advertiser, Homeopathic Sun, American Homeopathist, Ohio Medical and Surgical Reporter, Eclectic Medical Journal of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia University Journal of Medicine and Surgery, and Medical Independent. Bull also sent a copy of Billings' list of wanted journals to a physician in Canada, hoping to get missing periodicals for the Library.

With the help of Thomas, Lodge, Newton, Buckman, Comings, and other kindly disposed "irregulars," Billings obtained for the Library an excellent collection of Thomsonian, botanic, eclectic, and homeopathic periodicals, some of them already scarce in Billings' time and virtually impossible to obtain today.

ACQUIRING FOREIGN JOURNALS WITH THE AID OF BOOKAGENTS AND CONSULS

Since the Library did not receive sufficient funds to subscribe to every journal that touched on medicine in North and South America, Europe, Asia,

Africa, and Australia, Billings chose the best known British, French, German, Austrian, Swiss, Scandinavian, and other journals, and directed his European agents to subscribe. In the early 1870's he sometimes depended upon his agents for advice on the quality of periodicals he was unfamiliar with, for example, in 1871, having no experience with Italian journals, he instructed his agent Felix Flugel to select the best two from that country and obtain them for the library. ¹⁰¹ As he became acquainted with the world's periodical literature he made such decisions himself

He also depended on his agents for news of the birth and the death of journals. He subscribed to new journals for at least a trial period but did not hesitate to discontinue a journal after examination showed it to have little use. From time to time he cancelled the least important and added newly established journals. He had difficulty finding agents in Spain, Russia, and a few other countries, but he persisted. He badgered his agents, Bossange in Paris, Brockhaus and Flugel in Leipzig, Muller in Amsterdam, Trubner in London, to forward journals as soon as they appeared. He had journals mailed instead of being shipped by cheaper but slower express.

As with extinct American journals, Billings had difficulty obtaining sets or issues of defunct foreign periodicals. He sent want-lists to his agents ¹⁰² He belabored them to obtain volumes he needed, urging them to advertise in booktrade and medical journals ¹⁰³ His agents obeyed him because he was a good customer, not because they believed it would yield results. They were not very successful, still Billings persisted. In 1875 the firm of Trubner, stung by Billings' complaints about their inability to locate old journals, replied.

We can assure you that there is the greatest difficulty attached to the collecting of such things and could you but make the trial you suggest of "One Week in London' or a much longer trial than this, we feel sure you would find the result to be something more like despair than gratification. There is one very strong reason for these journals being scarce. Most of such things are failures (scarcely any can boast of much success) and are looked upon by the greater portion of the book trade as waste, and treated as such, with most of the trade in London. If any fall into their hands in the ordinary course of trade, they are destroyed as packing paper, or consigned to some waste paper dealer, the demand being so limited that they would never pay for keeping

On a similar occasion Gustave Bossange, Paris, retorted to Billings "there is nothing so difficult & which requires more search & inquiry than to obtain odd numbers of periodicals and it is a work which can only be carried out successfully with time and patience" 105

Because his agents could not obtain journals from some countries, or obtained journals too slowly or at too high a price, Billings asked United States consuls to aid him. In June 1872 he sent, through the State Department, the following letter to consuls James Partridge, Rio de Janeiro, and Thomas Pearne, Kingston, Jamaica 106

To complete the files of American medical journals in the Library of the Office, the Surgeon General U.S. Army is very desirous of obtaining the medical journal

mentioned in the enclosed memorandum, or any other medical periodicals which may have been published in Brazil [Jamaica]. He is willing to purchase the journal, or to exchange the publications of this Office for the same. Any expense incurred by you in processing the said journal will be refunded either through the State Department, or otherwise as you may direct.

Four months later he received word from Partridge that the Brazilian journals could not be found. 107 Pearne, however, managed to obtain several issues of West India Quarterly Magazine from the editor. This led Billings to ask Pearne to compile and send bibliographic information on any medical journal ever published in Jamaica. 108

After this time Billings wrote to consuls in Cuba, Mexico, Spain, Portugal, India, Australia, Hawaii, Japan, Russia, Venezuela, Peru and other countries, with varying results. ¹⁰⁹ Consuls attempted to fill Billings' requests through book dealers and editors, or by other means. Consul J. J. Cooper visited 12 book stores in Cadiz and sent Billings a list of 248 books and 60 periodicals that he saw on the shelves. ¹¹⁰ Henry Hall, consul in Havana, could not find back issues of a Cuban periodical but obtained the donation of an old medical treatise. ¹¹¹ Julius A. Skilton, Mexico City, subscribed to a Mexican journal for the Library and located rare journals and old books. ¹¹²

A lesser librarian would have been discouraged by the difficulties in obtaining journals from countries which did not have channels in the book trade, but some measure of Billings' tenacity and ingenuity in pursuing publications may be judged from his use of consuls as book scouts. Through them he procured periodicals, books and pamphlets that the Library otherwise might not have obtained.

When Billings began he did not know much about American medical journalism; the dates when certain journals had started and stopped, the changes that some journals had undergone in title, the names of past and present editors, and even the existence of a number of extinct and living periodicals. This hindered him, and he resolved to compile a bibliography of journals. By the spring of 1872 he had sufficient data to put together a preliminary bibliography, which would also serve the purpose of a want-list, and in April he published it as a 26-page pamphlet, Library of the Surgeon General's Office, United States Army. Supplement to Catalogue. No. 1. List of American Medical Journals. He did not publish a final, separate bibliography but interspersed his detailed bibliographical information through the multivolume Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office which he started in 1880, and in volume 1 of which he placed an alphabetical list of journals. 114

During the journal hunt Billings accumulated historical information that he wove into writings that helped establish his reputation as a bibliographer.

An illustration of the otherwise unobtainable information that came his way, and which he did not use in an article, is the story about the New York Medical

and Surgical Reporter sent by its founder Clarkson T Collins of Great Barrington, Massachusetts 116

The only reason for my discontinuing the work was my own feeble health I am a native of N Y and had intended to spend my days in the city, but I became consumptive, was compelled to go abroad, and on my return I came here among the Berkshire hills where I have been living for 20 years I sold the Reporter to a rascal by the name of William R Wagstaff, M D who collected all he could of the subscribers and went to London, Eng I paid back to his subscribers all they paid him because I had recommended him to them

During the height of the hunt Billings considered publishing a historical sketch of American medical journalism into which, presumably, he would have poured all of his accumulated notes ¹¹⁷ It is unfortunate that he did not do so, if he had we would now know much more than we do about earlier publishers, editors, and periodicals

Billings accumulated journals with speed unparalleled in the development of any other American medical library, perhaps any other medical library in the world. Five years after he began his journal hunt the Library had obtained partial or complete sets of 714 of the estimated 1,147 medical journals that had come into existence since the first one had appeared in 1679. The Library possessed 8,214 volumes of the estimated 10,736 volumes that had been published. Thereafter Billings concentrated on filling gaps among his American and foreign journals, and on obtaining every medical journal of value published in every country.

Notes

- ¹ Publication number 10,001 was accessioned in the Register on Jan 2, 1871 Number 13,761 was accessioned at the end of the year Billings previous most active year was 1869 when according to the Register, he acquired 1,252 items
- ² Letter Billings to Toner, Jan 4 1872 LC
 ³ The list of journals in medicine and the cognate sciences copied from the Annual is in

Billings' correspondence, 1872 MS/C/81

⁴ For example, G Bossange Paris, sent a list of French scientific and medical periodicals

as requested by Billings, letter, Bossange to Billings, Dec 12, 1871 NLM

⁵ The important part of a medical library, that which will give it character and value, and for deficiency in which nothing can compensate is its file of medical journals and transactions' Billings, "Medical Libraries in the United States, p. 178 in Bureau of Education special report, Public Libraries in the United States , part 1, 1876

⁶ Letter, Asst Surg C Smart to Billings, Jan 30, 1872 MS/C/81

- ⁷ Letter Billings to Dear Doctor Jan 23, 1872 MS/C/81 Billings, on occasion, drew up a letter to serve as a form letter for his clerks to copy in writing to persons about books and journals. The above letter was marked 'sample' and probably was copied and sent to other med ical officers in addition to those mentioned above.
- ⁸ Letter, Billings to Webster and Abadie, Jan 17, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁹ For example a handwritten want-list of journals is attached to letter, Surg Weeds to Billings, March 18, 1872 MS/C/81
- 10 In HMD, NLM, are several of the printed hsts List of Medical Journals, Transactions, and Reports, Wanted to complete Files in the Library of the Surgeon General's Office Washington, D C 30 pp List of Medical Journals, Transactions, and Reports , 15 pp , List of Medical Journals, Transactions, and Reports
- , 2 pp , List of Medical Journals Trans actions, and Reports , 11 pp In the Otis Archives, AFIP, is a scrapbook containing other lists List of American Homeopathic Periodicals Wanted , 3 pp , of which 40 copies were

printed, List of Medical Journals Wanted, 4 pp., of which 75 copies were printed, List of Medical Journals Wanted, 3 pp. Supplemental List of American Medical Journals of some of which specimens are in the Library, Aug. 26, 1872, 4 pp., 75 copies printed, List of Medical Journals of which no copies are in the Library, long, narrow broadside, 250 copies printed.

¹¹ Letter, Smart to Billings, Jan 30, 1872 MS/C/81

 12 Letter, Smart to Billings, Jan 30, also letter, Smart to Billings, Feb 3, 1872 MS/C/81

¹³ Letter, Smart to Billings, Feb 15, 1872 MS/C/81 Purple gave his library to the New York Academy of Medicine, which he helped to create

¹⁴ Letters Webster to Billings, Jan 31, Mar 13, Apr 16, 20, 1872 MS/C/81

¹⁵ Letters, Smith to Billings, Jan 26, Mar 9, June 19, 1872 MS/C/81

¹⁶ Letters, Randolph to Billings, Mar 20, Jan 26, 1872 MS/C/81

Letters, Bentley to Billings, Oct 19, 1872,
 Feb 6, Mar 31, 1873 MS/C/81

¹⁸ Letters, Alden to Billings, Aug 25, 30, Sept 5, Oct 8, 1872, Jan 26, Mar 13, 1873 MS/C/81

¹⁹ Letters, Town to Billings, Apr 8, May 20, Aug, 6, 1872 MS/C/81

 20 Letters, Bibber to Billings, June 19, July 20, Billings to Bibber, June 21, Billings to Boston Med Surg J July 6 1872 MS/C/81

²¹ Letters, Beall to Billings, Jan 26 Feb 1, Mar 18, 28, Sept 23, Nov 2, 1872 J P Chesney to Beall, Feb 2, 1872, Billings to Beall, Feb 3, 1872 MS/C/81

²² Letters, Weeds to Billings, Feb 1, Mar 11, 18, 25, Apr 17, June 9, Sept 20 Oct 18, Nov 3, 1872 MS/C/81

Letters, James to Billings, Mar 10, 14,
 19, 23, 30, Apr 18, June 25, Sept 21 Nov 2,
 1872 MS/C/81

²⁴ Letters, McClellan to Billings, July 28, Aug 14, 1872, Jan 14, 15, 1873 MS/C/81

²⁵ Letter, Randall to Billings, July 18, 1872 MS/C/81

²⁶ Letters, Billings to Sloan, Jan 23, 1872, Sloan to Billings, Jan 26, May 21, 1872, Billings to Griffiths, May 13, 1872, Samuel L S Smith to Billings, July 1, Sept 11, 1872 MS/C/81

²⁷ Brown's report was published as Senate Executive Doc 9, parts 1 and 2, 42 Cong, 3 Sess, 1872, and as a book, Report on Quarantine on the Southern and Gulf Coasts of the United States (New York, 1873)

 28 Letter, Brown to Billings, June 24, 1872 MS/C/81

²⁹ Letter, Brown to Billings, June 30, 1872 MS/C/81

³⁰ Letter, Brown to Billings, July 8, 1872 MS/C/81

³¹ Letters, Brown to Billings, July 25, Aug 26, 1872 MS/C/81

³² Letter, Simpson to Billings, Jan 13, Feb 20, 1872 MS/C/81

³³ Letter, Knickerbocker to Billings, Jan 27, Billings to Knickerbocker, Feb 16, 1872 MS/ C/81

³⁴ Letter, Frantz to Billings, Mar 28, 1872 MS/C/81

³⁵ Letter, Horton to Billings, Apr 19, 1872 MS/C/81

³⁶ Letter, Hammond to Billings, May 27, 1872 MS/C/81

³⁷ Letters, Billings to Hammond, Oct 30, Hammond to Billings, Nov 14, 1874 MS/C/81

38 Letter, Perrin to Billings, June 8, 1872 MS/C/81

³⁹ Letters, Sutherland to Billings, Nov 21, 1872, May 10, 1873 MS/C/81

⁴⁰ Letter, Barker to Hassan, Mar 13, 1872 MS/C/81

⁴¹ Letters, Middleton to Billings, June 10, Reynolds to Billings, June 22, July 6, Murray to Billings, Sept 28, Nov 21, Taylor to Billings, Dec 2, 1872 MS/C/81

⁴² Letter, Porcher to (Billings²), Apr 28, 1873 MS/C/81

⁴³ Letters, J. W. Freer, Chicago, to Billings, May 4, 1872, T. C. Duncan, Chicago, to Billings, Apr. 9, 1872, June 25, 1873, P. O. Tessier to Billings, May, 1872, G. Dowell to Edwards, Mar. 15, 1872. MS/C/81

44 "The wife of a physn deceased some years ago tells me that she sent this spring barrels of old med journals to the paper mill', letter, A Jewett to Billings, June 3, 1872 MS/C/81 Other letters in Billings' correspondence mention paper mills as the fate of physicians' books and journals

⁴⁵ Letter, Billings of Flint, Jan 13, 1872 MS/C/81 Billings, at this time, was far from being the expert on medical publications that he would become later. One of several indications of this is the above letter where he did not know that New York Monthly Review of Medical and Surgical Science was New York Monthly Review of Medical and Surgical Science, and Buffalo Medical Journal, actually volume 15 of Buffalo Medical Journal

⁴⁶ Letter, Smart to Billings, Jan 29, 1872 MS/C/81

⁴⁷ Letter, Billings to Eve, Mar 12, 1872 MS/C/81 Eve had been an editor and associate editor of *Southern* journal, 1845 to 1849, of *Nashville* journal, 1852 to 1857 and 1866 to 1867

- ⁴⁸ Letters, Eve to Billings, Mar 22, Apr 6, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁴⁹ Letter, Billings to Dowler, May 22, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁵⁰ Letters, Dowler to Surg Randolph, July 15, 1872, to Surg Gen Barnes, Aug 7, 1872 MS/C/81
- 51 Letter, Wormley to Billings, May 14, 1872 MS/C/81
- 52 Letters, Billings to Tessier, May 4, Tessier to Billings, May (no date) 1872 MS/C/81 The periodical was bilingual, also titled *The Quebec Medical Journal* Billings sent circulars 3 and 4 as a good will gesture
- ⁵³ Paper covers, bound in volume 1, bear the name of Dr Cook The volumes were accessioned in 1890
- ⁵⁴ Letters, Fenwick to Billings, Dec 12, 1871, Apr 29, 1872 MS/C/81 Fenwick accepted publications of the Surgeon General's office in exchange for volumes he sent Billings
- 55 Letter, Billings to Lea, Jan 29, 1872 MS/C/81 American Medical Intelligencer died with volume 4 in 1841 The publisher was A Waldie The firm of Lea & Blanchard (succeeded by Henry C Lea in 1865) took over the stock of Waldie and started a new journal, Medical News and Library (later, Medical News) in 1843 Billings needed back issues
- ⁵⁶ Letters, White to Billings, Jan 31, Billings to White, Feb 1, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁵⁷ Smart, poking around New York to find journals for Billings, learned of Collins' address, otherwise Billings may never have obtained Collins' rare journal Letters, Smart to Billings, Jan 30, Billings to Collins, Feb 5, Collins to Billings, Feb 20, 1872 MS/C/81 The volume in NLM bears the inscription in Collins' hand "Presented by Dr C T Collins to the library of the S G O 1872"
- ⁵⁸ Letter, Butler to Billings, Mar 14, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁵⁹ Letter, Billings to Ziegler, Apr. 8, 1872 MS/C/81
- 60 Letter, Billings to Clark and Garrison, Apr 8, 1872 $\,$ MS/C/81 $\,$
- ⁶¹ Letters, Billings to Tilden, Apr 8, 26, Tilden to Billings, Apr 22, 27, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁶² Letters, Billings to Fulton, printed in Canada Lancet 4 442–443 (May 1872), Fulton to Billings, Mar 11, 1872, bound in front of Canada Lancet, vol 3 NLM
- ⁶³ Letter, Billings to Johnson & Lund, June 11, 1872 MS/C/81
- 64 Letter, Judd to Billings, June 13, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁶⁵ Letter, Chaillé to Billings, Nov 29, 1872 MS/C/81 Chaillé was an editor 1857–1861, 1867 His signature is in volumes 3 and 19, NLM, it

- may have been in others and been cut off during rebinding. In his letter Chaillé listed several journals he was willing to part with, and named persons to whom Billings should write
- 66 Letter, Billings to Talbot, Apr. 8, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁶⁷ Postal card, Brown to Billings, July 18, 1873 MS/C/81 Brown offered journals from his own collection
- ⁶⁸ Letter, Campbell to Billings, July 18, 1872 bound in *Canada Health Journal* NLM Campbell sent the complete five issues, all that were published, of his periodical, and information about its fate
- ⁶⁹ Letters, Billings to Gross, Sept 23, Oct 8, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁷⁰ Billings' letter, with remarks and an offer by Fulton to forward publications to Washington, is in *Canada Lancet* 4 442–3 (May, 1872)
- ⁷¹ Letters, Fitzpatrick to Billings, May, June 1, June 22, 1872, Feb 22, 1873 MS/C/81 Billings offered \$3 cash or volumes of *Scientific American* in exchange for Fitzpatrick's journals
- ⁷² Letter, Saunders to Billings, May 14, 1872 MS/C/81
- 73 Letter, Robertson to Billings, May 14, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁷⁴ Letters, McIntosh to Billings, Aug, 12, 31, Sept 19, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁷⁵ Letter, Jones to Billings, Oct 23, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁷⁶ Letter, Fulton to Billings, May 7, 1873, sending bill for the ad The advertisement is missing in the NLM copy of *Canada Lancet*
- ⁷⁷ Letters, Clark to Billings, June 6, 23, 1873 MS/C/81
- ⁷⁸ Letter, Hawkins to Billings, Sept 8, 1873 MS/C/81
- ⁷⁹ Letters, Duncan to Billings, Apr 9, 1872, June 25, 1873 MS/C/81
- 80 Letter, Butler to Billings, May 14, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁸¹ Letter, Billings to Postmaster, Keokuk, Mar 8, 1872 MS/C/81
- $^{\rm 62}$ Letter, Armor to Billings, Apr. 13, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁸³ A list of post offices to which the clerk wrote is attached to the letter to Keokuk, above
- ⁸⁴ Letter, Dowell to Edwards, Mar 15, 1872 MS/C/81
- ⁸⁵ Letter, E S Fletcher, clerk, Galveston P O to Billings, Mar 21, 1872 MS/C/81
- MS/C/81 Billings, according to pencilled note on the letter, sent circulars and the Library's catalog The first volume of the *Transactions* at NLM has Affleck's signature inside the cover and on the title page

⁸⁷ Letter, Postmaster, Hartford, to Billings, Apr. 13, 1872 MS/C/81

⁸⁸ Letter, Van de Warker to Billings, June 27, 1872 MS/C/81 The Library, unfortunately, never completed its set of this periodical *Eclectic Medical and Surgical Journal* underwent changes in its title and ended as *Union Journal of Medicine* Billings had not yet become an expert on medical literature, and he thought that the two were different journals

89 Letter, Hollifield to Billings, Mar 22, 1872

MS/C/82

⁹⁰ Letter, Billings to James, Cincinnati, Feb 19, 1872 MS/C/81 Italics supplied

⁹¹ Letter, James to Billings, May 2, 1872 MS/C/81

⁹² Letter, Woodward to Billings, April 26 1872 MS/C/81

⁹⁰ Letters, Surg John Moore to Billings, Mar 25, 1872 Billings to Newton, Apr 27, 1872 MS/ C/81

⁹⁴ Letter, Newton to Billings, Apr 30, 1872 MS/C/81 Newton's subsequent letters show his continued helpfulness to the Library

95 Letters, Thomas to Billings, Apr 23, 30, June 13, 1872 R D McClatchey, American Institute of Homeopathy, to Billings, June 13, 20, 1872 Buckman to Billings, June 27, 1872 MS/C/81 Buckman gave Billings bibliographic data about his journal

⁹⁶ Letters Comings to Billings, May 2, 15, June 11, 1872 MS/C/81

⁹⁷ Letter, Lodge to Billings, Apr 25, 1872 MS/C/81

⁹⁸ Letter, Lodge to Billings, June [no date] 1872, list of volumes purchased from Lodge, July 6, 1872 MS/C/81 Covers of Medical Investigator, Vol. 4, 1866, Nos. 3 and 5 in NLM carry Lodge's signature

⁹⁹ Letter, James to Billings, Oct 29, 1872

100 Letter, Alden to Billings, Dec 19, 1872 MS/C/81

¹⁰¹ Letter, Billings to Flugel, Nov 11, 1871 NLM

102 Italian book scouts who supplied journals to L W Schmidt of New York issued and circulated an Italian translation of Billings' wantlists

¹⁰³ For example, Billings' instructions to Bossange to advertise in *Bibliographie de la France* and local inedical journals, in letter, April 11, 1874 MS/C/81

104 Letter, Trubner & Co , to Billings, Mar 20, 1875 NLM $^{\mbox{\scriptsize 105}}$ Letter, Bossange to Billings, May 8, 1877 NLM

¹⁰⁶ Letters, Billings to Partridge and Pearne, June 7, 1872 MS/C/81 From the endorsement on the back of the letter to Pearne, I would assume this was a form letter, copied by Billings' clerk and sent to other consuls

107 Letter, Partridge to Billings, Oct 25, 1872

108 Letters, Pearne to Billings, Aug 27, Billings to Pearne, Oct 18, 1872 MS/C/81

109 For example, letter, Billings to William Hunter, Assistant Secretary of State, Sept 2, 1873 MS/C/81 Billings asked for names of consuls in Madrid, Barcelona, Cadiz, Saville, Lisbon, Calcutta, Bombay, and Melbourne to help him procure journals the Library had been unable to obtain There are letters to consuls in other cities in Billings' correspondence

110 Letters, Cooper to Billings, Oct 2, 1874, (no date) 1875 MS/C/81

¹¹¹ Letter, Hall to Billings, Aug 7, 1873 MS/ C/81

Letters, Skilton to Billings, Jan 27, 1873,
 Nov 14, 17, 1874, Jan 26, April 22, 1875, Feb
 1877 MS/C/81

113 Published by Government Printing Office, Washington The list contained information on almost 300 journals, Canadian as well as United States

¹¹⁴ Index-Catalogue, v 1, pp 2–126 New lists or additions to the lists were published in front of each succeeding volume of Index-Catalogue

115 "The Medical Journals of the United States," Boston Med Surg J 100 1–14 (Jan 2, 1879), and "A Century of American Medicine 1776–1876, Amer J Med Sci 72 439–80 (1876), to mention two of Billings' most notable articles

MS/C/81 For other examples of bibliographical information sent to Billings see letters, Fenwick to Billings, Dec 12, 1871, Eve to Billings, Apr 6, 1872, Chaillé to Billings, Nov 29, 1872 MS/C/81

117 Letter, Billings to C T Collins, Feb 21, 1872 MS/C/81

118 Statistics given by Billings on p 177 of his chapter, "Medical libraries in the United States," in Bureau of Education, Special Report, Public Libraries in the United States , Part 1, 1876

Titles of the journals purchased by the Library, 1869–1872, 1874–1909, are in manuscript volumes in NLM