

CHAPTER SIX

On Becoming and Being a Doctor: Education, Licensing, and Payment

Topics in this page

[General Works](#)

[Antiquity, Medieval or Early Modern](#)

[Britain](#)

[Canada](#)

[United States](#)

General Works

Boudreau, J. Donald, Eric J. Cassell, Abraham Fuks. *Physicianship and the Rebirth of Medical Education*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Deer, Brian. *The Doctor Who Fooled the World: Andrew Wakefield's War on Vaccines*. Brunswick, Victoria: Scribe Publications, 2020

Zelenka, M. H. *The Educational Philosophy of Abraham Flexner: Creating Cogency in Medical Education*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008.

Russo, Giuliano, Lihui Xu, Michelle McIsaac, Marcelle Diane Matsika-Claquin, Ibadat Dhillon, Barbara McPake and James Campbell. Health workers' strikes in low-income countries: the available evidence. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 97 (2019): 460-67.

Bivins, Roberta. *Alternative Medicine? A History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007

Broman, Thomas H. *The Transformation of German Academic Medicine, 1750-1820*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Burns, Chester, ed. *Legacies in Law and Medicine*. New York; Science History Publications, 1971

Freidson, Eliot. *Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970

Gray, Alastair M. 'Public Virtues and Private Vices?: Some Recent Literature on Health Care Systems.' *Social History of Medicine*, 3(1990), 453-60

Kawakita, Yoshio, Shizu Sakai, and Yasuo Otsuka, eds. *History of the Doctor-Patient*

Relationship. 14th International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine – East and West, Japan, 1989. Tokyo: Ishiyaku EuroAmerica, 1995

Macklin, Ruth. *The Doctor-Patient Relationship in Different Cultures*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999

Nolte, Ellen and Martin McKee. 'Measuring the Health of Nations: Analysis of Mortality Amenable to Health Care.' *BMJ* 327(2003), 1129

O'Malley, C. D. *The History of Medical Education: an International Symposium*. Berkeley: U California Press, 1970

Porter, Roy, ed. *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-Industrial Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985

Shorter, Edward. *Bedside Manners: The Troubled History of Doctors and Patients*. Harmondsworth, England: Viking Penguin, 1986

Smith, Timothy B. *France in Crisis: Welfare, Inequality, and Globalization since 1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004

Solomon, Susan Gross, and John F. Hutchinson, eds. *Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990

Weisz, George. *Divide and Conquer: A Comparative History of Medical Specialization*. New York; Oxford University Press, 2003

Website

OECD Health Data--searchable Data on numerous health indicators allowing comparison between world's wealthiest nations.

<https://data.oecd.org/health.htm>

On Antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the Early Modern Period

Emerson, Roger L. *Essays on David Hume, Medical Men and the Scottish Enlightenment: Industry, Knowledge and Humanity*. Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, [2009], ©2009.

Jackson, Stanley W., ed. 'The Hippocratic Oath.' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 51 (1996), special issue, 403–500

McVaugh, Michael R. *Medicine before the Plague: Practitioners and Their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285–1345*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993

McVaugh, Michael R. "Bedside Manners in the Middle Ages." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 71 (1997), 201-23

Schleiner, Winfried *Medical Ethics in the Renaissance*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1995

On Britain

Berkowitz, Carin. *Charles Bell and the Anatomy of Reform*, University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Collins, Martin. *The British School of Osteopathy: the first 100 years*. Xlibris Publishing, 2016.

Cook, Harold J. *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Cook, Harold J. *The Trials of an Ordinary Doctor: Joannes Groenvelt in Seventeenth-Century London*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Digby, Anne. *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720–1911*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Doyle, Barry M. *The Politics of Hospital Provision in Early Twentieth-century Britain*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

Forsyth, Gordon. *Doctors and State Medicine: A Study of the British Health Service*. Philadelphia and Toronto: Lippincott, 1966.

Gorsky, Martin, and Sally Sheard. *Financing Medicine: The British Experience since 1750*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Gorsky, Martin. 'The British National Health Service 1948–2008: A Review of the Historiography.' *Social History of Medicine*, 21 (2008), 437-60.

Gosling, George Campbell. *Payment and Philanthropy in British Healthcare, 1918-48*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017.

Ham, Christopher. *Health Policy in Britain: The Politics and Organization of the National Health Service*, 3rd ed. London: Macmillan, 1992.

Heaman, E. A. *St. Mary's: The History of a London Teaching Hospital*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

- Hodgkinson, Ruth G. *The Origins of the National Health Service: The Medical Services of the New Poor Law, 1834–1871*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- Jones, Helen. *Health and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*. London and New York: Longman, 1994.
- Lawrence, Susan C. *Charitable Knowledge: Hospital Pupils and Practitioners in Eighteenth-Century London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Nutton, Vivian and Roy Porter, *The History of Medical Education in Britain: Clio Medica*, Volume: 30, Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995.
- Reynolds, L.A. , and E.M. Tansey, eds. *British Contributions to Medical Research and Education in Africa after the Second World War*. Witness Seminar. London: Wellcome Trust, 2001.
- Stringer, M.D., and O. Ahmadi O. Famous discoveries by medical students. *ANZ Journal of Surgery*. 79.12 (2009): 901-8.
- Waddington, Keir. *Medical Education at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1123-1995*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003.
- The BBC offers a web archive of sound and film concerning the birth of the NHS at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/the-birth-of-the-nhs/zhjtd6f>

On Canada

- Badgley, Robin F., and Samuel Wolfe. *Doctors' Strike: Medical Care and Conflict in Saskatchewan*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1967.
- Connor, J.T.H. "'A Sort of 'Felo-De-Se'": Eclecticism, Related Medical Sects, and Their Decline in Victorian Ontario.' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 65 (1991), 503-27.
- Crellin, J.K., R.R. Andersen, and J.T.H. Connor, eds. *Alternative Health Care in Canada: Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Perspectives*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1997.
- Dinsdale, Henry B., and Gilles Hurteau, eds. *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada: The Evolution of Specialty Medicine, 1979-2004*. Ottawa: RCPSC, 2004.
- Duffin, Jacalyn, and Leslie A. Falk. 'Sigerist in Saskatchewan: The Quest for Balance in Social and Technical Medicine.' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 70 (1996), 658–83.
- Duffin, Jacalyn. 'What Goes Around, Comes Around: a History of Medical Tuition.' *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 164 (2001), 50-56.

- Duffin, Jacalyn. 'CSHM/SCHM Presidential Address: The Quota: 'An Equally Serious Problem' for Us All.' *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19 (2002), 1-24.
- Duffin, Jacalyn. Chief Complaint: Physician Discontent with Canadian Medicare in Esyllt Jones and James Hanley, eds. *Medicare's First Fifty Years: Critical Historical Perspectives on Canada's Public Health Care System*. U Manitoba Press, 2020.
- Duffin, Jacalyn. Did Abraham Flexner spark the founding of CMAJ? *CMAJ* 183.6 (2011): 811-13.
- Fedunkiwi, Marianne P. *Rockefeller Foundation Funding and Medical Education in Toronto, Montreal and Halifax*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Gelfand, Toby. 'Medicine in New France.' In *Medicine in the New World: New Spain, New France, and New England*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers, 64–100. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1987.
- Gidney, Robert D., and W.P.J. Millar. *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Godfrey, Charles M. *Medicine for Ontario: A History*. Belleville, Ont.: Mika, 1979.
- Hamowy, Ronald. *Canadian Medicine: A Study in Restricted Entry*. Vancouver: Fraser Institute, 1984.
- Jecker, N.S., and E.M. Meslin. 'United States and Canadian Approaches to Justice in Health Care: A Comparative Analysis of Health Care Systems and Values.' *Theoretical Medicine* 15 (1994), 181–200.
- Jones, Esyllt, and James Hanley, eds. *Medicare's First Fifty Years: Critical Historical Perspectives on Canada's Public Health Care System*. U Manitoba Press, 2020.
- Kang, Helen. *Medicine and Morality: Crises in the History of a Profession*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019 [on Saskatchewan strike].
- Lewis, David Sclater. *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, 1920–1969*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1962.
- Martin, Daneille *Better Now: Six Big Ideas to Improve Health Care*. Allen Lane, 2017.
- McPhedran, N. Tait. *Canadian Medical Schools: Two Centuries of Medical History, 1822–1992*. Montreal: Harvest House, 1993.
- Meslin, Eric. 'The Moral Costs of the Ontario Physicians' Strike.' *Hastings Center Report* 17 (August 1987), 11–14.

- Naylor, C. David, ed. *Canadian Health Care and the State: A Century of Evolution*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- Naylor, C. David. *Private Practice, Public Payment: Canadian Medicine and the Politics of Health Insurance*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.
- Neufeld, Victor R., et al. 'Demand-side Medical Education: Educating Future Physicians for Ontario.' *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 148 (1993), 1471–7.
- Noren, K. and A. Ribeiro. Incorporating Complementary and Alternative Medicine into Canadian Undergraduate Medical Education. *UBCMJ*. 2015: 7.1 (4-6).
- Shephard, David A.E. *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, 1960– 1980: The Pursuit of Unity*. Ottawa: Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, 1985.
- Shortt, S.E.D. 'Physicians, Science, and Status: Issues in the Professionalization of Anglo-American Medicine in the Nineteenth Century.' *Medical History* 27 (1983), 51–68.
- Taylor, Malcolm G. *Health Insurance and Canadian Public Policy: The Seven Decisions that Created Canada's Health Insurance System and their Outcomes*. 2nd edn. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987.

Website

<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/46/33/38979719.pdf>

Dr. Danielle Martin before a US Senate committee defending Canadian Health Care. Video uploaded to youtube by Senator Bernie Sanders,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYOf6hXGx6M>

On the United States

- Baker, Robert B. , et al., eds. *The American Medical Ethics Revolution: How the AMA's Code of Ethics Has Transformed Physicians' Relationships to Patients, Professionals, and Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Barzansky, Barbara M., and Norman Gevitz, eds. *Beyond Flexner: Medical Education in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.
- Belkin, G S. 'The Technocratic Wish: Making Sense and Finding Power in The "Managed" Medical Marketplace. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy & Law* 22 (1997), 509-32.
- Berlant, Jeffrey L. *Profession and Monopoly: A Study of Medicine in the United States and*

- Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- Bonner, Thomas Neville. *Becoming a Physician: Medical Education in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States, 1750-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Coombs, Jan Gregoire. *The Rise and Fall of HMOs: An American Health Care Revolution*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, Press, 2005.
- Coulter, Harris L. *Divided Legacy: A History of the Schism in Medical Thought*. 3 vols. 1975–82. Esp. vol. 3, *The Conflict between Homeopathy and the American Medical Association*. Richmond, Calif.: North Atlantic Books, 1982.
- De Ville, Kenneth A. *God, Science, and History: The Cultural Origins of Medical Error*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004.
- De Ville, Kenneth A. *Medical Malpractice in Nineteenth-Century America: Origins and Legacy*. New York: New York University Press, 1990.
- Gevitz, Norman, ed. *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Gevitz, Norman, *The DOs: Osteopathic Medicine in America*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Halperin, Edward C. ‘The Jewish Problem in U.S. Medical Education, 1920-1955.’ *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 56 (2001), 140-67.
- Jones, James H. *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment*. rev.ed. New York: Free Press, 1993
- Kett, Joseph F. *The Formation of the American Medical Profession: The Role of Institutions, 1780–1860*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Ludmerer, K. M. *Learning to Heal: the Development of American Medical Education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Ludmerer, Kenneth M. *Time to Heal: American Medical Education from the Turn of the Century to the Era of Managed Care*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Ludmerer, Kenneth M. *Let Me Heal: The Opportunity to Preserve Excellence in American Medicine*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Martin, Stephen C. ‘“The Only Truly Scientific Method of Healing”: Chiropractic and American Science, 1895–1990.’ *Isis* 85 (1994), 206–27.
- McCullough, Laurence B. "Power, Integrity, and Trust in the Managed Practice of Medicine: Lessons

- from the History of Medical Ethics." In *Bioethics*, eds. E. F. Paul et al., 180-211. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Moore, J. Stuart. *Chiropractic in America: The History of a Medical Alternative*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Numbers, Ronald L. *Almost Persuaded: American Physicians and Compulsory Health Insurance, 1912–1920*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Pernick, Martin S. *A Calculus of Suffering: Pain, Professionalism, and Anesthesia in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- [Posner, James R.](#) Trends in Medical Malpractice Insurance, 1970-1985. *Law and Contemporary Problems* 49.2 (1986): 37-56.
- Reverby, Susan M. Restorative Justice and Restorative History for the Sexually Transmitted Disease Inoculation Experiments in Guatemala. *American Journal of Public Health* 106.7 (2016): 1163-4.
- Reverby, Susan M. *Co-conspirator for Justice: The Revolutionary Life of Dr. Alan Berkman*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press (April 16 2020)
- Reverby, Susan M. Compensation and reparations for victims and bystanders of the U.S. Public Health Service research studies in Tuskegee and Guatemala: Who do we owe what? *Bioethics*. 2020 Jun 30.
- Reverby, Susan, ed. *Tuskegee's Truths: Rethinking the Tuskegee Syphilis Study*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Rogers, Naomi, ““Caution: The AMA May Be Dangerous to Your Health”: The Student Health Organizations (SHO) and American Medicine, 1965-1970.’ *Radical History Review*, 80 (2001), 5-34.
- Rosen, George, and Charles E. Rosenberg. *The Structure of American Medical Practice, 1875–1941*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.
- Rosenberg, Charles E. *Our Present Complaint: American Medicine, Then and Now*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Rosner, Lisa. ‘Thistle on the Delaware: Edinburgh Medical Education and Philadelphia Practice, 1800–1825.’ *Social History of Medicine*, 5(1992), 19-42.
- Starr, Paul. *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.
- Warner, John Harley. ‘Power, Conflict, and Identity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American

Medicine.' *Journal of American History* 73 (1987), 934–56.

Wheatley, Steven Charles. *The Politics of Philanthropy: Abraham Flexner and Medical Education*.
Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

Wolinsky, Howard, and Tom Brune. *The Serpent on the Staff: The Unhealthy Politics of the
American Medical Association*. New York: Putnam, 1994.