

Society for the Social History of Medicine

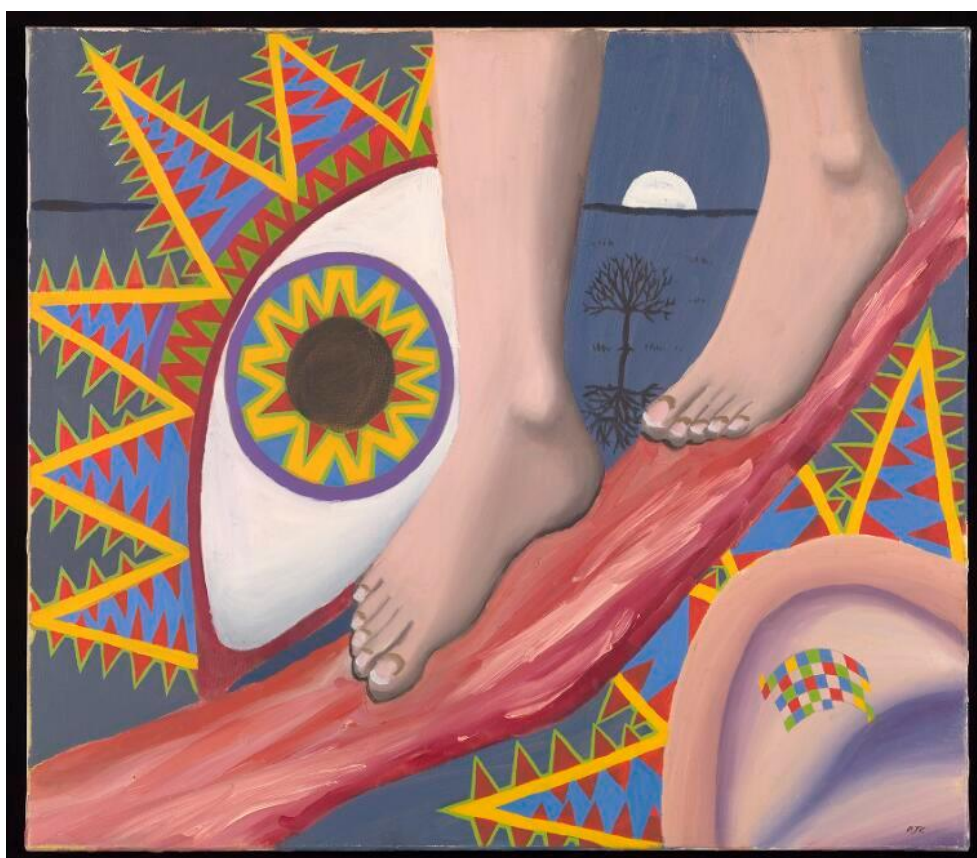


THE GAZETTE

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Bryan Charnley. 1990. The walk. [Oil on canvas]. Wellcome Collection: Library no. 3049684i

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[groups/societyforthesocialhistoryofmedicine](https://www.facebook.com/groups/societyforthesocialhistoryofmedicine)

WELCOME TO THE GAZETTE

Dear readers,

We hope you are doing well.

There is lots to report in this issue. In particular, I would like to draw your attention to our Statement on Racial Violence and Systemic Racism **on p.4** and our Emergency Research Bursary scheme **on p.7** which has a deadline of **17 July**. I am also excited to include the CFP for the next EAHMH biennial conference **on p.7**. This conference will take place in September 2021.

Many of us have been thinking about what we can learn from the history of public health when thinking about COVID-19. You might be interested in a [recent blog post](#) by Prof Virginia Berridge which reflects on swine flu, COVID-19 and public health.

As you know, the last couple of issues of the *Gazette* have been digital, as a result of COVID-19, and we plan to continue this format for the remainder of the year. We are considering whether we should continue doing this in future years or revert back to our usual paper format. If you have any views on this, please get in touch with me in advance of our AGM.

Please feel free to send on any information for inclusion in the November edition of the *Gazette* to me at L.e.kelly@strath.ac.uk by the end of October.

Laura Kelly, Editor

SSHM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE UPDATE

It has been a busy few months for the SSHM Executive Committee, as we try to represent our members' concerns in these challenging times. We submitted a response to the UKRI Open Access consultation, drawing on an earlier survey of our members. We have also been working to develop support for members whose research has been affected by Covid-19. You'll find the first call for funding applications within the Gazette, with a deadline of 17th July to help those urgently in need of assistance to complete research. There will be further funding opportunities through the coming months. We have rescheduled our AGM to 1 September 2020, and Swansea biennial conference to 24-26 June 2021, with online attendance possible for those who might find it difficult to travel. As we can't host our conference this year, a straw poll on social media indicated a demand for SSHM to run online workshops. We are currently working to put together a schedule, with the first to be in July - watch out on our website and twitter feed for details - focusing on how the social history of medicine can help us with navigating and understanding the current pandemic. And most recently, we have been reflecting on Black Lives Matter and how we can best act, listen and support BLM as a learned society: please see our statement on this below. We are still working on much of the above, which will be ongoing concerns for the EC for some time.

Victoria Bates (Secretary) and Rosemary Cresswell (Chair)

DR BILL MACLEHOSE (1967-2020)

The SSHM wishes to note our sadness at the passing of Dr Bill (William Fleming) MacLehose. Dr MacLehose passed away unexpectedly on 7 May 2020. He was an historian of medieval medicine and Lecturer in History and Philosophy of Science at the UCL Department of Science and Technology Studies (STS), with expertise in medieval understandings of sleep and dreaming. He will be greatly missed.

Dr Elma Brenner has written the following tribute:

I first met Bill MacLehose about 10 years ago when we were introduced by a mutual friend since we were both medieval historians of medicine. At that point I was a postdoctoral researcher and Bill, established in his permanent post, was really supportive of my work and great to talk to about it. He generously shared his knowledge and had many great suggestions for my future research.

When I started working at Wellcome Collection in 2012 it was a chance to see more of Bill and in 2014–15 we worked together on the programme of Wellcome's premodern seminar, which was a lovely collaboration. The seminars were great, happy occasions and Bill's presence was key to that. I was also privileged to be there at sessions where Bill brought his students from Science and Technology Studies, UCL to view medieval manuscripts at Wellcome Collection. Having previously been based in the Wellcome building as Lecturer in Medieval Medicine at the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at UCL, Bill displayed an outstanding knowledge of our collection, encompassing our Arabic as well as Latin and European vernacular materials. He

showed an incredible gift to teach about multiple items and themes within just one hour, without the session ever feeling rushed. His students were clearly inspired by these sessions, as was I.

Bill's early death is a huge loss to the medieval research community, as well as to historians of medicine. He published on areas that straddled philosophy, medicine and religious thought, including concepts of childhood, sleep and the workings of the brain. His ability to grapple with the complex intellectual themes of the period and relate them to medicine, health and human experience made a unique and greatly-needed contribution. I am grateful for the legacy that he leaves in his publications and the work of his students, but so sad to know that he is no longer with us.

I will miss Bill's warmth, humour, friendship and consideration for others.

Dr Elma Brenner

A tributes page for Dr MacLehose is available at this link:
<https://www.forevermissed.com/william-fleming-maclehose/about>





The Society for the Social History of Medicine (SSH M) condemns the brutality and racial violence that has led to the death of George Floyd and countless Black people and people of colour, violence driven in large part by white privilege and barbarity. We recognise the structural problems caused by racism and the associated underrepresentation of BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Colour) scholars minoritized by whiteness within our community and the wider academic world and stand in solidarity with the global protests in support of Black Lives Matter. But solidarity is not enough.

Earlier this year we published a values statement drawing on discussions with our members. Within this we noted that ‘we use medicine and healing as lenses for exploring different experiences of health and disease, which are affected by class, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality.’ We also recognised that we have a fundamental civic responsibility and that ‘our work helps citizens understand the historical circumstances shaping current healthcare systems and to use this understanding as a basis for both fostering institutional stability and driving political change.’

Our values statement underscores our work and our responsibilities as social historians of medicine, but we now recognise that we need to take further action to back our ideals. Currently we are taking some time to listen and develop responses that will lead to genuine, tangible change. We need to assess where we are and use our collective power to drive this change forward. As

part of this work we commit to better understanding racial privilege and how it is systemically perpetuated within Higher Education institutions.

We are opening a public consultation to solicit our members and associates to offer their views and ideas, which will be integrated into our longer-term response. We would also like to invite BIPOC scholars, from undergraduate level to professor, to steer our future path. To enable this as a Society we are committed to ensuring that we provide an accepting and safe space for discussion and dialogue led by any and all minoritized scholars.

We currently aim to do the following:

- *To audit the role of gatekeeping in relation to our editorial practices*
- *To establish an annual Fellowship / Library and Museum Fellowship open to students, scholars and those outside of academia with priority for marginalised scholars and work in areas related to race and health in history*
- *Develop teaching resources for schools and universities to highlight relevant historical themes in the history of medicine*
- *As well as providing such sources from the history of medicine, we are committed to teaching ourselves and others about the history of racism and how it is perpetuated through institutional structures. This activity could take the form of a discussion/book group focussing on anti-racism pedagogy and the decolonisation of the curriculum in relation to the history of medicine.*
- *Produce a virtual journal issue on relevant material on inequalities in health in the SSHM’s journal, Social History of Medicine*

- *Develop accessible digital sources on these themes, such as a series of webinars or blogs*
- *Diversify our governance*
- *Develop a mentoring programme, aimed at BIPOC scholars and other minoritized groups*
- *Organise the donation of hardcopies of our journal, MUP books, and other texts from history of medicine donors to places where this work is currently inaccessible such as public libraries*

We would like to amplify the following organisations that our members can support:

Black Cultural Archives

<https://blackculturalarchives.org/>

Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations and Resources centre and Education Trust

<https://www.racearchive.org.uk/>

International Slavery Museum, Liverpool

<https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/international-slavery-museum>

We would like to highlight the following scheme for historians run by the Social History Society:

[BME Events and Activities Small Grants:](#)

<https://socialhistory.org.uk/funding/bme-events-and-activities/>

As a Society focused on the social history of medicine we would encourage you to read about racism and inequalities within the healthcare sector, as well as in relation to health outcomes. The issues facing racially-minoritized people today are the consequence of historical and current structures and actions. The following are good places to start and are open access:

<https://www.bmj.com/racism-in-medicine>

<https://twitter.com/HistoryWO/status/1269890654940745728>

<http://speri.dept.shef.ac.uk/2020/05/01/covid-19-and-racial-capitalism-in-the-uk-why-race-and-class-matter-for-understanding-the-coronavirus-pandemic/>
<https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/how-racism-is-shaping-the-coronavirus-pandemic>

We acknowledge that BIPOC members of the Society are more likely to be violently attacked during the current pandemic. Some news articles on this phenomenon are here:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/16/the-y-yelled-coronavirus-first-british-attack-victim-east-asian-man>

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/may/12/uk-rail-worker-dies-coronavirus-spat-belly-mujinga>

We also recommend the work of both the Royal Historical Society and the University of Glasgow as ways to think about race, racism, university heritage and culpability, as well as university praxis. Both are freely available:

[https://royalhistsoc.org/racereport/;](https://royalhistsoc.org/racereport/)

https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_607547_smx.pdf

.

Finally, we offer the following readings on higher education and discrimination:

<https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Aiming%20Higher.pdf>

<https://www.runnymedetrust.org/blog/three-steps-to-make-higher-education-more-inclusive>

https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10075/Staying-Power/pdf/UCU_Rollock_February_2019.pdf

<https://www.ucu.org.uk/article/8090/Report-finds-high-levels-of-discrimination-in-colleges-and-universities>

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/amp/education-46473269>

SSH M 50th ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE, 24-26 JUNE 2021.

The 50th Anniversary Conference of the SSHM was meant to take place July (8-2020 at Swansea University. As readers will know, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the Conference now has been postponed to 24-26 June 2021.

Looking ahead, we are planning to welcome people to Swansea from 23 June 2021, but we are also planning a digital platform for panels, keynotes and other activities to ensure the widest possible participation and access.

A conference draft programme will be available in early 2021. We are working to ensure that all panels and panellists on the original programme will be able deliver papers, whether in person or remotely.

Given the unprecedented nature of this pandemic, we are also planning to run roundtables and workshops to share and develop perspectives and reflections on Covid-19.

Further details about the Conference, including refunds and registration, can be found here: <https://sshm.org/portfolio/sshm-50th-anniversary-conference/>

We look forward to seeing you in beautiful Swansea in June 2021!

Michael Bresalier on behalf of the SSHM2021 organising committee.

REMINDER: SOCIETY FOR THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF MEDICINE AGM: 1 SEPTEMBER 2020, 4.00-5.00 PM

Due to the rescheduled Society for the Social History of Medicine conference, our next Annual General Meeting will take place on 1st September 2020 from 4-5pm. We hope that the meeting will take place in London, with the option to join in person or virtually via Zoom; details of location and a Zoom link will be available in due course at <https://sshm.org/annual-general-meeting-for-2019/>. During the AGM, we will be talking about our activities in 2019. The AGM is also the opportunity for SSHM members to provide us with feedback and suggestions. We will also re-elect and nominate members at this meeting - please note that nomination forms must now all be received by email.

Nomination forms must be received by Friday 21st August. An editable version of the form is available at <https://sshm.org/portfolio/the-society/>

Any queries should be directed to the SSHM Secretary, Dr Victoria Bates, victoria.bates@bristol.ac.uk. The 2-page forms can be signed and then scanned and emailed to sshmexecsec@gmail.com.

SSH M EMERGENCY RESEARCH BURSARIES SCHEME

We are offering **10 bursaries of up to £100** to assist those without a permanent paid role to continue researching. These funds are to enable applicants to purchase items required to carry out their research in the field of the social history of medicine, which they are currently unable to do, due to a loss of funds/work contracts, or lack of access to libraries. This may be, but not limited to, purchasing books, accessing vital online resources, attending online training, and obtaining vital technology and equipment.

To be eligible, you **must be a current member of SSHM, without a permanent paid role**. This includes scholars at all stages of their careers, but preference will be given to members with limited funds or time left for their PhD or contract, and whose contracts may have been impacted by the current pandemic.

The application form is at the end of this issue of the Gazette and also available on our website.

Applications should be submitted by 5pm on **Friday 17 July 2020** and applicants will be notified with a decision within 2 weeks of this deadline.

EAHMH 2021 CONFERENCE CALL FOR PAPERS

The European Association for the History of Medicine and Health (EAHMH) invites submissions for its biennial meeting, to be held in Leuven, Belgium, 7-10 September 2021. The Association welcomes abstracts for individual papers, panels, roundtables, poster presentations and other short presentations on the general theme **Faith, Medicine and Religion**.

Faith and religion are part and parcel of the medical field. For in times of illness, we have faith. Our faith goes to those who aim to heal us as we recognize and trust their ability to do so. In some settings, both today and in the past, such faith takes on explicit spiritual and religious meanings. It is performed through rituals and shaped by belief systems, shared or not between patients, doctors and other caregivers. In other settings, it is the belief in science or other concepts of medicine that drives patients', caregivers' and scientists' search for cure and well-being. Moreover, outside the biomedical domain, hope for improvement drives the search for alternative modes of healing. The 2021 EAHMH conference places these questions of trust, belief, religion, hope and devotion center stage in the history of medicine and health.

At first sight, secularization and medicalization, two of the most potent transformations in the Western world since the 19th century, appear to be two sides of the same coin. Many problems that previously fell within the religious sphere have become defined and treated as medical problems, often in terms of illness and

disorders. While since the Middle Ages, the sick were mainly cared for in a religious context, professional lay nurses have filled the shoes of sisters and friars and the therapist's couch has replaced the confessional. Similarly, with regard to sexuality, family planning and end-of-life care, the influence of religion seems to have faded whilst the importance of medical advice and techniques has grown. Not surprisingly then, the history of medicine and religion has often been imagined as one of conflict. Underpinning these studies was a discourse on the rise of 'modern' Western medicine going hand in hand with a downfall of 'traditional' religious beliefs and norms.

In line with recent scholarship, this conference is an invitation to complicate this narrative in diverse ways. By studying the connections and interactions between faith, medicine and religion in different historical eras within and beyond the Western world, we want to encourage historical analyses that help rethink the (often-implicit) role of modernization theories, based on the study of modern Western biomedicine. The category of 'faith' may help to explore the many entanglements between the domains of belief, dogma and affect on the one hand and medical knowledge and practices of caring and curing on the other hand. Questions of trust, belief, hope and devotion among and between patients, health care providers, scientists and societies indeed complicate distinctions between religion on the one hand and medicine on the other. They can contribute to a rich understanding of the many connections – including tensions and conflicts – between both fields.

Individual submissions will be received until 30 January 2021 and should comprise a 250-word abstract, including five key words, and a short CV (max. one page) with contact information. Panel submissions should ideally include three papers (each with 250-word

abstract, keywords and short CV), a chair and an initial introductory 100-word justification. If you wish to organise a roundtable (a panel discussion of 45 minutes on a specific theme), please include the names of participants and a short 500-word abstract. We also invite poster presentations and suggestions for new types of short presentations (e.g. outreach activities (e.g. game, exhibit), digitization or medical heritage project etc.), for which we ask a 100-word description of the project and a one-page CV.

The full call, and information on how to submit proposals can be found at the Association's website [EAHMH](#)



CSHHH SUMMER SCHOOL ONLINE EVENTS

The Centre for the Social History of Health and Healthcare (CSHHH) has organised a series of online events relating to the history of health and medicine over July and August. These include four webinars and a postgraduate Twitter conference. The webinars will include 10-15 minute presentations from our scholars, to be followed by discussion and questions/comments by audience members through the Zoom 'Chat' function. Please click the individual Eventbrite links to register in advance; Zoom invites will be sent out the morning of the webinars. All welcome!

Webinar 1: Thursday 16 July, 1pm: Mental health

Dr Hannah Proctor and Prof Matt Smith, chaired by Dr Laura Kelly.

Click [here](#) to register.

Webinar 2: Thursday 23 July, 1pm: Cultures of wellbeing

Dr Chi Chi Huang and Dr Kay Nias. Click [here](#) to register.

Postgraduate Twitter conference: Thursday 30 July, 1pm

See our Twitter @CSHHH_Glasgow for further information and follow the #CSHHHSummerSchool).

Webinar 3: Thursday 6 August, 1pm: Drugs, intoxicants and subcultures

Dr Peder Clark and Prof Jim Mills, chaired by Dr Catriona Ellis. Click [here](#) to register.

Webinar 4: Thursday 13 August, 1pm: Histories of birth control

Georgia Grainger, Kristin Hay and Dr Laura Kelly, chaired by Prof Oonagh Walsh. Click [here](#) to register.

Follow hashtag #CSHHHSummerSchool and please contact Dr Laura Kelly (L.e.kelly@strath.ac.uk) for further information.

VIRTUAL TALKS AT THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF NURSING

Florence Nightingale's Legacy (online event)

Tuesday 7 July 2020, 5.30 – 6.30pm

Booking link: www.rcn.org.uk/whatson

RCN President Professor Anne Marie Rafferty co-edited Notes on Nightingale, a collection of essays about her life and legacy. Here, she talks about Nightingale as a celebrity in her own lifetime. Her image was of great appeal to the public and must have been a source of tremendous reassurance in a time of crisis.

Two hundred years on from Nightingale's birth, we're facing new challenges. What can we learn about the

COVID-19 pandemic from Florence Nightingale's legacy?

And how does the history of nursing continue to shape views of the profession?

Please register to attend, and a link will be circulated in advance with instructions on how to join the meeting. All tickets must be booked individually.

"Total Pain": Cicely Saunders and the History of Emotions (online event)

Thursday 23 July, 5.30 – 6.30pm

Booking link: www.rcn.org.uk/whatson

Hospice pioneer Cicely Saunders championed better end-of-life care by acknowledging the emotional impact of a terminal diagnosis. She became friends (and, once or twice, fell in love) with dying patients and encouraged others to follow her example in listening to patients' descriptions of pain. In 1964, she introduced the term "total pain" to show how a dying patient's pain is a whole overwhelming experience - not only physical but also emotional, social and spiritual.

In this talk, researcher Joseph Wood explains Saunders' ideas about 'total pain' in the context of her life and work. Although Saunders was a doctor when she established St Christopher's, the world's first research-led hospice, in 1967, she had started work as a nurse during the Second World War. The talk will explore how Saunders' mixed career background allowed her to advocate for a new way of appreciating the experience of dying patients. Joint Chief Executive of St Christopher's Hospice, Heather Richardson, will also look at the importance of Saunders' work to end of life care today.

Please register to attend, and a link will be circulated in advance with instructions on how to join the meeting. All tickets must be booked individually.

THE WORSHIPFUL SOCIETY OF APOTHECARIES OF LONDON

Faculty of the History and Philosophy of Medicine and Pharmacy: Programme 2020-2021

Tuesday **6 October 2020**, Sydney Selwyn Lecture (Virtual)
An examination of sex versus gender identity in the General Medical Council's Tran Healthcare Ethical Guidance

Dr Sara Dahlen, MBBS, BSc (Hons), DPMSA

Sydney Selwyn Winner

&

Medical Humanitarianism – Do motives matter?

Professor Anthony Redmond, OBE MD FRCPGlasg

FRCSed FRCEM FIMCRCSEd HonMFPD DMCC DPMSA

Sydney Selwyn High Commendation

Tuesday **10 November 2020**, Monckton Copeman Lecture (Virtual)

A Tale of Charles Dickens; Amateur Physician or Social Reformer?

Dr Nicholas Cambridge MD MRCS FSA FLS FRSA

Thursday **14 January 2021**, Sydenham Lecture (Virtual/In-Person)

Leonardo Da Vinci -A 15th-century anatomist whose concepts & ideas anticipated

21st-century radiology?

Professor Peter Abrahams, FRCS(ED) FRCR DO (Hon)

FHEA

Tuesday **23 February 2021**, Keats Memorial Lecture (Virtual/In-Person)

Surgery and Emotion Before Anaesthesia

Dr Michael Brown, BA, MSc, PhD, DIC, FHEA, FRHistS

Monday **8 March 2021**, Trailblazers in Humanities (In-Person)

Celebrating International Women's Day

Wednesday **10 March 2021**, Gideon de Laune Lecture (Virtual/In-Person)

History of Peyote

Mike Jay, Writer

&

The History of Gigantism – from Legends to Genes

Professor Marta Kobonits MD, PhD, FRCP

Monday **22 March 2021**, Sydney Selwyn Lecture (Virtual/In-Person)

Can the impact of the NHS on the environment be justified?

Dr Mary Fletcher BSc MBBS DRCOG DCH MRCP

Sydney Selwyn Winner

&

Dr Ellis Onwordi

Sydney Selwyn High Commendation

Monday **12 April 2021**, Han Sloane Lecture (In-Person)

Poison that "Sweetens the Blood"; Slavery, Drugs and the Apothecary

Professor Pratik Chakrabarti FRHistS

Thursday **6 May 2021**, Barks, Berries & Bitter Bills (In-Person)

A one-day symposium with Friends of the Archives celebrating

200 years of quinine.

Thursday **24 June 2021**, Annual Dinner (In-Person)
Celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Faculty

Wednesday **16 June 2021**, Flavell Lecture (Virtual/In-Person)

tbc

Contact: Maria Ferran, Faculty Manager & Webmaster
Telephone: 020 7236 1189 or Email: Facultyhp@apothecaries.org



IT'S OUR BIRTHDAY – GIVE US A
PRESENT! HELP US RAISE £500!

These lovely, limited-edition 3cm commemorative badges were ordered for sale at the SSHM 2020 conference, which has of course been postponed to 2021. So we're operating a mail-order service so that you can wear yours with pride *this* year!



Simply place an order by sending an email to sshmexecsec@gmail.com headed 'Badge' stating how many you'd like and where you'd like it/them sent to. *Please do not quote any card details or other payment information in your order.*

If you are a UK taxpayer we'd like to give you a badge free of charge and invite you to make a donation (minimum £5) and Gift Aid it using the form that we'll send you. (If you want more than one, increase your donation accordingly!)

If you are not a UK taxpayer, or prefer not to sign a Gift Aid form, the cost will be £5 per badge including P&P to anywhere.

Please note that due to the Covid-19 lockdown, all orders will be fulfilled later this year, but you are encouraged to order this unique commemorative piece early as they are sure to run out!

All proceeds will go towards supporting the Society's bursary and conference funds, helping PGRs, ECRs and those dealing with precarity in the most practical fashion.

APPLICATION FORM
EMERGENCY RESEARCH BURSARY SCHEME
Charity Registration Number 278414

We are offering **10 bursaries of up to £100** to assist those without a permanent paid role to continue researching. These funds are to enable applicants to purchase items required to carry out their research in the field of the social history of medicine, which they are currently unable to do, due to a loss of funds/work contracts, or lack of access to libraries. This may be, but not limited to, purchasing books, accessing vital online resources, attending online training, and obtaining vital technology and equipment.

To be eligible, you **must be a current member of SSHM, without a permanent paid role**. This includes scholars at all stages of their careers, but preference will be given to members with limited funds or time left for their PhD or contract, and whose contracts may have been impacted by the current pandemic.

Applications should be submitted by 5pm on **Friday 17 July 2020** and applicants will be notified with a decision within 2 weeks of this deadline. **For our records we will ask for scanned receipts to indicate how the money was spent in order to be able to claim expenses.** We also ask that successful candidates supply a short entry for the SSHM Gazette, detailing how the bursary assisted with research.

Please note that this is the first-round of financial initiatives we shall be offering. Any unsuccessful applicants may re-apply to future 50th anniversary schemes once they are announced. Completed application forms should be sent electronically to the SSHM Office: **sshmexecsec@gmail.com**

Name:	Title:
Home Address:	
Email:	
SSHM Membership Number (or OUP receipt number):	
Amount of Funding Sought (up to £100):	
What is your current status or position? [150 words max] (e.g. PhD status, role/job title. Please include start and end dates of studies, studentship or contract. Please include details of any studentship/grants)	
How are you involved in the social history of medicine? [200 words max] Please supply a short paragraph explaining your current work.	
How has your work been adversely affected by the Covid-19 pandemic? [200 words max] Please include any work contracts that have been impacted.	
Details of funding being sought. [200 words max] Please provide an indication of how you propose to spend the money (e.g. books, access to databases, computer equipment etc), and what research output this will assist with (e.g. thesis, conference paper, writing an article, book proposal or monograph).	

Disclaimer: Any views expressed in this Gazette are those of the Editors or the named contributor; they are not necessarily those of the Executive Committee or general membership. While every care is taken to provide accurate and helpful information in the Gazette, the Society for the Social History of Medicine, the Chair of its Executive Committee and the Editor of the Gazette accept no responsibility for omissions or errors or their subsequent effects. Readers are encouraged to check all essential information appropriate to specific circumstances.

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