

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

Al-Tabib: Medical Knowledge Production And Exchange In 19th  
Century Levant

by  
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# ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Medicine, as many other fields, underwent a major transformation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the turn of the century, there were four modern medical schools in the Ottoman Empire, two of which were in the Ottoman provincial capital Beirut. The Levant was a region of competition and penetration of different foreign powers and missionaries, and medicine lay at the heart of this competition. Missionaries established clinics, hospitals, and schools in the region, and their struggle for influence culminated in the establishment of the two medical schools. The Ottoman state also increased its regulation of medical and pharmaceutical practice, in an effort to gain control and curb missionary influence.

The native modern physicians were not passive actors in this fight for power. They negotiated and debated articles, new advancements, and theories, and engaged in local knowledge production. This thesis examines the way medical knowledge was transmitted in the Levant through the first Arabic medical journal, *al-Tabib* (1874-1914). The journal was not a tool for the dissemination of foreign medicine, but a site of local knowledge production and exchange. This thesis aims to show the changes in topics and interests, readership, and authors during the forty years of the journal's publication, the development of the modern professional medical class, and how this transnational network of modern physicians disseminated and produced medical knowledge.

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# CHAPTER I

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY MEDICINE IN THE LEVANT

The long 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of major transformation in the Ottoman Empire, with changes across the political, economic, and intellectual spheres. Medicine and public health were not only shaped by these changes but were also tools used by multiple actors in their attempt to influence and control the population. In the aftermath of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, and in the context of increased European hegemony and colonial expansion, the idea of European superiority became prominent. This narrative gained support throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century among Ottoman intellectuals and officials who hoped to 'catch up' with Europe's economic, industrial, and military expansion. The Ottoman state instituted several reforms, and as with many other fields and practices, medicine was transformed with increased state power and centralization. European penetration and increased missionary activity in the Levant also led to the establishment of printing presses, schools, dispensaries, hospitals, and by the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, two Western medical schools in Beirut. Both the state and missionaries tried to phase out and replace traditional and folk medical practices to gain authority over the human body and its treatment. However, the adoption and production of scientific and medical knowledge was not a passive transfer of Western notions. Native physicians debated and negotiated modern theories and practices within their values and framework of knowledge as is evident on the pages of *al-Tabib* (1874-1914).



During the past years, there has been an increase in the number of studies on 19<sup>th</sup>-century medicine in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. However, few have delved into the practice of medicine and its professionalization in the Syrian Arab provinces, despite two of the four operating medical schools of the time being established in Beirut. *Al-Tabib*, which is the main subject of this thesis, presents us with a glimpse of the medical practice, ideas, and debates that were considered at the time, and how they changed with time with increasing professionalization of medicine towards the turn of the century. This thesis aims to uncover how knowledge was disseminated, discussed, and adopted by modern physicians, and how the practice may have evolved as a result. The local modern physician was not a passive recipient of knowledge and the journal was one such platform for the Arabic-speaking medical collective to share their clinical expertise and knowledge, in an environment of complex dynamics and networks that guided medical practice at the time

### **A. Traditional Medical Practice in the Ottoman Empire**

Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, medical practice and institutions in the Ottoman Empire were decentralized and the product of several different traditions practiced with syncretism. Medicine and health were not stand-alone institutions, but permeated the social, religious, and intellectual spheres of life. Although there is limited research on the history of medicine in the Levant during the earlier Ottoman period, we can assume some similarities to Anatolia and Egypt. Learned medicine was based on the humoral system and practiced by physicians in hospitals and among the elite. This type of medical knowledge was based on a long

tradition elaborated in extensive medical treatises by elite scholars and physicians. The practice was often passed on through apprenticeships, often from father to son, and training at the hospital. Most major cities in the Ottoman Empire, including Aleppo and Jerusalem in the Arab provinces, had a hospital, often as part of charitable complexes.<sup>1</sup> There was also one official medical school in the Ottoman Empire as part of the Suleymaniye complex in Istanbul. The learned physicians of the time were associated with these institutions and claimed superior practice, however, they were only one of several medical practitioners at the time. Traditional healers, including barbers, herbalists, and midwives, competed for their practice, and religious medical traditions, such as prophetic medicine, complemented and challenged medical theory. These systems of knowledge were not isolated and often overlapped in theory and practice.<sup>2</sup>

As Shefer-Mossensohn argues, a significant focus of medicine at the time was prevention rather than cure. When medical treatments were necessary, pharmaceuticals rather than surgery predominated. Surgery was commonly performed by different practitioners; however, it was a last resort due to the associated high risk of infection and morbidity. The number of hospitals was limited at the time, as most individuals sought care at home from elite physicians or traditional healers. Hospitals provided their services for free, primarily targeting those lacking financial or social capital. The establishment of hospitals was a grand

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<sup>1</sup> Shefer-Mossensohn, M. (2010), *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700*, p. 197

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of health and medicine in the Ottoman Empire prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century see Shefer-Mossensohn, M. (2010), *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700*, and Rafeq, A. (2015), "Traditional and Institutional Medicine in Ottoman Damascus". *Turkish Historical Review*, and for Egypt see Kuhnke, L. (1990), *Lives at Risk: Public Health in Nineteenth Century Egypt*,

form of charity reserved for the ruling elite to increase their popularity and visibility. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, hospitals were not specialized, apart from a few institutions dedicated to leprosy that were meant to exclude their residents from the healthy public. Hospitals were also exclusively urban institutions, situated in the major cities in central locations as part of major charitable complexes.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike the depiction promoted by many histories of medicine, medicine in the Ottoman Empire was not isolated from the world prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Transmission of medical knowledge between Europe and the Ottoman Empire was not a new phenomenon, and knowledge exchange was ongoing for centuries in both directions. This was not limited to medical treaties and textual exchange, but as Boyar argues, included education, travel of physicians, and trade in pharmaceuticals. European physicians were also long present in the Ottoman Empire, mainly serving the court.<sup>4</sup> However, the major change that happened in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the volume with which foreign physicians infiltrated medical practice in the Ottoman Empire and the transformation of medical institutions in line with Western models of education and practice. Many physicians immigrated after the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars and established their practice in Egypt, where they acted as the first instructors in the newly established Qasr el-Ainy medical school. With increased European penetration and missionary activities, Western physicians increased in the region to service

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<sup>3</sup> See Shefer-Mossensohn, M. (2010), *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700*, Chapter four for an overview of medical institutions in the early modern Ottoman Empire

<sup>4</sup> Boyar, E. (2018), Medicine in practice: European influences on the Ottoman Medical Habitat. *Turkish Historical Review*

their compatriots and engage in medical missionary activities, which influenced the local medical practice and institutions.

## **B. The Formation of Modern Medical Education in Egypt and Istanbul**

In 1827, the first two modern medical schools in the region were established based on Western models, with the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul preceding the Qasr el-Ainy medical school by a few months. Both schools were modeled on European models, followed Western medical curricula, and initially employed foreign physicians for their development and administration.<sup>5</sup> Though they were established by different state actors, their motivations were similar.

Education was central to the modernization efforts of the Egyptian and Ottoman governments, as centralization required an educated class to fill its bureaucracy and uphold its new system of governance and administration. Moreover, as the narrative of European industrial and military superiority gained momentum, science and education were emphasized as the main reasons for European military and industrial success, and they became essential elements for reform and modernization. Western science was seen as a tool of modernity, and education as the recipe for progress and civilizational success.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Sonbol, A. (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*; Kuhnke (1990), *Lives at Risk: Public Health in Nineteenth Century Egypt*; Yildirim, N. (2016), *A view of the history of the Istanbul Faculty of Medicine*.

<sup>6</sup> ElShakry, M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic. 1860-1950*, Chapter 1

The curricula of the newly established medical schools were based on the modern schools in Europe, using European textbooks and lectures given by European physicians. Classes in Qasr el-Ainy were initially taught through an interpreter from French, while textbooks were translated to Arabic. Like graduates from other specialized schools established by Muhammad Ali, medical graduates from Qasr el-Ainy were also sent on educational missions to Europe. Twelve students from the first cohort were sent to Paris for specialization in different fields, with an expectation to return and form a native teaching staff.<sup>7</sup> Though several Ottoman physicians studied in Europe prior to the establishment of the modern medical schools, the Imperial Medical School graduates were sent to continue their studies in Europe only after 1869, after the school changed its language of instruction to Turkish which required new instructors with knowledge of Turkish and the modern medical sciences.<sup>8</sup> Although they were based on Western curricula led by European physicians, these modern medical schools were not institutions of colonial medicine. They were native initiatives to “catch up” with the West, but in their attempt to do so often promulgated Western discourse on bodies and disease.<sup>9</sup>

Second, medicine was essential for the success of the modern military apparatus. The Ottoman Empire and Egypt had similar motivations for the establishment of the first Western medical schools in 1827: the health and well-being of the expanding standing army that was

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<sup>7</sup> Kuhnke, L. (1990), *Lives at Risk: Public Health in Nineteenth Century Egypt*, Chapter 2

<sup>8</sup> Yildirim, N. (2016), *A view of the history of the Istanbul Faculty of Medicine*.

<sup>9</sup> See Abugideiri, H. (2016), *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in colonial Egypt* for a detailed analysis on the transformation in medical practice and education during the British occupation

modeled according to Western standards. In Egypt, after seizing control and establishing a standing army, Muhammad Ali established a military medical corps under the leadership of Clot Bey. Prior to the establishment of the medical school, around 50 European physicians serviced an army of 150,000. In addition to the need to manage combat wounds and other ailments, there was a need to control the spread of infections. A standing army, frequently on the move, residing in poor and crowded conditions, was ideal for disease transmission. The Qasr el-Ainy Medical School, under the jurisdiction of the Department of War, was established to train local physicians and avoid reliance on expensive European ones. The first hospitals under Muhammad Ali were also established to serve the military and provide training opportunities for medical students and graduates.<sup>10</sup> The Qasr el-Ainy Medical School graduates received a military rank and were assigned to their posts, first in the military and following its dismantlement within the newly established health centers. The Imperial Medical School in Istanbul was also first established as the Military School of Medicine to train physicians for the military as a decree in 1827 mandated that each battalion had a physician and a surgeon. Its graduates were also obliged to military service, in this case one year in a military hospital in Istanbul.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See Abugideiri, H. (2016), *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in colonial Egypt*; Kuhnke, L. (1990), *Lives at Risk: Public Health in Nineteenth Century Egypt*; Fahmy, K. (1998), *Women, medicine, and power in nineteenth-century Egypt*

<sup>11</sup> Yildirim, N. (2016), *A view of the history of the Istanbul Faculty of Medicine*.

Third, the medical schools became essential tools of state control and regulation of medical practice and promotion of the health of its population. Population became a major concern for nations during the 19th century, and the health of the population and its growth were seen as vital for the economic success of the nation. The wars of secessions and internal rebellions exacerbated the states' anxieties about their population. The state invested in public health measures to promote the health and hygiene of the populace, including vaccination campaigns, quarantines, sanitary regulations, and control of reproduction. Medicine was a critical tool of influence on populations, both in its practice and discourse, and physicians, with their medical authority and social standing, were instrumental to both the state and later the missionaries. As such, considerable effort went into regulating the practice of physicians, midwives, and pharmacists, especially in the provinces.<sup>12</sup> Reproduction was a major concern for the state, as evident by the establishment of the Midwifery school in Cairo (1832) and Istanbul (1842), a few years after the medical schools.<sup>13</sup> In Egypt, the medical school graduates and the *hakimas* from the School of Midwives worked together in hospitals and health centers on improving the health of the urban poor, but also assisted the state in its control and monitoring of the population and its vital statistics.<sup>14</sup> The Ottoman state also provided training for midwives as part of its general

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<sup>12</sup> Balsoy, G. (2015), *The politics of reproduction in Ottoman society, 1838–1900*, Chapter 2

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion on control of reproduction as part of the state medical reform see Balsoy, G. (2015), *The politics of reproduction in Ottoman society, 1838–1900*; Abugideiri, H. (2016), *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in colonial Egypt*, and Fahmy, K. (1998); “Women, medicine, and power in nineteenth-century Egypt.” *Remaking Women*.

<sup>14</sup> Fahmy, K. (1998), “Women, medicine, and power in nineteenth-century Egypt”. *Remaking Women*.

effort to control medical practitioners and eliminate ‘traditional midwives’ across the empire. However, after limited success in producing ‘modern’, state-affiliated midwives, the state resorted to licensing and regulating existing midwives.<sup>15</sup>

### **C. Foundations of Modern Medicine in the Levant**

Modern medicine propagated in the Levant in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through graduates of these newly established modern medical schools, and foreign physicians that set up their practices in cities of Greater Syria. During the Egyptian campaign in Syria in the 1830s, a new hospital was built in Damascus for the military. Afterward, the hospital was transformed to service civilians, and in 1845 the hospital, staffed by a European physician, accommodated 200-300 patients.<sup>16</sup> Another hospital was also built in Aleppo by Ibrahim Pasha, for the continued education of Qasr el-Ainy students that had to interrupt their education to join the military campaign.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, several students from the different provinces in Syria were selected and sent to study at Qasr el-Ainy during the Egyptian campaign. Clot Bey selected five students from Deir al-Qamar to study medicine, which included Yousef Jalkh, Ibrahim Najjar, and Ghaleb Mamluk.<sup>18</sup> Upon their return, these graduates established their practice in Syria and became the earliest modern local physicians. There were also Qasr el-Ainy graduates that practiced in the military hospital in Beirut in the

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<sup>15</sup> Balsoy, G. (2015), *The politics of reproduction in Ottoman society, 1838–1900*

<sup>16</sup> Rafeq, A (2015), “Traditional and Institutional Medicine in Ottoman Damascus”. *Turkish Historical Review*

<sup>17</sup> Sonbol, A (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*, Chapter 3 p.71

<sup>18</sup> alZoubi, M. (2004), *Atibba’ min al-Tarikh*, p. 275



first half of the century, though little is known about their career path or practice.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Syrian students continued to travel to Istanbul and Egypt to receive medical education. Qasr el-Ainy Medical School made special provisions for non-Egyptian students, providing them with medical diplomas that were not given to Egyptian students, and allowing them to set up their private practice in Egypt.<sup>20</sup>

After the retreat of the Egyptian forces, medical practice became regulated as part of the Tanzimat period drive toward the modernization and centralization of the Ottoman administration. The state sought to phase out traditional medicine and folk practices that were difficult to control and monitor. This directly affected both Syrian and foreign physicians, as they were now required to sit for an exam in Istanbul to obtain a license to practice. Rafeq mentions the first such instance in 1850s Aleppo, when a *firman* was read that required all physicians to pass a medical examination in order to retain their license.<sup>21</sup> The state's attempt at regulation intensified throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with initial pushback from many local and foreign healthcare professionals. Provincial governments resisted on behalf of local healthcare professionals, as they argued few were licensed, and that sending the majority to Istanbul would create a shortage in services. These regulations were also initially unpopular with European consulates that refused to send their physicians to Istanbul.<sup>22</sup> However, the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Sonbol, A. (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*, Chapter 4

<sup>21</sup> Rafeq, A. (2015), "Traditional and Institutional Medicine in Ottoman Damascus". *Turkish Historical Review*

<sup>22</sup> Balsoy, G. (2015), *The politics of reproduction in Ottoman society, 1838-1900*, Chapter 2, p.38

Ottoman government was partially successful, and gradually increased its medical oversight and public health measures throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1860 a Health council was established in Beirut, and after 1870 two municipal physicians were appointed due to recurrent epidemics in the city.<sup>23</sup>

Increasing European penetration in the Levant, following the defeat of the Egyptian forces and the Anglo-Turkish convention (1838), led to an increase in the number of foreign physicians in the region. Medicine was also a tool of influence for imperial powers and different missionaries, and the different groups competed for this influence, namely the British, Americans, French, and Russians. In 1842, the Syrian Medical Aid Association, an association created by British physicians and philanthropists, established a dispensary in Beirut with the motivation that “grateful Syrians were expected to favor British political influence and welcome British commerce.”<sup>24</sup> The British were also interested in establishing a medical school in the region, as a *Lancet* article on the Syrian Medical Aid Association announced the departure of Dr. James Thompson “for the purpose of establishing a hospital and a school of medicine in Damascus.”<sup>25</sup> The project did not come to fruition, possibly due to the increased tensions within the society and its eventual disintegration in 1846.

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<sup>23</sup> Sharif, M. (2014), *Imperial Norms and Local Realities: The Ottoman Municipal Laws and the Municipality of Beirut (1860-1908)*, Chapter 7

<sup>24</sup> Kass, A. (1987), “The Syrian Medical Aid Association: British Philanthropy in the Near East”, *Medical History* p. 150

<sup>25</sup> “Syrian Medical Aid Association – Letter from Dr. Thompson”, *The Lancet* 1844, Volume 43 Issue 1082, p.291

Thompson's request to continue his work and build a hospital and medical school in Damascus was also denied by the Foreign Office.<sup>26</sup>

The Syrian Medical Aid Association was one of the rare instances of a secular medical mission to the Levant. Most medical missions were part of missionary activities as missionaries understood the importance of medicine in gaining the trust of and influence over the local population. The Jesuits had the physician Henry Henze as part of their mission in Beirut since 1831, and there was strong competition for the provision of smallpox vaccination between the Jesuit and Protestant missions.<sup>27</sup> The American Protestant mission emphasized how having a physician as part of the mission would help spread Protestant teachings among the local population. As Reverend Isaac Bird wrote in the *Missionary Herald* in 1824, a physician affiliated with the mission would be useful because of "the unostentatious, inoffensive way in which he may drop his remarks on religious subjects, answer inquiries, remove prejudice in bigoted families or companies, where a missionary would not be heard."<sup>28</sup> In 1828, Bird, with no prior medical training resorted to vaccinations in an attempt to win over his Maronite neighbors. He continued advocating for a missionary physician until Cornelius Van Dyck joined the Protestant mission in Lebanon in 1840.<sup>29</sup> Van Dyck would

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<sup>26</sup> Kass, A. (1987), "The Syrian Medical Aid Association: British Philanthropy in the Near East", *Medical History*

<sup>27</sup> Sharif, M. (2005), "Missionaries, Medicine and Municipalities: A History of Smallpox Vaccination in the Nineteenth-Century Beirut." *Archaeology & History in Lebanon*

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p.37

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

play a critical role in the establishment of the SPC medical school and popularization of modern science and medicine in Beirut.

The number of physicians and missionary medical activities steadily increased, and medicine became an essential tool of missionary activity in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with hospitals and two medical schools established in Beirut. The medical school was established in 1867, led by Cornelius Van Dyck, John Wortabet, and George Post. In 1874, three years after the graduation of its first cohort, George Post launched *al-Tabib*, a medical journal for the promotion and discussion of medical sciences and practice in Arabic. The journal presents an opportunity to understand the interests of medical graduates from the new modern missionary Medical School, and how they viewed, understood, wrote about, and discussed the science and practice of medicine at the time. It allows us to explore the evolution of medical practice and the creation of a medical elite in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This thesis is divided into three main chapters, each discussing the three periods of the journal's publication. The next chapter discusses the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College Medical School and the launch of *al-Tabib* by George Post in 1874 as a platform for physicians to exchange their knowledge and create an Arabic-speaking medical collective. The chapter examines the organization and contents of the journal in its first three years prior to its discontinuation. The third chapter examines the relaunch of the journal in 1881 and its unstable publication during the next few years as the editors and authors become entangled in the Lewis Affair controversy at SPC. The last chapter explores the journal in its last format, during its steady publication from 1895 until 1914. These years provide us a

glimpse into the creation and expansion of the medical professional class in Beirut and the Levant at the turn of the century, and its vast transnational network.

This thesis aims to shed light on how medical knowledge was produced and exchanged in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the provinces, far from the center's strict oversight, multiple actors competed for influence, and medicine was a valuable tool for that. The modern physician was at the heart of this competition, as European powers, missionaries, and the Ottoman state attempted to create the modern physician that would promote their interests. However, the local modern physician was not a passive participant in this struggle for power. The graduates of modern medical schools negotiated, debated, and adapted foreign and local medical knowledge, and shaped their emerging professional class as the next chapters attempt to illustrate.

## CHAPTER II

### SPC AND THE LAUNCH OF AL-TABIB IN 1874

In 1874 George Post established the medical journal *al-Tabib*, initially titled *Akhbar Tibbiyah*. The launch of the journal combined the missionary medical and educational activities in the region: medicine, education, and the printing press. The missionaries were competing with the state and traditional medical practices for authority and influence over the body and soul of the native population. The limited success of direct conversion led the missionaries to explore indirect alternative methods of influence and penetration, through the printing press, schools, and hospitals. This chapter traces the development of medical and educational institutions by the missionaries in Beirut, the training of the first cohorts of medical students, and the establishment of the first medical journal. However, the adoption and production of scientific and medical knowledge was not a passive transfer of Western or missionary notions. Native physicians debated and negotiated modern theories and practices within their values and framework of knowledge starting from *al-Tabib's* first volumes. As this chapter illustrates, *al-Tabib* was not a journal for the passive transmission of translated foreign medical knowledge but acted as a platform, although initially limited in reach, for local modern physicians to share their knowledge and clinical experience with each other.

## A. Missionary Education and the Foundation of the Syrian Protestant College

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a great expansion in the number of schools established in Greater Syria. Catholic, Jesuit, Protestant, Ottoman, and local Muslim schools were established across the region, with increasing competition for students. Scientific education was the main driving force for students to enroll in the newly established schools.<sup>30</sup> Students were interested in gaining knowledge in arithmetic, astronomy, and natural science, and they chose schools most equipped to provide them with it. The importance of scientific education was promoted by many *Nahda* intellectuals as it was believed to be the recipe for progress and civilizational success. Missionaries promoted their educational institutions by responding to this local demand and interest.<sup>31</sup>

Missionary activity, mostly Catholic, has been present in Greater Syria since at least the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, missionary activities expanded in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with increased establishment of seminaries, dispensaries, hospitals, and schools in the 'Holy Land'. American Protestants especially had a new fervent interest in the region, exemplified by the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1810. Protestant missionaries initially established their mission in Jerusalem, however, they soon moved to Beirut due to suspicion of the local authorities, competition from established ecclesiastical authorities, and limited success in conversion. Direct conversion was also difficult due to Islamic law forbidding direct proselytizing, so the missionaries resorted to

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<sup>30</sup> ElShakry, M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic. 1860-1950*. Chapter 1

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

indirect conversion through education and publishing.<sup>32</sup> Seminary schools that initially taught literacy to read scripture expanded to include a wide range of subjects, including sciences such as astronomy and arithmetic, which attracted many students. Missionaries promoted the study of sciences as a path to enlighten the students and demonstrate God's work in nature.<sup>33</sup>

The culmination of the American missionary education activities was the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) in Beirut by the American Protestant mission in 1866. In 1856, Henry Jessup and Daniel Bliss arrived in Beirut and started discussions on the need to open a college of higher education. The college was established and admitted its first 18 students in 1866, and soon after a medical department was added. Though the college initially retained its evangelical principles with students exposed to scripture, mass, and moral philosophy, soon its primary focus became scientific education.<sup>34</sup> Students studied algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, Arabic grammar, English, French, Latin, and bible studies, and those who chose to study medicine continued for an additional 4-year medical education.<sup>35</sup>

Shortly after the foundation of SPC, Cornelius Van Dyck, John Wortabet and George Post led the establishment of the medical college in 1867, with George Post joining them as

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<sup>32</sup> Auji, H. (2018), "Marketing Views of Modernity, Evangelism and Print Specialization in the American Mission Press Catalogs (1884–1896)," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*

<sup>33</sup> ElShakry, M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic. 1860-1950. p.46*

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p.52-58

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p.53



teaching faculty shortly after.<sup>36</sup> Cornelius Van Dyck was the first Protestant missionary physician in Beirut when he arrived in 1840 at the age of 22, shortly after graduation from Jefferson College in Philadelphia. Van Dyck learned Arabic and became increasingly engaged with the native population, acting as a teacher, physician, translator, and scholar. Prior to his work at SPC, he translated many books and textbooks into Arabic and directed the American Mission Press from 1857 until the 1870s. In the newly established medical school, he initially taught botany and chemistry, and later internal medicine, pathology, and theology.<sup>37</sup> John Wortabet was born in Saida in 1827 to an Ottoman Armenian Protestant convert. He attended the Beirut School for Boys and was taught medicine by Cornelius Van Dyck, after which he continued his education in Scotland. He was ordained as a preacher and joined the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland as a missionary in Aleppo. In 1867, he was hired as a professor of anatomy and physiology at the college.<sup>38</sup> George Post was the last to join the faculty at SPC. The son of a surgery professor in New York, Post decided on a medical missionary career early on. He joined ABCFM soon after finishing his studies and was stationed in Tripoli in 1863. After the establishment of the SPC medical college, he became its professor of surgery and botany and maintained a practice in Johanniter Hospital that was affiliated with SPC and trained medical students.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Zeuge-Buberl, U. (2017), *The Mission of the American Board in Syria: Implications of a transcultural dialogue*, p. 145

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 142-152

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p.199-229

<sup>39</sup> Sa'di, L., and Sarton, G. (1938), "The life and works of George Edward Post (1838-1909)," *Isis*

## **B. The Printing Press and the Rise of Scientific Journals**

The printing press was another tool of influence used by the missionaries, its primary use initially was to disseminate the New and Old Testaments and European manuals and books. Protestant missionaries were the first to establish an Arabic printing press in Beirut in 1834, which was followed by a Jesuit printing press in 1848. The initial project was the translation of the New Testament into Arabic, and later theology books. However, the printing press also translated and printed books on Arabic grammar, literature, science, and technology.<sup>40</sup> The missionaries in the region had a strong commitment to teaching and promoting science despite occasional skepticism towards their work back home. Some members of the ABCFM in the United States voiced concerns regarding the missionaries' focus on sciences and education, which they thought was an unnecessary expense and ineffective in converting the native population to the Protestant faith.<sup>41</sup>

The establishment of printing presses in Beirut was followed by a publishing boom, especially after 1870, in journals and periodicals. By 1875, there were eleven printing presses in Beirut.<sup>42</sup> The printing industry was very competitive, especially with commercial printing presses gaining popularity, and so they had to produce a range of publications. The SPC

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<sup>40</sup> Auji, H. (2018), "Marketing Views of Modernity, Evangelism and Print Specialization in the American Mission Press Catalogs (1884–1896)," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> ElShakry, M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic. 1860-1950*, p. 47

printing press was not restricted to religious materials, but also promoted the publishing of Arabic scientific books that were used as textbooks and several journals.<sup>43</sup> The 1870s saw a general rise in Arabic periodicals and journals, many of which were published in Beirut by intellectuals who were faculty, graduates, or closely affiliated to SPC. This was a period of increased spread of scientific knowledge, through journals such as *al-Jinan*, *al-Muqtataf*, and many others.

It was during this printing boom that George Post established *al-Tabib* at SPC where he taught surgery and botany and maintained a practice at Johanniter Hospital. *Al-Tabib* was not the first Arabic medical journal. *Ya'sub al-Tibbi*, published in 1865, was the first Arabic medical journal. It was founded in Egypt by Muhammad Ali al-Baqli, director of Qasr el-Ainy Medical School and a graduate of its first cohort. The journal was meant to disseminate medical discoveries to the college's students and graduates by publishing excerpts from foreign medical journals. The journal was funded by the government and distributed to students and graduates.<sup>44</sup> The journal only lasted a few years, and it is unclear if it circulated outside the Qasr el-Ainy medical school, or if it published original articles. There was also an increasing number of medical publications in other journals, an indication that the medical profession was gaining acceptance and authority. *Al-Tabib* was the first medical journal in the Levant, and though initially an SPC journal, it evolved into an independent periodical

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Sonbol, A. (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*, p.95

that circulated among physicians in the Levant, Egypt and even the Americas over a period of forty years.

### **C. The Initial Aim and Format of the Journal**

*Al-Tabib* targeted “physicians in Syria, Egypt, and all those countries that speak Arabic.”<sup>45</sup> The editor envisioned the purpose of the journal to spread knowledge among physicians and pharmacists in the region and urged readers to send interesting cases from their practice and specific treatments they have tried. The journal’s goal was different from other scientific journals at the time, as it catered to a specific professional class rather than a general reading public. Its aim was not to popularize science to the Arabic reader but provide a platform for knowledge exchange and discussion among modern medical professionals. It was a journal through which physicians and pharmacists could learn about and share interesting medical cases, discoveries, and articles on pertinent topics.

During the first three years, each issue of the journal consisted of twenty-four pages divided into three sections. The first section of approximately four pages was dedicated to medical news from Syria. This section mostly included cases from George Post’s practice at the Johanniter hospital. The next section reported foreign medical news and achievements, mostly as summaries and excerpts from leading medical journals. This section was meant to provide up-to-date information and summaries of the latest medical and scientific advancements. The last *Rasa’il* section consisted of articles on medical topics written by regular contributors. These were long articles, some of which ran for several issues. Some

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<sup>45</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 5, p.124

were excerpts from textbooks, others summaries on relevant topics. Most likely these sections were meant for SPC medical students, to be used as textbooks and up-to-date teaching material, as Arabic textbooks were still scarce at the time. This was a problem across disciplines, and also encountered by Sarruf and Nimr, graduates and instructors at the college and the editors of *al-Muqtataf*.<sup>46</sup>

In these first three years, *al-Tabib* also included an eight-page section at the end of every issue with a glossary of medical terms (*Mufradat wa murakkabat tibbiyah murattaba 'ala huruf al-hija'*). The editor recommended to readers that they combine the sections from each issue into one volume at the end, and its pages were numbered to facilitate its binding into a medical dictionary.<sup>47</sup> This was meant to contain all the medical terms that were recently translated to Arabic from English, French, and German. According to the editors, this dictionary was necessary for the native physician to converse with foreign physicians, many of whom were settled in Syria and Egypt. It was also meant for medical students to understand the medical preparations that were prescribed, as they vastly differed between the British, American, French, and Germans.<sup>48</sup> The dictionary was divided into three sections. The first section spanned the first two and a half years of the journal's publication and included all the translated medical terms in alphabetical order. Each entry included the translated Arabic, common Arabic, and Latin name, along with a brief description of

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<sup>46</sup> Farag, *al-Muqtataf*, p.20

<sup>47</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 5, p. 124

<sup>48</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 3, p.77

extraction, preparation, and therapeutic uses. The second section listed the medications based on their therapeutic uses. The third section targeted pharmacists and described methods for the preparation of pharmaceuticals. The School of Pharmacy was established a few years prior, in 1871, and graduated its first class in 1875. Therefore, *al-Tabib* targeted both medical and pharmacy students from the start.

#### **D. Practical Knowledge and Medical Training at the College**

For clinical practice, the college was initially affiliated with an ophthalmology clinic. Ophthalmologic conditions were highly prevalent as evident from the report of the British Dispensary from 1842, where almost a quarter of patients presented with ophthalmia.<sup>49</sup> In 1869, Van Dyck secured donations for the establishment of a specialized eye clinic, the Brown Ophthalmic Hospital. However, the clinic did not last long, and little is known about its administration and practice. In 1871 Van Dyck negotiated for the Prussian Hospital of the Johanniter Order to be administered by SPC professors and for medical students to train at it to gain clinical experience.<sup>50</sup> The Johanniter Hospital was initially established in 1861 in Saida, and then moved to Beirut in 1862. It was reopened in 1866 and the Kaiserswerth deaconesses took over its administration in 1867. Starting in 1871 and until 1918, the hospital

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<sup>49</sup> “Clinical Report of the British Dispensary in Syria”, *The Lancet* 1844, Volume 41, Issue 1070, p.755

<sup>50</sup> Zeuge-Buberl, U. (2017), *The Mission of the American Board in Syria: Implications of a transcultural dialogue*, p. 146

was under the administration of SPC faculty and provided clinical training for its students.<sup>51</sup> In 1876 *Al-Tabib* published the number of patients treated at the Johanniter Hospital between 1869 and 1875.<sup>52</sup> Starting with 296 inpatients and 976 outpatients in 1869, the hospital attracted an increasing number of patients each year until 1873 when 484 inpatients were admitted, and 9121 patients were treated in the clinic. In the years 1874 and 1875, the numbers decrease slightly, justified by the closure of the hospital in the summer of 1874 and the use of the hospital for cholera patients in 1875.<sup>53</sup> The increase in the number of patients, and diversification of patients and cases as will be seen in subsequent chapters, shows that these institutions somewhat gained the trust of the local population that resorted to them for their health care. Although, they were often not the first point of care, and patients often visited several traditional or local practitioners before presenting to the hospital, as is evident by the cases described in *al-Tabib*.

### ***1. George Post's Practice at Johanniter Hospital***

Medical cases from George Post's practice at the Johanniter Hospital<sup>54</sup> were published in the first section of every *al-Tabib* issue. The majority of cases were reported by the editor himself (George Post), but occasionally by medical students at SPC. Most of them

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1876 Issue 3, p.67

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> George Post refers to the hospital as *Mary Yuhanna* hospital throughout the journal

were from his practice at the hospital, or on occasion from home visits. Each case described the patient's condition, the treatment or surgery performed, and the outcome. A wide range of patients and cases were described. However, the overwhelming majority were injuries, lithotripsies, and surgical success stories. There were also a significant number of cases related to pregnancy, delivery, and reproductive health. Surprisingly there were only two ophthalmology cases described during the first year, both of eyelid tumors,<sup>55</sup> despite the frequency of ophthalmic conditions. This may partly be because Post's cases predominated in the journal, and he was a professor of surgery. He was passionate and skilled in surgery and lithotripsy and interested in new methods, as surgical techniques were advancing rapidly at the time.<sup>56</sup> Post published many cases of successfully performing surgeries using new methods, such as his successful execution of an "Indian surgery for the substitution of a missing nose" on a man with syphilis.<sup>57</sup> Another possible explanation for the surgical focus is that patients sought care from modern physicians for ailments that required surgeries and could not be treated by traditional medical practitioners.

Not all cases were recent, and some were reported from years ago, well before the establishment of the journal. Those may have been the most significant cases recorded to be used in teaching. Patient demographics varied and included men, women, and children, with the age of the patient often specified. The identity of the patients and their place of residence

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<sup>55</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 1, p.13

<sup>56</sup> Sa'di and Sarton (1938), "The life and works of George Edward Post (1838-1909)", *Isis*

<sup>57</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 5, p.113



were rarely mentioned. However, on occasion it was highlighted, as in the case of a 50-year-old Englishman presenting to the hospital with an aortic aneurysm.<sup>58</sup> The mention may be due to the rare nature of a foreign patient. There was also one incident where the patient's name was mentioned; Abdallah al-Qadimati was injured through a fall and Dr. Post was asked to see and treat him.<sup>59</sup>

Several cases describe the family situation of the patient and the discussions that were conducted with the family. One such example is the case of a 17-year-old woman who had a recto-vaginal fistula. Post reports that after the woman was told that the surgery would result in vaginal occlusion and prevent intercourse until the wound heals, she consulted her husband for permission, and only after her husband agreed the surgery was performed.<sup>60</sup> In a later issue, Post reports that a year after the occlusion was removed, the woman had two pregnancies, but they resulted in miscarriages at three and six months. He concludes that the surgery was successful as she was able to contain her urine after these two pregnancies.<sup>61</sup> There are a few follow-up reports on certain cases, from George Post's practice and several other corresponding physicians. These reports provide a summary on the condition of the patient and highlight the success of the treatment performed.

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<sup>58</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 9, p.215

<sup>59</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 6, p.163

<sup>60</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 9, p.213

<sup>61</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 11, p.277

Many of the patients do not present to the hospital until years after the initial disease presentation or injury. This was especially the case if the symptoms initially subsided or became manageable, as the cases described. Many patients described in the cases sought care at the hospital when their condition was very advanced. For example, Post reports a case of a woman presenting with a tumor the size of a coconut that has been growing steadily for 15 years.<sup>62</sup> In the case of one woman presenting with a casted arm, Post described how she previously visited a charlatan practitioner that placed the cast incorrectly, and the woman presented to the hospital six days later requiring an amputation. After the amputation, she caught a fever and passed away within a month, which Post blamed the outcome on her going to the charlatan instead of a surgeon.<sup>63</sup> This was a rare case of death reported in the journal, as most reported cases ended in successful treatment or cure. Such a case served to highlight the superiority of modern physicians to the traditional practitioners that they hoped to replace.

## ***2. SPC Graduates and Clinical Practice***

The journal included contributions and cases from several physicians other than the editor. Initially, these cases were either atypical disease presentations, rare diseases such as aphasia,<sup>64</sup> or complicated surgeries such as the repair of a severed finger.<sup>65</sup> In the second year, cases from other contributors became more frequent and by the end of the year several

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<sup>62</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 2, p.38

<sup>63</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 2, p.39

<sup>64</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 5, "Aphasia", p.112

<sup>65</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 5, "Index Finger Separation and Repair", p.109

cases from the practice of a specific physician were printed. Most contributing physicians were SPC graduates,<sup>66</sup> reporting cases from across Greater Syria where they opened private practices or were stationed as military or municipal physicians. The most frequent contributors were Asad Haddad (MD 1872) from Tripoli,<sup>67</sup> Ibrahim Mishaqa (MD 1872)<sup>68</sup> and Ibrahim Arbili (MD 1872)<sup>69</sup> from Damascus, and Salim Jalkh (1873) from Ajaltoun.<sup>70</sup> Their reported cases were mostly successful surgical procedures as in the case of arm reconstruction from sword injury by Beshara Zalzal (MD 1872),<sup>71</sup> or rare conditions such as imperforate anus by Gerges Ruhana (MD 1874).<sup>72</sup> There was only one clinical case from a professor at the college: a case of diabetes by John Wortabet.<sup>73</sup> Few cases were submitted by physicians not affiliated with SPC. The most notable examples are Ghalib Khoury and Naoum Badour. Ghalib Khoury, one of the first Syrian graduates of Qasr el-Ainy, sent a case

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<sup>66</sup> These include Asad Haddad, Shahdan Nouhra, Ibrahim Mishaqa, Amin Halabi, Ibrahim Arbili, Salim Farah, Salim Jalkh, Salim Attiyah, Elias Shukrallah, Gerges Ruhana, Shibli Shumayyil, and Beshara Zalzal

<sup>67</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 1, p.8, “Case of Epilepsy During Pregnancy”; 1874 Issue 4, p.40 “Gangrenous Stomatitis from Typhoid Fever”; 1875 Issue 4, p.134, “Incidents from practice of Dr. Mouawad in Chiyah”

<sup>68</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 4, p.86, “Pleural Puncture for Pus Drainage and Excision of Tumor from Neck”; 1875 Issue 1, p.5, “Use of Phosphoric Oil in Cataracts”; 1875 Issue 5, p.132, “Extraction of Three Bladder Stones”

<sup>69</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 5, p.112, “Aphasia”; and 1876 Issue 2, p.37, “Incidents from Practice”; 1876 Issue 5, p.139, “Incompatibility of Certain Medications”

<sup>70</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 9, p.215, “Treatment of Cholera and Method of Killing Mice”; 1874 Issue 10, p.246, “Twin Delivery”; 1875 Issue 3, p.72 “Use of Physostigmine in Eye Conditions”

<sup>71</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 4, p.105

<sup>72</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 11, p.277

<sup>73</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 3, p.74

of a patient coughing worms from his practice in Jbeil.<sup>74</sup> Naoum Badour, the municipal physician of Baalbeck, also sent cases from his practice.<sup>75</sup>

Several cases review new treatments or surgical techniques from Europe. For example, Salim Jalkh, the son of one of the first Qasr el-Ainy graduates Youssef Jalkh, wrote that he found an effective recipe that was used during a Cholera epidemic in France in 1866, and he recommended that it should be used immediately at the onset of infection.<sup>76</sup> Ibrahim Mishaqa also described a case where he used Dr. Tavinio's method for the treatment of cataracts, and he provided a translation of the treatment after ascertaining its success.<sup>77</sup>

One interesting correspondence was from Elias Shukrallah (MD 1872) whose refutation of a previously published article was printed. Shukrallah refuted an article by George Post on Quinine sulfate as a cause of spontaneous abortion, arguing that it is the fever for which the Quinine is used during illness rather than the substance itself that caused abortions. Shukrallah argued from clinical experience: he presented eight cases of women with fever during pregnancy that he treated. Three of the women aborted without the administration of Quinine, one aborted after receiving a preparation of Quinine, and four women received Quinine but did not abort. He concluded that the fever is what caused the abortion, and while Quinine had a minor contracting effect on the uterus it was not strong

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<sup>74</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 4, p.102

<sup>75</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 9, p.254

<sup>76</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 9, p.215

<sup>77</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 1, p.5

enough to cause an abortion on its own.<sup>78</sup> There is no further discussion on the issue or reply from Post or other physicians on his conclusion. In this article a recent graduate refuted an article from his professor, demonstrating that knowledge was not absorbed passively or accepted without examination. Medical knowledge was tested against clinical practice, and discrepancies were discussed and debated.

Graduates not only contributed cases but also wrote longer articles in the *Rasa'il* section and sent questions. A sense of community was also reinforced through announcements and updates on the travels and careers of SPC graduates and contributing physicians. Updates included travel for studies, examination and licensing, and appointments, and occasionally illness and death. Announcements also served to highlight the quality of education at SPC and the career progression of its graduates. The first announcement in the first issue of *al-Tabib* was that the SPC medical college was granted accreditation and that its graduates would now have the same license and benefits as graduates of the Imperial School of Medicine.<sup>79</sup> Other updates included examinations and graduation ceremonies<sup>80</sup>, suspension of classes due to cholera,<sup>81</sup> and their return,<sup>82</sup> and the start of an English preparatory section at the college.<sup>83</sup> New books that were published by the

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<sup>78</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 1, p.7

<sup>79</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 1, p.14

<sup>80</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 8, p.181

<sup>81</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 8, p.225

<sup>82</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 10, p.286

<sup>83</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1876 Issue 11, p.317

college press and *al-Tabib* contributing authors were also advertised, in addition to other relevant journals and publications such as *Da'irat al-Ma'arif* and the first issue of *al-Muqtataf*. As Auji argues, this was common practice at the time.<sup>84</sup>

Other announcements throughout the three years were the annual celebration of the Scientific Society,<sup>85</sup> Nahr al-Kalb water-system inauguration,<sup>86</sup> the death of Sultan Abdulaziz and its causes,<sup>87</sup> and a description of the Ottoman Army medical services.<sup>88</sup> One noteworthy announcement was sent by Kaloost Vartan from Nazareth on the expansion of the hospital in Nazareth that he first founded with two beds in 1863 to twenty beds and a polyclinic that offered services for free. The announcement included a few successful cases and statistics of successful surgeries done at the hospital.<sup>89</sup> This was the only announcement advertising another hospital. Kaloost Vartan was an Armenian from Istanbul who studied medicine and was trained as a missionary in Edinburgh, and then sent to Syria with the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (EMMS). After he spent some time in Beirut, he was sent to Nazareth and became the first medical missionary of the EMMS in the Holy Land. Therefore, the

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<sup>84</sup> Auji, H. (2018), "Marketing Views of Modernity, Evangelism and Print Specialization in the American Mission Press Catalogs (1884–1896)," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*

<sup>85</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 7, p.160

<sup>86</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 6, p.164

<sup>87</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1876 Issue 7, p.194

<sup>88</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1876 Issue 10, p.287

<sup>89</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 6, p.163

advertisement of the hospital was not surprising, as it promoted the narrative of missionary medical establishments in the region as agents of progress and advancement.<sup>90</sup>

### **E. Dissemination of Medical Knowledge**

Clinical cases were mostly confined to the first section of the journal with the rest of the journal dedicated to summaries on advancements in medicine, and long articles that discussed specific diseases, physiology, and medical practice. The foreign medical news section was the most diverse among the sections. News was reported mostly from the US and England. The source of the articles was not mentioned, but often the articles mentioned the physician who made the discovery, performed the described surgery, or developed the new treatment. This section included a wide variety of articles describing cases of medical anomalies such as a double uterus,<sup>91</sup> new surgical techniques, new preparations, and their therapeutic uses, dangers and side effects from medications, and articles on a variety of subjects from foreign medical journals. The most common articles in this section were new preparations and recipes or new therapeutic uses for known medications. This section also often included articles on women's health, such as surgical techniques for hysterectomies, vaginal fistulas, and uterine prolapse, determining pregnancy, complications during pregnancy and difficult deliveries, C-sections, causes of abortion, and hysteria. A topic that

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<sup>90</sup> Ziadat, A. (1993), "Western Medicine in Palestine, 1860–1940: The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society and Its Hospital." *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*

<sup>91</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1874 Issue 1, p.15

must have been of interest to the readers, and was popular in foreign journals as reproductive health became the domain of male physicians rather than midwives.

The *Rasa'il* section was the longest and consisted of long articles written by contributing authors addressing a variety of topics, occasionally spanning several issues. From 1874 to 1876, the longest article was “Forensic Medicine” by Youssef Hajjar, which spanned seven issues.<sup>92</sup> The article discussed the importance of forensic medicine and the causes of death and how to identify them. This was a period of increased integration of physicians into the municipal administration, as following the 1871 municipal code, a physician was appointed to each municipality.<sup>93</sup> The role of the physician was expanded to include administrative tasks as part of the government’s attempt at centralization and control. Death and birth were no longer private matters but required state oversight and registration. The physician was vital to these state efforts.

Youssef Hajjar was the most frequent contributor to this section with articles spanning several issues. He was an SPC graduate from the first medical cohort in 1871,<sup>94</sup> and continued his correspondence from Edinburgh where he continued his medical studies. Most of his articles were on women’s health, including “Phantom Pregnancy”, “Amenorrhea”, “Puberty and Pregnancy”, “Duration of Pregnancy”, and “Eclampsia”. Other frequent contributors to the *Rasa'il* section were Fadoul Laflouf from Damascus, Gerges

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<sup>92</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issues 9, 10, and 11, 1876 Issues 1, 2, 4, and 5

<sup>93</sup> Sharif, M. (2014), *Imperial Norms and Local Realities: The Ottoman Municipal Laws and the Municipality of Beirut (1860-1908)*, p.181

<sup>94</sup> American University of Beirut, Directory of Alumni 1870 -1952



Tannous, and Shibli Shumayyil (MD 1871). There were also several faculty contributions, namely Van Dyck, Lewis, and Wortabet, with articles from their published books.

Notable articles that spanned several issues include “Physical wellbeing and upbringing of children” by George Post, “Dangers of what women use for improvements [beauty products]” by Gerges Tannous, “Causes of death” and “Lung Tuberculosis” by Fadoul Laflouf from Damascus, “Phantom pregnancy” and “Forensic Medicine” by Youssef Hajjar, “Refractions and vision” by Shibli Shumayyil, and Ibrahim Arbili “Protection of the Public from Poisons”. Articles on women’s health and beauty were recurrent, most notably from Youssef Hajjar on pregnancy and Gerges Tannous on beauty products.

The journal also responded to current interests and events in the medical community. During the second year of publication, announcements regarding cholera start appearing in the journal,<sup>95</sup> and the 20th issue coincided with a major Cholera epidemic in Syria, which led to a delay in publishing of the journal for which the editors apologized in the subsequent issue.<sup>96</sup> Most of the journal’s 20th issue was dedicated to updates on cholera that continued for the next 3 issues. Updates were published on the number of afflicted individuals and areas most at risk, along with methods of prevention and excerpts from foreign journals on different methods of prevention and treatment, with a dedicated article in the *Rasa’il* section on prevention, treatment, and symptoms of Cholera by Ibrahim Arbili.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issues 18, 20, 21 and 22

<sup>96</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 9, p.254

<sup>97</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 8, p.228

Articles published in the *Rasa'il* section were most likely the original work of the authors, as evident by the clinical cases presented in some of them. Moreover, translated works were often specified as such, as in the case of “Sappey’s teachings on the Lymphatic System, translated by Shibli Shumayel in Alexandria”.<sup>98</sup> However, they were likely influenced by reading foreign journals and books. As Elshakry argues, modern European scientific theories were often introduced in Arabic through book translations, commentaries, and articles. Often, the theory was translated with accompanying commentaries and debates that surrounded it in Europe. However, they were not passively reiterated and adopted, but discussed and debated within their framework of knowledge.<sup>99</sup> As evident from the examples above, and more so in later years, many authors shared their clinical experience and findings, and local physicians discussed and sometimes challenged medical knowledge and treatments.

## **F. Conclusion**

The journal was discontinued three years after its launch. Ironically in the last year, as the first section was renamed “News and Cases from the East” to expand its geographic focus, cases from contributing physicians dwindled and the regional news section consisted of only Johanniter Hospital cases and announcements. The *Rasa'il* section also deteriorated and consisted mostly of chapters from published books, translated articles, and was even absent in the 11<sup>th</sup> issue of the last year. Without an estimation of readership, it is unclear

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<sup>98</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1875 Issue 6, p.175

<sup>99</sup> See ElShakry, M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic. 1860-1950*.

whether the decline was the result of decreasing sales or interest from the editor and contributors. However, there is no price or sale mentioned during these first three years, and according to Auji the journal was funded by SPC's medical program Board of Trustees.<sup>100</sup> Though the journal announced that it accepted advertisements for medications and new devices, none were printed in these three years. Therefore, it may be that the funding stopped and so the publication of the journal came to a halt as it was not financially viable on its own.

It is clear even from the beginning of the journal's publication that it was not meant to be a popularizing journal, nor one that disseminated Western medical news to a local population. The journal was meant to be a platform for physicians to exchange their knowledge and create an Arabic-speaking medical collective. A major section of the journal was new cases seen and treated by the editor or affiliated physicians. These cases present a form of native knowledge production, as physicians attempted to share their experiences and successful treatments and surgeries for others to learn from. There were also debates regarding certain medical theories and treatments. Foreign medical discoveries and new treatments were shared, but they were not passively translated, but rather summarized, critiqued, and related to clinical practice. Most importantly, they were tested and discussed. Frequent announcements in the journal encouraged physicians to contribute their cases, share their treatments and clinical expertise and submit questions. The journal also allowed the recently opened college to showcase its superior knowledge and the success of its graduates. During this period, the journal had a specific readership in mind, which would change in

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<sup>100</sup> Auji, H. (2018), "Marketing Views of Modernity, Evangelism and Print Specialization in the American Mission Press Catalogs (1884–1896)," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*

subsequent years as the journal was later re-published under new leadership with a new target audience.

## CHAPTER III

### REVIVAL OF THE JOURNAL AND ITS ENTANGLEMENT IN THE LEWIS AFFAIR

Five years after the abrupt discontinuation of the journal in 1876, the journal was relaunched with a slightly different editorial team and format. During the first two years, the journal continued being a platform for local knowledge production and exchange, with an expanded contributor and readership base. The SPC graduate network was growing, and so was the reach of the journal as this chapter illustrates. SPC graduates discussed and debated foreign medical theories and treatments and shared their clinical experience through local cases and remedies. As this chapter will illustrate, the reliance of the journal on the SPC network facilitated its success but also its demise when a scandal erupted at the college in 1882.

#### **A. Expansion of the Team and SPC Network**

The new editorial board included George Post, but he was no longer the sole editor. Post was initially joined by another member of the SPC faculty, William Van Dyck,<sup>101</sup> and later Murad Baroudi. The journal also came under the management of Shahin Makarios. The reasons for this shift are unclear but may have been influenced by the success of *al-Muqtataf*

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<sup>101</sup> William Van Dyck was the third son of Cornelius Van Dyck, and since 1880 professor of medical sciences, hygiene, and zoology at SPC. He studied medicine at the SPC between 1875 and 1878, and then received his medical degree from University Medical College in New York before returning

which was also published at the American Missionary Press and managed by Shahin Makarios at the time.<sup>102</sup> Makarios was born in Marjayoun in 1853 and worked as an apprentice at his uncle's Wataniyya press where he met Cornelius Van Dyck. Impressed by his skills as a printer, Van Dyck asked him to join the American Press in 1870. There, Makarios oversaw the printing of *al-Muqtataf*, *al-Nashra al-Usubu'iyya* and *al-Tabib*.<sup>103</sup>

Despite the change in the editorial team, the journal declared its continuity with the previous issues, with the first issue of the year numbered 37. The journal's format changed only slightly from the previous years. Every issue started with a section similar to the earlier *Rasa'il*, with several articles spanning one to several pages from different contributors on a variety of topics. This was often followed by case reports from George Post's practice at the Johanniter Hospital. The journal also included a section on foreign news or general medical news that contains short summaries of rare cases, new medications, surgical techniques, and local and foreign news. Other sections that appear in some issues include new books, questions, letters, and announcements. There is less uniformity in format from previous years, with sections becoming less consistent in length and sources with time. In the second year the articles became mixed with hospital cases by George Post, foreign news, uncredited articles, and short excerpts. This shift may be the result of increased tensions at the college, and the replacement of William Van Dyck as will be discussed further.

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<sup>102</sup> Auji, H. (2018), "Marketing Views of Modernity, Evangelism and Print Specialization in the American Mission Press Catalogs (1884–1896)," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*

<sup>103</sup> Farag N. (1969), *Al-Muqtataf 1876-1900: a study of the influence of Victorian thought on modern Arabic thought*. p.48

In contrast to its earlier issues, the price of the yearly subscription to the journal is stated on the first page as 12 francs in Beirut and Lebanon, and 13 francs in the other regions paid in advance.<sup>104</sup> It may be that the success of other scientific journals, especially *al-Muqtataf*, during the period of hiatus encouraged the editors to republish the journal for a profit with the help of a new editorial team and the experience of Shahin Makarios. The journal had a strong connection to *al-Muqtataf* at the time of its publication in Beirut. Both were published at the American Missionary Press, supported by SPC faculty (especially Van Dyck), and had a similar vision of disseminating scientific and medical advancements to an Arabic-reading public.<sup>105</sup> However, *al-Tabib* targeted a much more specialized group: Arabic-speaking physicians and pharmacists. As the introduction to the first issue outlined, the aim of the journal was to expand the knowledge of physicians in the region. In this introduction, the editors explain that the purpose of education, especially early on, was to expand the mind of the student and allow them to pursue knowledge independently. However, as education became more specialized the student was no longer able to keep up with other fields. Therefore, medical journals were established to provide summaries of the latest knowledge in different disciplines for specialists to remain up to date with medical advancements. *Al-Tabib* was presented as one such general medical journal that aimed to disseminate knowledge to its readers, specifically physicians and pharmacists, and to improve their practice. The journal editors call on readers to contribute cases and articles

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<sup>104</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, p.1

<sup>105</sup> Farag, N. (1969), *Al-Muqtataf 1876-1900*, p.57

from their practice, send questions that other readers may be able to answer, and summaries of new foreign medical books, all to be published in the journal to the benefit of physicians and the country.<sup>106</sup> This focus on education and advancement of knowledge as essential for progress and the development of nations was in line with the prevailing ideology of al-Nahda.

### ***1. Growing SPC Network and Readership***

By the time the journal was relaunched in January 1881, the SPC had graduated 51 physicians and 6 pharmacists. These graduates took on various roles in different cities across Greater Syria and Egypt, where they set up their private practice, joined missionary hospitals, military service, or took up municipal and administrative roles.<sup>107</sup> Previous *al-Tabib* contributors were joined by new graduates,<sup>108</sup> sending articles and cases from cities across the region, including Safad, Alexandria, and Tanta. A few articles were even sent from Paphos and Istanbul, by Amin Mughabghab (MD 1872)<sup>109</sup> and Salim Frayj (MD 1871)<sup>110</sup> respectively. Despite the greater geographic reach of the journal during those years, most writers were still affiliated with SPC and included SPC teachers, graduates, and occasionally students. Many of them were also contributors to *al-Muqtataf*. SPC graduates were part of a

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<sup>106</sup>*Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, p.1

<sup>107</sup> American University of Beirut, Directory of Alumni 1870 -1952

<sup>108</sup> These include Yacoub Mallat, Salim Musalli, Amin Mughabghab, Michel Mariyya, Youssef Kahil, Daher Zaani, Amin Abu Khater, and Habib Shahlawi.

<sup>109</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 3, p.79, “Liver Abscess”; Issue 4, p.114, “Stomach Fistula in Bull”

<sup>110</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 2 “Case of Intestinal Fistula”, p.44



rising intellectual class educated in modern schools and universities. As Khuri-Makdisi illustrates, the shared educational experience at SPC fostered a shared worldview that was reinforced through different societies and the press. SPC graduates engaged in knowledge production and debate and relied on their networks of like-minded intellectuals for dissemination, independent from traditional institutions of authority and legitimacy.<sup>111</sup> *Al-Tabib* was launched within this milieu, sharing a printing press, director, writers, and likely readers with *al-Muqtataf*.

The expansion of the network and editorial team resulted in fewer contributions from George Post. Though he contributed an article in every issue for the first six issues of 1881, afterwards, no long articles by him were published. Posts articles mostly discussed surgical procedures,<sup>112</sup> a passion carried on from previous years. Other faculty contributors included Cornelius Van Dyck,<sup>113</sup> John Wortabet,<sup>114</sup> and William Van Dyck. Cornelius Van Dyck contributed only one article, though this was the first article of the first issue, possibly to show support and impart his authority to the journal. His son and editor William Van Dyck contributed many articles, almost in every issue during the first year. Most of the articles

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<sup>111</sup> See Khuri-Makdisi (2013), *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914*, Chapter 2

<sup>112</sup> Articles authored by George Post in these two years were: *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1 “Prevention of Wound Infections” and “Terebinthina Cypria in Cancer”; 1881 Issue 2 “Treatment of Abdominal Obstruction with Opium”; 1881 Issue 3 “Extraction of Stones in One Procedure”; 1881 Issue 6 “Carbolic Acid for Typhoid Fever”, “Progression of Urinary Stones”, and “Strangulated Femoral Hernia”.

<sup>113</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, p.12, “Conjunctival Hyperemia”

<sup>114</sup> Wortabet articles in 1881 were: *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 2 “Bilharzia”; 1881 Issue 4 “Cure for Intractable Jaundice”; 1881 Issue 5 “Investigation of a Body 30 Hours after Death”; 1881 Issue 7 “Water”

discussed new treatments and medications,<sup>115</sup> and a few were on infectious diseases.<sup>116</sup> However, after he was no longer part of the editorial team he authored only one article, which in fact was reproduced from *al-Muqtataf*.<sup>117</sup> The reasons for the dismissal of Van Dyck from the editorial team are unclear, but there had been long-standing tensions between the more conservative faculty that included George Post, and those who had a more secular view of education that included Cornelius and William Van Dyck and Edwin Lewis.<sup>118</sup> These tensions would reach their climax in 1882 in what is known as the Lewis Affair.

The contribution of SPC faculty was limited in comparison to that of graduates, indicating a shift in the major use and aim of the journal. It was no longer primarily learning material for SPC students, but a platform for physicians to share their expertise and discuss medical theories and advancements. The network of native physicians educated in modern institutions was growing and *al-Tabib* provided a platform for their continued knowledge exchange despite geographical distance. The increased involvement of the younger generation is also seen in the inclusion of medical students.<sup>119</sup> Articles authored by medical

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<sup>115</sup> William Van Dyck articles were: *Al-Tabib*, 1881 Issue 1 “Subcutaneous Injections”; 1881 Issue 2, 3 and 4 “Morphea subcutaneous Injections”; 1881 Issue 4 “Chloroform as an Anesthetic”; 1881 Issue 5 “Injection of Animal Blood”; 1881 Issues 6 and 9 “Atropine Injections”; 1881 Issue 10 “Salt Water”; 1881 Issue 11 “Classification of Mood Medications”; 1881 Issue 11 and 12 “Digitalis”; 1881 Issue 12 “Preparation of Medications”

<sup>116</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1881 Issue 2 “Trichinosis Spiralis”; 1881 Issue 4 “Tuberculosis and Scrofula”; 1882 Issue 8 “Bacteria and its Importance”

<sup>117</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1882 Issue 8, p. 197

<sup>118</sup> Zeuge-Buberl, U. (2017), *The Mission of the American Board in Syria: Implications of a transcultural dialogue*, p.66

<sup>119</sup> These include Jurji Baz, Khalil Saadeh, Ibrahim Matar and Shakir Dabaghi.

students first appeared at the end of 1881 and became prevalent in 1882. The students contributed long articles on a variety of topics, most likely from foreign medical sources describing medical advancements, summaries on disease treatments, and methods of infection prevention. Similar articles were written by SPC faculty in previous years. The student status of these contributors was not concealed, but often stated at the beginning of the article. This may indicate the heightened standing of SPC medical education, whereby medical students had the same credibility as their professors in the dissemination of modern knowledge to local physicians.

Two medical students, Niqula Nimr (MD 1883) and Iskandar Baroudi (MD 1883) were especially engaged, contributing an article to almost every issue. Iskandar Baroudi, who would become the journal's editor in 1895, contributed a variety of articles including a discussion of Germ Theory and the Microscope.<sup>120</sup> Niqula Nimr was the brother of Faris Nimr,<sup>121</sup> *al-Muqtataf's* editor and instructor at SPC. Niqula was selected as the author of a new section on Domestic Medicine and Hygiene, where he published articles on child rearing and diseases,<sup>122</sup> and infectious diseases.<sup>123</sup> The launch of this section shows the increased interest in domestic medicine and infection prevention and control. It is unclear if these

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<sup>120</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 3 "Measles", Issues 5 and 6 "Chemistry and Medicine", Issue 4 "Germ Theory", Issue 5 "Diphtheria Microbes", Issue 7 "Microscope".

<sup>121</sup> Farag (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*, p.79

<sup>122</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1 "Child Rearing"; Issue 2 "Breastfeeding and Nutrition"; Issue 3 "Teething"; Issue 5 "Weaning"; Issue 5 and 6 "Childhood Diseases"

<sup>123</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1 "Infectious Diseases and their Prevention"; Issue 3 "Measles Prevention"; Issue 4 "Smallpox and its Treatment"

articles targeted physicians or were an attempt at expanding the readership of *al-Tabib* to a more general audience. *Al-Muqtataf* already had a domestic benefits section that discussed the proper scientific management of the household. *Al-Muqtataf* attempted to make science more practical and incorporated into daily life.<sup>124</sup> *Al-Tabib* may have been attempting to do the same with medicine.

The journal responded to the reader's interests, as evident in the section on newly published medical books.<sup>125</sup> The editors introduced the section in response to frequent inquiries regarding necessary books for practicing physicians. Initially, the recommended books were specialized medical books in English, except for *Da'irat al-Ma'arif*. However, starting in the 5<sup>th</sup> issue, original Arabic and translated medical books published in Beirut by SPC faculty were listed, including books by John Wortabet, Cornelius Van Dyck, Edwin Lewis, and George Post.

## ***2. The Making of the Modern Physician at SPC***

Modern medicine spread across Syria and SPC medical and pharmacy graduates distanced themselves from traditional healers. They belonged to a global community of modern physicians, as articles and news in *al-Tabib* highlight. There was an increased sense of professionalization as the authors emphasized their distinction from traditional

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<sup>124</sup> Abou-Hodeib (2017). *A Taste for Home: The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut*, p.119

<sup>125</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issues 1 and 2

practitioners, discussed the regulation and proper conduct of medical professionals, and connection to foreign medical societies. There was a rising sense of belonging to an emerging professional class of physicians, distinct and superior to their predecessors.

One of the longest-running articles in 1881 spanning four issues was the report from the 7<sup>th</sup> Conference for the Medical Association in London. The article included the agenda and summary of discussions presented in each subfield of medicine.<sup>126</sup> The relevance of such an article to Arab physicians meant they now saw themselves as part of a greater medical collective. They saw their practice as not different from that of European and American physicians, in contrast to other healers. This is further evidenced by the only long article on ethics and proper conduct of physicians, the “Summary of Medical Ethics according to the American Medical Association”, which outlined the proper conduct of physicians towards patients, each other, and pharmacists. The article also specified the proper compensation, method of consultation with other physicians, and how to resolve disagreements.<sup>127</sup> No other articles on ethics or the proper conduct of physicians were published during these years. It may be due to the common knowledge of regional accepted practices, and the article served to present the American ethical standards. However, more likely, as the editors were graduates of American medical institutions likely ascribing to these practices and standards, the article was meant to act as a guide for practice in the region. The view of native physicians regarding the article and the ethical standards it presented is unknown, but those educated

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<sup>126</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issues 10, 11, 12 and 1882 Issue 1

<sup>127</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 3, p. 67

under missionary physicians may have adopted such practices during their training. The journal also published news from European and American medical societies and schools. Local physicians were also encouraged to search for cures to specific ailments and apply for prizes distributed in Europe. Thus, one article announced a prize set in Paris for the physician who can provide a cure for Diphtheria.<sup>128</sup>

In a few cases authors even claim superior treatment to European physicians, as in the case of Shahdan Nohra who highlights in a case on cervical polyps that the patient sought care in Europe among the most famous physicians, none of whom were unable to help her, but two months after his surgery she was cured and pregnant.<sup>129</sup> Nohra does not mention what kind of treatment the woman sought in Europe or if any surgeries were performed. From Nohra's description of the polyp, it is likely that previous physicians either did not perform vaginal examinations to identify it, or the woman refused prior surgical treatments. The mention of foreign physicians was meant to increase his standing and the credibility of the treatment as it exceeded that of European physicians, who were seen as the ultimate authority.

Starting with the first medical cohort, many SPC graduates continued their medical education abroad. Youssef Hajjar, from the first medical cohort and a frequent contributor to *al-Tabib* in its previous years, continued his education in Edinburgh from where he sent many articles. Shibli Shumayyil also continued his education in Paris after graduating from SPC and before moving to Cairo and Tanta. *Al-Tabib* reflected this trend with frequent updates on

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<sup>128</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1, p.29

<sup>129</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 4, p.98

medical practice and education in Europe and the US. A recurring article entitled “Medical Classes in Europe” discusses the popular practice and outlines the process of travel to Europe, namely London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Strasbourg, Heidelberg, and Leipzig, for the purpose of studying. The article briefly describes the best way to travel and find accommodation in these cities, along with the process of enrollment and the best hospitals, physicians, and scientists.<sup>130</sup>

The SPC graduates saw themselves as part of the emerging global class of modern physicians, different and better than other medical practitioners and traditional healers. Salim Jalkh’s article on Diphtheria in Beirut emphasizes this superiority: “this city [Beirut] is considered one of the best in terms of medical institutions, with numerous skilled physicians, and most notably a medical school that shined its benefits on the residents of Syria and supplied them with educated physicians to treat their diseases when previously they had none.”<sup>131</sup> Iskandar Baroudi in his article on measles condemns the mistrust of the public in medicine and their superstitious resort to traditional healers that he labels as charlatans. He criticizes the common practice of patients resorting to charlatans to ward off measles, which often leads to dire consequences and the high mortality rates seen in Beirut.<sup>132</sup> In one case report, Post describes the case of a 10-year-old girl who came in with injury from an improperly placed cast by a charlatan, and on examination Post notes that there was no initial

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<sup>130</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 8, p.231, and Issue 9, p.256

<sup>131</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 2, p. 41

<sup>132</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 3, p.74

fracture necessitating a cast, while the cast could have caused gangrene of the arm if left longer.<sup>133</sup> There was also a short anecdote published on the editors' encounter with the municipal administration, whereby he commended the new regulation that required physicians to obtain licenses from Istanbul, but "hoped that instead all charlatans (*dajjaleen*) would be prevented from practicing the profession as they harm people to make a bit of money instead of finding another job."<sup>134</sup> It seems that despite regulations, unlicensed practitioners continued to practice medicine and compete with the modern physician, possibly due to their popularity or elusive practice.

Physicians were also at odds with traditional midwives, the *dayas*. William Van Dyck stressed that midwives were to blame for the rise in complications during delivery. He attributed their poor outcomes to their limited knowledge of physiology and the improper skills they were taught. He also criticized the common practice of inviting the physician for a delivery only when complications occur, which was often when little could be done then.<sup>135</sup> Many of the other cases on delivery mentioned that the physician was only called after a prolonged delivery or complication occurred. These cases show that most births were delivered by midwives. The frustration of modern physicians was also expressed in a short article in 1882, whereby midwives were blamed for poor delivery outcomes.<sup>136</sup> Such a

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<sup>133</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 3, p.74

<sup>134</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1, p.36

<sup>135</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 5 "Chronic Uterine Issues after Deliver", p.138

<sup>136</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1, p.36



sentiment was common among physicians and administrators throughout the Ottoman Empire<sup>137</sup> and Egypt.<sup>138</sup>

### ***3. The Making of the Modern Pharmacist***

Pharmacies and pharmacists were under increased regulation in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in a manner similar to other health practitioners. Pharmacists were required to have a license to practice since the 1860s. However, these regulations seemed to have limited success, as the state had to continuously expand its oversight and regulation, with increasing frequency in the 1880s. In 1881, a decree demanded that all unlicensed pharmacists undergo examination in the Imperial Medical School to obtain their license. Several provincial centers pushed back as they wrote to Istanbul that most of their pharmacists were unlicensed and sending them all would create a major shortage.<sup>139</sup> The shortage of modern pharmacists and increased demand due to licensing requirements and crackdown on unlicensed practitioners may have motivated the opening of the School of Pharmacy at SPC a few years after the medical school. The SPC school became the third in the Ottoman Empire to grant modern diplomas in pharmacy, and in 1875 graduated its first cohort of two students. Pharmacy graduates published several articles in these two years of the journal's publication. The most

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<sup>137</sup> See Balsoy (2015), *The politics of reproduction in Ottoman society, 1838–1900*

<sup>138</sup> See Abugideiri (2016), *Gender and the making of modern medicine in colonial Egypt*

<sup>139</sup> Balsoy (2015), *The politics of reproduction in Ottoman society, 1838–1900*, p.38

frequent contributor was Murad Baroudi (PhM 1879),<sup>140</sup> who was also a distributor of the journal through his pharmacy, and in 1882 became its co-editor.<sup>141</sup>

There was visible increased interest in modern pharmacology and pharmaceuticals. The earlier issues of *al-Tabib* contained few articles discussing pharmaceuticals and preparations besides recipes for specific disease treatments, most of which were short excerpts from foreign medical journals. However, starting with the first issue in 1881 pharmacology was a major topic of interest, with an article on “Subcutaneous Morphine Injections” by William Van Dyck spanning the first four issues.<sup>142</sup> Most articles written by William Van Dyck, the co-editor, were on pharmaceuticals.<sup>143</sup> The increased interest in pharmacy is further reflected by the addition of Murad Baroudi to the editorial team in 1882 to replace William Van Dyck,<sup>144</sup> and the inclusion of a dedicated section on pharmacy in subsequent issues.<sup>145</sup> These articles discussed a wide range of topics related to pharmacy,

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<sup>140</sup>*Al-Tabib*, 1881 Issue 6 “Hydrogen Peroxide”; Issues 10 and 11 “Medical Prescriptions”; 1882 Issue 1 “Making Soap without Cooking and Scheel’s Biography”; Issues 3, 4 and 5 “History of Pharmacy in Russia”; Issues 6 and 7 “Quinine and its Poisonous Trees”; Issue 8 “Pharmacy in our Countries”

<sup>141</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1882 Issue 1, p.5

<sup>142</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issues 1, 2, 3 and 4

<sup>143</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, 2, 3 and 4 “Morphine Subcutaneous Injections”; Issue 4 “Chloroform as an Anesthetic”; Issue 5 “Injection of Animal Blood”; Issue 6 and 9 “Atropine Injections”; Issue 10 “Salt Water”; Issue 11 “Classification of Mood Medications”; Issue 11 and 12 “Digitalis”; Issue 12 “Preparation of Medications”

<sup>144</sup> The resignation of William Van Dyck is not elaborated on but explained as a change in heart.

<sup>145</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 12 and 1882 Issue 1

including proper practice and conduct, medications and their origin, uses, and physiological interactions, and even miscellaneous topics such as “The History of Pharmacy in Russia”.<sup>146</sup>

The advancements in pharmacology and therapeutics were one reason for the increased interest. More importantly, modern pharmacists were joining the emerging medical elite with increased specialization and professionalization, as they sought to replace the traditional *‘attar*. The distinction between these modern pharmacists and traditional ones is often highlighted in the journal. In the article “Pharmacy in our Countries”, Baroudi argued that there was no real pharmaceutical knowledge or practice among the Arabs of his time, who had to rely on the *‘attar*. He contrasted this to the superior therapeutics of European cities where pharmacies are run by licensed and educated pharmacists.<sup>147</sup> In this article and many others, Baroudi warns against charlatans who do not have proper medical knowledge and do more harm than good to patients. He emphasized the need to develop pharmaceutical practice in the region to match the higher standard in Europe. He attributed the superior skills of the modern pharmacist to his theoretical and practical knowledge. He does not critique the theoretical knowledge obtained at school, as he is a graduate of one himself, though he does list several difficulties faced by recent graduates in obtaining practical experience and mastering their craft. The first was the lack of opportunities for practical experience during school, which could be solved with practicums similar to those in Europe. The second issue was the foreign nomenclature and lack of standardization in

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<sup>146</sup>*Al-Tabib* 1882 Issues 3, 4 and 5

<sup>147</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 8, p.207

naming medications. Baroudi emphasized that this created a lot of issues, but he does not suggest a solution. The third barrier was the lack of local production of medications and reagents, which compelled pharmacists to import nearly all of their products (except hydrogen peroxide). Baroudi acknowledged that setting up production was unlikely in the near future, but having large storage facilities, similar to Cairo and Alexandria, could reduce the problem. The last issue was the need to import most of the products, a reality that forced the pharmacist to become an expert in trade rather than advance his pharmaceutical knowledge through learning and experimentation.<sup>148</sup> It is clear that Baroudi was invested in advancing the pharmaceutical profession in the region in an attempt to catch up with the West.

## **B. Local Knowledge Production and Transmission in *al-Tabib***

There was an increasing sense of professionalization among the modern educated pharmacists and physicians, and *al-Tabib* provided them with a platform to disseminate and discuss their practical expertise and knowledge. The articles were varied in topic and format, but most contained insights from clinical practice. Articles were no longer excerpts from textbooks and lectures meant for students, but papers, mostly from SPC graduates, discussing different diseases and cases from clinical expertise meant for the growing medical community.

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<sup>148</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 8, p.207

### ***1. Topics of Interest and Sources***

Other than the rising interest in pharmacy, the topics covered during the 1881 and 1882 issues were comparable to previous years. Surgery and infectious diseases were the most common, followed by public health and sanitation, the practice of medicine, and reproductive health. Many of the articles were reviews of different diseases that provided detailed accounts. These articles outlined the cause and presentation of the disease and often pathophysiology, complications, and treatment. The overwhelming majority of articles discussed infectious diseases and epidemics, with an in-depth article on an infectious disease featured in every issue. Articles such as “Plague,”<sup>149</sup> “Measles,”<sup>150</sup> “Bilharzia,”<sup>151</sup> “Malaria Fevers,”<sup>152</sup> “Leishmania,”<sup>153</sup> and “Smallpox”<sup>154</sup> outlined the causes and prevention of infections, and two articles were published on “Germ Theory”<sup>155</sup> and “Bacteria”.<sup>156</sup>

The sources of the articles varied and were not always clear. Most of the articles were written by the author, relying on his medical knowledge and practice, with many articles relying heavily on clinical cases. Several articles, mostly theoretical in nature, were likely

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<sup>149</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 4, p.93

<sup>150</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 3, p.74

<sup>151</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 2, p.39

<sup>152</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 5, p.126

<sup>153</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 5, p.123

<sup>154</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 4, p.93

<sup>155</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 4 “Germ Theory”, p.109

<sup>156</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 5 “Diphtheria Germs”, p.137, Issue 8 “Bacteria and their Importance”, p.197

summaries or excerpts from several American and European books and journals. They rarely mentioned a source but contain American and European references and names of foreign physicians and scientists. Often such an article started with a sentence describing the increasing discussion of this topic in foreign journals, followed by a summary of the different findings and debates. These were different from articles that were copied from foreign journals as they specify so at the beginning, such as “History of Pharmacology in Russia” which was taken from the *Pharmaceutical Journal*.<sup>157</sup> The most common source of these articles was the *British Medical Journal* and the *Lancet*. Other sources mentioned include *Union Medical*, *Pharmaceutical Journal*, and a French journal. Ottoman and Turkish sources were not explicitly mentioned. However, local sources were cited, including journals and newspapers such as *al-Muqtataf* and *al-Ahram*, as well as accounts from government officials and local reports. In the last two issues of 1882, several articles were taken from their presentations at the *al-Majma’ al-Ilmi al-Sharqi* session in April.<sup>158</sup>

Books, both foreign and local, were also a common source. Articles based on book chapters were always specified as such. William Van Dyck ends the article “Subcutaneous Injections” with credit to Robert Bartholow, mentioning that the work was translated with edits, which are not specified.<sup>159</sup> Also, George Post contributed an article “Summary on the Progress in Medicine and its Practice during the past half year” that ran for several issues and

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<sup>157</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 3, p.78

<sup>158</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issues 7 and 8, “Ants” by Shahin Makarios, “The Microscope” by Iskandar Baroudi, and “Bacteria” by William Van Dyck

<sup>159</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, p.22

was credited in the beginning as an extract from Braithwaite's British Book.<sup>160</sup> Local books included those written by faculty and graduates. An article on "Water" was printed from John Wortabet's then unpublished book "Maintenance of Health and Management of Diseases".<sup>161</sup> Moreover, in an article titled "Ergot and Sapin" Jurji Baz and Ibrahim Matar mention a book on abortions as their source, which they claim to have participated in collecting and editing.<sup>162</sup> As Farag and Elshakry highlight, ideas and theories from foreign books were often discussed and debated in periodicals before the translation of the relevant books and volumes took place.<sup>163</sup>

Notably, most articles were not passively translated excerpts, or summaries of books and articles. The authors engaged with the findings and discussed controversial topics. The findings from experiments and cases in foreign journals are not reported as statements, but rather described in detail with opposing viewpoints among the medical community clearly stated. In an article discussing the difference between tuberculosis and scrofula, William Van Dyck mentioned the debate among pathologists on whether pulmonary tuberculosis and scrofula have the same cause. He reported an experiment by Dr. Tappeiner from Berlin, originally published in 1877,<sup>164</sup> in which dogs that inhaled pus from the scrofulous lymph

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<sup>160</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issues 4, 5 and 9

<sup>161</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 7, p.180

<sup>162</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 3, p.80

<sup>163</sup> See Farag, N. (1969), *Al-Muqtataf* and Elshakry, M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic*

<sup>164</sup> Brigo F. et al (2022), "Franz Tappeiner (1816–1902) and his Pioneering Studies on Tuberculosis." *Tuberculosis*

nodes had no pulmonary tuberculosis post-mortem, while dogs that inhaled secretions of pulmonary tuberculosis became infected. Van Dyck concluded that this shows that pulmonary tuberculosis is transmitted through inhalation, and that it is a different substance from scrofula. However, he wrote that they [most likely editors] agreed with the findings except that they believed there remains a strong relationship between scrofula and tuberculosis based on their clinical experience.<sup>165</sup>

These articles were also written with a local audience in mind. Many articles provided local examples, reminding the reader of experienced epidemics, traditional remedies, and local beliefs. Several articles also mention Arab medicine and physicians in their discussion on the history of a treatment or a disease. In an article on smallpox, a quote from al-Razi is used by Nimr to elaborate on the type of bodies that attract the disease and have more severe symptoms using the humoral system.<sup>166</sup>

## ***2. Infectious Diseases and Germ Theory***

Most articles and many of the case reports were on infectious diseases. The interest in infectious diseases was not only due to their high prevalence and the concern regarding epidemics. This was a period of major advancements in understanding the causes of infectious diseases. There was a heightened debate on the nature of infectious diseases and

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<sup>165</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 4, p.110

<sup>166</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 4, p.93



the best methods for their treatment and control. The pages of *al-Tabib* reflected this, as the different authors were not in agreement on the cause of infectious diseases. *Al-Tabib* was not exceptional in this discussion to other journals, as the germ theory of disease was still widely discussed and debated in Europe and the US, and medical consensus in the US was not reached until the mid-1880s.<sup>167</sup>

There were no specific mentions of spontaneous generation or zymotic theory, but in several articles on specific infectious diseases, the authors alluded to them in their discussion of causation. In his article on plague, Post explained the causes of the plague as a “disease originating among peoples that live in poor conditions, particularly in the East where garbage is thrown around the houses and bodies are buried in cities.”<sup>168</sup> Post further elaborated that the disease seems to originate spontaneously when conditions are unhygienic, however, it can then be transmitted in several ways in a contagious manner and quarantine is necessary to prevent transmission. Moreover, in the article “Infectious diseases and their prevention”<sup>169</sup> Niqula Nimr discussed the cause of infectious diseases as poisons emanating from the environment and food. He explained how the poisons once inside the body have an incubation period until they become effective, which may range from a few hours to several days and weeks. He explained that poisons are prevalent in areas with bad air and smells, and among the poor as they have little access to clean and nutritious food. However, in the same article

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<sup>167</sup> Tomes, N. (1997), “American Attitudes Toward the Germ Theory of Disease”. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*

<sup>168</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 4, p.93

<sup>169</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1, p.14

Nimr discussed Pasteur's recent findings on the cause of these poisons, highlighting the important contribution of Pasteur in discovering germs that are their cause, and promising to discuss them in subsequent issues. He did not elaborate further or publish a discussion in subsequent issues. It seems that for Nimr there was no inherent incompatibility between those views, as he favorably mentions Pasteur's findings.

Other authors discussed the germ theory in their articles, with two articles dedicated to germ theory and bacteria. The "Germ Theory"<sup>170</sup> article by Iskandar Baroudi in 1882 discussed the importance of the microscope and its contribution to the understanding of disease causation, and the experiments that led to the germ theory. Baroudi mentioned the controversy and debate between spontaneous generation and germ theory and summarized the findings of Pasteur's experiment and subsequent research. In the end, he wrote that their teacher John Wortabet recently showed them these germs themselves in the blood of a patient with leprosy "and we saw that despite their small size and simple shape their motility is excellent."<sup>171</sup> In the last issue in 1882, an article on "Bacteria and its importance" by William Van Dyck described bacteria and their types, and the experiments that led to the triumph of the germ theory over spontaneous generation.<sup>172</sup> This article was from his presentation at the *al-Majma' al-Ilmi al-Sharqi* and was also published earlier in *al-Muqtataf*.<sup>173</sup> These articles

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<sup>170</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 7, p.109

<sup>171</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 4, p.112

<sup>172</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 8, p.197

<sup>173</sup> *Al-Muqtataf* 1882 Issue 3, p.145

illustrate that germ theory seemed to be accepted by most of the authors, however, the spontaneous generation theory was not completely ruled out and at times the two theories were combined in the explanation of disease causation.

### ***3. Sharing Clinical Expertise***

In addition to engaging in discussion on recent medical theories and experiments, most articles on diseases referred to clinical experience and observed cases that were meant to guide the practice of other physicians. Physicians shared case reports of atypical disease presentations, successful surgeries, treatments, and cures (especially when other physicians were unsuccessful), and locally developed treatments and preparations. Physicians shared their clinical experience with others to collectively create locally applicable medical knowledge and treatments. In the first issue, Yaqub Mallat contributed an article “Purulent Conjunctivitis”, which is based on his clinical findings from 130 patients with purulent conjunctivitis during the past two years (1879 and 1880) from around Baabda. Mallat modified the common treatment, because as he explains “the medical treatment described in some books is not compatible with the situation of the patients in most of these areas. They have trouble in proper cleaning, and so I put with brown water a bit of carbolic acid and used it first in three cases of the severe type and with the poor and it worked.”<sup>174</sup> Mallat elaborates that he is reporting his findings on the success of the treatment on around forty patients in the past two years for others to benefit from, and to hear back on the experience of others as

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<sup>174</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, p.14

he calls on them to write back. Other SPC graduates also reported on their experience in treating patients and provided recommendations for others. For example, Salim Jalkh wrote an article on diphtheria management based on his experience in Beirut.<sup>175</sup>

The need to develop local knowledge on the management of diseases was not only due to the difference in patients and conditions of practice from Europe, but also because some diseases were not addressed adequately in foreign medical journals. Mikhail Antoun from Aleppo reported his findings on the Aleppo Boil (Cutaneous Leishmaniasis), as he explained that he could not find an agreed upon treatment reported in scientific journals, and traditional remedies were harmful. Antoun discussed how after many trials and errors his experiments led him to two effective solutions: treatment following the eruption of the lesion, and a preventative inoculation. Antoun stated that he inoculated 130 individuals over the past 3 years, and all were successful except for 9 cases. At the end of the article, the editors added a remark asking the author to provide the details on the type of lesion that is suitable for use in inoculation and the process in detail. However, no further explanation followed in subsequent issues.<sup>176</sup>

Physicians submitted case reports of atypical conditions and outcomes. One article named “Strange Disease” by Salim Abboud from Nazareth described a case seen by Kaloost Vartan of a 12-year-old boy experiencing seizure-like spasms; a neurological disease that he

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<sup>175</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1881 Issue 2, p.41

<sup>176</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 5, p.123

had not witnessed before.<sup>177</sup> One notable case report was that of Salim Frayj from Istanbul on a woman surviving a major gunshot wound. Frayj described the encounter when he attended to the crime scene with two physicians that were called on. It is unclear if Frayj was there by accident or was called in an informal capacity, but he examined the patient. He described the crime scene where her husband was killed, and the woman was wounded by a bullet in her back. The case was significant to be reported because the bullet produced major internal injuries of the intestines, peritoneum, and kidneys, with fever and internal bleeding, and with all these injuries the woman survived for forty-four days in the hospital.<sup>178</sup> Physicians also investigated and reported on local outbreaks. Salim Musalli contributed an article on “Trichinosis in Khiam” after he investigated the outbreak with the medical student Shakir Dabaghi. He learned about the incident after his friend William Van Dyck showed him a letter (most likely from the Protestant pastor) that the residents of Khiam developed symptoms after eating a wild boar. Musalli reported his findings on how the boar was killed and eaten, the symptoms and complications experienced, and concluded that it was Trichinosis and described the necessary treatment. The article is followed by one where William Van Dyck described the parasite, its life cycle, and disease pathophysiology in detail.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>*Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 12, p.317

<sup>178</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 2, p.44

<sup>179</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 2, p.46

#### ***4. Faculty Practice and Foreign Knowledge Exchange***

Although SPC graduates led the journal's other sections, the section *Taqarir Mustashfawiyya* was reserved for cases from George Post's practice at the Johanniter Hospital. Most published cases by Post in *al-Tabib* were surgeries, most often following injuries, fractures, or dislocations. Other commonly reported cases were fistula repair and removal of tumors. Most cases were described in detail, including the injury and prior care or lack thereof, the surgical procedure or several in some cases, post-surgical hospital care, any complications, outcome, and follow-up. In cases where medications were given, Post illustrated the method of preparation. The patients, mostly locals, included men, women, and children, with the youngest patient one-year-old and the oldest seventy-two years old. A frequent pattern that George Post highlighted is the late presentation of patients to the hospital, with either prior unsuccessful treatment or neglect until symptoms became alarming, with some patients presenting months and even a few years after the initial injury. One man presented seven months after a gunshot wound, with a fistula that did not heal and continued to secrete pus.<sup>180</sup> Almost all the cases reported by Post resulted in a cure or improvement of the condition. Only in one case, Post reports removing a 350g stone from the bladder of a 38-year-old who died 60 days after the surgery from diarrhea.<sup>181</sup> Several cases reported successful implementation of a new surgical method. In the first issue, Post described the successful implementation of a new surgical technique developed by Dr.

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<sup>180</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, p.28

<sup>181</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 8, p.226

Heaton from Boston (likely from his 1877 book)<sup>182</sup> to treat hydrocele in 3 of his patients.<sup>183</sup> He also tries Heaton's method for hernia repair successfully on one patient, but the patient returned after a while with a recurrence.<sup>184</sup> When possible, Post reported follow-up on the patients, obtained either at later check-up visits or in one case of inflicted injury when the patient returned for a medical certificate.<sup>185</sup>

Post's surgical cases were not only published in *al-Tabib*, but also in foreign medical journals. Starting in 1878 Post published cases in the *Medical Record*, and in 1881 published his first case in the *Lancet*, the leading medical journal at the time. Previously several correspondences from Beirut and SPC faculty were sent to the *Lancet*, however, these were mostly updates on missionary work or cholera epidemics. Starting in 1881, both Post and Wortabet published cases in the *Lancet* from their practice in Syria. Both published cases in 1881 and 1882, after which only Wortabet submitted a few updates on cholera in the 1890s. Post's cases were first published in *al-Tabib* and later in the *Lancet* in a similar format, with

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<sup>182</sup> Most likely from *The Cure of Rupture, Reducible and Irreducible: also of Varicocele and Hydrocele, by New Methods* by George Heaton published in 1877

<sup>183</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 1, p.27

<sup>184</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 3, p.83

<sup>185</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 3, p.82

only minor edits.<sup>186</sup> Two case reports were published in the *Lancet* in May 1882,<sup>187</sup> one of a man who fractured his Parietal and Sphenoid bones following an injury with a stick that was reported in *al-Tabib* in March 1881,<sup>188</sup> and the other a case of a nine-year-old boy with a humerus fracture from falling off a mule reported in April 1881.<sup>189</sup> All case reports are very similar and in certain parts identical between *al-Tabib* and the *Lancet*, with only an additional remark on the relevance of the case added in the *Lancet*. The clinical cases in the Levant were likely becoming of increasing interest to the British who occupied Egypt in 1882.

In contrast to Post, Wortabet did not publish cases in *al-Tabib*, but submitted several to the *Lancet*. One of the main articles was on the same outbreak of Trichinosis as Musalli reported in *al-Tabib*. The article was similar in format, describing the incident, symptoms, and complications. However, it also included a follow-up letter from the pastor of the Protestant community who reported that the patients' condition was improving. The article also discussed Wortabet's attempt to diagnose Trichinosis with a tissue sample, but as no deaths occurred, he could not initially obtain a sample despite one man offering that Wortabet

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<sup>186</sup> The *Lancet* 1881, Issue 3019 Volume 118, "The Beginning, Middle, and End of a Stone in the Urinary Passages"

1882 Issue, 3062 Volume 119, "Johanniter Hospital, Beirut Syria. Cases."

Issue 3064, Volume 119, "Johanniter Hospital, Beirut, Syria."

Issue 3092, Volume 120, "Treatment of Chronic Dysentery by Large Injections of Nitrate of Silver Solution."

<sup>187</sup> "Johanniter Hospital, Beirut Syria. Cases.", The *Lancet* 1882 Volume 119, Issue 3062

<sup>188</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 3, p.82

<sup>189</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 4, p. 114



takes a sample from his arm. Later, after one patient passed away, Wortabet was able to obtain a tissue sample that he examined for a definitive diagnosis and sent a sample to the Lancet editors for confirmation.<sup>190</sup> It seems that despite the European education and association with the American missionaries, Wortabet had to prove his clinical acumen through more robust evidence.

The articles on the outbreak were similar in format, but not in motivation. Musalli published his report to the benefit of other physicians in the region if they were to encounter similar cases. However, Wortabet published the article in the Lancet “with the hope that they may be useful to the surgeons of the British army now in Egypt”.<sup>191</sup> The American missionaries were connected to the British through education and missionary activities. John Wortabet continued his education in Edinburgh, and his son joined the British Indian Army.<sup>192</sup> Several SPC graduates would go on to serve in the British Army in Egypt and Sudan. Many graduates would be instrumental to the missionary and colonial medical apparatus as the next chapter illustrates.

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<sup>190</sup> The Lancet 1881, Volume 117 Issue 3003, “An Outbreak of Trichinosis (?) from Eating the Flesh of a Wild Boar.”

<sup>191</sup> The Lancet 1881, Volume 117 Issue 3003, “An Outbreak of Trichinosis (?) from Eating the Flesh of a Wild Boar.”

<sup>192</sup> In the physician updates section of *al-Tabib* (1898 Issue 4 p.134) the editor mentions meeting the son of John Wortabet

## 5. *Dissemination of Foreign Medical News*

Although during these two years *al-Tabib* articles mostly focused on local cases and interests, the journal continued to be a medium for the dissemination of medical advancements and news from Europe and the Americas. Initially, the Foreign Medical News was a separate section in the journal. However, at times this section was grouped with local and regional news and announcements, and after the 8<sup>th</sup> issue in 1881 the section was renamed “Publications” and then “Publications and Different Interests” in 1882 with decreasing consistency in format and topics. The medical subjects covered in this section were similar to the longer articles, with pharmacology the most frequent topic, followed by infectious diseases and then surgeries. Most articles provided a brief summary of new medications, treatments, and surgical techniques. The physicians and scientists that developed these were mostly American and British, followed by French and German. Many articles were reports of atypical disease presentations or surprising findings, such as dormant rabies for 5 years.<sup>193</sup> The summaries most often cited the physician reporting the case or the new treatment and where the news is coming from, however, the source of information is rarely stated. The journals that were occasionally mentioned include *The Lancet*, *British Medical Journal*, *Le Courrier Medical*, *Medical Record*, *Union Medical*, *Glasgow Medical Journal*, and *Thames Medical*. Again, we see the editors engaged with the information critically. For example, in the case of an anecdote whereby a physician switched oil for Nitric acid to treat his burns and found out that it was a better treatment, the editors then noted that

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<sup>193</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 2, p.64

it is not possible to conclude the truth of the matter as there is little evidence, and they will be waiting for experiments from fellow physicians.<sup>194</sup>

Articles on miscellaneous subjects unrelated to medical practice appear occasionally, such as a brief paragraph discussing the extraction of the tooth of the Shah,<sup>195</sup> or the cultivation of sponge.<sup>196</sup> The article on sponge cultivation named “Validity of Experimental Evidence” described the successful cultivation of sponge from smaller pieces is reported in Austria and how this practice is being applied in the US based on its success. However, an additional note was made by the editors, telling their encounter with the residents of Batroun who rely on sponge trade. They reported that when they discussed the findings with the residents, the residents rejected such methods and argued that they have more experience and knowledge in the matter to know the best method of cultivation. This stance was reprimanded by the writer, as they believed experimental evidence is superior to traditional practice.<sup>197</sup>

This section also included announcements, such as updates on the medical profession and education in Europe and the US, updates from SPC graduates, and acknowledgments of contributors of botanical specimen to SPC. News from around the region was also reported, most importantly plague and cholera outbreaks in Najaf, Baghdad, Hauran, Adana, and

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<sup>194</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 5, p.146

<sup>195</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 10, p.314

<sup>196</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1, p.31

<sup>197</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 1, p.31

Alexandria, and rabies in Sour.<sup>198</sup> Sources of local and regional news that are mentioned include *Lisan al-Hal*, *al-Muqtataf*, Levant Herald, and government reports and correspondence (mostly on epidemics). Contributors and readers also sent questions, and responses to different articles in the journal and new questions about different diseases and medications.

One important announcement was from SPC President Daniel Bliss written on June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1881, in which he announced that despite the decision to transition medical school education from Arabic to English, the transition would be postponed for the time being. He emphasized that the need for transition remained, so the students could stay up to date with the new foreign medical publications. However, it would be postponed until students mastered the English language. *Al-Tabib* editors, who were affiliated with SPC, did not comment on this announcement, despite one of the journal's objectives being to disseminate this medical knowledge in Arabic. Bliss based the argument on the experience of the British government in India whereby physician knowledge and quality supposedly improved with the transition to English.<sup>199</sup> Although trans-colonial transfer of experience and analogous thinking was common among colonial administrators, it seems that the comparison was also valid for American missionaries operating in the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>198</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 4 “Rumor on Plague in Najaf”; Issue 10 “Plague in Baghdad”, and “Cholera updates”; Issue 11 “Cholera in Mecca”; Issue 12 “Cholera in Mecca and Adan”; 1882 Issue 1, 2 “Cholera updates”, “Quarantine Outside Hauran”

<sup>199</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 7, p.179

### C. The Lewis Affair and Swift Changes in Format

It appears that *al-Tabib* was successfully received, as at the end of 1881 the editors announced the publication of extra copies of all the year's issues that were to be sold at the same price, with the issues bound together for those who had missed out on a subscription that year.<sup>200</sup> The journal could be requested from the printing press in Beirut, the pharmacy of Murad Baroudi, or distributors of *al-Muqtataf*. However, there were some worrisome signs: two announcements appeared in 1882 urging subscribers to pay their outstanding fees and for the distributors to send the money they collected. Nonetheless, the abrupt discontinuation of the journal after the 8<sup>th</sup> issue does not seem to have been motivated by sales. The editors explain that they “postponed the publication of *al-Tabib* following this issue until the situation calms down and the majority of subscribers would reunite following their dispersion due to the known political situation.”<sup>201</sup> Though the situation that resulted in the discontinuation of the journal is not specified, during those months a major scandal erupted at the school that came to be known as the Lewis Affair. The announcement is purposefully vague and assumes an understanding among the readers of the situation, as most of them were affiliated with SPC and were aware of the increasing tensions. The use of the term political indicates the significance of the incident and the ideological underpinnings of the dispute. The scandal caused major shifts in SPC, and the journal was discontinued before its relaunch two years later.

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<sup>200</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 12, p.210

<sup>201</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 8, p.210. The editors refer to the event as *ahwal siyasiyya*

### ***1. The Lewis Affair***

In July 1882, during the graduation ceremony, Edwin Lewis gave a commencement speech titled “Science, Wisdom and Knowledge”, which praised Darwin and his findings as an example of scientific achievement. The administration was agitated as they claimed the speech promoted Darwin’s ideas that are incompatible with the Bible truth.<sup>202</sup> The faculty at SPC were already in disagreement on the direction and education at the college. William Van Dyck and George Post were on different sides of the college’s two camps, and the increasing tensions most likely resulted in the dismissal of Van Dyck from his editorial role at the journal in 1881. Cornelius and William Van Dyck, John Wortabet, and Edwin Lewis had a more liberal view and secular approach to education, while Daniel Bliss, the President of the college, and George Post, backed by several others had a more conservative view.<sup>203</sup> The existing tensions were regarding academic freedom and education, and the role of the mission at the college.<sup>204</sup>

Many of *al-Muqtataf* and *al-Tabib*’s authors were entangled in the Darwin scandal. William Van Dyck introduced students to Darwin’s ideas in his lectures and brought the original texts of *Origin of Species* and *Descent of Man* in 1880.<sup>205</sup> He also was in direct

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<sup>202</sup>See ElShakry M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic*

<sup>203</sup> See Farag N. (1969), *Al-Muqtataf* and Zeuge-Buberl U. (2017), *The Mission of the American Board in Syria: Implications of a transcultural dialogue*

<sup>204</sup> See Farag N. (1972), “The Lewis Affair and the Fortunes of al-Muqtataf”, *Middle Eastern Studies*

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

contact with Darwin discussing with him his research on dogs in Beirut.<sup>206</sup> Though *al-Tabib* did not publish any part of the speech or consequent debate, it had earlier published Darwin's obituary, which described Darwin in a positive manner and acknowledged his contributions to science. The article described his theory as "every species' tendency for change and if the change is beneficial it is amplified in its offspring until a new species develops."<sup>207</sup> *Al-Muqtataf* also published an obituary, but in addition to that, it published Lewis's speech and subsequent debates on the issue. This further fueled the controversy as the discussion was spread to a much wider audience than was present at the commencement exercise.<sup>208</sup>

After the scandal, Lewis was dismissed from the college, while Cornelius and William Van Dyck, and John Wortabet resigned shortly after. Cornelius believed that the speech was misinterpreted and the dismissal inappropriate, while William was disappointed that the college was moving in a conservative direction. George Post on the other hand, was on the side of the administration in this matter. Student protests also erupted, and several students were dismissed. Medical students met at the Johanniter Hospital and organized a petition, voicing complaints about the dismissal and other issues at the medical school. The students submitted their grievances regarding the dismissal of Lewis and concerns regarding their diplomas and need for certification and passing examinations in French or Ottoman to practice. However, the student petition was unsuccessful, and students were threatened with

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 6, p.165

<sup>208</sup> ElShakry M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic*, p.65-72

suspension. This led some students to withdraw their complaints and submit an apology prior to their return, while some withdrew from the college.<sup>209</sup> Iskandar Baroudi, who was a frequent student contributor for *al-Tabib* and future editor, along with eleven other students withdrew from the college. They joined the rest of the faculty in their practice at the St. George Orthodox Hospital, where they continued their studies and were allowed to sit for the exam in Istanbul.<sup>210</sup>

Sarruf and Nimr, who were also entangled in the scandal through *al-Muqtataf*, continued lecturing at the college, but their promised promotion was delayed and eventually revoked in 1884. However, they continued publishing *al-Muqtataf* and their activity with different societies and lodges. They also established the scientific society *al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-Sharqi* in 1882 which continued its activity until 1886,<sup>211</sup> and from which three articles were published in the last issue of *al-Tabib* in 1882.<sup>212</sup> Again, the majority of the society's members were SPC graduates and teachers, and many of the contributors to *al-Tabib*, including Van Dyck, Wortabet, Salim al-Jalkh, Iskandar and Murad al-Baroudi, Salim Musalli, Niqula Nimr, and Mikhail Mariyya.<sup>213</sup> The aim of the society, complementing that

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<sup>209</sup> See Jeha, S. (2004). *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department and the First Student Protest in the Arab World in the Syrian Protestant College*; and Arnold (2016), "An Imagined America: Rhetoric and Identity during the First Student Rebellion in the Arab World." *College English*

<sup>210</sup> Jeha, S. (2004). *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department and the First Student Protest in the Arab World in the Syrian Protestant College*

<sup>211</sup> Farag (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*, p. 84

<sup>212</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 8, "Ants", "The Microscope", and "Bacteria"

<sup>213</sup> Farag (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*, p. 79



of the journals, was the diffusion of knowledge and improvement of industry in the region. The first step in achieving these goals was collection of data and knowledge,<sup>214</sup> which was also encouraged in *al-Tabib* through the submission of cases, reports, and questions. However, the society dissolved shortly after the editors of *al-Muqtataf* left for Cairo in 1884.<sup>215</sup>

Throughout this turbulent period *al-Tabib* was discontinued. The journal's main editor, George Post, was engaged in the scandal on the opposite side of most readers and contributors. Lewis was supported by all the medical faculty except George Post, and Post remained the only medical faculty member. Most students expressed their support for Lewis and organized a protest and stopped attending classes, including the frequent student contributors to *al-Tabib*. The journal was also closely connected to *al-Muqtataf*, which was now intensely entangled in the scandal. They shared the same press, director, and many contributors. Thus, the support and readership for a journal by George Post would have been minimal during this time. Hence, the publication of the journal was stopped, and when it was relaunched two years later, it had little in common with its previous issues.

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<sup>214</sup> Ibid., p. 80-81

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

## 2. *New Format and Audience*

In 1884 as the scandal was reaching its conclusion, *al-Tabib* was published again. However, this time around there was little in common with the previously published journal. There was a new editorial board, format, and readership in mind. It was no longer a medical journal for physicians, but was rebranded as a medical, scientific and industrial journal as its new subtitle *majallah ṭibbiyyah ‘ilmiyyah sina‘iyyah* indicates,<sup>216</sup> targeting a more general public. The change may have been an attempt to distance themselves from the earlier editions or offer an alternative to *al-Muqtataf*, as it adopted similar topics and format. An announcement in the first issue explained the return of the journal due to popular demand by students.<sup>217</sup> The introductory article of the first issue also reflected the new aim and change in the target audience. Using the then prevailing theory of progress and decline, the introduction emphasized the need to catch up with more advanced nations following the era of decline. The article stated that imitation of the West is necessary if innovation is not possible and that therefore, the journal’s aim was to disseminate the modern knowledge of the West not only to the benefit of physicians, but to a more general readership.<sup>218</sup> This aim was not different from that of *al-Muqtataf*’s to popularize and disseminate modern science.<sup>219</sup> With *al-Muqtataf* now at odds with the SPC leadership, the rebranded *al-Tabib* may have

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<sup>216</sup> Tarrazi argues this was the first use of the word *majallah* in this context, after which other publications started using the term to denote this type of publication distinguishing them from newspapers

<sup>217</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 1, p.13

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Farag (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*

been relaunched to fulfill this role, while remaining in agreement with the mission's values and ideology.

The new editorial board consisted of Ibrahim Yaziji, Bechara Zalzal, and Khalil Saadeh. It is unclear how this new board was selected, but George Post was sidelined possibly due to his declined popularity. Zalzal and Saadeh were SPC medical graduates and previous *al-Tabib* contributors. Saadeh was a final-year medical student during the Lewis affair, and so along with his colleagues was part of the protest against the dismissal of Lewis. He was also a speaker as part of the ten-student administrative committee elected to organize meetings. However, he was one of the students who returned to the college after accepting the faculty conditions and signing an apology.<sup>220</sup> Zalzal was a graduate at the time of the affair but is known to have rejected the theory of descent mostly on the ground that it denied humans their immortal souls and unique position, and he wrote articles in *al-Muqtataf* in defense of that. As Elshakry illustrates, Zalzal believed that science should reinforce religious truth and not contradict it.<sup>221</sup> Ibrahim Yaziji was a prolific writer and journalist, and an editor of several journals and newspapers.<sup>222</sup> He was the only non-medical editor, and was not directly affiliated with the college, but was a member of the *al-Majma' al-Ilmi al-Sharqi* with many of the college graduates and previous contributors to the journal.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Jeha, S. (2004), *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department and the First Student Protest in the Arab World in the Syrian Protestant College*.

<sup>221</sup> Elshakry M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic*

<sup>222</sup> See Tarrazi (1929), *Tarikh al-Sahafa al-Arabiyya*, Volume 2 p. 88-98

<sup>223</sup> Farag (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*, p.79

The journal not only changed its editorial board but also its format and scope. As in previous years, each issue started with several long articles; however, their format and topics were drastically different. The articles were longer and often spanned several issues, with this section taking up most of the issue. The topics were more varied, but less relevant to physicians and medical practice. Articles spanning several issues include “Human Lineages,”<sup>224</sup> “Language Skills and their Development,”<sup>225</sup> and “The Improvement of Human Reason” by Ibn Tufayl.<sup>226</sup> The articles addressed varied issues as the authors seem to attempt to make *al-Tabib* a popular science journal with a wider appeal. Articles addressed the topics in-depth and often included illustrations, which were rare in previous years. A common topic throughout the journal were articles on botany and zoology,<sup>227</sup> including a summary of George Post’s trip to the North of Syria.<sup>228</sup> Articles on geography<sup>229</sup> and astronomy<sup>230</sup> also appeared. These topics were taught at the SPC and may have been excerpts from lectures and textbooks. The topic of heredity and ethnic groups was also prevalent with the long article

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<sup>224</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issues 1, 5, 9

<sup>225</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issues 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11

<sup>226</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issues 4, 6, 7, 8

<sup>227</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1884-1885 Issue 2 “Snake Venom”; Issue 4 “Water Birds”; Issue 9 “Venous Fly Trap” and “Vocalization of Bird”; Issue 10 “Self-Amputation in Animals”; Issue 13 “Chameleon”; Issue 18 “Ant Vision”

<sup>228</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 5 and 10

<sup>229</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 3 “Earth and its Terrain”; Issue 7 “The Nile Valley”; Issue 18 “Atmosphere”

<sup>230</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 3 “Astronomical Spectra and Celestial Bodies”; Issue 15 “Bethlehem Constellation”; Issue 16 “Snow on Venus”; Issue 24 “Meteorites and Earth’s Core”

on “Human Lineages”<sup>231</sup> spanning several issues, along with articles on different ethnic groups such as “Papua New Guinea,”<sup>232</sup> “Japanese People,”<sup>233</sup> and “Gypsies.”<sup>234</sup> This may partly be explained by Bechara Zalzal’s interest in natural science and zoology; a topic on which he published the book *Tanwir al-Adhan fi ‘Ilm Hayat al-Hayawan wa’l-Insan* in 1879.<sup>235</sup>

Health and medicine were no longer the predominant theme of the journal. Few of the long articles were on health and medicine, and not every issue contained articles on these topics.<sup>236</sup> These articles had the same format as the rest and discussed specific diseases in depth to a more general readership. The articles described the causes and symptoms of common diseases, mostly infections, and methods for their prevention and treatment. As the author [most likely editors] of the article on purulent conjunctivitis conclude: “We are unable to deliver in this magazine all the methods of treatment and the studies that this topic requires, so we have summarized what is important to know for the public, and as a reminder to the specialists.”<sup>237</sup> As the contents of the articles and this conclusion indicate, even the few

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<sup>231</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issues 1, 5, 9

<sup>232</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 5, p.93

<sup>233</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 9, p.175

<sup>234</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 9, p.183

<sup>235</sup> ElShakry M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic*, p.57

<sup>236</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1884-1885 Issues 1 and 2 “Medicine and Physicians”; Issue 2 “Whooping Cough”; Issue 12 “Cholera Germs”; Issue 13 “Purulent Conjunctivitis”; Issue 14 “Effect of Mental State on Diseases and their Cure”; Issue 15 “Cause of Lung Tuberculosis”; Issue 18 “Insanity and Psychiatric Disorders”; and “Rabies”, Issues 20 and 21 “Smallpox”; and Issue 20 “The Eye”

<sup>237</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 13, p.255 “Purulent Conjunctivitis”

medical articles were meant for the general reader rather than the physician. Moreover, cases from clinical practice were no longer published, neither within these articles nor as isolated case reports. The Johanniter Hospital continued operating under the leadership of SCP physicians, and according to the *Lancet* admitted 571 inpatients and 7,489 outpatients in 1884.<sup>238</sup> This represents a significant number of patients for case reports. Medical announcements appear only once, announcing the opening of the first domestic hospital in the city, the Greek Orthodox (Saint George) Hospital.<sup>239</sup>

Several issues had a section on health advice, which contained an article or two on domestic science, with articles on “Good and Bad Plants to Live with,”<sup>240</sup> “The Harms of Laziness,”<sup>241</sup> “Nutrition,”<sup>242</sup> “Childrearing,”<sup>243</sup> and an article spanning several issues on “The Harms of Alcohol.”<sup>244</sup> Only one of the articles in this section, “Childrearing” had the author named: Elias al-Zahhar, a medical student at the college.<sup>245</sup> As with other sections, the articles were not meant for medical practitioners. Health and medicine rose in popularity in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with periodicals and journals covering a wide range of topics,

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<sup>238</sup> *The Lancet* 1885, Volume 125 Issue 3214, “The American Mission in Syria”

<sup>239</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-5 Issue 2, p.51

<sup>240</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 4, p.89

<sup>241</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 6, p.128

<sup>242</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 10, p.210

<sup>243</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 21, p.428

<sup>244</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issues 15, 16, 18

<sup>245</sup> AUB Alumni Directory

with a special focus on hygiene and women's health. Childrearing was especially important in order to ensure a healthy and well-educated future generation for the prosperity of the nation; a burden that fell on the hands of women who had to be guided by the physician.<sup>246</sup>

Another major difference from the previous years was the absence of the author or the source for each of these articles. One of the few authors that were named was George Post in his articles on Botany from his trip to North Syria.<sup>247</sup> Most of the named authors were not physicians,<sup>248</sup> with the exception of two medical students.<sup>249</sup> Other than George Post and Khalil Saad who contributed two articles each, none of the authors contributed more than once. Moreover, the only previous contributors were George Post and Gerges Aoun. This is consistent with the shift away from physicians in *al-Tabib*'s target audience and the attempt to sever ties with the previous issues. There was limited acknowledgment of sources. Those that were mentioned included the British Scientific Magazine, the French Journal of Science and Nature, and the Lancet. This was in contrast to the previous issues of *al-Tabib*, but was similar to *al-Muqtataf*, which included the latest articles from British and American periodicals but rarely mentioned the source directly.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Balsoy. G. (2015), *The politics of reproduction in Ottoman society, 1838–1900*; Abugideiri, H. (2016) *Gender and the Making of Modern Medicine in colonial Egypt*. 2016

<sup>247</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 10, p.200

<sup>248</sup> Said Khuri Shartuni, Khalil Khayat, Elias Aoun, Khalil Yaziji, Khalil Saad, Ibrahim Jamal, Gerges Aoun, Mikhail Zalzal, Shakib Arslan, and Khalil Zainah

<sup>249</sup> Habib Hamam (MD 1888) and Nagib Barbour (MD 1887)

<sup>250</sup> ElShakry M. (2014), *Reading Darwin in Arabic*, and Farag (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*

Unlike the previous issues, there were no announcements encouraging the contribution of articles from the readers or engagement with the material. The journal was meant to disseminate knowledge, and not as a platform for debate and discussion. Only one question<sup>251</sup> and three letters were printed from readers throughout the two years. The first published letter was from Mikhail Mariyya,<sup>252</sup> who objected to a few points in the infusoria article, including the naming of infusoria in Arabic as *naqa'iyyat* rather than the transliteration of the scientific infusoria.<sup>253</sup> The response from the editors was in the format of an article justifying their choice through their argument that infusoria often refers to a broader term than the organisms discussed in the article, providing evidence from foreign journals and encyclopedias. Another letter from Salim Jalkh described the establishment of a new biweekly journal *al-Ittihad al-Tibbi al-Misri* published in Egypt in French and Italian. Jalkh discussed how there are no Egyptian or Syrian physicians on the committee, and the reason may be a lack of trust in their knowledge, which he argued was unacceptable.<sup>254</sup> The last letter was from “one of our readers from the Catholic Melkite Sect in Beirut”, who sent a correction to the article on schools in Beirut which did not include a school in Ain al-Qash that was important for their sect.<sup>255</sup> The only other engagement with the readership was

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<sup>251</sup> The question was from an unidentified reader asking for clarifications regarding the article on white rainbow. *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 4, p.80

<sup>252</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 15, p. 304

<sup>253</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 10, p.195

<sup>254</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 12, p.246

<sup>255</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 12, p.247



through the geometric and arithmetic problems and riddles. Almost every issue had a problem or riddle printed, with solutions sent by the readers posted in the next issue. The name of the person who sent the answer first was printed, along with all others that sent the correct solutions. These were similar to the math problems published in *al-Muqtataf*.

The rest of the journal contained short and inconsistent sections on miscellaneous benefits, excerpts from readings, and new books and publications. The topics were as varied as that of the articles. The section *Fawa'id Mutafariqa* on miscellaneous benefits most often included advice on household management and occasionally crafts, such as “Cleaning furniture,”<sup>256</sup> and “Increasing the Yield of Artichoke.”<sup>257</sup> Only two topics were more directly related to health and medicine: “Treatment of Burns”<sup>258</sup> and “Treating Snake Poison,”<sup>259</sup> which were aimed at urgent management by nonprofessionals. The section on *Mutala'at* presented excerpts and summaries on different topics and news, with astronomy a frequent topic, with articles like “The Green Moon,”<sup>260</sup> and reports on strange meteors<sup>261</sup> and new constellations and stars.<sup>262</sup> Other topics include “New Pyramid Discovery in Mexico,”<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 1, p.31

<sup>257</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 16, p.334

<sup>258</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 14, p.293

<sup>259</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 16, p.334

<sup>260</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 2, p.50

<sup>261</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 14, p.291, and Issue 21, p.432

<sup>262</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 10, p.213, and Issue 16, p.333

<sup>263</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 2, p.50

“Demographic Statistics from Around the World,”<sup>264</sup> “New Gunpowder,”<sup>265</sup> and “Sedimentation in the Nile.”<sup>266</sup> The only medical article was on “Cholera” describing successful vaccination by Dr. Frayer.<sup>267</sup> These topics are similar to those of *al-Muqtataf* with the aim of popularizing science and presenting summaries of the latest scientific literature.

The journal was discontinued after the 24<sup>th</sup> issue of February 1885. In the last announcement, the editors mention that the reason is not lack of subscribers or readers as they were well received, but “those standing in the way of the pen.”<sup>268</sup> During this time there was an increase in censorship in the Ottoman Empire, urging many writers and editors to move to Egypt. These few years were transitional for the SPC and several journals printed in Beirut. *Al-Muqtataf*, after publishing for nine years in Beirut, moved to Egypt along with its editors and SPC lecturers Nimr and Sarruf, and Makarios.<sup>269</sup> In this turmoil it would take ten years for *al-Tabib* to be reissued, once again under new management and team. However, *al-Muqtataf* was not banned in the Ottoman Empire, as the editors procured permission to distribute the journal and had distributors across Syria, including Beirut.<sup>270</sup> *Al-Tabib* in those two years was not published as a replacement to *al-Muqtataf*, but in competition.

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<sup>264</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 14, p.291

<sup>265</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 18, p.373

<sup>266</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 22, p.454

<sup>267</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-1885 Issue 12, p.235

<sup>268</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1884-1885 Issue 24, p.494

<sup>269</sup> Farag, N. (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*, p.72

<sup>270</sup> Farag, N. (1969), *Al-Muqtataf*, p.86

## **D. Conclusion**

*Al-Tabib* was initially issued with a unique aim in mind, not to popularize medicine and science, but to provide a platform for the dissemination of medical knowledge in Arabic among physicians in the region. Paradoxically, it was under missionary editors that the journal was focused on original articles from physicians in the region. Local case reports, medications, and outbreaks were analyzed and presented. Foreign medical news and discoveries were translated to Arabic and not only published but discussed and at times questioned. The journal's editors encouraged critical thinking and experimentation as the way to practice medicine. The journal also solidified the sense of community that the SPC graduates were developing. Many authors submitted articles to the journal from across the region, albeit mostly SPC affiliates. Physicians were encouraged to submit articles, cases, and questions, and medical students were also provided the space to contribute. Even SPC faculty that were at odds with the direction of the college, worked together on the publication. There was a clear sense of superiority among these Western-educated physicians in comparison to other more traditional practitioners as expressed throughout the journal.

As a result of the Lewis Affair, many of the SPC medical faculty, graduates, and students were distanced from the college. George Post who took the side of the administration became unpopular with many of the previous contributors and subscribers of the journal. Thus, the journal was reissued with a new editorial board, format and aim. The aim was no longer to build the knowledge of local physicians and engage them in medical news and science, but the dissemination of general scientific, medical, and industry knowledge to a more general public. This was possibly due to the lack of interested contributors, or in

competition with other scientific journals, especially *al-Muqtataf* which was no longer affiliated with the college. As a result of this shift, the journal no longer stood out from other competitors, but more importantly, it halted the only platform for medical discussions. It was no longer participatory in nature and focused on dissemination of knowledge rather than discussion and the production of local medical knowledge.

## CHAPTER IV

### EVOLUTION OF THE JOURNAL UNDER NEW LEADERSHIP AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

The initial unsteady story of *al-Tabib* came to an end in 1895, when it was relaunched by Iskandar Baroudi and published continuously for almost 20 years until the start of World War I. The journal's previous abrupt discontinuations, changes in management and style, and entanglement with controversies at SPC did not prevent it from being relaunched again after ten years, once again under new leadership. This time around, the journal went back to its origins, focusing on medical news and advancements. Iskandar Baroudi remained its sole editor throughout the two decades, ensuring some continuity in the journal's goal, topics, and style. This is not to say that the journal did not evolve over time; on the contrary, the journal responded and adapted to its readership, and more general trends in medicine and health. Medical practice and the profession had transformed significantly since the last issues of *al-Tabib* ten years prior. The journal was no longer the sole Arabic medical publication, nor was SPC the only medical school in the Levant. The journal had to cater to a more diverse readership, which is evident in the new layout, contributors, and topics.

#### **A. Adaptation to a New Reading Public**

The goal of the journal continued to be the advancement and dissemination of knowledge among physicians for the improvement of their practice.<sup>271</sup> However, the format

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<sup>271</sup> *Al-Tabib*, 1895-1896 Issue 1, p.2

of the journal changed significantly, reflecting a change in specialization of medical practice, the new role of physicians, and the expanding medical professional class. The journal initially started with a section on theoretical medicine (discontinued in 1898), followed by a practical medicine section, surgery section, pharmacy, hygiene, and domestic medicine which was later replaced with hygiene and agriculture, news or scientific summaries, and finally veterinary medicine. In previous years, the sections were divided based on local and foreign sources, or whether the articles were hospital cases, summaries, or long articles. This division was no longer relevant due to increasing medical specialization and integration into the global professional network of graduates from modern medical schools. Each new section contained a mixture of articles and reports from local physicians and pharmacists, article summaries and translations from leading medical journals, conference proceedings, and local and foreign news. The sources of the articles were also varied and included local newspapers and journals, and leading foreign medical journals.

### ***1. The Expansion of the Press***

*Al-Tabib* was relaunched after a ten-year period during which the Arabic press flourished, and the number of periodicals grew. As discussed in the previous chapter, with increasing Ottoman censorship and increasing freedom of press in Egypt, many writers and editors from Syria moved there, including the previous editors of *al-Tabib* and many of its contributing writers. With limited censorship, scientific and literary journals expanded in Cairo. However, their distribution was not limited to Egypt, and many were distributed across

the Ottoman Empire and even to immigrant communities internationally.<sup>272</sup> These journals not only contained scientific and medical articles, but also literary pieces, discussions, and news that were disseminated across borders to Arabic readers<sup>273</sup>- a format that to a lesser extent was replicated in *al-Tabib*.

Unlike other scientific journals, specialized medical journals were not as successful. Shibli Shumayyil moved to Egypt long before other editors and writers and contributed articles for *al-Tabib* from his practice in Tanta. In 1886, after the discontinuation of *al-Tabib* Shumayyil launched his journal *al-Shifa*, which only lasted until 1891, and seemed to cater more to Egyptian physicians who contributed articles to it.<sup>274</sup> Another publication *al-Sihha* was published in Egypt in 1888 by Hasan Rifqi and Ibrahim Mustafa, and also only lasted for 5 years.<sup>275</sup>

During the nearly two decades of publishing, *al-Tabib* remained the only specialized Arabic medical journal. However, several scientific and health journals were launched at the time, and *al-Tabib* advertised Arabic, Ottoman, and foreign journals. As was common practice at the time, advertisements and reviews of journals were included regardless of

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<sup>272</sup>Sheehi, S. (2005), "Arabic Literary-Scientific Journals: Precedence for Globalization and the Creation of Modernity." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> de Tarrazi (1929), *Tarikh al-Sihafa al-'Arabiyya*. Volume 3, p. 74

<sup>275</sup> Ibid p. 77

competition.<sup>276</sup> Many summaries and excerpts were also included from other journals and newspapers, both foreign and local. The most frequently cited foreign journal was the *Lancet*, followed by *BMJ*. However, journals from across Europe and the US were cited. *Al-Muqtataf* also continued to be a source of articles and discussions, with few instances of direct responses to articles published in *al-Muqtataf*. Local newspapers such as *Beirut al-Rasmiyya* and *Hadiqat al-Akhbar* were a frequent source for the news section of the journal. Though the journals that were advertised and cited remained somewhat similar, there is a visible shift in the books that were advertised. Previously, many foreign books were mentioned and recommended, however, during Baroudi's leadership all advertised books were in Arabic, and the majority were on medicine and health rather than textbooks. Foreign books, and their translations, were no longer advertised but continued to appear as sources of articles, such as the article on the method to flip a breech fetus during delivery from Hurst's book on delivery.<sup>277</sup>

## **2. New Editor and Readers**

The new editor of the journal, Iskandar Baroudi, had been a frequent contributor to *al-Tabib* in 1882, when he was still a medical student at SPC, writing many long articles on

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<sup>276</sup> Sheehi, S. (2005), "Arabic Literary-Scientific Journals: Precedence for Globalization and the Creation of Modernity." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*

<sup>277</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1904-1905 Issue 10, p.321



infectious diseases and germ theory.<sup>278</sup> He was a noteworthy member of the emerging medical, intellectual, and professional elite that focused on education to achieve progress. He was a member of the *al-Majma' al-Ilmi al-Sharqi* which was established by many of the previous contributors and *al-Muqtataf's* editors. He was one of the co-founders of the Beirut Medical and Pharmaceutical Society, and a member of the district court for 22 years. Baroudi remained engaged with the SPC and its graduates and was president of the Alumni association. Born in Saida, he received his medical degree from SPC in 1883, and held a private practice in Homs, Hama, and Souk el-Gharb, and was a physician in clinics in Hadath and Bourj el-Barajneh. He was previously the municipal physician in Hama, and an instructor at Zahrat al-Ihsan school for girls, teaching nursing and hygiene.<sup>279</sup>

Though *al-Tabib* retained George Post as its proprietor, it was also no longer an SPC publication. It was published instead at the St. George Press in Beirut from 1895 to 1912, and then until 1914 in the Rashidiyyah Press in Kfarshima. George Post's contributions were minimal, with very few articles attributed to him, most of which were cases from his practice in Johanniter Hospital, and even these were often reported by medical students. One significant article was the table printed in several issues reporting cases of urinary stones at the Johanniter Hospital from 1881 until 1900. These tables reported the age, city, and length

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<sup>278</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1882 Issue 3 "Measles"; Issue 5 and 6 "Chemistry and Medicine"; Issue 4 "Germ Theory"; Issue 5 "Diphtheria Microbes"; Issue 7 "Microscope"

<sup>279</sup> AUB Alumni Directory, and *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 9, p.271

of symptoms of the patient, along with the type of surgery, number of stones, their analysis, and outcome of the surgery.<sup>280</sup>

Iskandar Baroudi relaunched *al-Tabib* at a time when medical schools displaced Arabic as the language of instruction, and so the journal was no longer a learning tool for students but a platform for practicing physicians. The Qasr al-Ainy medical school shifted its language of instruction to English following the British takeover. SPC Medical School changed its language of instruction in 1887,<sup>281</sup> and St. Joseph University taught its medical students in French from its establishment. As such, there was no longer a need for Arabic textbooks and articles to teach medical students, and *al-Tabib* now catered to the practicing Arabic-speaking physician and pharmacist. As several articles specify, the goal of *al-Tabib* in publishing summaries and translations from foreign books and journals was for the benefit of those who did not have access to them.<sup>282</sup> The shift in the target audience is also reflected in the type of articles that were published during those years. Most articles discussed new advancements in medicine, case studies from different local and foreign physicians, and pharmaceutical recipes and advertisements. There were very few long theoretical articles that could be used by medical students to study and understand pathophysiology and anatomy. Instead, most articles dealt with clinical practice and current trends in medicine, and there was an increasing number of conference proceedings. Moreover, the theoretical medicine

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<sup>280</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1905-1906 Issue 11, and 1906-1907 Issues 1

<sup>281</sup> Auji, H (2016). *Printing Arab Modernity: Book Culture and the American Press in Nineteenth Century Beirut*

<sup>282</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 1, p.22

section was discontinued in 1898, giving more space for the practical medicine and surgical sections.

The journal also included articles on dentistry and had a dedicated section on animal medicine from 1895 until 1904. *Al-Tabib* was no longer targeting only physicians and pharmacists who graduated from SPC but appealed to a more general medical professional elite. This elite now included physicians, pharmacists, dentists, and veterinarians, all of whom were educated in modern schools, and licensed and regulated by the government.

### **3. *Expanding Readership***

Despite its medical focus, the journal tried to engage with a more general readership. Initially, this was done through isolated articles that may have been read or shared with members of the household, or read in public spaces such as reading rooms as was the common practice in Beirut at the time.<sup>283</sup> One article titled “Avoiding domestic poisons, advice for women” published in the first year targets women readers, who “use substances without knowing anything about their composition,”<sup>284</sup> and discusses the harms of beauty products and the multiple side effects and diseases that they may cause. Another article “advice for young wives” listed several recommendations on food and management of the house for the

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<sup>283</sup> Sheehi, S. (2005), “Arabic Literary-Scientific Journals: Precedence for Globalization and the Creation of Modernity.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*

<sup>284</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 9, p. 272

preservation of health.<sup>285</sup> *Al-Tabib* also published several recipes for hair and skin improvements that seemed to be targeting the general reading public. There were also articles on beekeeping, silkworms, and the distinction of fraudulent diamonds, topics that may have been of interest to the growing audience who may be engaged in these industries. Starting in 1911, a separate section “Hygiene and Agriculture” was launched and was dedicated to a more general readership; it could be purchased separately from the rest of the journal for 30 piasters. The attempt to engage a more general readership was not only the result of increased public interest in health and hygiene but was also due to the declining relevance of Arabic as a medical language following the shift in medical curricula.

#### **4. *Circulation and Financing***

The appeal to a wider audience may also have been the result of financial difficulties that the journal was facing, and its attempt to increase its circulation. Having dissociated itself from SPC and its press, the journal could no longer rely on funding from the medical program as was previously the case.<sup>286</sup> Thus, the journal had to rely on its subscribers and advertisements. Though previously the journal’s editors encouraged the submission of advertisements, none appeared until 1895. Pharmaceutical advertisements were not specific to *al-Tabib* due to its medical nature. As Auji explains, many periodicals had advertisements promoting medications as they were the most profitable at the time. Already in 1860 *Hadiqat*

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<sup>285</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896-1897 Issue 8, p.252

<sup>286</sup> Auji, H (2016), *Printing Arab Modernity: Book Culture and the American Press in Nineteenth Century Beirut*

*al-Akhbar* was advertising anti-gout medication at local pharmacies.<sup>287</sup> The 1890s was a period of increased advertising in the Egyptian press, and the most advertised commodities in all journals were pharmaceuticals and cosmetics.<sup>288</sup>

The first instance of advertisement in *Al-Tabib* appeared in the 6<sup>th</sup> issue, with an advertisement for UpJohn's pills sold by Niqula Nimr and fish oil by Elias Hanna, both based in Cairo.<sup>289</sup> The advertisement was not labeled as such, but appeared within other announcements, and the editor attested to the quality of UpJohn's pills that were sent to him. Elias Hanna also contributed a series of articles on Fish oil and its benefits in a subsequent issue.<sup>290</sup> Advertisements in *al-Tabib* were varied, but gradually became more sophisticated, some taking up a full page with illustrations (see Appendix I). Advertised products were mostly medications, but there were also occasional elixirs, food for children with gastrointestinal issues, and food supplements advertised. In 1914, there was even one advertisement for an inn in Istanbul.<sup>291</sup> Some advertisements were for pharmaceutical brands and factories, while others of specific formulations in pharmacies in Beirut. Occasionally an article would be written explaining a certain medication and its benefits, as in the case of

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<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Shechter, R. (2002), "Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882-1956." *The Arab Studies Journal*

<sup>289</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896, Issue 6, p.192

<sup>290</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896, Issue 8, 9

<sup>291</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1914 Issue 7, p.225

UpJohn's tablets that were sold by *al-Tabib*'s administration.<sup>292</sup> In the case of Ross's pills that were also sold by *al-Tabib*'s administration, a handkerchief with a cat would be gifted to anyone who bought more than a dozen.<sup>293</sup> In 1898, the pricing of advertisements was also printed, with options for a monthly or yearly subscription. The price of advertisement ranged from 3 francs for 1/8<sup>th</sup> page advertisement in one issue, to 150 francs for a yearly one-page advertisement.

## **B. Professionalization and Expansion of the Medical Community**

The journal did not break its ties to SPC and continued to feature articles by its graduates, along with school news and updates. The journal however expanded its network to include the emerging class of medical professionals educated in modern schools, which was no longer restricted to SPC. The physicians' role was also expanded, as they were no longer constrained to clinical practice and had greater opportunities for employment within the Ottoman bureaucracy as administrators and inspectors, instructors in several schools, and physicians in the increasing number of hospitals.

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<sup>292</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896-1897 Issue 11, p.359

<sup>293</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 7, p. 219

### ***1. Medical Education: Competition and Cooperation***

The SPC Medical School was no longer the only medical school in the Levant. Qasr el-Ainy Medical School in Cairo and the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul had long been established prior to the founding of SPC and presented no competition in the region. However, following the success of SPC and its increased influence, the French Jesuits established a medical school at St. Joseph University in Beirut in 1883 to rival that of SPC. Beirut was the only Ottoman city with two medical schools and the only city in the Levant with a medical school, creating increased competition for medical influence in Syria. There were also plans to establish a Russian Medical School in Damascus, a rumor that prompted the support of the Ottomans for the French school in Beirut.<sup>294</sup> This rumor seems to have been well-known considering its discussion in *al-Tabib*, which reported that a member of the Palestinian Charity Organization was intent on getting a license to open a Russian medical school with Arabic as its language of instruction in Damascus or Zahle.<sup>295</sup>

The establishment of the Jesuit medical school was the culmination of a longtime rivalry in medical influence between the different missionaries in Beirut.<sup>296</sup> To compete with the established SPC medical school, the French government allowed graduates starting in 1894 to receive a French diploma and practice in France. However, as the Ottoman

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<sup>294</sup> Abi-Rached, J. (2017). “*The Dead Which Cannot Be Buried*”: War, Madness, and Modernity in the Levant, 1896-1982

<sup>295</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 12, p.365

<sup>296</sup> Sharif, M. (2005). “Missionaries, Medicine and Municipalities: A History of Smallpox Vaccination in the Nineteenth-Century Beirut.” *Archaeology & History in Lebanon*

government required all medical doctors to pass an examination in Istanbul, the French government negotiated with the Porte for a jury of French and Ottoman examiners to assess graduates at the university campus in Beirut.<sup>297</sup> These examinations were reported in *al-Tabib* along with members of the examination board and the graduating students. Only in 1909 was a similar concession provided to SPC graduates, whereby examiners from the Imperial Medical School would arrive to Beirut for their examination.<sup>298</sup>

The French and American schools were dominating the Syrian medical institutions, and the Ottoman government was aware of its limited influence in medicine in Syria and tried to regulate missionary activity and replace their physicians. There were increased tensions between the Ottoman government and the American missionaries. The American missionary support for Armenians and Bulgarians further strained the relationship, and the government invested in curbing American influence in Syria.<sup>299</sup> This was especially the case in medicine and may have been one reason the SPC did not receive the same concession to grant diplomas as the Jesuit Medical School. *Al-Tabib* even reported on the Ottoman plans to establish a new hospital in Istanbul to prevent Muslim patients from going to foreign hospitals.<sup>300</sup> More so, the Ottoman government tried to establish its own medical institutions

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<sup>297</sup> Abi-Rached, J. (2017), "*The Dead Which Cannot Be Buried*": War, Madness, and Modernity in the Levant, 1896-1982

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Baktiaya, A. (2008). "Syrian Protestant College's Struggle Legitimacy as Reflected in Archival Sources." *International Review of Turkology*

<sup>300</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 1, p.27



in Syria, first with the Hamidian hospital in Damascus in 1899.<sup>301</sup> *Al-Tabib* reported on this hospital inauguration,<sup>302</sup> and later on cases and reports on the number of patients.<sup>303</sup> It also reported on the establishment of different Ottoman medical institutions across the Arab provinces, such as the Karak Military Hospital.<sup>304</sup> As Rafeq discusses, the Damascus hospital was to service the Ottoman army station in Syria, and the workers of the Hijaz railway.<sup>305</sup> Finally, to counter the influence of foreign powers, the Ottoman state announced in 1901 the establishment of a medical school in Damascus, in an attempt to create a local Muslim professional medical group of physicians and pharmacists.<sup>306</sup> This was the first Ottoman medical school outside of Istanbul. According to Rafeq, the school hastily opened its doors in 1903 to coincide with the anniversary of Sultan Abdulhamid's rule. The language of instruction was Turkish with a curriculum based on the Imperial School of Medicine in Istanbul.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Rafeq, A. (2015), "Traditional and Institutional Medicine in Ottoman Damascus." *Turkish Historical Review*

<sup>302</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899-1900 Issue 1, p.30

<sup>303</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 4, p.116

<sup>304</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 6, p.176

<sup>305</sup> Rafeq, A. (2015), "Traditional and Institutional Medicine in Ottoman Damascus." *Turkish Historical Review*

<sup>306</sup> Rasimoğlu, C (2012). *The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)*.

<sup>307</sup> Rafeq, A. (2015), "Traditional and Institutional Medicine in Ottoman Damascus." *Turkish Historical Review*; Kaadan, A. (2002), "The Ottoman Medical School of Damascus and its effect on medicine teaching in Syria." *JISHIM*

Despite competition in medical education on the political level, the articles in *al-Tabib* reflect the formation of a new medical elite that encompassed graduates of all modern medical schools. This medical elite was united in their modern education, license from the authorities, and scientific practice that distinguished them from ‘charlatans’. The journal published articles from pharmacists and physicians across the region and beyond, with contributions from Tripoli, Cairo and Baghdad, Homs, Jaffa, and many other cities. One of the most frequent contributors outside Beirut was Kamel Khuri, the municipal physician of Homs. There were also articles from graduates of the different medical schools including Qasr el-Ainy and the Imperial Medical School, and an article on the history of the Imperial Medical School by one of its current students Naoum Rami.<sup>308</sup> Many of the articles from local physicians were cases from practice, describing successful treatments or atypical disease presentations. Elias al-Zahhar, a frequent contributor from Saida,<sup>309</sup> wrote an article answering a previously asked question that had not received a response. He described a new method that he developed for the treatment of knee effusion, providing details of the case and its success.<sup>310</sup>

The missionary rivalries between the Protestant SPC and the Jesuit St. Joseph University that marked their existence were not seen in *al-Tabib*. Articles from physicians at the French Hospital and graduates of St. Joseph University were prominent in the journal.

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<sup>308</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1903 Issues 6 and 7

<sup>309</sup> He was also one of the few medical contributors to *al-Tabib* in its 1884-1885 publication

<sup>310</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 11, p. 262

The journal also announced the graduation ceremonies and graduates, examinations and changes in faculty or staff in both universities in its news section, and updates regarding the career of its graduates. Moreover, cases from the French Hospital were published and appointments and faculty changes were reported in the news section.

*Al-Tabib* continued publishing articles and cases by medical students, now including St. Joseph University's medical students. SPC medicine and pharmacy students contributed articles on a variety of topics, ranging from "Treatment of Insanity" by Walid Birbari<sup>311</sup> to "History of Chemistry" by Farid Nassif,<sup>312</sup> and "Method for the Detection of Counterfeit Olive Oil" by Said Talih.<sup>313</sup> Students also frequently reported on surgical cases they observed from George Post's practice at the Johanniter Hospital where they were practicing. These cases were often successful implementation of new surgical techniques, such as the successful treatment of blindness with Trepanation that was reported by Habib Malek. The surgery was performed on a 29-year-old man who tripped in the US while drunk and broke his skull. He presented to the Prussian hospital, after visiting physicians in multiple cities, where George Post successfully performed the surgery and cured him.<sup>314</sup> Habib Malek continued to contribute to *al-Tabib* with cases from his practice after graduation.<sup>315</sup> Students from the Jesuit university also contributed articles and cases they observed at the French

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<sup>311</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 1, 2

<sup>312</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 8, p.238

<sup>313</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1914 Issue 3 p.68

<sup>314</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 10, p. 288

<sup>315</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 8 "Liver Abscess, Salivary stone," and "Abdominal Wound"

Hospital. Spiridon Abul-Rus was one frequent contributor during the journal's first year, with articles on "Cancer Cure" summarized from recent reports of French physicians,<sup>316</sup> "Alcohol"<sup>317</sup> and cases he observed at the French Hospital.<sup>318</sup> Other students include Nagib Batlouni, who continued contributing frequently to *al-Tabib* after his graduation and establishing a practice in Beirut.<sup>319</sup>

## ***2. Licensing and Regulation of Medical Professionals***

*Al-Tabib* published many government notices regarding the regulation of healthcare professionals. Although since 1861 physicians were required to obtain a license for practice, the level of implementation of this decree is uncertain, especially in the provinces with limited number of licensed physicians.<sup>320</sup> However, regulations and attempts to eradicate irregular medical practice increased in the 1890s. *Al-Tabib* frequently reports on municipal regulations and requirements for certification and licensing. As late as 1906, *Al-Tabib* announced the government order that physicians, pharmacists, and midwives with no official

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<sup>316</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 3, p.75

<sup>317</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 4, p. 121

<sup>318</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896, Issue 2, p.44

<sup>319</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896-1897 Issue 11, p.366 "Smallpox and its Treatment"

<sup>320</sup> Rasimoğlu, C. (2012), *The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)*.

diplomas are not allowed to practice,<sup>321</sup> showing that government attempts were still not successful decades later.

Multiple mentions of licensing in *al-Tabib* appeared with the introduction of an author. Shukri Orman, Philip Matar, and Spiridon Manasseh, all frequent contributors to pharmaceutical articles, were introduced as legal pharmacists. There was an expectation that licensed physicians and pharmacists cooperate against unlicensed practitioners, and several series of articles appeared on the proper conduct of pharmacists. In the first year, a series of articles by Shukri Orman discussed the duties of the pharmacist, which outlined the need for the pharmacist to be honest, fair, organized, and attentive to details in his practice.<sup>322</sup> Khalil Madi, a licensed physician in Cairo who previously practiced in Beirut, wrote to the journal in response to the article. He agreed with the article and emphasized the duty of the pharmacist in producing quality medications to maintain the honor of the pharmacist and the profession, contrary to the pharmaceutical errors and deception he experienced in pharmacies in Cairo. According to Madi, despite the multitude of pharmacies in Cairo, “there are few and no more than ten that perfect the craft of pharmacy based on the law.”<sup>323</sup> Another licensed pharmacist from Cairo, Ismail Fahmi, replied to the comment in disbelief and disagreement that he could have experienced such incompetence in Cairo from licensed pharmacists. He

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<sup>321</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1906 Issue 12, p. 384

<sup>322</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issues 1,2 and 3

<sup>323</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 4, p.114

further argued that the errors may be from foreign pharmacists and not national ones that required licensing and were prosecuted by the law in cases of fraud.<sup>324</sup>

In Manasseh's article on the proper conduct of pharmacists, the author emphasizes that the pharmacist's obligations to check the prescription and the name of the physician on it to ensure that it was written by a licensed physician.<sup>325</sup> Regulations were also toughened for medications and treatments. Physicians who claimed to have developed a new treatment or drug had to obtain a permit for their use and distribution.<sup>326</sup> Shops of traditional healers were closed in Aleppo by the police, and physicians without official diplomas were banned from practice as in the case of an ophthalmologist in Damascus.<sup>327</sup> A warning in 1895 appeared in *al-Tabib* following a letter from a subscriber in Damascus on pharmacies that provided medications without legal prescription and the presence of unlicensed physicians. The notice attempted to warn individuals and bring this matter to the attention of municipal administrators and physicians.<sup>328</sup> It is clear from continuing announcements in *al-Tabib* and government regulations that they were unable to eradicate unlicensed pharmacies. In 1904,

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<sup>324</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 9, p.273

<sup>325</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899 Issue 3, p.76

<sup>326</sup>Rasimoğlu, C (2012). *The Foundation of a Professional Group: Physicians in the Nineteenth Century Modernizing Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)*.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

<sup>328</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 8, p. 256

*al-Tabib* announced yet another regulation that prevented unlicensed individuals from selling pharmaceutical products.<sup>329</sup>

### **3. *Extension of Health Network***

Physicians and pharmacists constituted the main target of medical professionals of *Al-Tabib*. However, the journal also included articles targeting other healthcare professionals, namely dentists and veterinarians. Though there were no dentistry schools in the Levant at the time, the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was a period of increased healthcare control by the state, and regulation of veterinarians, dentists, and other healthcare professionals. The Dentistry School was established at the Imperial Medical School in 1909, and SPC in 1913. Thus, there were no dentistry schools in the Ottoman Empire in the 1890s, and those practicing dentistry were either trained through apprenticeship and received certificates after passing an examination, were surgeons or physicians, or foreign educated dentists.<sup>330</sup> However, there seemed to be an increased interest in the topic, as reported by a reader of *al-Tabib* who advertised the clinic of Khalil Haddad and hoped for the publication of articles on dentistry in subsequent issues.<sup>331</sup> Dentistry was a common topic throughout the two decades, with some articles spanning several issues. Khalil Haddad published several articles on the anatomy and development of teeth, their proper care, and common diseases.<sup>332</sup> Though

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<sup>329</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1904-1905 Issue 5, p.149

<sup>330</sup> Çolaklar H. (2014), "History of Dentistry from the Period of the Ottoman Empire to the Republican Period." *Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology*

<sup>331</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 5, p.159

<sup>332</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899-1900 Issues 9, 10, 11 and 12; 1900-1901 Issues 1 and 3

the School of Dentistry was established in 1913, and announced in 1911 in *al-Tabib*,<sup>333</sup> there were already practicing dentists in Beirut as evident by the news section, advertisements of clinics and the expressed hope that the school would use national dentists as faculty in its announcement. There were also licensed dentists that contributed articles to *al-Tabib*, not only on dentistry and oral health, but on a variety of topics such as “Public Health Advice” by the licensed Beirut dentist Nagib Badawi.<sup>334</sup> Some of these dentists may have received their education abroad, as an announcement reported on six such Syrian dentists who graduated from the US.<sup>335</sup> An article in *al-Tabib* by George Arbili also described the process of obtaining a dentistry degree in the US with description of classes, fees, and living expenses.<sup>336</sup>

The Veterinary School in Egypt was in operation since 1827, with a focus on both military stables and husbandry.<sup>337</sup> However, the first civilian veterinary school was established in 1889 in Istanbul, as the existing military veterinary school was mostly concerned with the health of army horses.<sup>338</sup> When animal disease epidemics broke out, the veterinarian graduates of these schools were unable to deal with diseases of cattle and other

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<sup>333</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1911 Issue 1, p.6

<sup>334</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1909 Issue 2, p.82

<sup>335</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1902-1903 Issue 3, p. 94

<sup>336</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1905-1906 Issue 11, p. 343

<sup>337</sup> Sonbol A. (1991). *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*.

<sup>338</sup> Ortug, A., Uluşık, E., and Ortug, G. (2021), “Anatomy education in Ottoman-Turkish veterinary schools during 19th century and Papier-Mache models.” *Morphologie*



animals. As the Ottoman government tried to improve the health of its cattle for trade and control animal epidemics, they required veterinarians with a broader knowledge of animal health and disease. This led to the establishment of the civil veterinary school in 1889.

The majority of articles in *al-Tabib* in the veterinary medicine section discussed horses and their ailments, with only occasional articles on cattle. The authors were mostly unknown, with the exception of Habib Saad who contributed several articles to the section.<sup>339</sup> However, he was not a veterinarian, but a merchant in Beirut. This may have been the case due to the limited number of civil veterinarians who had graduated by the time, or the lack of such specialists in Beirut. Cattle merchants were the experts on animal health and the de facto veterinarians prior to the establishment of veterinary schools.<sup>340</sup> One announcement in *al-Tabib* chastised official veterinarians who requested payment for their services, as they are required to attend quickly to all necessary cases to prevent the spread of cow disease.<sup>341</sup>

#### ***4. New Establishments and Roles of Physicians***

During the ten-year hiatus of *al-Tabib*, Beirut continued growing as it became a major port city and capital of a vilayet in 1888. The expansion of Beirut and its institutions included the development of its medical establishments. Prior to the 1880s, the Prussian Johanniter

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<sup>339</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896-1897 Issue 11; 1897-1898 Issue 3, 5, 6 and 8

<sup>340</sup> Sonbol, A. (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*.

<sup>341</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1905-1906 Issue 4, p. 128

Hospital that was associated with SPC was the major civilian hospital in the city.<sup>342</sup> However, as *al-Tabib* announced, the first domestic hospital was opened in the city in 1884.<sup>343</sup> Abi-Rached discusses how donations for the hospital came from the Russian Orthodox Church in its attempt to extend its medical influence in line with other missionaries.<sup>344</sup> The St. George Orthodox hospital was erected in Achrafieh, and after the Lewis affair Cornelius Van Dyck became its head physician. Several local physicians practiced in the hospital and reported on the different cases and successful surgeries, such as Habib al-Tobaji.<sup>345</sup> One of its practicing physicians, Nagib Barbour, also wrote articles for *al-Tabib* when he traveled to continue his studies in Paris.<sup>346</sup> Additionally, a municipal hospital in Beirut was established in 1899 and treated patients for free, with *al-Tabib* frequently reporting on the number of patients who received care there. The hospital was divided into three separate sections for men, women, and sex workers. As *al-Tabib* reported, sex workers were to present to the hospital at the earliest sign of sexual ailments, and they were examined weekly and received certificates attesting they were disease free.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Abi-Rached, J. (2017), "*The Dead Which Cannot Be Buried*": War, Madness, and Modernity in the Levant."

<sup>343</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1884-5 Issue 2, p.51

<sup>344</sup> Abi-Rached, J. (2017), "*The Dead Which Cannot Be Buried*": War, Madness, and Modernity in the Levant."

<sup>345</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899-1900 Issue 10, p.316

<sup>346</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 3, p.84 "Appendicitis"

<sup>347</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 8, p.238

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century several specialized hospitals were also established. A mental asylum was founded in 1896 by the Quaker missionaries in collaboration with the SPC faculty and several local elites. Moreover, SPC expanded its clinical practice with the establishment of a maternity hospital in 1908, an ophthalmology hospital in 1909, and a children's hospital in 1910.<sup>348</sup> However, the Prussian Hospital remained its main general teaching hospital until the end of WWI. In 1907, along with Ni'meh Nucho, Mary Eddy founded the Hamlin Tuberculosis Sanitarium in Maamelten and Shbayniyyeh.<sup>349</sup> The success of the Sanitarium was reported by Baroudi after his visit in 1912, with a photograph at the end of the issue.<sup>350</sup>

Not only was there a greater number of hospitals and clinics, but the role of the physician was also expanded to include non-clinical opportunities. The increased centralization and regulation of health by the Ottoman state meant that there was a greater need for physicians. Medical graduates could be employed as municipal physicians and inspectors, with municipal updates and roles discussed in *al-Tabib*. For example, the journal reported the proper conduct and fees of a municipal physician when inspecting the dead.<sup>351</sup> An article by the lawyer Nagib Khalaf discussed the importance of forensic medicine for several issues, and outlined the different causes of death that would require an autopsy by a

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<sup>348</sup> Khairallah, A. (1939), "A century of American medicine in Syria." *Annals of Medical History*

<sup>349</sup> Fleischmann, E. (2009), "I only wish I had a home on this globe": Transnational Biography and Dr. Mary Eddy." *Journal of Women's History*

<sup>350</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1912 Issue 5, p.155

<sup>351</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 7, p.222

physician.<sup>352</sup> In addition to opportunities, the duties of the physician and pharmacist were expanding. An announcement in 1910 required every physician who encountered a dead body to report on all the signs and investigate the cause of death.<sup>353</sup> Moreover, one year of service in the military hospital was required from medical graduates,<sup>354</sup> and physicians and pharmacists who evaded their service were prosecuted and their licenses revoked. This was the case of Dimitri, the pharmacist of the military hospital, who evaded military service by escaping to Europe and as reported in *al-Tabib*, would be imprisoned if he returned to Ottoman lands.<sup>355</sup> Though some physicians evaded military service with the Ottoman army, others joined. There were also several graduates who joined the British army in Egypt and Sudan.

##### ***5. Professional Associations and Societies***

The late 19<sup>th</sup> century also saw a proliferation in the number of societies and associations: scientific, professional, charitable, and literary. Many of these societies were based in Beirut and included several of the medical and professional elite. *al-Majma' al-Ilmi al-Sharqi* that was closely tied to *al-Tabib* in the previous years, fell apart after many of its members immigrated to Egypt. However, the SPC scientific society that was created in 1881

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<sup>352</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1907-1908, Issues 6, 9 and 11

<sup>353</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1910, Issue 5, p.138

<sup>354</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896-1897 Issue 1, p.29

<sup>355</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 5, p.159

by George Post continued its activities. It consistently organized yearly meetings that would include many of its prominent graduates, government officials, and Beirut elites. It was an opportunity to discuss and disseminate new ideas and research. It was also an opportunity for the SPC alumni to remain in contact, and as Jurji Zaydan recalled, such alumni meetings were held in different cities where SPC medical and pharmacy graduates resided.<sup>356</sup> The speeches at these meetings, which ranged in topics from X-rays the benefits of marriage, were also disseminated to a wider audience through *al-Tabib*.

The Medical and Pharmacology Society of which Baroudi was a cofounder was a source of many articles towards the 1910s. Proceedings from its conferences were often serialized, especially in the later years. Conference proceedings and speeches from several other societies, including the chemistry society and SPC scientific society were published. Starting with the first annual meeting, the meeting minutes of the Medical and Pharmacy Society conference were published in *al-Tabib*.

Not all societies associated with *al-Tabib* were scientific. The Shams al-Barr association was founded in 1869 in Beirut, as a chapter of the English Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and included many Syrian intellectuals and SPC graduates, including Iskandar Baroudi, as well as the editors of *al-Muqtataf* and *al-Hilal*.<sup>357</sup> It featured heavily in *al-Tabib* with updates and reports on celebrations, along with speeches such as "Africa and

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<sup>356</sup> Zaydan, J. (1912). *Tarikh Adab Al-lughat Al-'Arabiyya*, p. 1258

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1256

its Future” by Khalil Thabit, which was serialized over several issues.<sup>358</sup> Iskandar Baroudi was also an active member in the Orthodox Zahrat al-Ihsan Society which was formed in 1880 for the education of girls.<sup>359</sup> Baroudi taught nursing and hygiene at the school, and many of Beirut’s medical elite were engaged in its work.<sup>360</sup> In 1889, Baroudi reported on the success of the nursing and hygiene education that was started at the school two years prior, and pointed out that arrangements had already been made for the Zahrat al-Ihsan graduates to practice at the Orthodox and the Prussian Hospital in Beirut.<sup>361</sup>

## **6. Graduates and Missionaries**

The expansion in schools and hospitals across the region meant that there were many more employment opportunities for medical graduates. The failure of direct proselytization by the American Protestant missionaries led to their focus on education and medicine as methods of a gentler engagement with the natives. Several of the missionary school graduates, and *al-Tabib*’s contributors, went on to work as physicians with different missionaries across the region. Bechara Manasseh was one prominent example, as he along with his two brothers Antonius and Spiridon, managed the Quaker Friends’ Missionary Hospital in Broumana.

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<sup>358</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899 Issues 3, 4, 5 and 6

<sup>359</sup> Zaydan, J. (1912), *Tarikh Adab Al-lughat Al-'Arabiyya*, p.1259

<sup>360</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899-1900 Issue 2, p.47

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*

The Friends Syrian Mission was first established in Broumana in 1874 by the Swiss Quaker Theophilus Waldmeier, and in 1880 expanded its work with the addition of a hospital and dispensary under the leadership of Bechara Manasseh. Bechara Manasseh was a Protestant convert and worked as a teacher with the Jewish mission in Damascus before matriculating and graduating from SPC with a medical degree in 1877.<sup>362</sup> In 1881, following his trip to London for further physician training and increasing interest in the mission, Manasseh obtained the funds for the establishment of a hospital with 15 beds, a dispensary and an outpatient section from an old silk factory.<sup>363</sup> Manasseh, who soon became Waldmeier's son-in-law, continued managing the hospital in Broumana for several years along with his two brothers.<sup>364</sup> Throughout this time, he was an active member of the Beirut physician network, a member of the Medical and Pharmacology Association of Beirut, and a frequent contributor to *al-Tabib* along with his brother Spiridon. Bechara contributed an article on Malaria, its cause, and transmission through mosquitos.<sup>365</sup> He also published a few articles discussing cases and the successful application of modern treatments, such as the cure of meningitis using a spinal injection recommended previously in *al-Tabib*.<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> AUB Alumni Directory

<sup>363</sup> Waldmeier, T. (1886), *The autobiography of Theophilus Waldmeier, Missionary: An Account of Ten Years' Life in Abyssinia; and Sixteen Years in Syria*; and Totah, K (1937), "Quakerism in Palestine." *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 7, p. 193

<sup>366</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1913 Issue 4, p. 105

Spiridon Manasseh, a licensed pharmacist in charge of the Friends' Hospital Dispensary, contributed many long articles to *al-Tabib's* pharmacy section.<sup>367</sup> He also contributed articles on diseases and therapeutics,<sup>368</sup> and reported on successful cases from the Broumana Hospital in the practical medicine and surgery sections,<sup>369</sup> and an article on the harms of alcohol and its restriction in different countries in the Hygiene and Civil Medicine section.<sup>370</sup> This last topic would be frequently addressed by Iskandar Baroudi in subsequent issues. However, the most prominent article by Manasseh was "The Duties of the Pharmacist" that spanned several issues for more than a year and discussed the necessary cleanliness and tidiness of the pharmacist and the pharmacy, morals and proper conduct, knowledge and learning, weights and measures, drug preparation and management of the pharmacy.<sup>371</sup>

Bechara Manasseh was not the only SPC graduate to become a missionary physician. His brother Antonius graduated from SPC with a degree in pharmacy in 1883. After continuing his studies and practicing in London and Leeds, Antonius returns to the Friends' Mission in Broumana.<sup>372</sup> Others include Lutfallah Haddad from Beit Mery who, after

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<sup>367</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1903, p.73, 107, and 145

<sup>368</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 7, p. 183

<sup>369</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 2, p. 35 "Treatment of Acute Poisoning"; Issue 3, p. 78 "Friends Hospital in Broumana"; Issue 8, p. 219 "Surgical Rarity"; Issue 12, p.350 "Friends' Hospital in Broumana"

<sup>370</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-98 Issue 12, p.353; and 1898-99 Issue 1, p. 15

<sup>371</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 12; 1899 Issues 1, 3, 4, 11, 12; 1900 Issues 1, 2, 3 and 4

<sup>372</sup> AUB Alumni Directory



receiving his medical degree at SPC in 1894, went to Gaza as a Medical Missionary at the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Hospital,<sup>373</sup> and Philip Maalouf, who graduated in 1883, and became a physician to the Friends' Mission in Ramallah.<sup>374</sup>

It is unclear how frequently missionary hospitals and dispensaries were sites of direct preaching. Though there is no evidence that it occurred at the SPC affiliated Prussian Hospital, there is evidence that some missionary hospitals such as the CMS Hospital in Gaza and the Friends' Mission Hospital engaged in direct preaching.<sup>375</sup> At the Friends' Mission Hospital, there were daily prayers and readings with inpatients at the hospital led by Manasseh himself, and with the outpatients at the dispensary by the superintendent twice a week. As Manasseh explains, "in this way she [the superintendent] gets a more individual hold and comes in closer touch with them than can be done in the more general readings."<sup>376</sup> This is a clear example of how medical practice was utilized by missionaries; it allowed for a more direct interaction with the patient, with power and social standing to the benefit of the preacher. *Al-Tabib* did not discuss the role of medicine and preaching, and in general avoided religious arguments and topics within medical articles. However, there were a few passages that evoked religion. One article started with "Jesus advised us to visit the sick and love the neighbor,"<sup>377</sup> followed by advice on how someone should conduct themselves when visiting

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<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.

<sup>375</sup> Barnett, C. (2021), *Anglo-American missionary medicine in Gaza, 1882-1981*

<sup>376</sup> *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of Friends' Syrian Mission*, p. 27

<sup>377</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1904-1905 Issue 8, p.231

a patient. There were also a few articles on Muslim practices, as in the case of a short passage on the proper conduct of a physician when attending to a Muslim patient.<sup>378</sup> This was most likely driven by the increase in Muslim patients visiting missionary hospitals, a practice detested by the Ottoman government that established government hospitals to prevent it.<sup>379</sup> Though there were few Muslim physicians contributing articles to *al-Tabib*, the majority were Christian, and frequent contributors were native Protestant converts with close ties to SPC and their faculty.

In 1895, the mission hospital admitted a total of 77 patients, a much smaller number in comparison to other missionary hospitals in Beirut, even when considering the six-month absence of Manasseh in England. However, the outpatient dispensary saw a total of 1,936 patients. These patients were seen by Manasseh and received medications from the dispensary that was run by Bechara's brother Spiridon. From the financial statement of the mission, it seems that the medications were obtained in England and sold to patients, except those "supplied to the very poor".<sup>380</sup> *Al-Tabib* also ran an announcement on the availability of free smallpox medication for the poor at the Friends' Pharmacy in Broumana.<sup>381</sup> Missionaries often focused on destitute individuals with limited social capital as they believed them to be more susceptible to conversion. Therefore, medicine for the poor and

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<sup>378</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-98 Issue 3, p. 85

<sup>379</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 1, p.27

<sup>380</sup> *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of Friends' Syrian Mission*, p.43

<sup>381</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 8, p.231

destitute was an important component of this approach, whereby medical services that could not be accessed anywhere else were available for free at missionary hospitals, occasionally accompanied by direct preaching. The mission hospitals were established in the Ottoman Empire as charities; however, they did charge patients who could pay as they believed completely free healthcare would not be valued. The majority of patients visiting these institutions were unable to pay in full, and so were treated either for free or for a fraction of the cost.<sup>382</sup>

The connection between Quakers, SPC, and the medical professional network was not only through the graduates, but also through joint ventures. Theophilus Waldmeier, the Swiss quaker missionary in Broumana, appealed for the establishment of a Mental Hospital in Lebanon in 1896,<sup>383</sup> making it the first such institution in the region. *Al-Tabib* reported on the Lebanese bimaristan and praised this charitable effort that would benefit the public. The asylum was to be run based on the methods of Dr. Clousten, director of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum. The report describes the founding meeting that included many SPC faculty, including John Wortabet and William Van Dyck, and few native members of the elite. The committee also agreed to establish a hospital close to Beirut that would be indiscriminately open to the public, with no sectarian quota.<sup>384</sup> The hospital had strong ties to the British, with

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<sup>382</sup> Yücel, I. (2015), “An Overview of Religious Medicine in the Near East: Mission Hospitals of the American Board in Asia Minor (1880-1923).” *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*.

<sup>383</sup> *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of Friends' Syrian Mission*

<sup>384</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896 Issue 3, p.91

the initial connection to the British Quaker mission, modeled by the British asylum approach, and it was supported financially and politically by the British Consul.<sup>385</sup>

SPC Graduates also worked at other mission hospitals, including CMS Hospital in Salt in Transjordan, and the Russian Hospital in Jerusalem. They were also mission physicians to several British and American missions in Syria and Egypt, including the English Mission in Egypt and the United Church of Scotland Mission in Tiberias.<sup>386</sup> In supporting these missions, the graduates were entangled within the greater missionary networks and goals. Medical missions were vital, not only for proselytism, but also for promoting imperial interests and were an important tool of foreign penetration into the Ottoman interior.<sup>387</sup> Syrian physicians were instrumental to this with their knowledge of Arabic, foreign languages, and modern medicine. As in the case of the CMS hospital, Syrian Christian physicians were employed to work in the hospital to provide medical services and translate for the British missionaries.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> See Abi-Rached, J. (2017). *"The Dead Which Cannot Be Buried": War, Madness, and Modernity in the Levant, 1896-1982*

<sup>386</sup> AUB Alumni Directory

<sup>387</sup> See Barnett, C. (2021), *Anglo-American missionary medicine in Gaza, 1882-1981* for the analysis on the Church Missionary Society Hospital in Gaza

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

## 7. *Cosmopolitan Medicine*

By the 1890s, SPC graduates were dispersed across the Ottoman Empire and beyond, forming a network of Syrian physicians beyond the geographic boundaries of the region. These physicians shared medical knowledge and practice among each other and discussed new advancements in therapeutics on the pages of *al-Tabib*.

There was no longer a foreign medical news section, which previously discussed advancements in Europe and US. The articles since 1895 were categorized based on the topic rather than the source. Articles from foreign journals and reports from European and American physicians were interspersed between articles by local physicians and case reports. The distinction between local and foreign was of limited value in the new world of globalized modern medicine that Syrian graduates now belonged to.<sup>389</sup> As Sonbol demonstrates, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Qasr el-Ainy graduates saw themselves as belonging to the international modern medicine tradition, relating to Western physicians rather than traditional healers.<sup>390</sup> Physicians in Beirut from the SPC and St. Joseph University had even closer ties to American and European medicine. Not only were they graduates of missionary schools, and in the case of St. Joseph University received foreign certificates, but their ties to foreign medical institutions were further solidified by their continuing education abroad, Syrian immigration, and establishment of practices abroad.

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<sup>389</sup> There were also articles translated from Ottoman medical journals

<sup>390</sup> Sonbol, A. (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*.

Continuing medical education in Europe was already prevalent in previous periods, as an article in *al-Tabib* on “Medical Classes in Europe” in 1881 illustrates.<sup>391</sup> This practice continued and most likely intensified in the 1890s, as evidenced by many of the physician updates in *al-Tabib*. *Al-Tabib* reported on several physicians heading to Europe, mainly France and England, for leisure and acquisition of new skills and knowledge, though the specific medical institutions are rarely specified. Spiridon Manasseh even continued correspondence with *al-Tabib* during his travels. Several articles were submitted by students and graduates of foreign medical institutions, namely France, Britain, and the US. Some were articles that were written and sent during studies in Europe, as in the case of Nagib Barbour’s article on appendicitis that he sent while in France.<sup>392</sup> While others were cases such as Saber al-Baset’s case report from George Thompson in the US about a woman that had an illusion of a disease and was treated with a pretend surgery,<sup>393</sup> but al-Baset also contributed articles such as on “Gonorrhoea”<sup>394</sup>

Furthermore, it was not only writers and editors who immigrated to Egypt in the 1880s, but also a significant number of physicians. As Sonbol discusses, many Syrian physicians practiced in Cairo and Alexandria during the period of British control, along with Greek and Italian physicians.<sup>395</sup> Moreover, out of 35 pharmacies owned by non-Egyptians in

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<sup>391</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1881 Issue 8 and 9

<sup>392</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 3 and 4

<sup>393</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 11, p.343

<sup>394</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896-1897 Issue 9, p.266

<sup>395</sup> Sonbol A. (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*.

1909, 10 were from Beirut.<sup>396</sup> Egypt no longer had regulations preventing foreigners from practicing medicine or opening pharmacies, and coupled with the decreased number of Qasr el-Ainy graduates there was a shortage in medical professionals that was filled by foreign physicians, including those from Syria. *Al-Tabib* received many correspondents, cases, and articles from physicians in Alexandria, Cairo, and Talkha, and there was no distinction between Egyptian and Syrian physicians in their introduction or signature. Wadih Birbari, who published in *al-Tabib* as an SPC medical student moved to Minya in Egypt and continued writing articles for *al-Tabib*.<sup>397</sup> In 1901 *al-Tabib* announces that Niqula Nimr, a previously frequent contributor, had become the distributing agent of the journal in Cairo.<sup>398</sup>

Immigration from Mount Lebanon reached a peak during the 1890s and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and consisted predominantly of peasants escaping the economic crisis. However, many SPC medical graduates also migrated to the Americas. As Jacobs illustrates in her analysis of birthing practices among the Syrian colony in New York, all nine Syrian doctors were trained at SPC, the first of which to immigrate was Amin Haddad. Haddad established a practice in New York after obtaining a second medical degree from the University of the City of New York, which later became the New York University.<sup>399</sup> The arrival of Haddad

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<sup>396</sup> Ibid., p.111

<sup>397</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1896-1897 Issues 1 and 2

<sup>398</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1900-1901 Issue 8, p. 257

<sup>399</sup> Jacobs, L. (2015), "Gendering Birth and Death in the Nineteenth-Century Syrian Colony of New York City." *Mashriq and Mahraj*

and other physicians from abroad was announced in *al-Tabib*'s news section.<sup>400</sup> These physicians became well integrated into the American Medical community as Jacob's illustrated, establishing private practice servicing American patients, and joining local medical associations. *Al-Tabib* also reported on the health journal *Majalla al-Sihha* that was established in New York, and which received articles by the frequent *al-Tabib* contributor Kamel Khouri from Homs.<sup>401</sup>

*Al-Tabib* received several correspondences and articles from physicians and students in the US. The first such article was by Wadih Shibli in New York reporting on new advancements in tuberculosis and infectious diseases.<sup>402</sup> Few physicians reported case studies that they observed as students in American hospitals. Following their graduation, many of these physicians returned to Beirut and Mount Lebanon, and obtained their licenses from Istanbul, before establishing their practice in Beirut. For example, Habib Khuri studied at Bellevue hospital and worked in New Jersey and Pennsylvania before moving back to Lebanon.<sup>403</sup> Others ended up staying. Such was the case of Iskandar Juraydini, who was appointed assistant professor at Marion Sims College.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 5, p.158

<sup>401</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1913 Issue 4, p.128

<sup>402</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 11, p.257

<sup>403</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 12, p.384

<sup>404</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 4, p.125



There were also several correspondences from South America. One question from Buenos Aires on the common fever affecting Syrian migrants there prompted an article on the American Yellow Fever.<sup>405</sup> Said Abi Jamra who received his BA from SPC in 1892 and his MD from St. Louis university in 1899 wrote several articles in *al-Tabib* such as “Typhoid Fever in Brazil”<sup>406</sup> and “Beri-Beri in Brazil”.<sup>407</sup> In the article on Beri-Beri, he wrote that he observed the case and because the disease was frequent in Brazil it made him interested in studying it and reporting about it to *al-Tabib*. He concluded the article by praising Japanese physicians who had reported on the disease, “and I say this with pride as the Japanese are from the East” as he urged Syrian physicians to study diseases and publish their findings “as we are tired of hearing foreign names, so won’t we see an Eastern name too in the future?”<sup>408</sup>

Nagib Saliby was one remarkable case of a cosmopolitan physician from Syria, who after graduation from SPC and migration to the US was entangled in American imperial expansion in the Philippines. Following his graduation in 1888, Saliby moved to continue his education at Bellevue Medical College in New York in 1896. In 1898 he enlisted as a surgeon in the American army during the Spanish-American War and continued with the Army to the Philippines in 1901. Saliby was able to act as an intermediary due to his complex identity as an American Protestant physician from the Levant with knowledge of Arabic and Islam,

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<sup>405</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899-1900 Issue 10, p.276

<sup>406</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 5, p.129

<sup>407</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 6, p.161

<sup>408</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1901 Issue 6, p.164

which made him valuable as an intermediary between the Americans and the Moros.<sup>409</sup> *al-Tabib* reported on the success of Nagib Saliby in the US and his promotion in the American military.<sup>410</sup>

Migration and mobility were not the only methods of knowledge exchange between the Syrian physicians and their Western counterparts. Conferences were increasingly reported in *al-Tabib*, not only as summaries of speeches and conference proceedings, but advertised for attendance. Ottoman physicians were also sent to international conferences, and these were reported in *al-Tabib*.

## 8. *Women in Medicine*

Women were long engaged in the healthcare profession in the region. However, their roles were mostly restricted to midwifery and nursing. The Qasr el-Ainy Maternity School that has been in operation since 1832 graduated the first modern women healthcare practitioners. The *hakimas*' training was not restricted to childbirth but included a wide range of subjects as the *hakimas* were expected to assist in clinics, hospitals, vaccination campaigns, and forensic medicine. However, this role of the *hakima* was downgraded with

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<sup>409</sup> Marr, T. (2014). "Diasporic Intelligences in the American Philippine Empire: The Transnational Career of Dr. Najeeb Mitry Saleeby." *Mashriq & Mahjar*

<sup>410</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1903 Issue 3, p.92

the British occupation, when the training was shortened and simplified, focusing mainly on nursing.<sup>411</sup>

Nursing was also the main healthcare role of women in the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Women were engaged in nursing in Beirut and the Levant prior to the establishment of a nursing school at SPC in 1905, as in the case of Miriam Haddad, a nurse at the CMS hospital in Gaza.<sup>412</sup> *Al-Tabib* published several articles on nursing and midwifery, with reports on the nursing school and curricula such as that in Zahrat al-Ihsan,<sup>413</sup> and later on the SPC school of nursing announcements and graduation ceremonies.<sup>414</sup> However, there seems to have been an unmet need for women nurses and midwives as Rafeq discusses, as the governor petitioned the Porte for a school for nurses and midwives.<sup>415</sup>

However, women's role was not limited to nursing and midwifery, as the case of Hilana Baroudi illustrates. There were no opportunities for medical education in the region, and women who wanted to study medicine had to travel to the US or Europe. Women gained access to medical schools in England and the United States during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and medical schools specifically for women were created, such as the London School of Medicine for Women that was established in 1873. Studies on women physicians

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<sup>411</sup> Sonbol, A. (1991), *The creation of a medical profession in Egypt, 1800-1922*.

<sup>412</sup> Barnett, C. (2021), *Anglo-American missionary medicine in Gaza, 1882-1981*

<sup>413</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899-1900 Issue 2, p.47

<sup>414</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1912 Issue 8, p.243

<sup>415</sup> Rafeq, A. (2015), "Traditional and Institutional Medicine in Ottoman Damascus." *Turkish Historical Review*

in the late Ottoman Empire are still lacking. Often, Mary Eddy is reported as the first and only woman to receive a medical license in the Ottoman Empire. The daughter of Presbyterian missionaries in Syria, Eddy was born in Saida and grew up in Syria before pursuing her education in the US and graduating in 1892 from the Women's Medical College in Pennsylvania. She was appointed as a missionary in Syria and received her license from Istanbul but did not set up a practice until 1903, previously touring across Syria with medical and missionary work.<sup>416</sup>

However, Eddy was not the only woman physician in the late Ottoman Empire. Kozma identifies three other women: Sabat Islambouli who graduated from Women's Medical College in Pennsylvania, Anisa Sayba'a from Edinburgh, and Hilana Baroudi from London.<sup>417</sup> Hilana Baroudi, the sister of *al-Tabib's* editor, received her medical degree in London, and a degree in Ophthalmology from the Royal Ophthalmology Hospital.<sup>418</sup> *Al-Tabib* reported on her education, arrival in Beirut, and practice at Bourj el-Barajneh clinic, which she directed and where her brother also practiced.

Women healthcare professionals previously published books and articles in scientific journals, as in the case of Jalila Tamarhan. Tamarhan, who was a Qasr el-Ainy Midwifery School graduate and later instructor, published a translation of a book on midwifery in 1869

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<sup>416</sup> Fleischmann, E. (2009), "I only wish I had a home on this globe": Transnational Biography and Dr. Mary Eddy." *Journal of Women's History*

<sup>417</sup> Kozma, L., and Khayat, N. (2022), "Gendered Struggles over the Medical Profession in the Modern Middle East and North Africa." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*

<sup>418</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895 Issue 7, p.230

that was serialized in *Ya'sub al-Tibbi*.<sup>419</sup> However, Hilana Baroudi was most likely the first woman physician to publish in scientific and medical journals, owing to her education abroad and connections to the journal's editor who praised her and promoted her work. Prior to receiving her degree, Baroudi was already published in *al-Muqtataf*, which printed her address "Manners and Customs" at the Bakurat Surriya in 1883.<sup>420</sup> *Al-Tabib* published a long, serialized article by Baroudi on the Composition of the Human Body that ran for several issues.<sup>421</sup> The journal also advertised her book *al-Haqa'iq al-Jismiyya wa-l-Daqa'iq al-Sihhiyya* that was published at the American Missionary Press in 1894 and could be requested from *al-Muqtataf*, *al-Hilal*, and *al-Tabib*.<sup>422</sup> The book cost 12 francs and was the most expensive one advertised by *al-Tabib*, and its advertisement was ongoing until the discontinuation of the journal in 1914. The book was also advertised as a necessary textbook for nursing education, as in the case of Zahrat al-Ihsan school, and for women in general.<sup>423</sup>

The articles of Hilana Baroudi in *al-Tabib* and her book seem to fit within the focus of women physicians in Britain where she received her education. As Thompson argues, women in medicine at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were engaged in physiology and hygiene. Physiology had a different meaning at the time, with a focus on how the body, its components

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<sup>419</sup> Zaydan, J. (1912), p.1390

<sup>420</sup> Womack, D. (2015), *Conversion, Controversy, and Cultural Production: Syrian protestants, American Missionaries, and the Arabic Press, ca. 1870-1915*.

<sup>421</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895 Issues 2,3,4,5,9

<sup>422</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 10, p. 298

<sup>423</sup> Zaydan, J. (1912), p.1259

and functions, interplay with the environment. It was closely linked to hygiene and the effect of external forces on the body. Understanding of physiology and hygiene was crucial to the preservation of health and well-being, and women were encouraged to learn and engage with this branch of medicine in the Victorian era, to better fulfill their domestic duties.<sup>424</sup> In Edinburgh, women were encouraged to attend lectures on physiology so that they may improve themselves, their families, and society at large. Thus, it was physiology that was used as an argument for the need for women physicians to convey its principles on to other women. As Thompson illustrates, it was also a career direction that many of the early women graduates took to compete in the profession, especially with an increasing shift towards laboratory medicine among their colleagues. The London School of Medicine for Women was the first to include a course on hygiene and emphasized the importance of physiology and hygiene knowledge among women.

### **C. Heightened Public Health and Hygiene Measures**

Public Health and Sanitation measures and regulations, as well as personal hygiene were not new topics during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottoman government had long engaged in regulation of sanitation as a measure to control the population and assert its rule. In 1861, the Syrian Sanitation Commission was established by Fuad Pasha to re-establish Ottoman

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<sup>424</sup> Thomson, E. (2001), "Physiology, Hygiene, and the Entry of Women to the Medical Profession in Edinburgh c. 1869–c. 1900." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*

central control.<sup>425</sup> However, during this period public health and hygiene became a major focus for physicians and the public, as seen in *al-Tabib*'s articles. Throughout these 20 years, hygiene and public health measures were no longer occasionally discussed under more general sections; rather there was a consistent section on "Hygiene and Domestic Medicine" during those years. Domestic medicine was not only related to household health, but also to the health of the town and sometimes the region.

### ***1. Municipal Regulations and Health Concerns***

The Ottoman government becomes more prominent in the journal, partly due to its increasing regulation and control of the population's health. However, it may have also been the increased interest of readers, primarily physicians and pharmacists in new regulations and developments. The journal may have also been required to print all municipal announcements, as in a time of increased press censorship and regulation it was prudent to have the authorities on one's side.

Infectious diseases continued to be the most frequently discussed diseases in *al-Tabib* during this period. However, the specific infections that were discussed changed depending on epidemics and new therapies and technologies. Cholera, which was one of the biggest health concerns in the earlier issues of *al-Tabib*, was sidelined by Tuberculosis, Diphtheria, and Typhoid Fever. By 1895, more than ten years had passed since the discovery of the

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<sup>425</sup> Blecher, R. (2002), *The medicalization of sovereignty: Medicine, public health, and political authority in Syria, 1861–1936*

cholera pathogen by Robert Koch, and its causes, prevention and other public health measures had by then been well studied and often implemented.<sup>426</sup>

Starting with the first issue in 1895, infectious disease articles dominate *al-Tabib*'s theoretical and practical medicine sections. The first article of the issue was on Bacteria,<sup>427</sup> and every subsequent issue had articles on one of the common infectious diseases, with articles on specific infections increasing in relation to outbreaks and epidemics, such as the Typhoid Fever epidemic in Beirut in 1895 that was discussed for several issues during the year.<sup>428</sup> There were also updates in the news section regarding different epidemics in the region, and updates on new public health measures and therapeutical advancements.

The Ottoman government became increasingly invested in controlling epidemics due to their effect on the population and disruption to trade and industry. Physicians and pharmacists were required to report cases presenting with symptoms of cholera and other infectious diseases.<sup>429</sup> Following the 1893 Cholera epidemic in Istanbul, the Ottoman government created a centralized disease control mechanism. A health commission was created in every municipality, which would report back to the central health office regarding any incidents and outbreaks. Physicians were appointed as epidemic inspectors that would

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<sup>426</sup> Yıldırım, N. and Ertin, E. (2014), "European Physicians/Specialists during the Cholera Epidemic in Istanbul 1893-1895 and their Contribution to the Modernization of Healthcare in the Ottoman State." *Health, Culture and the Human Body*

<sup>427</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 1, p.10

<sup>428</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issues 8, 9 and 10, "Typhoid Fever Epidemic in Beirut"

<sup>429</sup> Yıldırım, N. and Ertin, E. (2014), "European Physicians/Specialists during the Cholera Epidemic in Istanbul 1893-1895 and their Contribution to the Modernization of Healthcare in the Ottoman State." *Health, Culture and the Human Body*



supervise disinfection, report on cases, and supervise burial of cholera victims in their respective districts.<sup>430</sup> By the 1890s, bacteriology has advanced drastically and there was increased understanding of infectious disease causation and transmission, and interest in bacteriology research. In 1894, a new bacteriology laboratory was established in Istanbul, and Ottoman physicians could now obtain a bacteriology certificate, which *al-Tabib* reported was received by several Syrian physicians, the first such certificate received by Ibrahim Matar.<sup>431</sup>

Smallpox vaccination campaigns by the Ottoman government have been ongoing since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with free vaccination since 1840. The initial government position was encouragement, rather than punitive, until 1885 with the first law mandating vaccination. The Ottoman government took increasingly aggressive measures to encourage vaccination, first mandating that all children must be vaccinated to enter state-schools, and in 1894 requiring vaccination of all newborns with births reported to local administrators, and fines for lack of compliance by the parents. However, there seems to have been resistance to vaccination among Beirut residents, despite municipal vaccination campaigns and efforts to disseminate knowledge through the mukhtar and the press. Physicians wrote articles in newspapers promoting vaccines and offered free vaccinations at their clinics.<sup>432</sup> *Al-Tabib* published an extensive number of articles on smallpox and promoted vaccination through

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<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 2, p. 59

<sup>432</sup> Sharif, M. (2005). "Missionaries, Medicine and Municipalities: A History of Smallpox Vaccination in the Nineteenth-Century Beirut." *Archaeology & History in Lebanon*

announcements.<sup>433</sup> It also published municipal regulations and reports and announced that unvaccinated individuals could not be admitted to government schools or positions, and warned that those who refused vaccination would be fined by the municipal physician.<sup>434</sup> Through the effort of the municipalities and physicians by 1905, almost all of Beirut's inhabitants were vaccinated.<sup>435</sup>

## ***2. Duty towards the Poor***

The state was not only engaging in health regulation of medical professionals and control of epidemics but was also becoming an actor in health provision to the residents. The municipal hospital that was established in Beirut reported on successful free treatments in almost every issue of *al-Tabib* during the first few years of its establishment. The number of patients that were treated was also reported during the first few years. For example, in September 1898, 451 patients were treated, of which 362 were discharged, 2 died and 76 remained in the hospital.<sup>436</sup> Similar numbers were reported throughout the year. Another public hospital in Zahle was established in 1907 for the treatment of the poor.<sup>437</sup> These

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<sup>433</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 10, p. 298

<sup>434</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 11, p. 325

<sup>435</sup> Sharif, M. (2005). "Missionaries, Medicine and Municipalities: A History of Smallpox Vaccination in the Nineteenth-Century Beirut." *Archaeology & History in Lebanon*

<sup>436</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 7, p.208

<sup>437</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1907-1908 Issue 3, p. 95

hospitals were most likely established to compete with the missionary hospitals that treated patients for free while proselytizing.

Most cases reported in *al-Tabib* that came to the hospital were from the lower classes or rural areas. Patients often came to the hospital after neglecting their ailments, sometimes for weeks and months, or following unsuccessful treatment by traditional healers. As in the case of other medical schools in the region, patients were necessary for the training of medical students and later nurses and midwives. However, beyond the concern of the municipalities and the opportunity for the missionaries, helping the poor was seen as a duty of the healthcare professional. Spiridon Manasseh specified in his description of the pharmacists' duties that they should provide the medication for free or at a cheaper price for those who were unable to pay.<sup>438</sup> Physicians also had clinic hours where they provided free consultations. As Iskandar Baroudi announced in 1898 that he received poor patients for free on Monday and Friday at his home from 8 till 10, in the Syrian pharmacy of Malha and Yarid from 10 till 12 and in the Bourj el-Barajneh clinic on Tuesday and Saturday.<sup>439</sup> A number of private donations were also announced in *al-Tabib* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, often by women. One such charity was by Mona Umm-Ya'qub who donated 75 French liras to the local tuberculosis hospital.<sup>440</sup> There was also a women-led charity, the Beirut Society for

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<sup>438</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899 Issue 3, p.76

<sup>439</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1898-1899, p. 271

<sup>440</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1912 Issue 6, p.155

Tuberculosis Relief, which covered the cost of care for tuberculosis patients in the hospital in Dahr al-Basheq.<sup>441</sup>

### 3. *Social ills and medicine*

The harms of alcohol and the evils of alcoholism were a common subject in the hygiene and civil medicine section of *al-Tabib* throughout these twenty years. Though there was only one article on the harms of alcohol in previous years,<sup>442</sup> with Baroudi as its editor *al-Tabib* took a strong stance against alcohol. As Blecher explains, alcoholism was seen not only as an individual ill, but a public evil, affecting the society and the nation.<sup>443</sup> Baroudi's stance on alcohol is clear by the sheer number of articles published on the harms of alcohol over the two decades, with increasing frequency in the later years. Articles, some short other longer, detailed the different harms of alcohol. The first article by the St. Joseph medical student, Spiridon Abou-Rus appeared in the Hygiene and Domestic Medicine section of the 4<sup>th</sup> issue.<sup>444</sup> Also, in the first year, in response to a submitted summary of British findings on the harms of alcohol by Salim Baroudi and follow-up questions,<sup>445</sup> Iskandar Baroudi described the harmful effect of alcohol on every organ and concluded that "when alcohol is

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<sup>441</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1911 Issue 3, p.95

<sup>442</sup> A serial article on the harms of alcohol that ran in several issues in *Al-Tabib* 1884/1885

<sup>443</sup> Blecher, R. (2002), *The medicalization of sovereignty: Medicine, public health, and political authority in Syria, 1861–1936*

<sup>444</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 4, p.127

<sup>445</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 7, p. 216

given by a physician for medical purposes it is okay, but when taken in addiction it is truly one of the greatest evils.<sup>446</sup> In 1899, Baroudi published the summary of the 7<sup>th</sup> international conference on the harms of alcohol that took place in Paris. That same year, he also published his speech on the harms of alcohol and the need to restrict its consumption.<sup>447</sup> The number of articles on the harms of alcohol did not subside over the twenty years, and by 1913 they appeared in almost every issue, with an increasingly chastising tone. That same year, the pledge against drinking of the Women's Temperance Association was also published.<sup>448</sup>

#### **D. Conclusion**

*Al-Tabib* presents a unique opportunity to observe the evolution of medical practice and the creation and expansion of the medical elite in Beirut and the Levant at the turn of the century. The medical profession became a vital component of the Ottoman centralization effort, with physicians taking on several new roles. The modern physician broke ties with traditional clinical medicine and took on a more complex role as an administrator, inspector, and researcher among others. The increased regulation and licensing requirements created a sense of belonging to an exclusive professional class, which had to safeguard its practice from others. This class became increasingly specialized but was able to expand to include the newly licensed and regulated specialties such as dentists and veterinarians. The Syrian

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<sup>446</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1895-1896 Issue 7, p.219

<sup>447</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1899-1900 Issues 10, 11, 12

<sup>448</sup> *Al-Tabib* 1913 Issue 4, p.117

healthcare professional was also instrumental to several political powers: the missionaries, Imperial powers, and the Ottoman government, all of which continued to fight over their medical influence in Syria.

The transnational connections created a sense of belonging to a much larger and global modern medical professional class. There was almost no qualitative distinction between the native and the foreign doctor, and both could achieve the same potential as several immigrants illustrated. However, despite the fact that SPC graduates were dispersed across the world and that questions were submitted from as far as Buenos Aires, the journal remained mostly focused on Syria and its physicians, with a distinct pride expressed at their success throughout the world.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Through the examination of *al-Tabib* this thesis aimed to study the transformation that occurred in medical knowledge and practice in the Levant during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. *Al-Tabib* was one of the earliest Arabic medical journals, and its publication spans forty years: a period of major changes in the Ottoman Empire and the world. While in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century there were few modern educated physicians and pharmacists in Greater Syria, by 1914 there were three medical schools established and graduating modern physicians, pharmacists, dentists, and nurses. The establishment of these schools was the culmination of the battle for influence in the region that involved the missionaries, Western powers, and the Ottoman state. Medicine was instrumental from the start, as the different actors competed for access and influence on the population through vaccination campaigns, and the establishment of medical schools, dispensaries, clinics, and hospitals. This thesis through a survey of *al-Tabib* attempts to show how this competition created the modern medical professional, and how this class expanded into a transnational network of modern physicians that disseminated and produced medical knowledge in the Levant and beyond.

SPC is central to this story, as the first medical college in the Levant, and the publisher of one of the first Arabic medical journals. Though the journal's aim from the start was to be a platform for knowledge exchange among Arabic-speaking physicians, in its earlier years it was mostly a teaching tool to help students stay up to date with medical advancements in the

West. Directed by George Post, the journal acted as a disseminator of his expertise and clinical practice, and medical articles and news from Europe and the US. Nonetheless, with a growing local medical community, George Post was eventually sidelined as native physicians took over the pages of *al-Tabib*. As such, the journal met its original aim as it became a platform for the Arabic-speaking medical collective to share their clinical expertise and knowledge. The journal was not a conduit for the dissemination of foreign theories and practice, but a space where these ideas could be discussed and challenged. The journal illustrates that the adoption of Western medicine was not a passive process. Though many of the Western practices and values were adopted by native physicians, this was not without debate and discussion. *Al-Tabib* acted as a platform for the modern native physicians to receive the latest news, but also to share and discuss their experimental findings, new treatments, and clinical cases. It adapted to its readership and the interests of the local medical professionals and was well received as it ran for almost forty years, despite two periods of interruption.

From the start, the journal relied on SPC press, faculty, and graduates. This dependence brought the journal both success and in 1882 its downfall as it became entangled in the college scandal. After a decade-long hiatus, the journal distanced itself from SPC and relaunched, but continued its association with its faculty, students, and graduates. However, it expanded to include the growing class of medical professionals affiliated with several institutions. The rivalry between the different missionaries that marked their work in the Levant, especially the American Protestants at SPC and the French Jesuits at St. Joseph University, was not prevalent in the journal. *Al-Tabib* evolved into a platform for all modern



educated physicians who saw themselves as part of a common emerging professional class. These graduates of modern institutions retained their connections after graduation, even when they were abroad. Many SPC graduates continued their training, and some established their practices in Europe and the Americas, but were still connected to their colleagues through correspondence, visits, and journals such as *al-Tabib*.

The Protestant missionaries failed at direct conversion of the native population; however, they successfully cultivated the modern medical practitioner as they shifted their efforts to the press, education, and medicine. The graduates of the schools were instrumental in the mission's endeavors and success. First, most graduates subscribed to the idea of progress and the superiority of Western education and science and popularized those ideals through the press and different societies. Furthermore, the successful education and practice of the graduates acted as a testament to the superiority of missionary education. Moreover, the native physicians joined missionary clinics and hospitals across the Levant and Egypt; they were ideal for this role as natives who were fluent in Arabic and modern medicine. Several graduates, some even inadvertently, assisted in the promotion of imperial interests and colonial expansion, as several graduates joined the British and American armies.

The college graduated modern educated physicians and pharmacists that would displace traditional healers and consolidate the authority on the human body within their profession. There was a clear sense of superiority among these modern practitioners, as expressed throughout the journal with articles dedicated to the harmful practices of other practitioners and the advantages of modern medical science and practice. However, despite these efforts from physicians and the state that attempted to ban unlicensed practitioners,

traditional healers persisted, though they may have lost some popularity and authority with the spread of modern medical institutions. The professionalization of medical practice becomes evident at the turn of the century with the rise in medical societies and dedicated journals. The practice became regulated not only by the state, but also internally through accepted ethical standards of practice that were outlined in *al-Tabib*. Specialization became frequent both among physicians and institutions, which grew greatly in number at the turn of the century. The role of the physician also expanded beyond the confines of the clinic and hospital. The physician became central to the government's efforts of improving public health, and surveillance of the population. Physicians were required to report on diseases and outbreaks, inspect the dead prior to issuing certificates and investigate any suspicious cases. They were also reinforcers of public health, sanitation, and hygiene as municipal physicians and inspectors.


This thesis aimed to illustrate some of the changes that happened during this period in the medical profession and practice. However, many questions remain unanswered. Physicians in many regions, including Egypt and the Ottoman Empire, were instrumental in shaping the medical and health narrative and building the modern medical establishment. However, the Levant is often underrepresented in these investigations. There is a need for further research into the relationship between the Syrian physicians and the Ottoman government, missionary establishments, and imperial powers. Furthermore, the transatlantic network of SPC graduates and the exchange of knowledge and ideas between physicians in the West and those who remained or returned to the Levant needs to be examined. Though studies on women and medicine have been on the rise, the entry of women into the medical

profession, as physicians, nurses, and licensed midwives in the Arab provinces has not been adequately investigated. There are many archives and sources that remain understudied and can help elucidate how medical education, institutions, and practice transformed during the long 19th century.


## APPENDIX ADVERTISEMENTS IN AL-TABIB

اعلان مهم

(Duensing & Buchrucker) معمل دواتزن و بوخر وكر  
المجهز افضل العقاقير والاطعمة المغذية عنوانه



LINZ a/DONA U  
Autriche



ومن المواد الجوهرية النافعة المستحضرة فيه ما يأتي

( ١ ) سيال بيزالا العطري Pizzala's Eisenpeptonat-Essenz  
او بيتونات الحديد والكينا ("Pizzala", "Liquor ferri peptonati")  
فهذا الدواء ذائع الشهرة لعظم نجاحه في احوال فقر الدم والكوروسس ومنفعته  
العظمى للناقمين من الامراض والعلل العصية والتخفاء والمستضعفين مهما كان عمرهم  
وهو عديم الضرر في الاسنان

( ٢ ) طعام بيزالا للاطفال Biedert's Kindernahrung Marke  
"Pizzala"  
وهو افضل طعام للاطفال مؤلفاً من الزبدة واللبن مجففاً مهيئاً لتغذية الصغار  
الذين يشكون عسر الهضم والاسهال الاختياري وسوء التغذية. وهو يباع في زجاجات  
تسع الواحدة ٢٥٠ كراماً وفيها من زلال البيض ١٨٠٥ كراماً والزبدة ٤٣ والسكر  
٩٠ وبلغ الطعام ٤ كرامات

( ٣ ) اكبير تشاينا كاليزايا (Dung's China - Calisaya - Elixir)  
هو خير مستحضرات السكونا نظراً لجودة طعمه وثبات فعله في التقوية وسهولة تناوله  
وتبنيه قابلية الطعام واحتوائه على جميع جواهر الكيكينا الفعالة

اعلان

\* حبوب روس \*

ايها الطيب عليك بغيره حبوب  
روس فانها نافعة جداً في القبط  
المستمر وعسر الهضم والصداع المعدي  
المعوي وهي تطلب من مستودعيها في  
ادارة الطيب في بيروت  
وكل من اشترى (كروساً) اثني  
عشرة زجاجة منها يعطى مندبل عليه  
رسم حرة جميلة جداً



\* حبوب ايجون \*

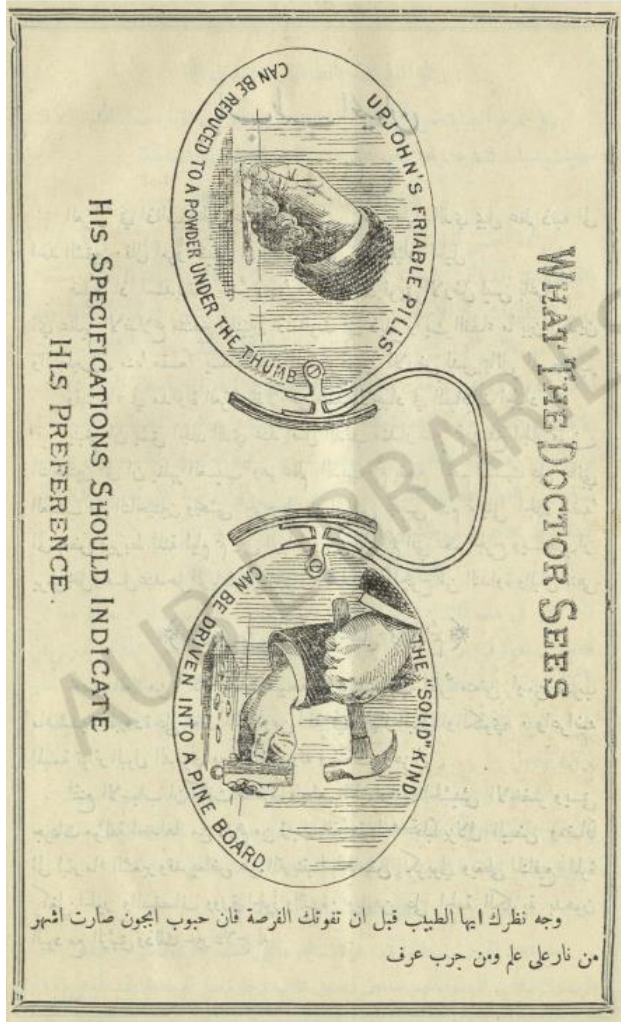
اعلان

تطلب حبوب ايجون من مستودعيها  
في بيروت في ادارة الطيب والمخابرة  
مع الدكتور اسكندر البارودي  
من جرب عرف فوائد حبوب ايجون  
المختلفة لاشكال والانواع القابلة للتفتت  
تحت الضغط السهلة التدبوان في المعدة  
وزد على ذلك ان لها في المستودع محافظ  
(جسادين) من الجلد المتين في الواحدة ٤  
زجاجة فارغة ممكنة الوضع معدة لايحاء  
الحبوب ويسهل حملها ونقلها في الخرج آمنة من الكسر ثم الواحدة ليرة انكازية وشلين فقط

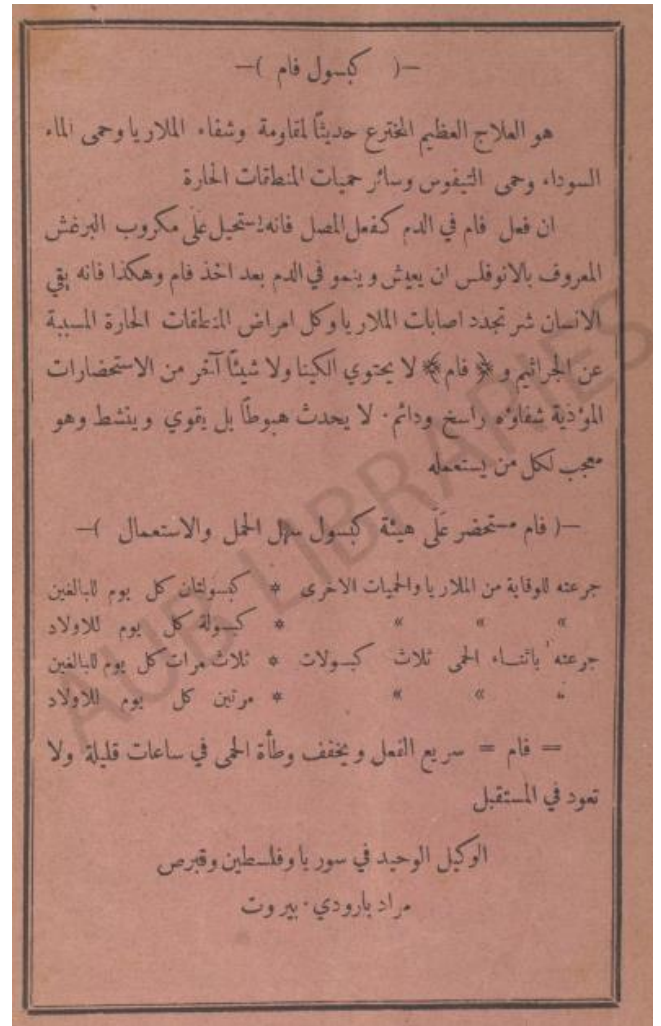


**Figure 1.** First one-page advertisement in *al-Tabib*, first appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> issue of 1896-1897

**Figure 2.** Advertisement of Ross's Pills and UpJohn's Tablet's, first appeared in *al-Tabib* 1897-1898 Issue 7




**Figure 3.** Advertisement of UpJohn's Pills, first appeared in *al-Tabib* 1898-1899 Issue 2



**Figure 4.** Advertisement of Vam Capsules, first appeared in *al-Tabib* 1913 Issue 1

لورد بكشافن جزمانيا  
LUDWIGSHAFEN



نول وشركاه  
KNOLL & Co.

GERMANY, LONDON & NEW YORK

بعض مستحضرات نول الافضل والاشهر

### Styptol Knoll

ستايبتول نول

ان بثلايت الكورتزين قد برهنت بالاختبار انها اصدق دواء نافع في  
الازفة الرحمة وبناء على فعلها المزدوج في التخدير وقطع النزف تكون تحت  
اسم الستيبول دواء نافعاً في الطمث المؤلم المستطيل ولذلك امتدحوه كثيراً  
في عسر الطمث الناتج عن سبب غير ميكانيكي لعدم تقليصه الرحم  
جرعته \* من ٢-٣ اقراص في كل منها ٤ القمحة (٠.٥ كرام) ثلاث  
مرات كل يوم (والانوب منها ينضمين ٣٠ قرصاً)

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### Diuretin Knoll

ديورتين نول

هو من افعال مدرات البول عديم الضرر وكثير الاستعمال . وفي الحوادث التي  
يجب فيها الدخال والاسترفتنوس يكون بديورتين نول الكفاءة غالباً ولا يعقب  
استعماله اعراض ثانوية ( كل البوبة من ديورتين نول تحتوي ٣٠ قرصاً )  
حذار من التقليد . اطلب المستحضر الثابت

### Anthrasol Knoll

انتراسول نول

هو القطران النقي عديم اللون خال من الزيت والمواد الملونة . هو افضل من القطران  
الاعتيادي في التعام القرنية وتخفيف الحكاك . \* \* \* انتراسول نول لا يذغ الجلد  
ولا الاسبجة ولا يعطل الاجرية ولا يولد بثور الاكته  
يستعمل كريت الغاز الاغثنادي والقطران . والزجاجة منه لتضمين ٣٥ كراماً

صندل نول

عديم الطعم

عديم التبييح

هو السلسليك المتعادل



سلسليك استر الصندل هو مستحضر خشب الصندل عديم الطعم والتبويه  
علاج التعقبة الداخلية  
فوائده \* الصندل يخفف الصديد ويروق البول  
\* الصندل \* يقاوم الاماظ ويخفف الالم ويطفى الحرارة وينع احتباس  
البول وحرقة المحرى  
\* هذا الصندل \* لا يتعب الجهاز الهضمي ولا يسبب التهاباً كلوياً  
\* هذا الصندل \* خال من الرائحة والطعم اللذين لزييت الصندل وتوابعه  
\* هذا الصندل لا يسبب جشاة ولا رائحة في النفس  
اختصاصه \* بالتعقبة وما يختلط بها  
كيفية استعماله \* هذا الصندل يعطى ضمن ملابس ( كبسولات ) جلاتينية  
في كل منها ٧ مئات ( ٤٠ كرام )  
تؤخذ اثنتان ثلاث اواربع مرات كل يوم وفي العلية ٣٠ ملبسة  
\* مطبوعاته ومساطره \* ترسل لدى الطلب للاطباء مجاناً وهالك عنوانه  
KNOLL & Co. Ludwigshafen O Kil Germany  
London E. C. New York

Figure 5. Advertisement of Knoll preparations, appeared in *al-Tabib* 1907-1908 Issue 6

\* كبلر \*

KEPLER MALT EXTRACT

( الماركة المسجلة )

خلاصة متفوق الشعير

خلاصة متفوق الشعير للخواجه « كبلر » لها عمل عظيم في تكوين المادة  
الغذائية للجسم وهي المادة القوية المول عليها في الحصول على غذاء ناجح لجميع  
الاشخاص سواء اختلفت اعمارهم او تنوعت حالة معيشتهم. هي تحتوي على  
كل المواد الحيوية المنقبة التي يحتوي عليها متفوق الشعير الجيد الشوي  
فضلا عن ان لها طعماً لذيذاً جداً. وهي تستعمل كغذاء يومي و يظهر نتيجة  
استعمالها الدائم في الجسم حالاً لانها مقوية له وللعضلات على حد سواء. طعمها  
شهي وتناولها سهل جداً لكل شخص. ورائحتها الفاخرة وطعمها الشهي صديها  
صالحة للاستعمال في الحاجات المنزلية فان القليل منها مثلاً لو اضيف على  
الرز او على فنجان القهوة واللبن يزيد في طعمها ولذتها  
وتباع في زجاجات و يوجد منها زجاجتان مختلفتا الحجم

BURROUGHS WELLCOME & Co. LONDON

NEW YORK MONTREAL SYDNEY CAPE TOWN

MILAN SHANGHAI BUENS AIROS BOMBAY

\* \* \*

**Figure 6.** Advertisement of Kepler Malt Extract, first appeared in *al-Tabib* 1914 Issue 4

لو كندة

- فندق كروكر الكبرى -

في الاستانة بيرا

هي من اعظم التزل واجملها  
واكملها عدة ونظاماً ولها مطاب على  
البحر يتسرح له الخاطر وادارتها  
بغاية الانتظام والاهتمام واسعارها  
معتدلة بالنسبة الى نظائرها من  
تزل عواصم اوربا



**Figure 7.** Advertisement of an inn in Istanbul, published in *al-Tabib* 1914 Issue 7

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