

Life of John Walker <sup>Rodley.</sup>  
by Spes.

See if any mention of his having written  
the artist's pocket companion, being a

J. 4. 11

J. 6. 36

E. H. 2

888.

With numerous insertions: correspondence from Mr. Mackall (bibliographical notes and emendations), from Dr. A. C. Klebs, and from the Comité du Monument, Vienne, with press reports of the inauguration; views of Vienne, and of the monument at Annemasse with photos. of the sculptress, Mme. Roch, and of the promoter, Auguste Dide; review [by the Rev. Alex. Gordon] extr. fr. 'Christian Life', 19 Feb., 1910, p. 93.

FROM  
THE LIBRARY  
OF  
SIR WILLIAM OSLER, BART.  
OXFORD

## Le monument de Michel Servet à Vienne

Vienne, 15 octobre.

Le monument de Michel Servet qu'on vient d'inaugurer est l'œuvre d'un artiste distingué de Vienne, M. Bernard. Servet y est représenté dans l'attitude de la souffrance et du martyr. Au pied du socle élevé qui supporte cette statue de la douleur, un groupe symbolique : deux enfants guidés et protégés par la raison ou la science ; en arrière, le remords, image du bourreau repentant. L'œuvre est en granit, dans le style de Rodin. Tous les monuments élevés à Servet le représentent torturé. Pourquoi à Vienne ne pas l'avoir montré dans son rôle de médecin secourant les pestiférés ?

La cérémonie a été digne et solennelle. Un grand nombre d'orateurs, de tendances très diverses, se sont fait entendre. On peut les classer en trois groupes : les membres du comité viennois du monument, les franc-maçons et les libres penseurs et les protestants libéraux (unitaires d'Angleterre et d'Amérique, protestants de France, d'Allemagne et de Genève).

Les membres du comité ont été d'une correction parfaite. Leur but, en élevant un monument à Servet, était de célébrer la tolérance et la liberté de pensée. Dans leurs discours, le sénateur de l'Isère, M. Jouffray, et le maire de Vienne, M. Brenier, député, ont évité tout ce qui aurait pu choquer les catholiques ou quiconque ne partageant pas les idées du comité. Le premier de ces orateurs, en dressant la liste des plus illustres martyrs de la pensée libre, a cité en premier Jésus-Christ, condamné par Ponce Pilate qui, dit-on, mourut exilé à Vienne.

Les orateurs appartenant à la franc-maçonnerie ont eu moins de mesure. Ils ont glorifié dans Servet le savant qui a découvert la circulation pulmonaire, et fait l'apologie de la science qui libère les esprits. L'un d'eux, le sénateur Debierre, président du Grand-Orient, a déclaré que Servet était un franc-maçon, affirmation assurément étrange. Le prof. Richet, de la Faculté de médecine de Paris, a proclamé que la science remplacerait les religions, mais ces notes discordantes ont été l'exception.

Les protestants libéraux qui ont pris la parole ont été nombreux. Tous ont condamné l'erreur de Calvin, mais ils ont aussi rendu hommage à la grandeur du réformateur et de son œuvre (plus particulièrement M. le professeur Montet). D'autres ont insisté sur le caractère religieux de Servet (MM. les pasteurs L. Comte et Gervais, le professeur Fulliquet), et rappelé que Servet fut avant tout un théologien. Plusieurs orateurs, de tendances diverses, ont insisté sur le fait que Genève a été la première à élever un monument à la mémoire de Servet (M. le Dr Ladame, etc.).

L'Allemagne était représentée par M. le professeur R. Berger, de Berlin, et l'Espagne par M. Lopez de Buitrago, de Madrid.

## Inauguration du Monument Michel Servet à VIENNE (Isère)

L'inauguration du monument Michel Servet a eu lieu hier à Vienne.

Nous n'avons nullement l'intention de rappeler toutes les circonstances de la vie agitée du célèbre savant. D'une intelligence étendue, il étudia successivement la théologie, le droit, la géographie, la médecine. Ses idées philosophiques très personnelles sur certains dogmes de l'Eglise romaine lui valurent d'être condamné à mort à Vienne, où il était évêque de l'archevêque depuis douze ans. Arrêté, il s'évada et se réfugia à Genève.

Michel Servet se croyait en sûreté. Il se trompait. Calvin le fit arrêter, juger et condamner à être brûlé vif. La sentence fut exécutée à Champil le 27 octobre 1553.

La ville de Vienne a revêtu sa parure officielle, mais les particuliers, qui semblent s'être abstenus de prendre part à la fête, n'ont aucunement décoré leurs fenêtres. Dans les rues, les promeneurs sont nombreux, car le temps est excellent et le soleil est radieux.

### L'INAUGURATION

A neuf heures, eurent lieu, à l'hôtel de ville, les réceptions des notabilités venues assister à la cérémonie. Ce fut rapide, simple, cordial, puis toutes se rendirent en groupe place des Allobroges, où était dressée la tribune officielle en face de la porte d'entrée du Jardin public et du monument.

Sur un massif surélevé se dresse l'œuvre du sculpteur Joseph Bernard, magnifique poème de pierre, comme l'a dit M. le sénateur Rivet. Michel Servet est représenté sur le bûcher, les mains liées derrière le dos, attachées à un fût de pierre. Au-dessous, et sur le devant, la Raison abrite le groupe de la jeunesse et de l'autre côté, le Remords se voile la face. Le groupe est véritablement superbe ; il est d'une allure puissante, d'une exécution parfaite et l'artiste a su rendre avec une expression énergique l'idée qu'il avait conçue.

Tandis que la foule s'amasse dans les enceintes réservées, les personnages officiels font leur entrée et prennent place dans la tribune officielle. La musique du 4<sup>e</sup> génie, mise par l'autorité militaire à la disposition du comité, joue la « Marseillaise », écoutée debout.

Parmi les notabilités, on remarque :

MM. Brenier, maire de Vienne; Jouffray, Rivet, Debierre, sénateurs; Perrier, député de l'Isère; Paul Guéysson, ancien ministre; Wendte, secrétaire de l'Association générale unitaire de l'Amérique; Harisson, délégué des Unitaires d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse; Charles Richet, de l'Académie de médecine; Rudolf Berger, professeur à Berlin; Otto Karmin, de la Libre Pensée Suisse; Edouard Montet, recteur de l'Université de Genève; le sculpteur Bernard; Lapuya, rédacteur en chef du journal « El País ».

MM. les docteurs Ladame, de l'Institut national genevois; Hugouneq, doyen de la Faculté de médecine de Lyon; Benjamin Buisson, directeur de l'enseignement tunisien; Prévôt, président du comité exécutif du monument; Gorjus, adjoint au maire de Lyon, représentant M. Herriot; Dumolard, Magnin, Bernascon, conseillers généraux de l'Isère.

MM. Bourdin, délégué de la grande Loge de France; les pasteurs Fulliquet, Gervais, Comte, Gallard; Moyet, conseiller à la cour d'appel de Lyon; Bernard, conseiller à la cour de Grenoble; Clausse, secrétaire général de la Libre Pensée du Rhône; Manuel et Romati, conseillers d'arrondissement de l'Isère; Trabit et Lambert, adjoints au maire de Vienne.

MM. Vinay, maire de Rive-de-Gier; Perret, maire de Voiron; Constantin, maire de Sainte-Colombe; Lafontaine, maire de Chassieu; Lacombat, maire de Décines; Perret, maire de Feyzin; Gallard, maire de Saint-Symphorien-d'Ozon; Turin, maire d'Auberives; Gerin, maire de Saint-Prin; Dorel, maire de Sablon; Rigollier, maire de Luzinay; Perret, maire de Saint-Clair;

MM. Bernais, ancien maire de Rive-de-Gier; Flachler, adjoint aux Roches-de-Condrieu; Marchand, adjoint aux Côtes-d'Arej; Cauty, adjoint à Feyzin; Raimond, adjoint à Décines; Godard, adjoint à Décines; Batis, ancien maire d'Am-

compendious treatise of anatomy . . .  
2nd ed. Lond, 1787. Sm. 8<sup>o</sup>.  
+ date of 12th ed.

re 44.5:8.

~~J. 4. 11~~

~~J. 6. 36~~

E. H. 2

888.

With numerous insertions: correspondence from Mr. Mackall (bibliographical notes and emendations), from Dr. A. C. Klebs, and from the Comité du Monument, Vienne, with press reports of the inauguration; views of Vienne, and of the monument at Annemasse with photos. of the sculptress, Mme. Roch, and of the promoter, Auguste Dide; review [by the Rev. Alex. Gordon] extr. fr. 'Christian Life', 19 Feb., 1910, p. 93.

888

FROM  
THE LIBRARY  
OF  
SIR WILLIAM OSLER, BART.  
OXFORD

et de son œuvre (plus particulièrement le professeur Montet). D'autres ont insisté sur le caractère religieux de Servet (MM. les pasteurs L. Comte et Gervais, le professeur Fulliquet), et rappelé que Servet fut avant tout un théologien. Plusieurs orateurs, de tendances diverses, ont insisté sur le fait que Genève a été la première à élever un monument à la mémoire de Servet (M. le Dr Ladame, etc.).

L'Allemagne était représentée par M. le professeur R. Berger, de Berlin, et l'Espagne par M. Lapuya, de Barcelone, qui a annoncé l'érection prochaine d'un monument à Servet dans cette ville.

Un public sympathique assistait à cette inauguration. Toutefois la majorité de la population de Vienne paraît s'en être désintéressée; il est vrai, nous a-t-on dit, que le cléricalisme y est influent.

Chose étonnante, aucune affiche sur les murs, sauf celle signée par « un groupe de protestants », et rédigée, paraît-il, par le professeur Doumergue. Cette affiche reproduit l'image du monument de Champel, et retrace brièvement la vie, le procès et le martyre de Servet.

Une intéressante étude de M. Ferd. Buisson sur Servet et l'idée de tolérance au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle a été lue par son frère, inspecteur de l'enseignement en Tunisie.

Voici l'allocution qu'a prononcée M. Montet, recteur de l'Université de Genève.

S'il est une ville dans les murs de laquelle on devait élever un monument à la mémoire de Michel Servet, c'est assurément l'antique et noble cité de Vienne. C'est ici, en effet, que Servet a passé douze années de sa vie, les meilleurs et les moins troublés de son existence agitée. C'est ici qu'il a publié son grand ouvrage *la Restitution du Christianisme*, qui souleva contre lui la tempête dans laquelle il périt. C'est ici que l'autorité ecclésiastique le fit saisir et emprisonner, le condamna et le fit brûler en effigie. C'est ici qu'après sa fuite de la prison, commença le douloureux pèlerinage, qui le conduisit au bûcher de Champel.

D'autre part, s'il est une ville qui devait être représentée à l'inauguration de ce monument, c'est sans contredit la cité de Genève, où Servet a été jugé et condamné, et où il a subi le martyre.

A Genève, nous avons eu le sentiment qu'un monument devait être élevé à la mémoire de Michel Servet, monument destiné, dans notre pensée, à redresser l'irréparable erreur commise au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous avons estimé qu'il n'était pas possible d'ériger à Genève un monument à la gloire de la Réforme avant d'avoir dressé la pierre commémorative du supplice de Servet. En 1903, c'est-à-dire six ans avant la célébration du jubilé de 1909, nous avons inauguré, sur l'emplacement où Servet fut brûlé, une stèle, qu'on a qualifiée avec raison de monument expiatoire; l'expression se trouve d'ailleurs dans le texte gravé sur la pierre.

A Genève, nous avons une profonde reconnaissance envers Calvin et la Réforme. Calvin a fait la grandeur de notre ville; c'est lui qui a fondé notre Université, à laquelle nous sommes fiers d'appartenir et qui a toujours été un foyer de lumière et de liberté spirituelle. La Réforme du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle a accompli, en effet, une œuvre impérisable de libération des esprits.

Mais autant nous célébrons le génie de l'homme qui a présidé à cette révolution libératrice, autant nous condamnons l'erreur qu'il a commise en faisant brûler Servet. L'intolérance était générale au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans tous les camps, et le supplice de Servet n'a suscité, à l'époque, que de très rares protestations, qui sont restées sans écho. Mais l'erreur d'un siècle n'excuse pas l'erreur d'un homme, si grand qu'il ait été.

Voilà pourquoi le nom de Servet est devenu le symbole de l'idée de tolérance. Voilà pourquoi tout monument élevé en souvenir de cet Espagnol, à l'esprit encyclopédique et génial, qui fut un des plus grands savants de son temps est un édifice construit pour rappeler aux générations présentes et futures que la liberté de pensée est le premier devoir à pratiquer soi-même, et le premier droit à respecter chez les autres.

En invitant l'Université de Genève, c'est-à-dire l'ancienne académie de Calvin, à se faire représenter à l'inauguration de ce monument, vous avez voulu que les héritiers spirituels du grand réformateur vissent rendre leur témoignage, un témoignage ému et sincère, au grand représentant de la science au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, à Michel Servet. Nous vous remercions de cette noble pensée. Notre place, en effet, était ici, et nous sommes heureux de nous y trouver.

Au cours du banquet, M. le pasteur Gaillard, de Genève, a parlé au nom de l'Union du christianisme libéral. M. le prof. Fulliquet a également prononcé quelques paroles.

à la cérémonie. Ce fut rapide, simple, cordial, et toutes se rendirent en groupe place des Allobroges, où était dressée la tribune officielle en face de la porte d'entrée du Jardin public et du monument.

Sur un massif surélevé se dresse l'œuvre du sculpteur Joseph Bernard, magnifique poème de pierre, comme l'a dit M. le sénateur Rivet. Michel Servet est représenté sur le bûcher, les mains liées derrière le dos, attachées à un fût de pierre. Au-dessous, et sur le devant, la Raison abrite le groupe de la jeunesse et de l'autre côté, le Remords se voile la face. Le groupe est véritablement superbe; il est d'une allure puissante, d'une exécution parfaite et l'artiste a su rendre avec une expression énergique l'idée qu'il avait conçue.

Tandis que la foule s'amasse dans les enceintes réservées, les personnages officiels font leur entrée et prennent place dans la tribune officielle. La musique du 4<sup>e</sup> génie, mise par l'autorité militaire à la disposition du comité, joue la « Marseillaise », écoutée debout.

Parmi les notabilités, on remarque :

MM. Brenier, maire de Vienne; Jouffray, Rivet, Debierre, sénateurs; Perrier, député de l'Isère; Paul Guicyse, ancien ministre; Wendt, secrétaire de l'Association générale unitaire de l'Amérique; Harrisson, délégué des Unitaires d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse; Charles Richey, de l'Académie de médecine; Rudolf Berger, professeur à Berlin; Otto Karmin, de la Libre Pensée Suisse; Edouard Montet, recteur de l'Université de Genève; le sculpteur Bernard; Lapuya, rédacteur en chef du journal « El Pais ».

MM. les docteurs Ladame, de l'Institut national genevois; Hugouneq, doyen de la Faculté de médecine de Lyon; Benjamin Buisson, directeur de l'enseignement tunisien; Prévot, président du comité exécutif du monument; Gorjus, adjoint au maire de Lyon, représentant M. Herriot; Dumolard, Magnin, Bernaseon, conseillers généraux de l'Isère.

MM. Bourdieu, Pasteurs Fulliquet, Gervais, Comte, Gaillard; Moyet, conseiller à la cour d'appel de Lyon; Bernard, conseiller à la cour de Grenoble; Clause, secrétaire général de la Libre Pensée du Rhône; Manuel et Romail, conseillers d'arrondissement de l'Isère; Trabit et Lambert, adjoints au maire de Vienne.

MM. Vincy, maire de Rive-de-Gier; Perret, maire de Voiron; Constantin, maire de Sainte-Colombe; Lafontaine, maire de Chassieu; Lacombat, maire de Décines; Perret, maire de Feyzin; Gaillard, maire de Saint-Symphorien-d'Ozon; Turin, maire d'Aubervives; Gerin, maire de Saint-Prin; Dorel, maire de Sablon; Rigollier, maire de Luzinay; Perret, maire de Saint-Clair.

MM. Bernais, ancien maire de Rive-de-Gier; Flachter, adjoint aux Roches-de-Condrieu; Marchand, adjoint aux Cotes-d'Arej; Cinty, adjoint à Feyzin; Raimond, adjoint à Décines; Godard, ancien maire de Décines; Batia, ancien maire d'Anpuis; Dron, conseiller municipal de Régnay.

MM. Isidor, receveur des finances; Neau, Pehissier, Expulsion, Hanryé, Ribon, percepteurs; Roubert, Firmin Allemand, Aubry, Richardy, architectes; Subit, Baboin, Piron, juges de paix; Restouin, inspecteur primaire; Calle, professeur d'agriculture; Mauriac, président du tribunal; Chanteau, procureur de la République; Gardon, juge d'instruction; Verdalle, substitut; Bizot, conservateur des musées; Bernard, ancien procureur de la République; Ch. Lacour, peintre, etc.

Les délégations de sociétés de Libre Pensée de Lyon, de Villefranche-sur-Saône, de Valence, de Décines, de Grémeu, de Tignieu-Jameyzieu, etc.; de nombreux comités radicaux et radicaux-socialistes, de loges diverses, etc.

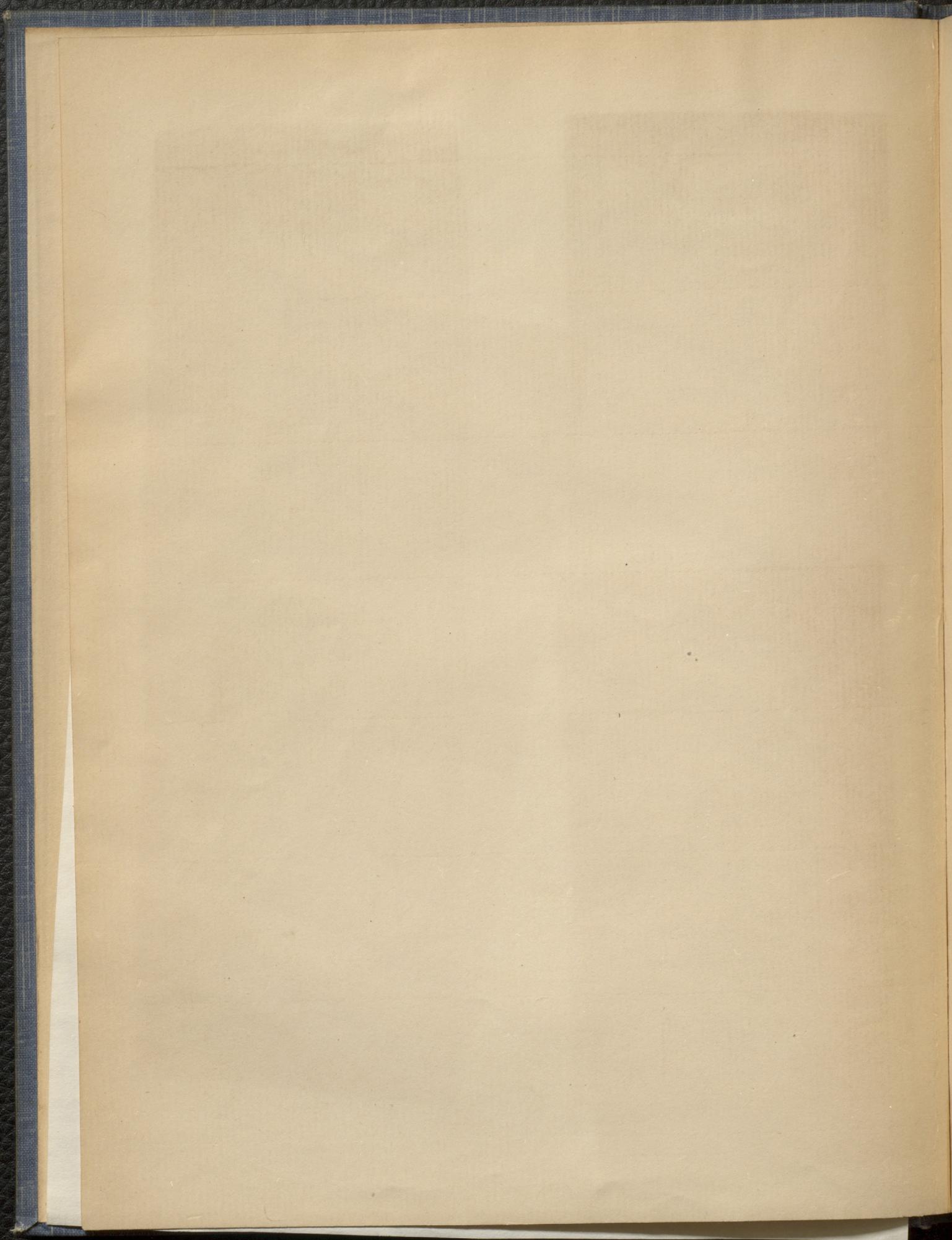
#### LES DISCOURS

Après avoir donné lecture des excuses adressées par MM. Antonin Dubost, président du Sénat, et Dujardin-Beaumetz, retenus par le deuil national, M. Jouffray, qui présida, salue la mémoire de Marcellin Berthelot, et prononce un panégyrique en faveur de Michel Servet, martyr de l'intolérance.

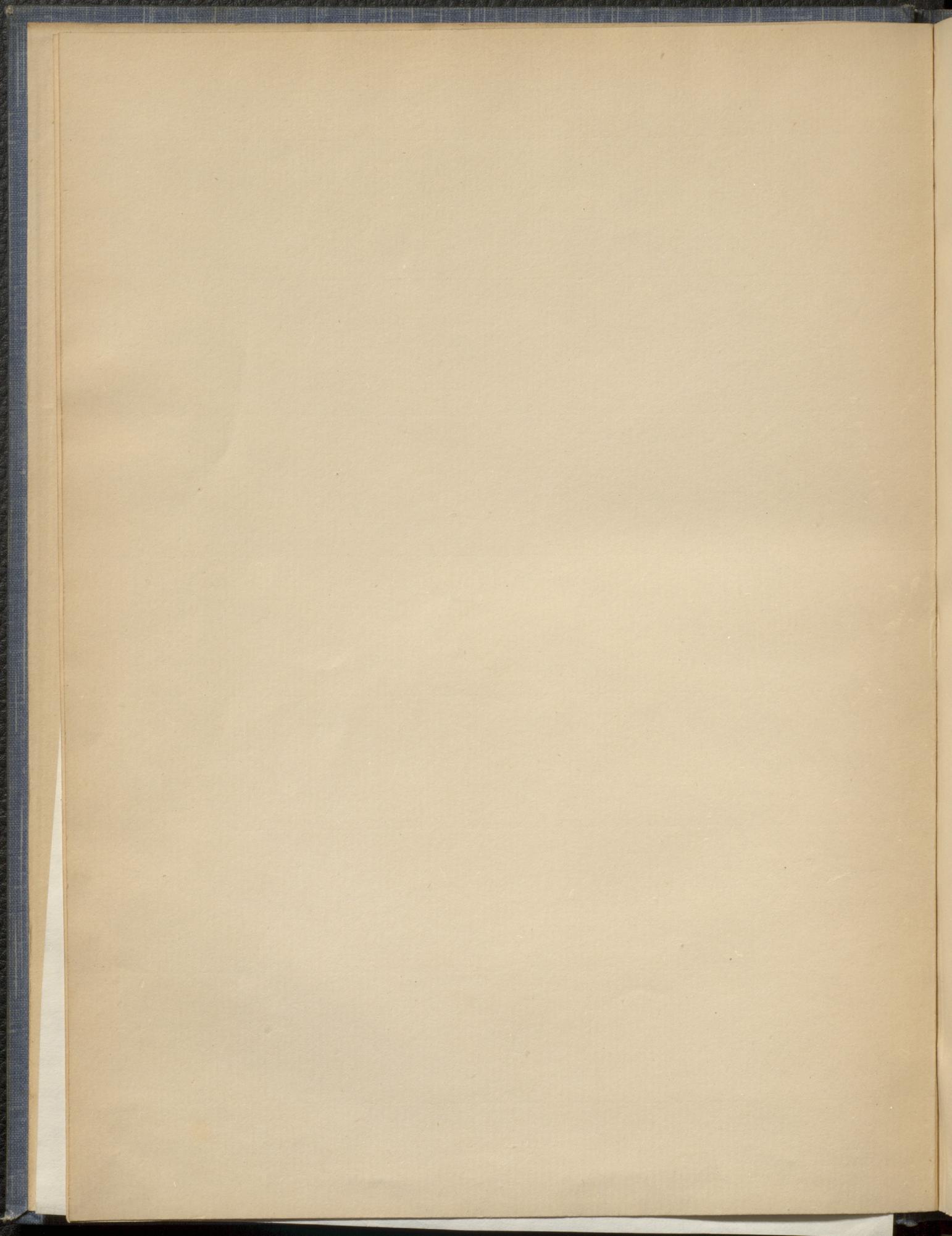
Après lui, se firent entendre MM. Prévot, au nom du comité exécutif; le professeur Charles Richey, de l'Académie de médecine; Rudolf Berger, de Berlin; Gustave Rivet, sénateur de l'Isère; Wendt, secrétaire de l'Association unitaire d'Amérique, qui s'exprime en anglais; le pasteur Gervais, au nom des protestants libéraux; le sénateur Debierre, au nom du Grand-Orient; John Harrisson, délégué des Unitaires d'Amérique; le docteur Ladame; Edouard Montet; Benjamin Buisson, qui lut le discours de son frère, Ferdinand Buisson, député de Paris, et enfin M. Brenier, qui accepta le monument au nom de la ville.

La cérémonie terminée, eut lieu, dans la salle des fêtes, un banquet qui réunit plus de 500 personnes.

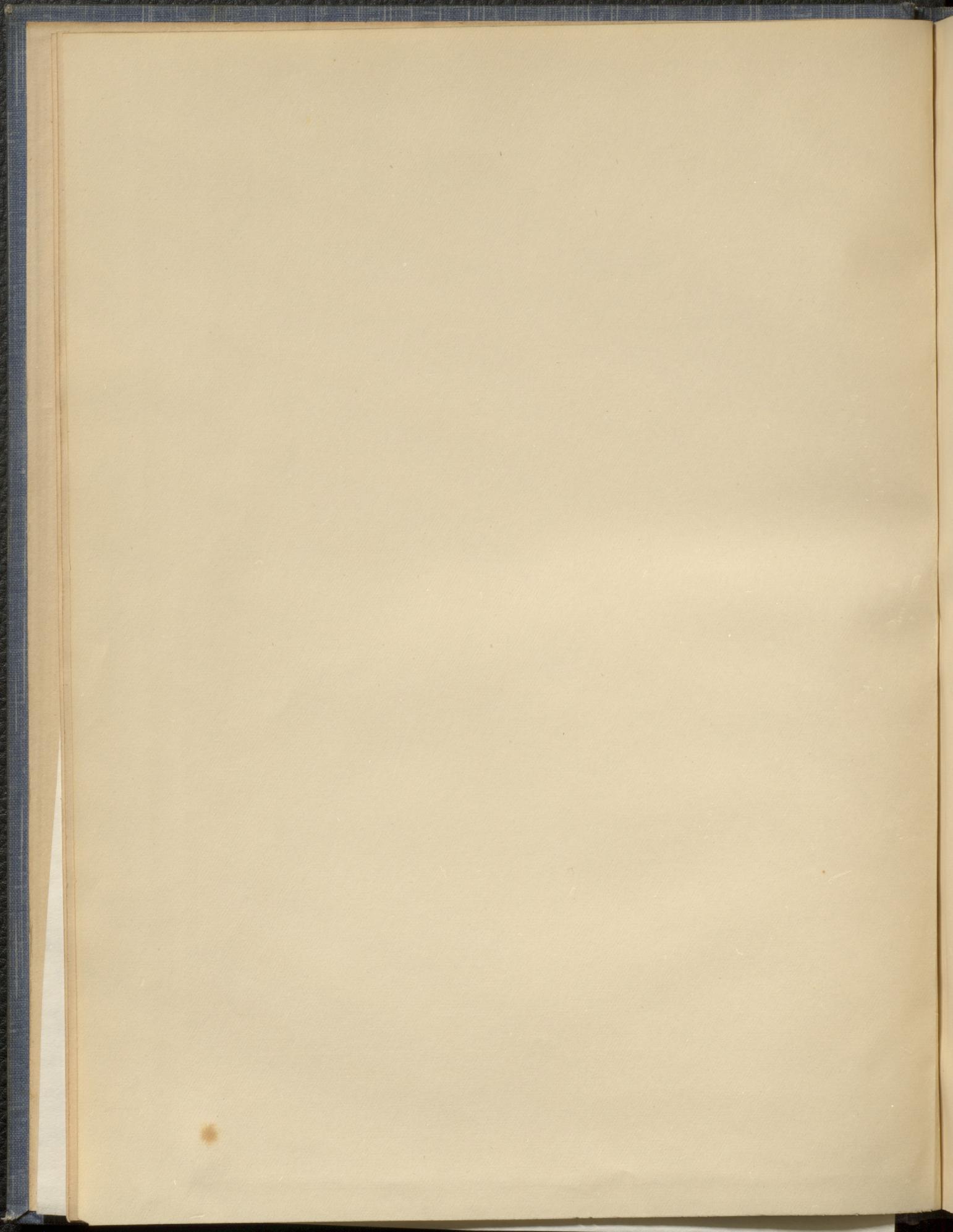
Au dessert, de nombreux discours furent prononcés en l'honneur de la victime des fanatiques, Michel Servet.



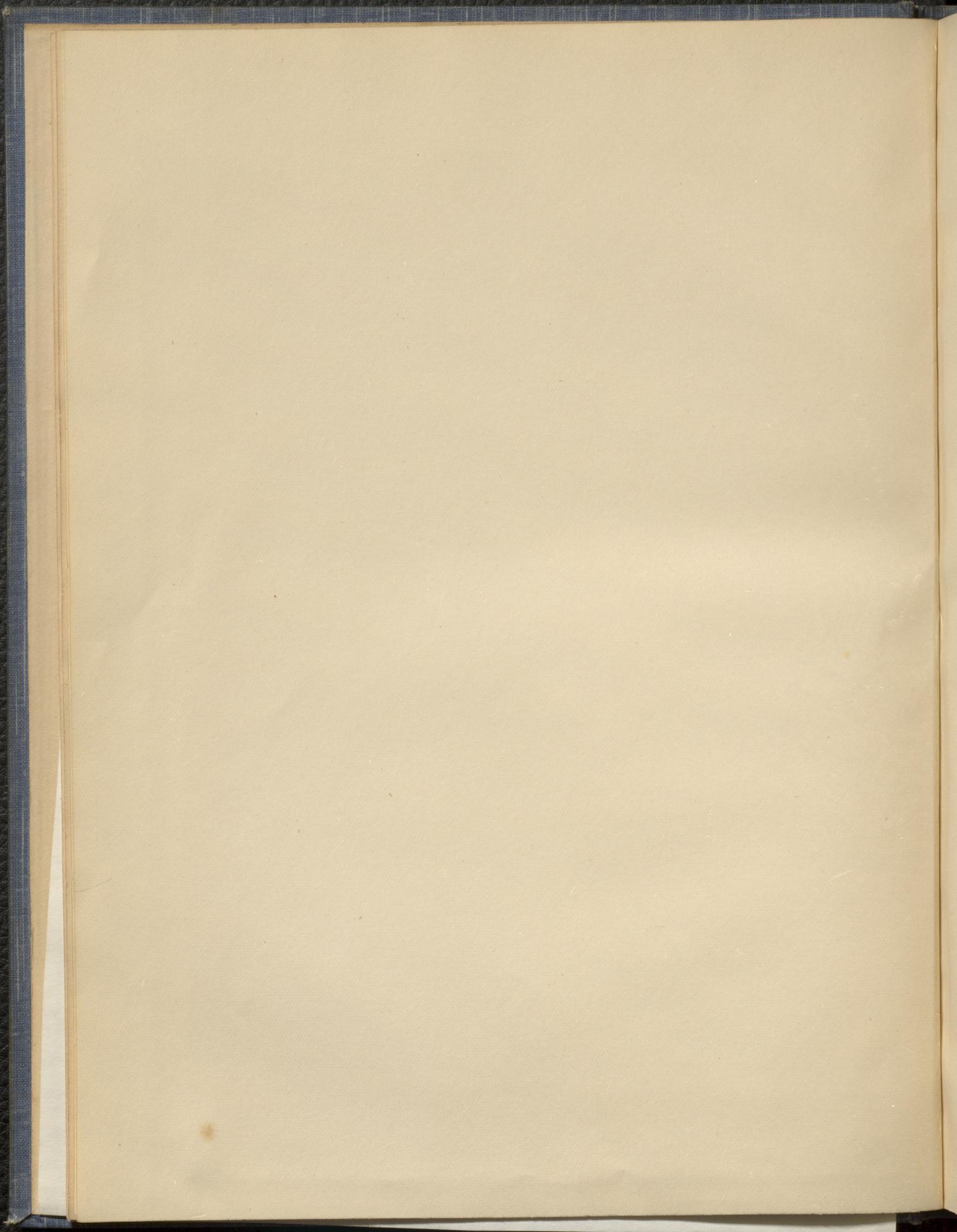




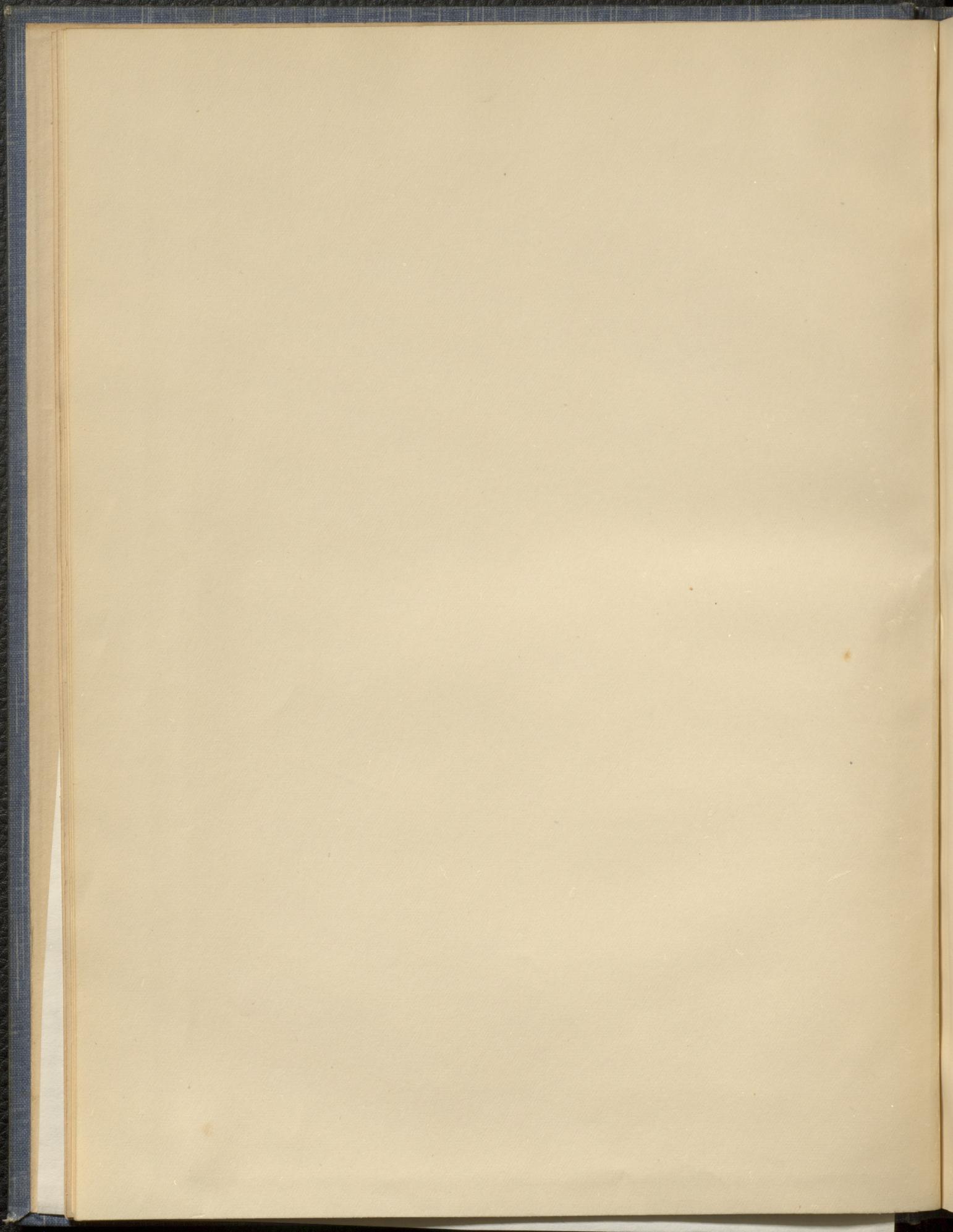




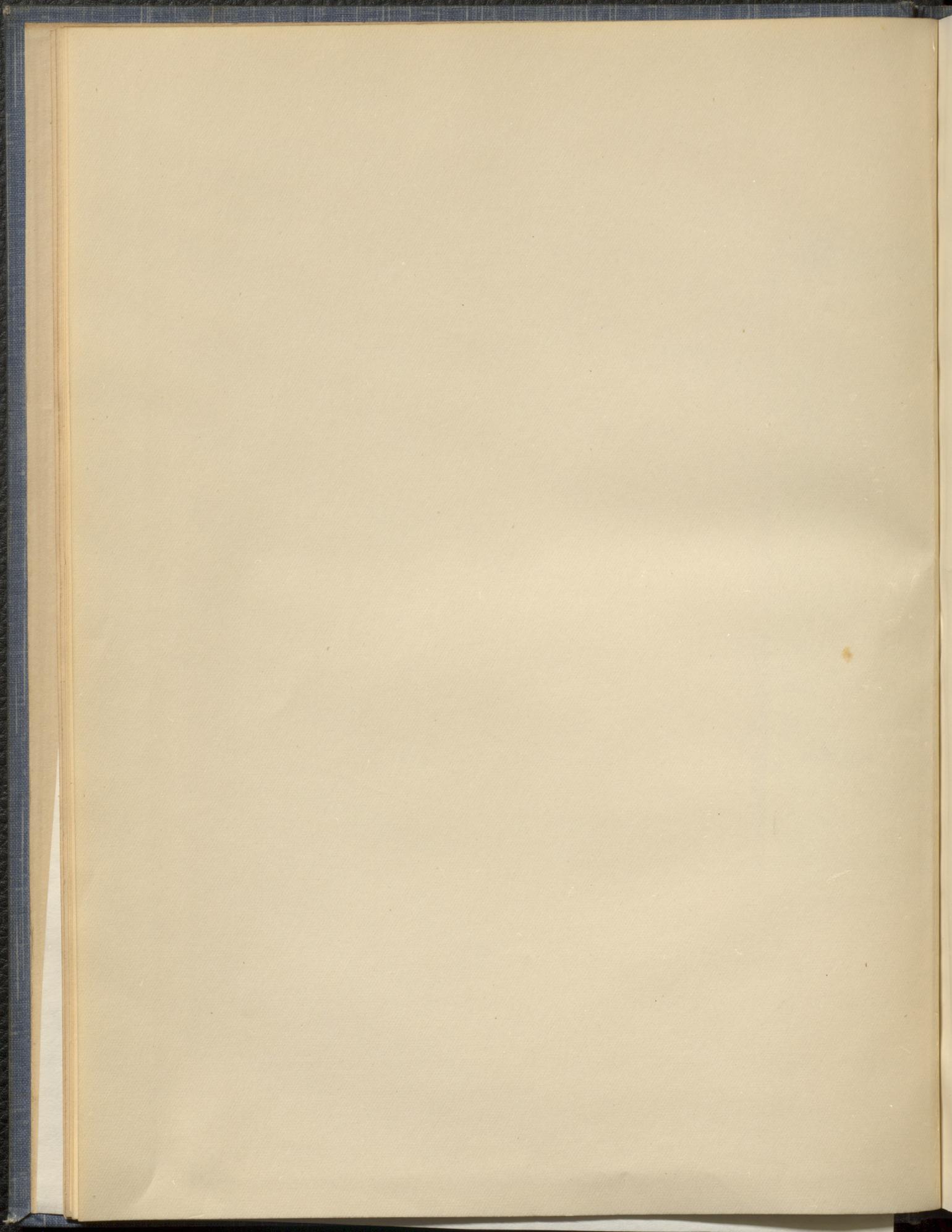
















MICHAEL SERVETVS HUNDEDESSANT DE ARAGONIA

Front.

# MICHAEL SERVETUS

BY

WILLIAM OSLER, M. D., F. R. S.

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

1909

MICHAEL SERVETUS

The Lord Baltimore Press  
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

## MICHAEL SERVETUS\*

The year 1553 saw Europe full of tragedies, and to the [1] earnest student of the Bible it must have seemed as if the days had come for the opening of the second seal spoken of in the Book of Revelation, when peace should be taken from the earth and men should kill one another. One of these tragedies has a mournful interest this year, the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of its chief actor; yet it was but one of thousands of similar cases with which the history of the sixteenth century is stained. On October 27, shortly after twelve o'clock, a procession started from the town-hall of Geneva—the chief magistrates of the city, the clergy in their robes, the Lieutenant Criminel and other officers on horseback, a guard of mounted archers, the citizens, with a motley crowd of followers, and in their midst, with arms bound, in shabby, dirty clothes, walked a man of middle age, whose intellectual face bore the marks of long suffering. Passing along the rue St. Antoine through the gate of the same name, the cortège took its way towards the Golgotha of the city. Once outside the walls, a superb sight broke on their view: in the distance the blue waters and enchanting shores of the Lake of Geneva, to the west and north the immense amphitheatre of the Jura, with its snow-capped mountains, and to the south and west the lovely valley of the Rhone; but we may well think that few eyes were turned away from the central figure of that sad procession. By his side, in earnest entreaty, walked the aged pastor, Farel, who had devoted a long and useful life to the service of his fellow citizens. Mounting the hill, the field of Champel was reached,

---

\* This address did double duty—at the Johns Hopkins Hospital Historical Club, and as an Extension lecture in the Summer School, Oxford.

1) and here on a slight eminence was the fateful stake, with the dangling chains and heaping bundles of faggots. At this sight the poor victim prostrated himself on the ground in prayer. In reply to the exhortation of the clergyman for a specific confession of faith, there was the cry, 'Misericordia, misericordia! Jesu, thou Son of the eternal God, have compassion upon me!' Bound to the stake by the iron chain, with a chaplet of straw and green twigs covered with sulphur on his head, with his long dark face, it is said that he looked like the Christ in whose name he was bound. Around his waist were tied a large bundle of manuscript and a thick octavo printed book. The torch was applied, and as the flames spread to the straw and sulphur and flashed in his eyes, there was a piercing cry that struck terror into the hearts of the bystanders. The faggots were green, the burning was slow, and it was long before in a last agony he cried again, 'Jesu, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy upon me!' Thus died, in his forty-fourth year, Michael Servetus Villanovanus, physician, physiologist, and heretic. Strange, is it not, that could he have cried, 'Jesu, thou Eternal Son of God!' even at this last moment, the chains would have been unwound, the chaplet removed, and the faggots scattered; but he remained faithful unto death to what he believed was the *Truth* as revealed in the Bible.

2) The story of his life is the subject of my address.

Michael Servetus, known also as Michel Villeneuve, or Michael Servetus Villanovanus, or, as he puts in one of his books, *alias* Reves, was a Spaniard born at Villanueva de Sigena, in the present province of Huesca. When on trial at Vienna, he gave Tudela, Navarre, as his birthplace, at Geneva, Villanueva of Aragon; and at one place he gave as the date of his birth 1509, and at the other 1511. The former is usually thought to be the more correct. As at Villanueva de Sigena there are records of his family, and as the family altar, made by the father of Servetus, still exists, we may take it that at any rate the place of his birth is settled. The altar-screen is a fine piece of work, with ten paintings. I am indebted to Signor Antonio Virgili, of Barcelona, for the photograph of it





FIG. 2.—Altar Screen at Barcelona.

here reproduced (Fig. 2). Servetus seems to have belonged to a good family in easy circumstances, and at his trial he said he came of an ancient race, living nobly.

From the convent school he probably went to the neighbouring University of Saragossa. Possibly he may have studied for the priesthood, but however that may be, there is evidence that he was a precocious youth, and well read in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the last two very unusual accomplishments at that period.

We next hear of him at Toulouse, studying canon and civil law. He could not have been twenty when he entered the service of the Friar Quintana, confessor to the Emperor Charles V, apparently as his private secretary. In the suite of the Emperor he went to Italy, and was present when Pope and Emperor entered Bologna, and 'he saw the most powerful prince of the age at the head of 20,000 veterans kneeling and kissing the feet of the Pope.' Here he had his first impression of the worldliness and mercenary character of the Papacy, hatred of which, very soon after, we find to have become an obsession.

In the summer of 1530 the Emperor attended the Diet of Augsburg, where the Princes succeeded in getting Protestantism recognized politically. Such a gathering must have had a profound influence on the young student, already, we may suppose, infected with the new doctrines. Possibly at Saragossa, or at Toulouse, he may have become acquainted with the writings of Luther. Such an expression of opinion as the following, written before his twenty-first year, could scarcely have been of a few months' growth: 'For my own part, I neither agree nor disagree in every particular with either Catholic or Reformer. Both of them seem to me to have something of truth and something of error in their views; and whilst each sees the other's shortcomings, neither sees his own. God in his goodness give us all to understand our errors, and incline us to put them away. It would be easy enough, indeed, to judge dispassionately of everything, were we but suffered without molestation by the churches freely to speak our minds.' (Willis.)

[21]

DE TRINI-  
TATIS ERRORIBVS  
LIBRI SEPTEM.

*Per Michaelem Serueto, aliàs  
Reues ab Aragonia  
Hispanum.*

*Anno M. D. XXXI.*

How far he held any personal communication with the German reformers is doubtful. It is quite possible, and Tollin, his chief biographer, makes him visit Luther. We do not know how long he held service with Quintana, Tollin thinks a year and a half. It is not unlikely that the good friar was glad to get rid of a young secretary infected with heresy so shocking as that contained in his first book, published in 1531; indeed, there is a statement to the effect that a monk in the suite of Quintana found the book in a shop at Ratisbon and hastened to tell the confessor of its terrible contents. Servetus had plunged headlong into studies of the most dangerous character, and had even embooked them in a small octavo volume, entitled *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, which appeared without the printer's name, but on the title-page the author, Michael Serveto, *alias* Reves ab Aragonia, Hispanum, and with the date MDXXXI. In the innocency of his heart he thought the work would be a good introduction to the more liberal of the Swiss reformers, but they would have none of it, and were inexpressibly shocked at its supposed blasphemies. Nor did he fare better at Strassburg; and even the kind-hearted Bucer<sup>[3]</sup> said that the author of such a work should be disembowelled and torn in pieces.

In thorny theological questions a layman naturally seeks shelter, and I am glad to quote the recent opinion of a distinguished student of the period, Professor Emerton,<sup>1</sup> on this youthful phase of the life of Servetus. 'He would not admit that the eternal Son of God was to appear as man, but only that a man was to come who should be the Son of God. This is the earliest intimation we have as to the speculations which were occupying the mind of the young scholar. It is highly significant that from the start he was impressed with what we should now call the historical view of theology. As he read the Old Testament, its writers seemed to him to be referring to things that their hearers would understand. Their gaze into the future was limited by the fortunes of the people at the moment. To imagine them possessed of all the divine

---

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Theological Review*, April, 1909.

[3] mysteries, and to have in mind the person of the man Jesus as the ultimate object of all their prophetic vision, was to reflect back the knowledge of history into a past to which such knowledge was impossible. So far as I can understand him, this is the key to all of Servetus' later thought. His manner of expressing himself is confusing and intricate to the last degree, so much so that neither in his own time nor since has any one dared to say that he understood it. To his contemporaries he was a half-mad fanatic; to those who have studied him, even sympathetically, his thought remains to a great extent enigmatical; but this one point is fairly clear: that he grasped, as no one up to his time had grasped, this one central notion, that, whatever the divine plan may have been, it must be revealed by the long, slow movement of history—that, to understand the record of the past, it must be read, so far as that is possible, with the mind of those to whom it was immediately addressed, and must not be twisted into the meanings that may suit the fancy of later generations.'

'To have seized upon such an idea as this—an idea which has begun to come to its rights only within our memories—was an achievement which marks this youth of twenty as at all events an extraordinary individual, a disturbing element in his world, a man who was not likely to let the authorities rest calmly in possession of all the truth there was.'

In the following year, 1532, two dialogues appeared, explanatory and conciliatory, a little book which only aggravated the offence, and feeling the Protestant atmosphere too hot, Servetus went to Paris. Dropping this name by which he has been known, and closing this brief but stormy period, for the next twenty-one years we now follow Michel Villeneuve, or Michael Villanovanus, in a varied career as student, lecturer, practitioner, author and editor, still nursing the unconquerable hope that the world might be reformed could he but restore the primitive doctrine of the Church.

## II

We know very little of this his first stay in Paris. Possibly he found employment as teacher, or as reader to the press. At



CLAVDII PTOLE

MAEI ALEXANDRINI

GEOGRAPHICAE ENAR-

RATIONIS

LIBRI OCTO.

EX BIBLI BALDI PIRCKEYMHERI

tratione, sed ad Graeca & prisca exemplaria à Mi-

chaele Villanouano iam primum recogniti.

Adiecta insuper ab eodem Scholia,

quibus exoleta urbium nos-

trina ad nostri seculi

si more expo-

nitur.

\*

QUINQUAGINTA ILLAE QVOQVE CVM

ueterum tantum recensionum tabulae adiectae sunt, quibus  
incolentium ritus et mores  
explicentur.



LVGDVNI  
EX OFFICINA MELCHIORIS ET  
GASPARIS TRECHSEL FRATRVM.  
M. D. XXXV.

Fig. 4.

this period his path first crossed that of Calvin, then a young [31] student. Of about the same age, both ardent students, both on the high road of emancipation from the faith of their birth, they must have had many discussions on theological questions. One may conclude from the reproachful sentence of Calvin many years later, 'Vous avez fuy le luite', that arrangements had been made for a public debate.

After a short stay at Avignon and Orleans, we next find Servetus at Lyons, in the employ of the Trechsels brothers, the famous printers. Those were the days of fine editions of the classics and other books, which required the assistance of scholarly men to edit and correct. He brought out a splendid folio of Ptolemy's Geography, 1535 (Fig. 4), with commentaries on the different countries, which show a wide range of knowledge in so young a man. It is marked also by many examples of independent criticism, as, when speaking of Palestine, he says that the 'Promised Land' was anything but a 'promising land', and instead of flowing with milk and honey, and a land of corn, olives and vineyards, it was inhospitable and barren, and the stories about its fertility nothing but boasting and untruth. He seems to have been brought to task for this, as in the second edition, 1541, this section does not exist. For this work he was paid by the Trechsels 500 crowns.

It is possible that Servetus and Rabelais may have met at Lyons, as at this time the 'great Dissimulator' was physician to the Hôtel-Dieu, but there is nothing in the writings of either to indicate that their paths crossed. The man who had the greatest influence upon him at Lyons was Symphorien Champier, one of the most interesting and distinguished of the medical humanists of the early part of the sixteenth century. Servetus helped him with his French *Pharmacopoeia*, and Pastor Tollin will have it that Champier even made a home for the poor scholar. An ardent Galenist, an historian, the founder of the hospital and of the medical school, Champier had the usual predilection of the student of those days for astrology. Probably from him Servetus received his instruc-

[3] tions in the subject. At any rate, when the distinguished Professor of Medicine of Tübingen, Fuchsius, attacked Champier on the ground of his astrological vagaries, Servetus took up his pen and replied in defence with a pamphlet entitled 'In Leonhardum Fuchsium defensio apologetica pro Symphoriano Campeggio', an exceedingly rare item, the only one indeed of the writings of Servetus that I have not seen in the original.

Stimulated doubtless by the example and precept of Champier, Servetus returned to Paris to study medicine. Fairly rich in pocket with the proceeds of his literary work, he attached himself first to the College of Calvi, and afterwards to that of the Lombards, and it is said that he took the degrees of M.A. and M.D., but of this I am told that there is no documentary evidence.

Of his life in Paris we have very little direct evidence, except in connexion with a single incident. We know that he came into intimate contact with three men—Guinther of Andernach, Jacobus Sylvius, and Vesalius. Guinther and [4] Sylvius must have been men after his own heart, ripe scholars, ardent Galenists, and keen anatomists. In the *Institutiones Anatomicae* (Basel, 1539), Guinther speaks of Servetus in connexion with Vesalius, who was at this time his fellow pro-sector. 'And after him by Michael Villanovanus, distinguished by his literary acquirements of every kind, and scarcely second to any in his knowledge of Galenical doctrine.' With their help he states that he has examined the whole body, and demonstrated to the students all of the muscles, veins, arteries, and nerves. There was at this time a very keen revival in the study of anatomy in Paris, and to have been associated with such a young genius as Vesalius, already a brilliant dissector, must have been in itself a liberal education in the subject. It is easy to understand whence was derived the anatomical knowledge upon which was based the far-reaching generalization with which the name of Servetus is associated in physiology.

But the Paris incident of which we know most is connected

with certain lectures on judicial astrology. We have seen that [4] at Lyons, Servetus had defended his friend and patron Symphorien Champier, through whom he had doubtless become familiar with its practice. Though forbidden by the Church, judicial astrology was still in favour in some universities, and was practised largely by physicians occupying the most distinguished positions. In those days few were strong minded enough to defy augury, and in popular belief all were 'servile to skiey influences'. It was contrary to the regulations of the Paris Faculty to lecture on the subject, though at this time the king had in his employ a professional astrologist, Thibault. Shortly after reaching Paris Servetus began a course of lectures on the subject, which very soon brought him into conflict with the authorities.

The admirable practice for the Dean to write out each year his report, has preserved for us the full details of the procedure against Servetus. Duboulay, in his *History of the University of Paris*, vol. vi, has extracted the whole affair from the Dean's Commentary, as it is called, of the year. He says that a certain student of medicine, a Spaniard, or as he says, from Navarre, but with a Spanish father, had taught for some days in Paris in 1537 judicial astrology or divination. After having found out that this was condemned by the Doctors of the Faculty, he caused to be printed a certain apology in which he attacked the doctors, and moreover declared that wars and pests and all the affairs of men depended on the heavens and on the stars, and he imposed on the public by confounding true and judicial astrology. The Dean goes on to state that, accompanied by two of his colleagues, he tried to prevent Villanovanus from publishing the apology, and met him leaving the school where he had been making a dissection of the body with a surgeon, and in the presence of several of the scholars, and of two or three doctors, he not only refused to stop the publication, but he threatened the Dean with bitter words.

The Faculty appears to have had some difficulty in getting the authorities to move in the matter. Possibly we may see here the influence of the court astrologer, Thibault. After

[4] many attempts, and after appealing to the Theological Faculty and the Congregation of the University, the question was taken up by Parliament. The speeches of counsel for the Faculty, for the University, for Villanovanus, and for the Parliament are given in full. The Parliament decided that the printed apology should be recalled, the booksellers were forbidden to keep them, the lectures on astrology were forbidden, and Villanovanus was urged to treat the Faculty with respect. But on their part they were asked to deal with the offender gently, and in a parental fashion. It is a very interesting trial, and the Dean evidently enjoyed his triumph. He says that he took with him three theologians, two doctors in medicine, the Dean of the Faculty of Canonical Law, and the Procurator-General of the University. The affair was discussed by Parliament with closed doors.

The *Apologetica disceptatio pro astrologia*, the rarest of the Servetus items, the only copy known being in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is an eight leaf pamphlet, without title-page, pagination, or printer's name. The friends of the Faculty must have been very successful in their confiscation of the work. Tollin, who discovered the original, has reprinted it (Berlin, 1880). It was not hard for Servetus to cite powerful authorities on his side, and he summons in his defence the great quartette, Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen. A practical star-gazer, he took his own observations, and the pamphlet records an eclipse of Mars by the moon. He must, too, have been a student of the weather, as he speaks of giving in his lectures public predictions which caused great astonishment. The influence of the moon in determining the critical days of diseases, a favourite doctrine of Galen, is fully discussed, and he says that Galen's opinion should be written in letters of gold. He rests content with these great authorities, referring very briefly to one or two minor lights. He scoffs at the well-known bitter attack on divination by Picus.

It took several generations to eradicate completely from the profession a belief in astrology, which lingered well into the seventeenth century. In his *Vulgar Errors*, discussing the

'Canicular' or 'Dog Days', Sir Thomas Browne expresses his [4] opinion of astrology in the most characteristic language. 'Nor do we hereby reject or condemn a sober and regulated Astrol-ogy; we hold there is more truth therein than in Astrologers; in some more than many allow, yet in none so much as some pretend. We deny not the influence of the Starres, but often suspect the due application thereof; for though we should affirm that all things were in all things; that heaven were but earth celestified, and earth but heaven terrestri- fied, or that each part above had an influence upon its divided affinity below; yet how to single out these relations, and duly to apply their actions, is a work oft times to be effected by some revelation, and Cabala from above, rather than any Philosophy, or speculation here below.' X

Among the auditors of Servetus was a young man, Pierre Paumier, the Archbishop of Vienne, who appears to have befriended him in Paris, and who a few years later asked him to be his body physician. The astrology trial was settled in March, 1537.

Servetus cannot have been very long a student of medicine, but never lacking in assurance, he came before the world as a [5] medical author in the little treatise on *Syrups and their use* (Fig. 5). Association with Champier, whom he had helped in an edition of his French *Pharmacopoeia*, had made him familiar with the subject. The first three chapters are taken up with the views on 'Concoctions' or 'Digestions', of which at that time a series, from the first to the fourth, was recognized. He pleads for a unity of the process, and, as Willis remarks, he makes the very shrewd remark at that day, 'that diseases are only perversions of natural functions and not new entities introduced into the body.' The greater part of the treatise is taken up with theoretical discussions on the opinions of Galen, Hippocrates, and Avicenna. The 'Composition and use of the Syrups' is deferred to the fifth and a concluding (sixth) chapter.

The little book appears to have been popular, and was reprinted twice at Venice, 1545 and 1548, and twice at Lyons, 1546 and 1547.

## III

[5] Whether the adverse decision of Parliament disgusted him with Paris, or whether through some friend the opportunity to settle in practice had offered, we next hear of Villeneuve at Charlieu, a small town about twelve miles from Lyons, where he spent a year, or part of the year 1538-9. Here his old Paris friend Paumier sought him and induced him to settle at Vienne, offering him apartments in the palace, and an appointment as his body physician. After nearly ten years of wandering, at last, in a peaceful home in the fine old Roman city, with its good society, and under the protection of the Primate of all France, Servetus spent the next fourteen years as a practising physician.

Few details of his life are known. He retained his association with the Trechsels, the printers, who had set up a branch establishment in Vienne. In 1541 he brought out a new edition of Ptolemy, with a dedication to the Archbishop. From the preface we have a glimpse of a genial group of companions, all interested in the new studies. Several critical items in the edition of 1535 disappear in the new one of 1541, e.g. the scoffing remarks about Palestine; and in mentioning the royal touch, instead of, 'I have myself seen the King touching many with this disease (i.e. Scrofula), but I have not seen that they were cured,' he says, 'I have heard that many were cured.' Perhaps he felt it unbecoming in a member of an ecclesiastical circle, and living under the patronage of the Archbishop, to say anything likely to give offence.

In the following year he issued an edition of Pagnini's Bible in a fine folio (Fig. 6). Its chief interest to us is the testimony that Servetus was still deep in theological studies, for the commentaries in the work place him among the earliest and boldest of the higher critics. The prophetic psalms, and the numerous prophecies in Isaiah and Daniel are interpreted in the light of contemporary events, but as Willis remarks, 'These numerous excessively free and highly heterodox interpretations appear to have lost Villeneuve neither countenance nor favour at Vienne.'



Syruporum vni-  
versa ratio, ad Ga-  
leni censuram diligenter  
expolita.

Cui, post integrā de concoctione disceptationem,  
præscripta est uera purgandi methodus, cum ex-  
positione aphorismi: Concocta medicari.

*Serveto*

Michaële Villanouano auctore.

Πρὸς τὸν φιλάτρον.  
Εύροα ποιήσω τὰτε σώματα, τὰτε πεπάνω  
ὦμά χυμῶν, τὰυτης δόγματα ἰδί βίβλῃ.

PARISIIS  
Ex officina Simonis Colinæi.

1 5 3 7

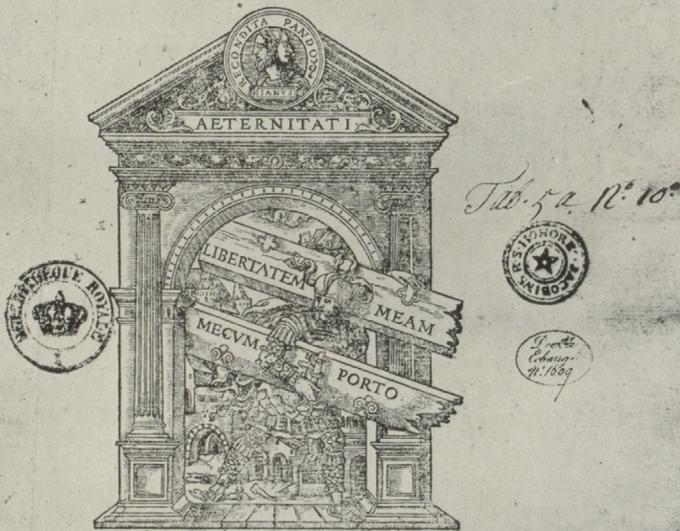
FIG. 5.

# BIBLIA

sacra ex Sancti Pagnini tralatione, SED AD HEBRAICAM

ca lingua amussim nouissimè ita recognita, & scholiis illustrata, ut planè noua editio uideri possit.

*Ex biblia sacra conuenit 11<sup>ta</sup> Annunciatio Pagnini edidit Trahant Publicationem 1699  
Accessit praeterea Liber interpretationum Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Graecorumque  
nominum, quae in sacris literis reperiuntur, ordine alphabetico digestus, eodem auctore.*



*Tib. 5. r. 10. 10.*

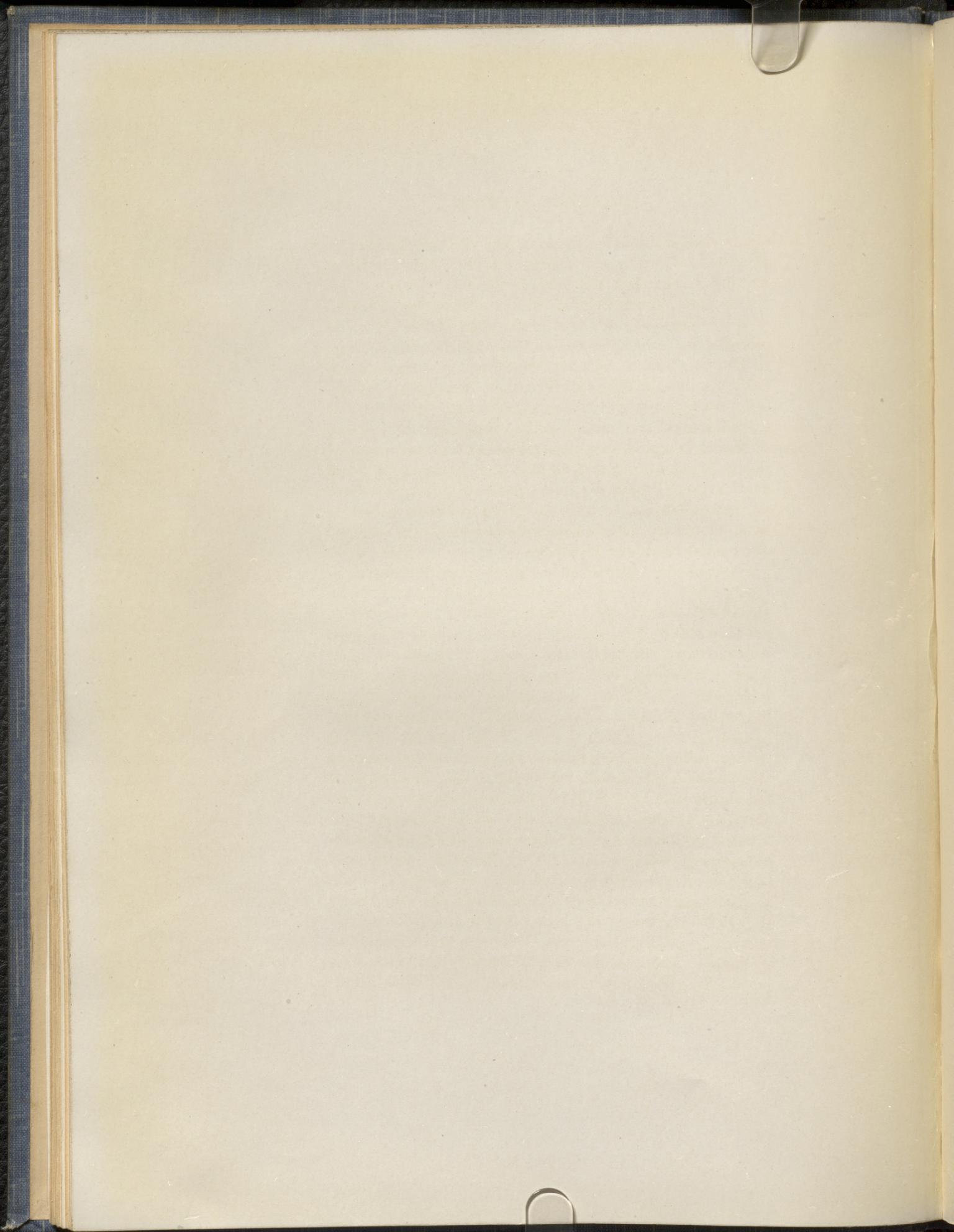
LVGDVNI,

Apud HVGONEM à Porta.

M. D. XLII.

Cum priuilegio ad annos sex.

FIG. 6.



For another Lyons' publisher, Frelon, he edited a number [5] of educational works, and through him the Vienne physician was put in correspondence with the Geneva reformer.

A dreamer, an enthusiast, a mystic, Servetus was possessed with the idea that could but the doctrines of the Church be reformed the world could be won to a primitive, simple Christianity. We have already seen his attempt to bring the Swiss Reformers into what he thought correct views upon the Trinity. He now began a correspondence with Calvin on this subject, and on the question of the Sacraments. The letters, which are extant, in tone and contents shocked and disgusted Calvin to such a degree that in a communication to Farel, dated February, 1546, after stating that Servetus had offered to come to Geneva, he adds, 'I will not pledge my faith to him; for did he come if I have any authority here I should never suffer him to go away alive.'

For years Servetus had in preparation the work which he fondly hoped would restore primitive Christianity. Part of a MS. of this he had sent to Calvin. Having tried in vain to get it published, he decided to print it privately at Vienne. Arrangements were made with a local printer, who set up a separate press in a small house, and in a few months 1,000 copies were printed. The title-page here reproduced (Fig. 7) has the date 1553, and on the last page the initials of his name, 'M. S. V.'

He must have known that the work was likely to cause great commotion in the Church, but he hoped that the identity of the author would be as little suspected as that the Vienne physician, Michael Villeneuve, was Michael Servetus of the heretical *de Trinitatis Erroribus*. Intended for distribution in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, the work was made up into bales of 100 copies for distribution to the trade. Probably from their mutual friend Frelon Calvin received a couple of copies. The usual story is that through one William Trie as a medium, Calvin denounced Villeneuve to the inquisition at Vienne. This was the view of Servetus himself, and is supported by Willis, Tollin, and others; but advocates of Cal-

[5] vin continue to deny that there is sufficient evidence of his active participation at this stage.

There was at this time at Lyons the well-known inquisitor Orry, who ten years before had brought Étienne Dolet to the stake. No sooner had he got scent of the affair than he undertook the prosecution with his customary zeal, and Servetus was arrested. The preliminary trial at Vienne is chiefly of interest on account of the autobiographical details which Servetus gives. The evidence against him was so overwhelming that he was committed to prison. Surrounded by his friends, who must have been greatly shocked and distressed to find their favourite physician in so terrible a plight, abundantly supplied with money, with the prison discipline very lax as the jailer was his friend, it is not surprising that the day after his commitment Servetus escaped, greatly no doubt to the relief of the Archbishop and the authorities. The inquisitor had to be content with burning an effigy of the heretic with some 500 copies of his work.

[6] From April 7 until the middle of July Servetus disappears from view, and we next meet with him, of all places in the world, at Geneva. Why he should have run this risk has been much discussed, but the explanation given by Guizot is probably the correct one. At that time the Liberals, or 'Libertines', as they were called because of their hostility to Calvin, fully expected to triumph. 'One of their leaders, Ami Perrin, was first Syndic: a man of their party, Gueroult, who had been banished from Geneva, had been corrector of the press at the time when the *Restoration of Christianity* was published, and thanks to the influence of his patrons, the Libertines, he had returned to Geneva, and would naturally be the medium between them and Servetus. Taking a comprehensive view of the whole case and the antecedents of all those concerned in it, I am convinced that Servetus, defeated at Vienne, went to Geneva, relying on the support of the Libertines, whilst they on their side expected to obtain efficacious help from him against Calvin.' He seems to have been nearly a month in Geneva before his arrest on the morning of August 14.

CHRISTIANI-  
SMI RESTITV-  
TIO.

Totius ecclesie apostolica est ad sua limina vo-  
catio, in integrum restituta cognitione Dei, fidei  
Christi, iustificationis nostrae, regenerationis bap-  
tismi, & cœnæ domini manducationis. Restituro de-  
nique nobis regno caelesti, Babylonis impie captivi-  
tate soluta, & Antichristo cum suis penitus de-  
structo.

בעת ההוא יעמוד מיכאל השד  
και ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

M. D. LIII.

Danielis Márkos Szent  
Ivani Transylvano-  
Hungari.

Londini 1665 die  
13 Maij

Nunc Michaelis Almagi  
Futuro Episcopo tradendus.

Ally vektet itt, Sz. Olyan Szep nagy

FIG. 7.

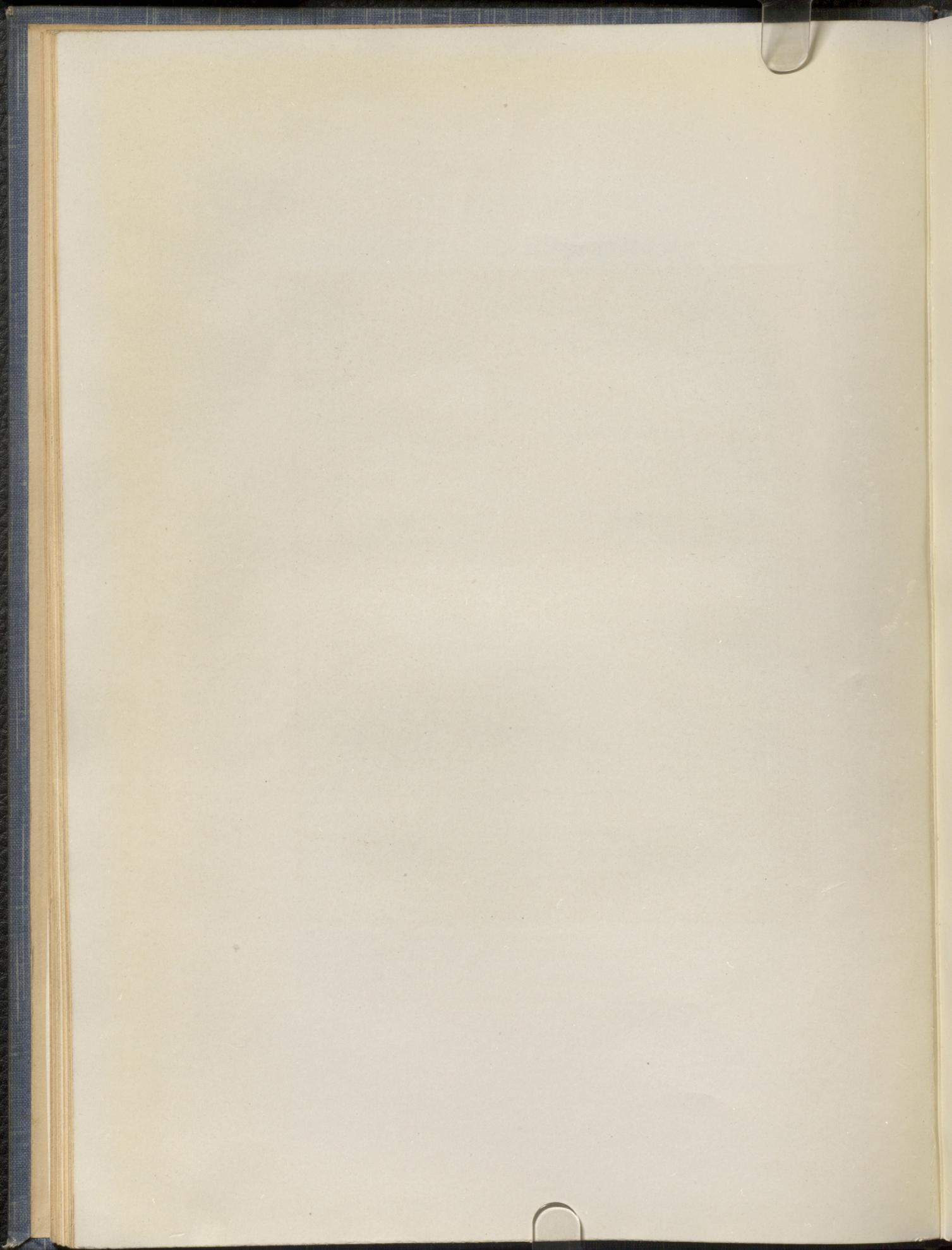
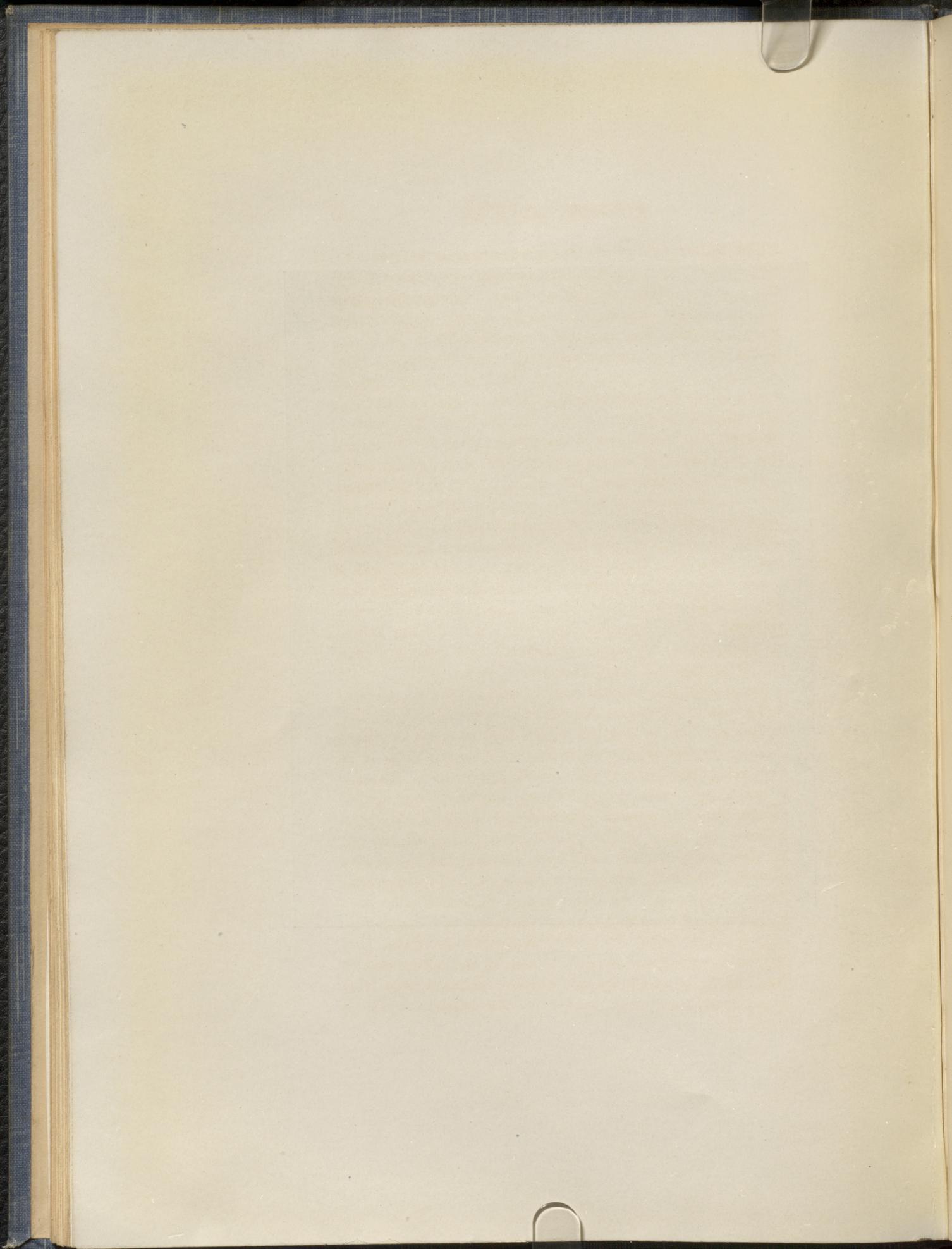




FIG. 8—Servetus in Prison.



The full account of this famous heresy trial has lost much [6] of its interest so far as the doctrinal details are concerned. At this distance, with our modern ideas, the procedure seems very barbarous. Servetus was cruelly treated in prison, and there is a letter from him which speaks of his shocking condition, without proper clothing, and a prey to vermin. Mademoiselle Roch has well depicted this phase of the martyr's career in her fine statue which has been erected at Anamnese, and which is here reproduced (Fig. 8). The full report of the trial may be followed in the account given by Willis, and the 'Procès-Verbal' was in existence at Geneva in manuscript.

One thing seems clear, that while at first the accusations were largely concerned with the heretical views of Servetus, later the public prosecutor laid more stress upon the political side of the case, accusing him of conspiracy with the Libertines. The trial divided Geneva into hostile camps, and it sometimes looked as though Calvin, quite as much as Servetus, was on trial. To strengthen their hands the clerical party appealed to the Swiss churches. The answer, strong enough in condemning the heresy and blasphemy, refrained from specifying the kind of punishment.

Accustomed in France to hear the Swiss Reformers branded as the worst type of heretics, Servetus appears never to have understood why he should not have been received with open arms by the Protestants, whose one desire was the same as his own, the restoration of primitive faith and practice. He made a brave fight, and brought strong countercharges against Calvin, whom he accused specifically of causing his arrest at Vienne. He offered to discuss the questions at issue publicly, an offer which Calvin would have accepted had the syndics allowed. The whole city was in a ferment, and Sunday after Sunday Calvin and the other pastors thundered from their pulpits against the blasphemies of the Spaniard. After dragging its weary length for nearly two months, the public feeling veered strongly to the side of Calvin, and on October 27 the Council, by a majority vote, resolved that in consideration of his great errors and blasphemies, the prisoner should be burnt alive.

[6] Servetus appears to have been a curious compound of audacity and guilelessness. The announcement of the condemnation appears to have completely stunned him, as he seems never to have considered its possibility. He sent for Calvin and asked his pardon, but there was bitterness in the heart of the great reformer whose account of the interview is not very pleasant reading.

On the morning of the 27th, the Tribunal assembled before the porch of the Hôtel de Ville to read to the prisoner his formal condemnation, under ten separate heads, the two most important of which relate to the doctrine of the Trinity, and Infant Baptism. It is curious that under one of the headings he should be denounced as an arrogant innovator, and an inventor of heresies against Popery! The entreaty of Servetus for a more merciful mode of death (for which, to his credit, be it said, Calvin also pleaded) was in vain. The procession at once formed to the place of execution.

Nothing in his life, it may be said, became him like the leaving of it. As Guizot remarks, 'The dignity of the philosopher triumphed over the weakness of the man, and Servetus died heroically and calmly at that stake the very thought of which had at first filled him with terror.'

There will be dedicated next year at Vienne a monument commemorating the services of Servetus as an independent spirit in theology, and as a pioneer in physiology.

It has been said that Sappho survives because we sing her songs, and Aeschylus because we read his plays, but it would be difficult to explain the widespread interest in Servetus from any knowledge men have of his writings. The pathos of his fate, which scandalized Gibbon more profoundly than all the human hecatombs of Spain or Portugal, accounts for it in part. Then there is the limited circle of those who regard him as a martyr to the Unitarian confession; while scientific men have a very definite interest in him as one of the first to make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the circulation of the blood. His theological and physiological views call for brief comments.

## IV

Next to theology itself the study of medicine has been a <sup>[6]</sup> great heresy breeder. From the days of Arnold of Villanova and Pierre of Abano, there have been noted heretics in our ranks. Bossuet defines a heretic as 'One who has opinions'. Servetus seems to have been charged with opinions like a Leyden jar. His most notable ones concerned the Trinity and Infant Baptism. Wracked almost to destruction in the third and fourth centuries on the subject of the Trinity, the final conquest of Arianism found its expression in that magnificent human document the Athanasian Creed, with which the Catholic Church has for ever settled the question, in language which sends a cold shudder down the backs of heretics. But there have always been turbulent souls who could not rest satisfied, and who would bring up unpleasant points from the Bible—men who were not able to accept Dante's wise advice: —'Mad is he who hopes that our reason can traverse the <sup>[7]</sup> infinite way which one Substance as Three Persons holds. Be content oh human race with the Quia'.

The doctrine has been a great breeding ground of heretics, the smoke of whose burning has been a sweet savour in the nostrils alike of Catholics and Protestants. Even to-day, so deeply ingrained is the catholic creed, that nearly everything in the way of doctrinal vagary is forgiven save denial of the Trinity, which is thought to put a man outside the pale of normal Christianity. If this is the feeling to-day, imagine what it must have been in the middle of the sixteenth century!

Servetus wrote two theological works—*de Trinitatis Erroribus*, published in 1531, followed by a supplement in 1532. To these I have already referred. Living a double life at Vienne, to the inhabitants he was the careful and kind practitioner of medicine, to whom they had become devoted, but all the while, nourishing the dream of his youth, he had in preparation a work which he believed would win the world to Christ by purifying the Church from grave errors in doctrine.

I have already spoken of the printing of the *Christianismi Restitutio*. Mainly concerned with most abstruse questions

[7] concerning the Trinity and Infant Baptism, it is a most difficult work to read, and, as theologians confess, a still more difficult one to understand. Professor Emerton, in his article from which I have already quoted, gives in a few paragraphs the essence of his views. 'He finds the central fact of Christian speculation, not in the doctrine of the Trinity as formulated by the schools, but in the fact of the divine incarnation in the person of Jesus. He admits the divine birth, explaining it as in harmony with a general law of divine manifestation whereby the spiritual is revealed in the material. He would not accept the idea of an eternal sonship, except in this sense, that the divine Word, the Logos, had always been active as the expression in outward form of the divine activity. So, in the fullness of time, this same Logos produced a being from a human mother upon whom at the moment of his birth the divine Spirit was breathed. Obviously this is not the "eternal Son" of the creeds, and herein lay the special theological crime of Servetus. In his criticism of the church order, of the papal government, of the sacramental system, he does not differ essentially from the more radical of the reformers. On the essential matters of baptism and the Eucharist he goes quite beyond the established reforming churches. In both cases he invokes the principle of plain reason. He rejects Infant Baptism on the ground that the infant can have no faith, and that the practice is therefore mere incantation. He denies transubstantiation on the rational basis that substances and accidents may not be separated, and does not spare the reforming leaders for what seemed to him their half-hearted attitude on this point. His language throughout is harsh and violent, except where, as at the close of his chapters, he passes over into the forms of devotion and closes his diatribes with prayers of great beauty and spirituality.'

The Christian Church early found out that there was only one safe way of dealing with heresy. From the end of the fourth century, when the habit began, to its climax on St. Bartholomew's Day, it was universally recognized that only dead heretics ceased to be troublesome. History affords ample

evidence of the efficacy of repressive measures, often carried [7] out on a scale of noble proportions. France is Catholic because of a root and branch policy; England's Protestantism is an enduring testimony to the thoroughness with which Henry VIII carried out his measures. As De Foe says in his famous pamphlet, *Shortest way with Dissenters*, if a man is obstinate and persists in having an opinion of his own, contrary to that held by a majority of his fellows, and if the opinion is pernicious and jeopardizes his eternal salvation, it is much safer to burn him than to allow his doctrines to spread! For 1,200 years this policy kept heresy within narrow limits until the great outbreak. The very best men of the day were consenting to the death of heretics. The spirit of Protestantism was against it; Luther nobly so. Judged by his age Servetus was a rank heretic, and as deserving of death as any ever tied to a stake. We can scarcely call him a martyr of the Church.—What Church would own him? All the same, we honour his memory as a martyr to the truth as he saw it.

Servetus was a student of medicine in Paris with Sylvius and Guinther, two of the most ardent of the revivers of the Galenic anatomy. More important still, he was a fellow student and pro-sector with Vesalius. He wrote one little medical book of no special merit. The works which he edited, which brought him more money than fame, indicate an independent and critical spirit. Vienne was a small town, in which we cannot think there was any scientific stimulus, though it was in a region noted for its intellectual activity.

In possession of a fact in physiology of the very first moment, Servetus described it with extraordinary clearness and accuracy. But so little did he think of the discovery, of so trifling importance did it appear in comparison with the great task in hand of restoring Christianity, that he used it simply as an illustration when discussing the nature of the Holy Spirit in his work *Christianismi Restitutio*. The discovery was nothing less than that of the passage of the blood from the right side of the heart to the left through the lungs, what is known as pulmonary, or lesser circulation.

[7] In the year 1553 the views of Galen everywhere prevailed. The great master had indeed effected a revolution in the knowledge of the circulation almost as great as that made by Harvey in the seventeenth century. Briefly stated there were two bloods, the natural and the vital, in two practically closed systems, the veins and the arteries. The liver was the central organ of the venous system, the 'shop' as Burton calls it, in which the chylus was converted into blood and from which it was distributed by the veins to all parts of the body for nourishment. The veins were rather vessels containing the blood than tubes for its transmission—irrigating canals Galen called them. Galen knew the structure of the heart, the arrangement of its valves, and the direction in which the blood passed, but its chief function was not, as we suppose, mechanical, but in the left ventricle, the seat of life, the vital spirits [8] were generated, being a mixture of inspired air and blood. By an alternate movement of dilatation and collapse of the arteries the blood with the vital spirits were kept in constant motion.<sup>2</sup> Galen had demonstrated that the arteries and the veins communicated with each other at the periphery. A small quantity of the blood went, he believed, from the right side of the heart to the lungs, for their nourishment, and in this way passed to the left side of the heart; but the chief communication between the two systems was through pores in the ventricular septum, the thick muscular wall separating the two chief chambers of the heart.

The literature may be searched in vain for any other than the Galenic view up to 1553. Even Vesalius, who could not

---

<sup>2</sup> So firmly entrenched was the Galenic physiology that the new views of Harvey made at first very slow progress. In Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which is a sort of epitome of medical knowledge of the seventeenth century, is the following description: 'The left creek (i. e. ventricle) has the form of a cone, and is the seat of life, which, as a torch doth oil, draws blood unto it begetting of it spirits and fire, and as a fire in a torch so are spirits in the blood; and by that great artery called aorta, it sends vital spirits over the body, and takes air from the lungs.'

understand from its structure how even the smallest quantity [8] of blood could pass through the septum dividing the ventricles, offered no other explanation. The more one knows of the Galenic physiology, the less one is surprised that it had so captivated the minds of men. The description of the new way which Servetus describes is found in the fifth book of the *Christianismi Restitutio*, in which he is discussing the nature of the Holy Spirit. After mentioning the threefold spirit of the body of man, natural, vital, and animal, he goes on to discuss the vital spirit, and in a few paragraphs describes the pulmonary circulation. 'Rightly to understand the question here, the first thing to be considered is the substantial generation of the vital spirit—a compound of the inspired air with the most subtle portion of the blood. The vital spirit has, therefore, its source in the left ventricle of the heart, the lungs aiding most essentially in its production. It is a fine attenuated spirit, elaborated by the power of heat, of a crimson colour and fiery potency—the lucid vapour as it were of the blood, substantially composed of water, air, and fire; for it is engendered, as said, by the mingling of the inspired air with the more subtle portion of the blood which the right ventricle of the heart communicates to the left. This communication, however, does not take place through the septum, partition, or midwall of the heart, as commonly believed, but by another admirable contrivance, the blood being transmitted from the pulmonary artery to the pulmonary vein, by a lengthened passage through the lungs, in the course of which it is elaborated and becomes of a crimson colour. Mingled with the inspired air in this passage, and freed from fuliginous vapours by the act of expiration, the mixture being now complete in every respect, and the blood become fit dwelling-place of the vital spirit, it is finally attracted by the diastole, and reaches the left ventricle of the heart.

'Now that the communication and elaboration take place in the lungs in the manner described, we are assured by the conjunctions and communications of the pulmonary artery with the pulmonary vein. The great size of the pulmonary

[8] artery seems of itself to declare how the matter stands; for this vessel would neither have been of such a size as it is, nor would such a force of the purest blood have been sent through it to the lungs for their nutrition only; neither would the heart have supplied the lungs in such fashion, seeing as we do that the lungs in the foetus are nourished from another source—those membranes or valves of the heart not coming into play until the hour of birth, as Galen teaches. The blood must consequently be poured in such large measures at the moment of birth from the heart to the lungs for another purpose than the nourishment of those organs. Moreover, it is not simply air, but air mingled with blood that is returned from the lungs to the heart by the pulmonary veins.

‘It is in the lungs, consequently, that the mixture (of the inspired air with the blood) takes place, and it is in the lungs also, not in the heart, that the crimson colour of the blood is acquired. There is not indeed capacity of room enough in the left ventricle of the heart for so great and important an elaboration, neither does it seem competent to produce the crimson colour. To conclude, the septum or middle portion of the heart, seeing that it is without vessels and special properties, is not fitted to permit and accomplish the communication and elaboration in question, although it may be that some transudation takes place through it. It is by a mechanism similar to that by which the transfusion from the *vena portae* to the *vena cava* takes place in the liver, in respect of the blood, that the transfusion from the pulmonary artery to the pulmonary vein takes place in the lungs, in respect of the spirit’ (Willis’s translation). I here reproduce from the Vienna example the two pages from which the greater part of this description is taken (Figs. 9 and 10).

The important elements here are: First, the clear statement of the function of the pulmonary artery; secondly, the transmission of the impure or venous blood through the lungs from the right side of the heart to the left; thirdly, the recognition of an elaboration or transformation in the lungs, so that with the freeing the blood of ‘fuliginous vapours’, there was at the

same time a change to the crimson colour of the arterial blood; [8] fourthly, the direct denial of a communication of the two bloods, by means of orifices in the septum between the ventricles.

He had no idea of the general or systematic circulation, and so far as the left heart and the arteries were concerned he believed them to be the seat of the vital blood and spirits.

It is not hard to imagine how Servetus had become emancipated from the old views. A student at Paris at a most opportune period, when dissection had become popular, he had had as pro-sector to Guinther exceptional opportunities. But more important still, he had as fellow worker the anatomical arch-heretic, Andreas Vesalius, already imbued with the conviction that his teachers were wrong in regarding Galen as inspired and infallible. It was at this very period that Vesalius had pointed out to his teacher Sylvius the error of Galen about the [9] aortic valves; and when one considers the extraordinary rapidity with which Vesalius reformed human anatomy, before he had completed his twenty-eighth year, it is not surprising that his colleague and co-worker should have discovered one of the great truths of physiology.

The *Christianismi Restitutio* was never published, and the discovery of Servetus remained unrecognized until the attention of Wotton was called to it by Charles Bernard, a St. Bartholomew's Hospital surgeon.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile it had been rediscovered, and among the many vagaries with which the history of the circulation of the blood is marked, not the least striking is the attempt to rob Servetus of his credit. In 1559 there was published a work by Realdus Colombo,<sup>4</sup> a student of Vesalius and his successor at Padua, in which the circulation of the blood from the right side of the heart to the left is clearly described. It is impossible to say that he had added anything to the account just given, and the far-fetched view has been maintained that Italian students at Paris had ac-

<sup>3</sup> William Wotton, *Reflections upon ancient and modern learning*, 1697, page 229.

<sup>4</sup> *De re Anatomica Venetiis*.

## DE TRINITATE

191

170

lẽ, quã nunc audies. Hinc dicitur anima esse in sanguine, & anima ipsa esse sanguis, siue sanguineus spiritus. Non dicitur anima principaliter esse in parietibus cordis, aut in corpore ipso cerebri, aut hepatis, sed in sanguine, vt docet ipse Deus genes. 9. Leuit. 17. et Deut. 12.

Ad quam rem est prius intelligenda substantialis generatio ipsius vitalis spiritus, quẽ ex aere inspirato & subtilissimo sanguine cõponitur, & nutritur. Vitalis spiritus in sinistro cordis vetriculo suã originẽ habet, iuuatibus maxime pulmonibus ad ipsius generationem. Est spiritus tenuis, caloris vi elaboratus, flauo colore ignea potentia, vt ait quasi ex puriori sanguine lucidus vapor, substantiam in se continens aquã acris & ignis. Generatur ex facta in pulmonibus mixtione inspirati aeris cũ elaborato subtili sanguine, quẽ dextere vetriculus cordis sinistro communicat. Fit autem cõmunicatio hæc, non per partem cordis mediũ, vt vulgo creditur. Sed magno artificio à dextro cordis vetriculo, longo per pulmones ductu, agitatur sanguis subtilis à pulmonibus præparatur, flauus efficitur: & à vena arteriosa in arteria venosam transfunditur. Deinde in ipsa arteria venosa inspirato aeri miscetur, & expiratione à fuligine repurgatur, Atque ita tandem à sinistro cordis vetriculo totum mixtum per diastolem attrahitur, apta suppellex, vt fiat spiritus vitalis.

Quod ita per pulmones fiat cõicatio, & præparatio, docet cõiunctio varia, & cõicatio, venã arteriosã cũ arteria venosa in pulmonibus. Oõfirmat hoc magnitudo in lignis venã arteriosã, quã nec talis, nec tãta facta esset, nec tãta à corde ipso vim purissimi sanguinis in pulmones emitteret, ob solũ eorũ nutrimentum, nec cor pulmonibus hac ratione seruiret: cũ præsertim antea in embryone solerent pulmones ipsi aliunde nutriri, ob membranulas illas, seu  
valuu

## LIBER V. 171 191

valvulas cordis, vsq; ad horā natiuitatis nōdū apertas, vt docet Galenus. Ergo ad alium vsū effunditur sanguis à corde in pulmones hora ipsa natiuitatis, & tā copiosus. Itē, à pulmonibus ad cor non simplex ac, sed mixtus sanguine mittitur, per arteriam venosam: ergo in pulmonibus fit mixtio. Flauus ille color à pulmonibus datur sanguini spirituosus, non à corde. In sinistro cordis ventriculo non est locus capax tantæ & tam copiosæ mixtionis, nec ad flauum elaboratio illa sufficiens. Demum, paries ille medius, cum sit vasorum & facultatum expers, non est aptus ad communicationē & elaborationē illam, licet aliquid resudare possit. Eodem artificio, quo in hepate fit transfusio à vena porta ad venam cauam propter sanguinem, fit etiam in pulmone transfusio à vena arteriosa ad arteriam venosam propter spiritum. Si quis hæc conferat cum ijs quæ scribit Galenus lib. 6. & 7. de vsu partium, veritatem penitus intelliget, ab ipso Galeno non animaduersam.

Ille itaq; spiritus vitalis à sinistro cordis ventriculo in arterias totius corporis deinde transfunditur, ita vt qui tenuior est, superiora petat, vbi magis adhuc elaboratur, præcipuè in plexu retiformi, sub basi cerebri sito, in quo ex vitali fieri incipit animalis, ad propriam rationalis animæ sedem accedens. Iterum ille fortius mentis ignea vi tenuatur, elaboratur, & perficitur, in tenuissimis vasis, seu capillaribus arterijs, quæ in plexibus choroidibus sitæ sunt, & ipsissimam mentem continent. Hi plexus intima omnia cerebri penetrant, & ipsos cerebri ventriculos interne succingunt, vasa illa secum complicata, & contexta seruantes, vsque ad neruorum origines, vt in eos sentiendi & mouendi facultas inducatur. Vasa illa miraculo magno tenuissimè contexta, tametsi arteriæ dicantur, sunt tamen fines arteriarum, tenden

[9] quainted Servetus with the views of Colombo. It is claimed for Colombo also that he had a better idea of the function of respiration in the purification of the blood, by its mingling with the air, but Servetus distinctly states that the mixture takes place in the lungs, not, as was usually understood at the time, in the heart itself.

Caesalpinus (1569), for whom elaborate claims are made, also knew of the pulmonary circulation, but he thought part of the blood went through the median septum. A more important claim is made for him of the discovery of the general circulation, but it is remarkable that any one knowing the history of the subject could read into his physiology anything more than the old Galenic views.

The history of the circulation bristles with controversy and widely divergent opinions are held as to the merits of the different observers. That Servetus first advanced a step beyond [10] Galen, that Colombo and Caesalpinus reached the same conclusion independently—all three recognizing the lesser circulation, is quite as certain as that it remained for Harvey to open an entirely new chapter in physiology, and to introduce modern experimental methods by which the complete circulation of the blood was first clearly demonstrated.<sup>5</sup>

A word about the book *Christianismi Restitutio, liber inter rariores longe rarissimus*. Only two complete copies are known, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and the other in the Imperial Library, Vienna, from which I was very kindly permitted to have the photographs of the title-page and the pages describing the circulation of the blood which are here reproduced. A third copy, imperfect, with the first sixteen pages in MS., is in the University Library, Edinburgh. The Paris copy is of special interest, as it belonged to Dr. Richard Mead, the distinguished physician and book collector, by whom it was exchanged with M. de Boze for a series of medals. In 1784 it was secured for the Royal Library. It may now be seen in one of the show cases of the Bibliothèque

<sup>5</sup> John C. Dalton's *History of the Circulation*, 1884, gives by far the best and fullest account of the whole subject in English.

Nationale, of which it is one of the rare treasures. An added [10] interest is in the fact that on the title-page occurs the name 'Germain Colladon', the Geneva barrister, who prosecuted Servetus; and it is in the highest degree probable that this was the identical copy used at the trial. In one place the book is stained, some suppose by moisture; others think it possible this was the very copy bound upon the victim himself, and snatched from the flames by some one who wished to preserve so interesting a record of the great heretic. The question has been examined carefully by the late Professor Labourene and M. Hahn, the distinguished librarian of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, both of whom are in favour of fire, not moisture, as the cause of the staining.

In 1791 the Vienna copy was reprinted at Nuremberg in facsimile, page for page, but Dr. de Murr, who was responsible for the reprint, very wisely put the date 1791 at the bottom of the last page. Copies of this edition are not uncommon in the larger libraries. In 1723 Mead attempted to have a reprint made from his copy, but when nearly completed the Bishop of London had it suppressed, and (it is stated) the copies were burnt. A few, however, escaped, and Willis says that he saw one in the library of the London Medical Society. I regret to say that the librarian informs me that this no longer is to be found. A copy of the Mead partial reprint is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and two copies are in the British Museum.

A last word on the attitude of John Calvin towards Servetus. Much scorn has been heaped upon the great reformer, and one cannot but regret that a man of such magnificent achievements should have been dragged into a miserable heresy hunt like a common inquisitor. Let us not estimate him by his century, as his friends plead, but frankly by his life, and as a man of like passions with ourselves. He had bitter provocation. Flouted for years by the persistent assaults of Servetus, and shocked out of all compassion by his blasphemies, is it to be wondered that the old Adam got the better of his Christian charity? Not only is it impossible to acquit Calvin of active

[10] complicity in this unhappy affair, but there was mixed up with it a personal hate, a vindictiveness unbecoming in so great a character, and we may say foreign to it. But let the long record of a self-denying life, devoted in an evil generation to the highest and the best, wipe for all reasonable men this one blot. Let us, if we may judge him at all, do so as a man, not as a demi-god. We cannot defend him, let us not condemn him; let his one grievous fault, even though we may fear he never repented of it, be the shadow which throws into stronger relief the splendid outlines of a noble life. In his defence,<sup>o</sup> the original edition of which I have here, and which is concerned largely with doctrinal questions, not only are there no expressions of regret for the part he played in the tragedy, but the work is filled with insults to his dead enemy, couched in the most vindictive language. On the spot where Servetus was burnt there stands to-day an expiatory monument (Fig. 11), which expresses the spirit of modern Protestantism. On one side is the record of his birth and death, on the other an inscription, of which the following is a translation: 'Duteous and grateful followers of Calvin our great Reformer, yet condemning an error which was that of his age, and strongly attached to liberty of conscience according to the true principles of the Reformation and the Gospel, we have erected this expiatory monument. Oct. 27, 1903.'

The erection next year at Vienna of a quatercentenary monument will complete the recognition by the modern world of the merits of one of the strangest figures on the rich canvas of the sixteenth century. The wandering Spanish scholar, the stormy disputant, the anatomical pro-sector, the mystic dreamer of a restored Christianity, the discoverer of one of the fundamental facts of physiology, has come at last to his own. There are those, I know, who feel that perhaps more than justice has been done; but in a tragic age Servetus played an unusually tragic part, and the pathos of his fate appeals strongly to us.

These, too, are days of retribution, of the restoration of all

<sup>o</sup> *Defensio Orthodoxae*, &c., 1554.

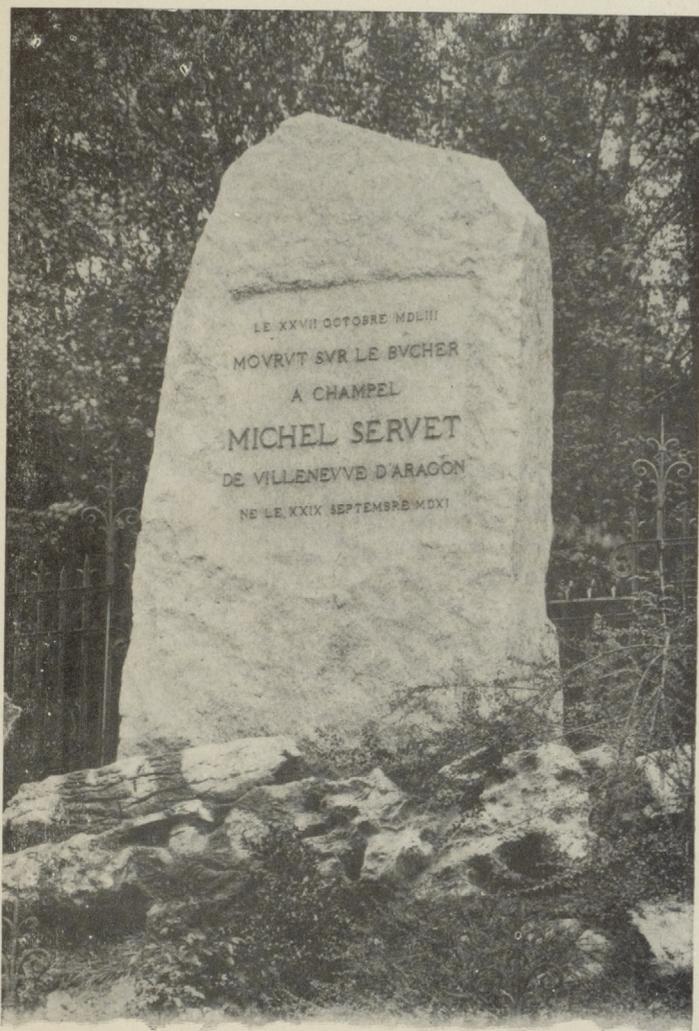
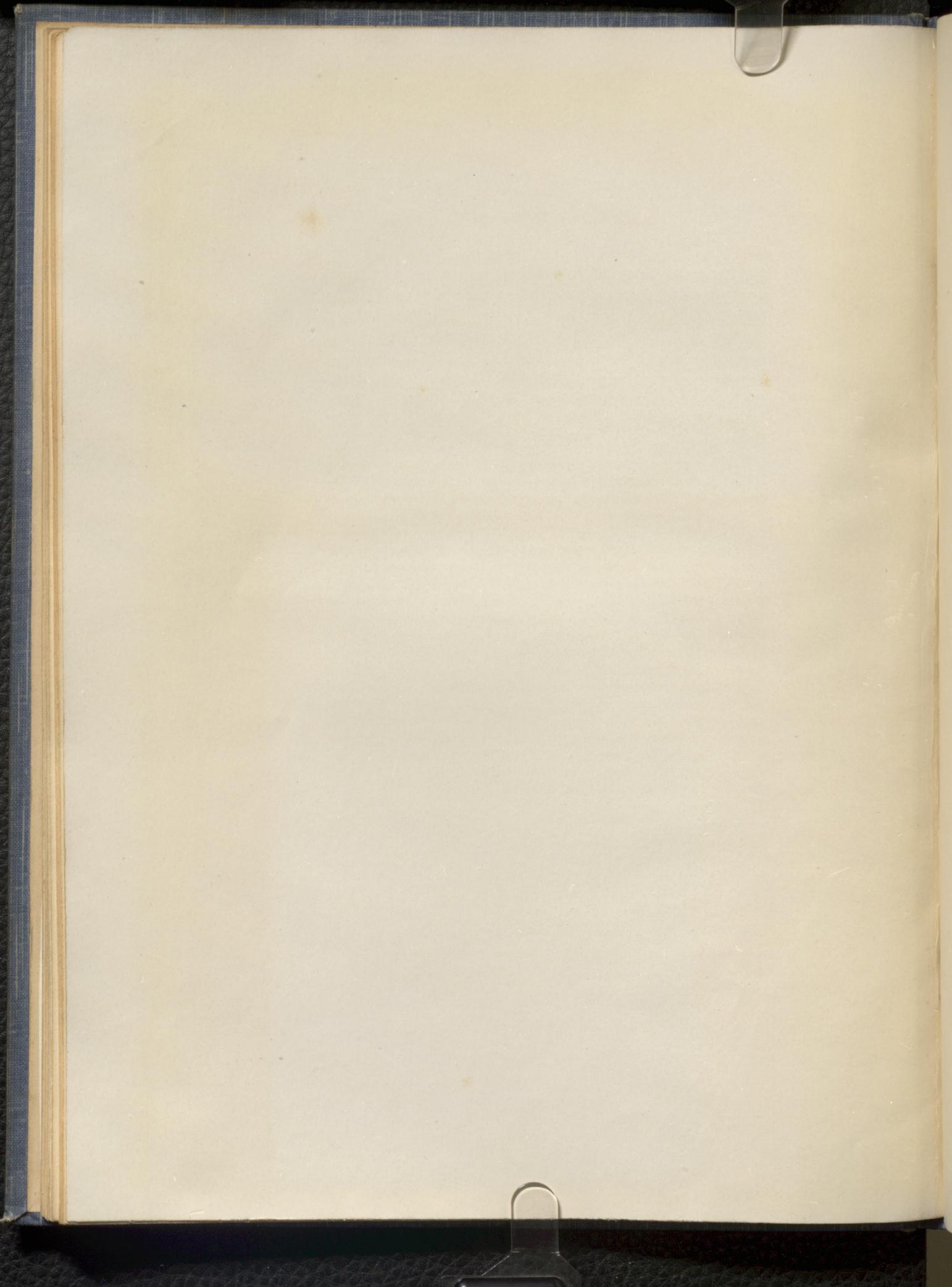


FIG. 11.



things, the days of the opening of the fifth seal, when the [10] souls under the altar see their blood avenged, when we clothe in the white robes of charity those who were slain for the testimony which they held, little noting whether the martyr was Catholic or Protestant, caring only to honour one of that great company which no man can number, 'whose heroic sufferings,' as Carlyle says, 'rise up melodiously together to heaven out of all lands and out of all time, as a sacred Miserere, their heroic actions also as a boundless everlasting Psalm of Triumph.'

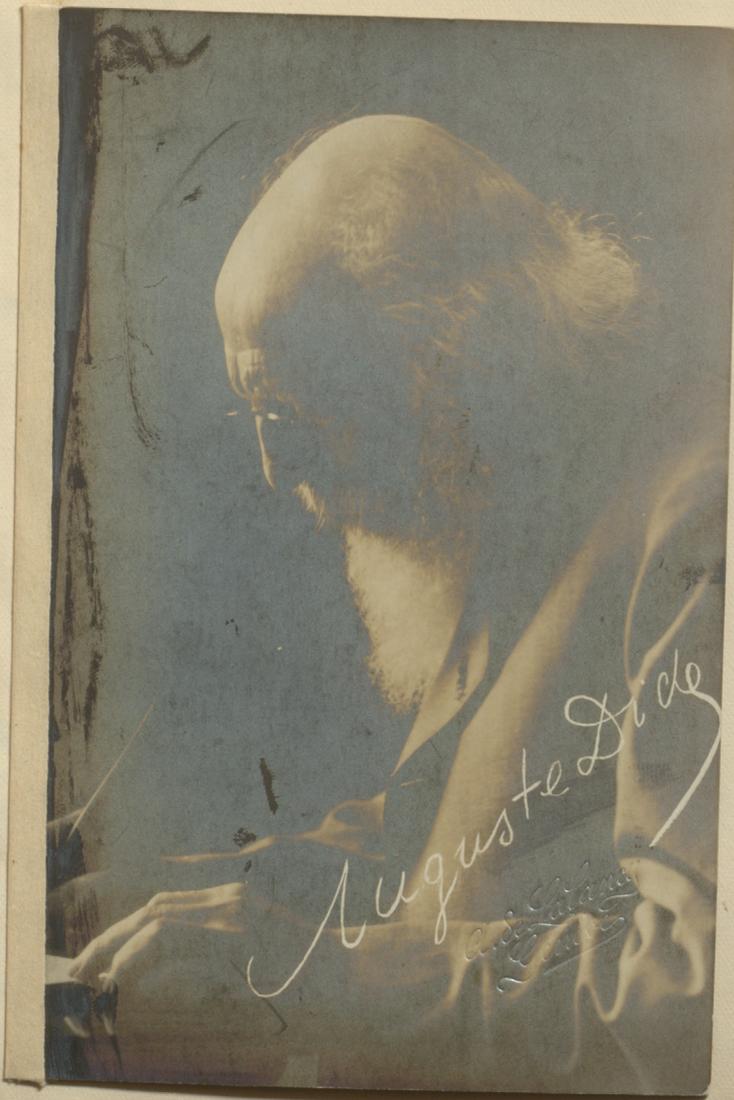
*Note.*—The Servetus bibliography is fully given to 1890 in Professor A. V. D. Linde's *Michael Servetus*, Groningen, 1891. My personal interest dates many years back when Pastor Tollin's delightful sketches enlivened the numbers of Virchow's *Archives*. No one has ever had a more enthusiastic biographer, and to the writings of the Madgeburg clergyman we owe the greater part of our modern knowledge of Servetus. The best account in English [11] is by Willis—*Servetus and Calvin*, 1877. A German translation of the *Christianismi Restitutio* by Dr. Bernhard Spless appeared in 1895 (2nd edition, Wiesbaden, Chr. Limbarth). I am indebted to Professor Harper of Princeton for an historical drama, *The Reformer of Geneva*, by Professor Shields (privately printed, Princeton University Press, 1897), which gives an admirable picture of Geneva at the time of the trial. From Chéreau's *Histoire d'un Livre*, 1879, I have 'cribbed' the idea of the introduction. The name of Mosheim must be mentioned, as his writings were for years the common tap from which all Servetus knowledge was derived. The Servetus portrait, of which Mosheim speaks, has disappeared; I have reproduced the engraving from Allworden's *Historia* (1727), also the Roch statue at Anamnese. *annemasse*

v. d.

things the rays of the opening of the fifth seal, when the two  
souls under the altar see their blood avenged, when we glide  
to the white robes of charity those who were slain for the testi-  
mony which they held, little noting whether the martyr was  
(Luther or Protestant, either only to honour one of that great  
company which no man can number, whose heroic suffering,  
as Casale says, 'rose up melodiously together to heaven out  
of all ranks and out of all times as a sacred Alliance, their  
lame accents also as a boundless everlasting Psalm of  
Triumph.

Note—The Servetus bibliography is fully given in 1881 in Rev.  
Lester A. ... Luther's ... Servetus, ... 1881. My  
personal latest dates may trace back what Luther ...  
liberal ... ...  
No one has ever had a more ...  
witness of the ...  
our ...  
is by ...  
the ...  
1882 (and ...  
Professor ...  
...  
Geneva at the time of the ...  
1870 I have ...  
name of ...  
years the common ...  
river. The ...  
appeared. I have ...  
Wittke (1877) and the ...

1840  
40-9



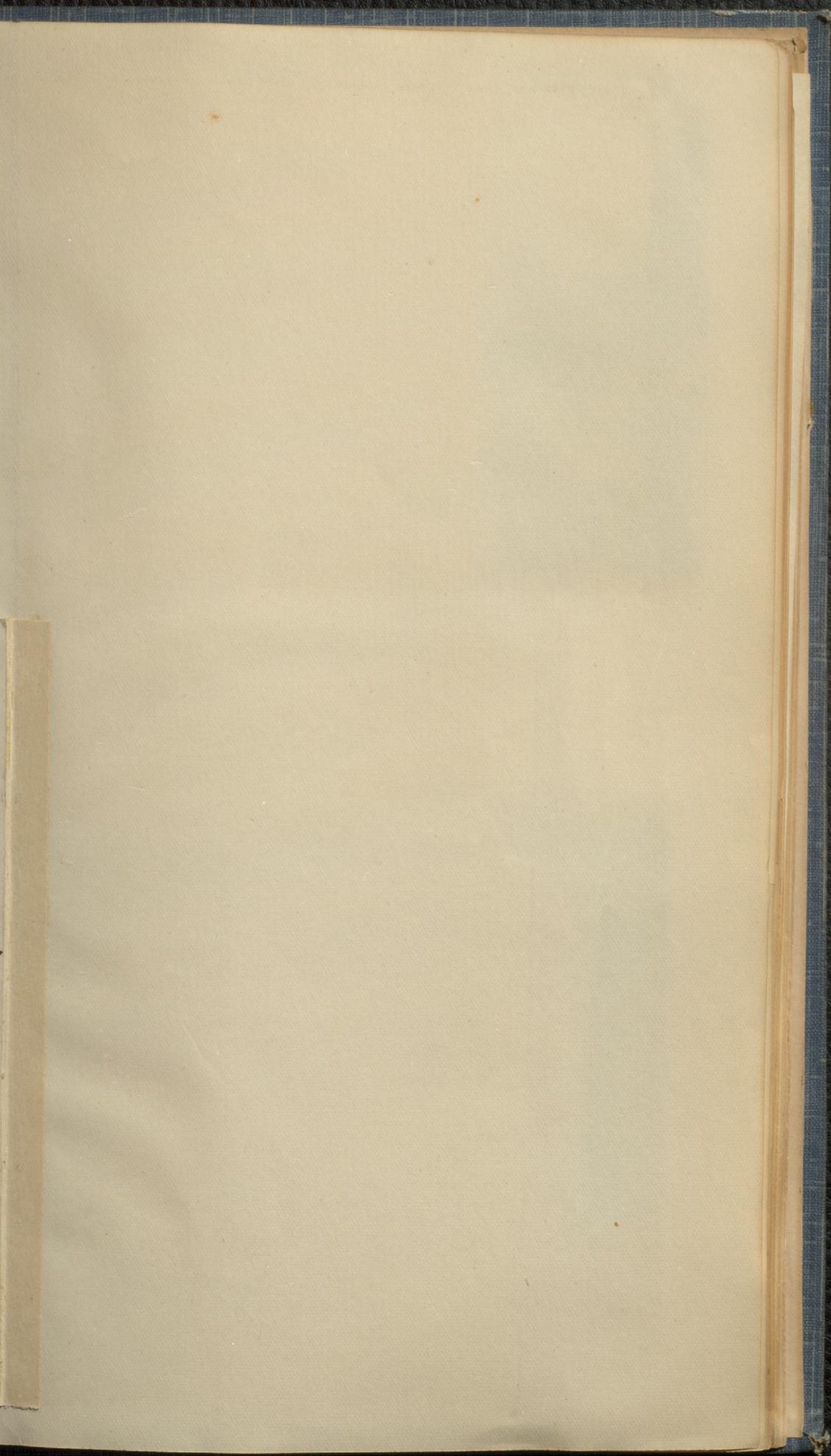
78 rue d'Assas

68<sup>me</sup> boulevard  
Genève le 4 novembre 1911

and the  
Cher Monsieur, Mademoiselle Roch is  
very busy at present & asks me to acknowledge  
your letter & give you the address of  
Coulff, Photo-éditeurs 28<sup>me</sup> <sup>et 30</sup> rue Bonaparte  
Paris celui qui a fait le photo de  
Séver. There is just one ~~photo~~ <sup>picture</sup> of Séver made  
some years after his death. Mlle Roch  
will send you one later. Mlle Roch  
wishes me to thank you for your letter  
Sincerely yours Helen Dale Rowland.

1040  
40-9

Maurice Dide was president of the  
Comité for the Michel Séver  
monument. His book Michel  
Séver et Calvin I think you  
would care for. (Please arrange  
that photo properly) I have just  
returned from a town where five languages  
were spoken.





J. Reboul, Moillesulaz  
59. ANNEMASSE. — Monument Michel SERVET

Dr. Hector Maillart  
Ex-Médecin-adjoint à l'Hôpital Cantonal

(Suisse/Switzerland)  
Genève, le -9 OCT 1908<sup>90</sup>  
(PLACE DE LA SYNAGOGUE, 6)

Dear Sir

I saw lately, advised by you to the library of the  
Medicine School of Geneva, a plate concerning Servet  
with his portrait and fac simile of title and 2 pages of  
his "De Trinitate..."

Possessor of a collection of genevise portraits, I would  
be glad to possess the above plate and would be very  
obliged to you telling me the price of it. I would as  
soon send you the money by post.

Yours sincerely  
H Maillart

RECEIVED  
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OXFORD  
12 OCT. 1908

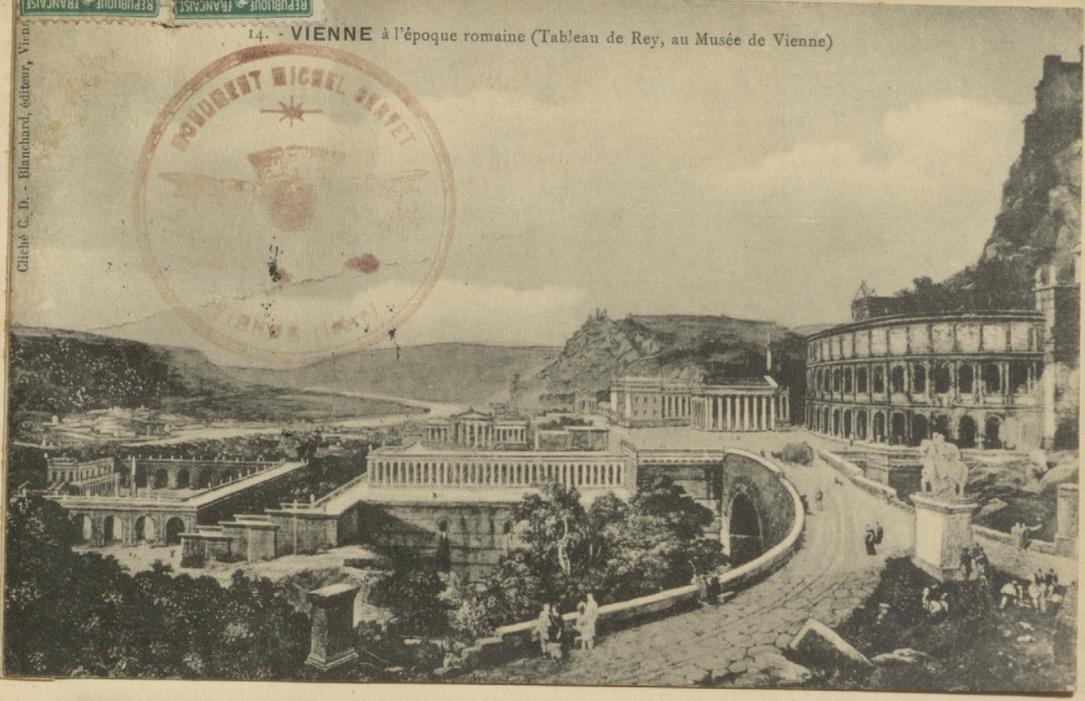
M<sup>r</sup> Horace Hart, M.A.  
Controller of the University Press  
Oxford

Cliché C. D. - Blanchard, éditeur, Vienne.

REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE



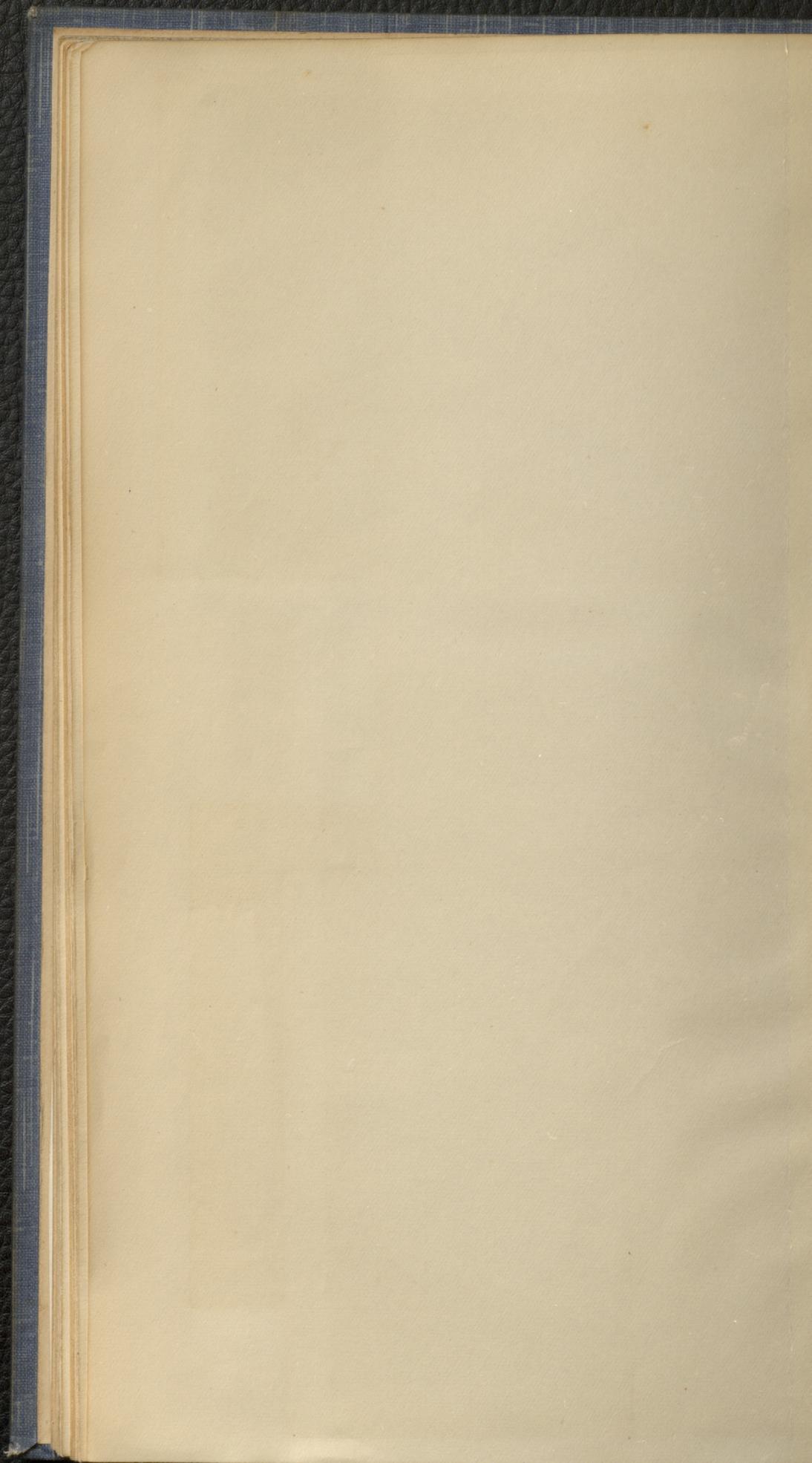
14. - VIENNE à l'époque romaine (Tableau de Rey, au Musée de Vienne)



65. - VIENNE. - La Voie Romaine au Jardin de Ville.

(Cliché C. D.) Blanchard, éditeur Vienne.

*En face de l'antre, l'emplacement du Monument Michel Servet*



M  
16945

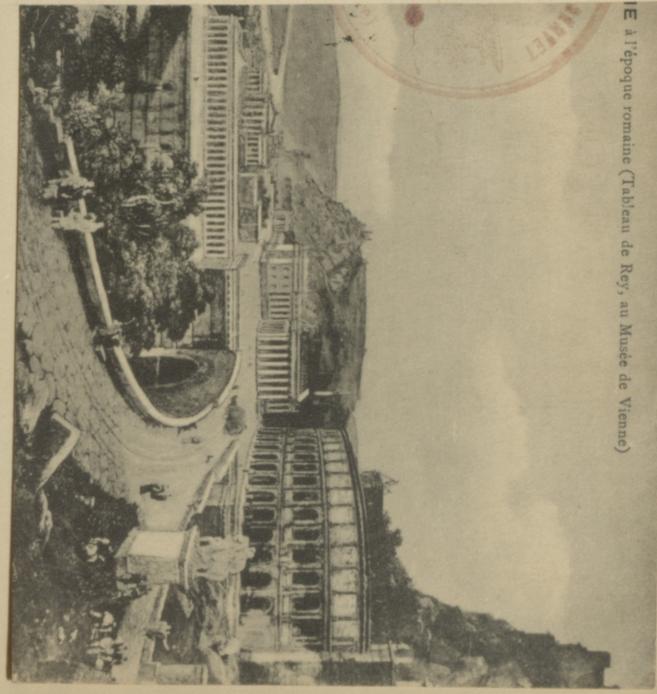
# CARTE POSTALE

La Correspondance au recto n'étant pas acceptée par tous les pays étrangers, se renseigner à la Poste

CORRESPONDANCE

ADRESSE

M



CARTE POSTALE

La Correspondance au recto n'est pas acceptée par tous les pays étrangers.

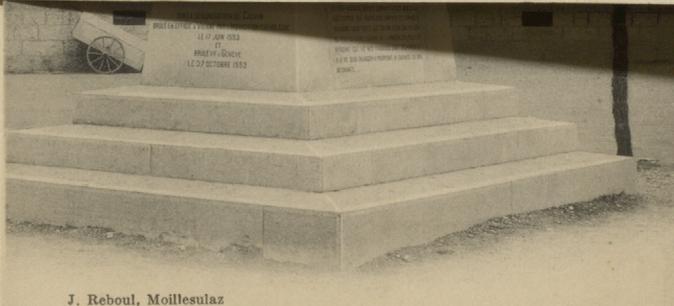


Correspondance  
Cher Monsieur,  
J'ai le honneur de vous confirmer ma lettre du 3 Juin et de vous informer que j'ai reçu la souscription de la L. de Thomson, qui a été plus fructueuse de l'Anatomical Society. Pourriez-vous m'indiquer quel est son successeur?

Monsieur William Osler  
Professeur de médecine  
à l'Université  
Oxford  
Angleterre

Vienna  
12/6/09

D'avance à merci -  
V. Divoni  
J. Reboul  
Secrétaire



J. Reboul, Moillesulaz

CARTE POSTALE

La Correspondance au recto n'est pas acceptée par tous les pays étrangers (Se renseigner à la Poste)



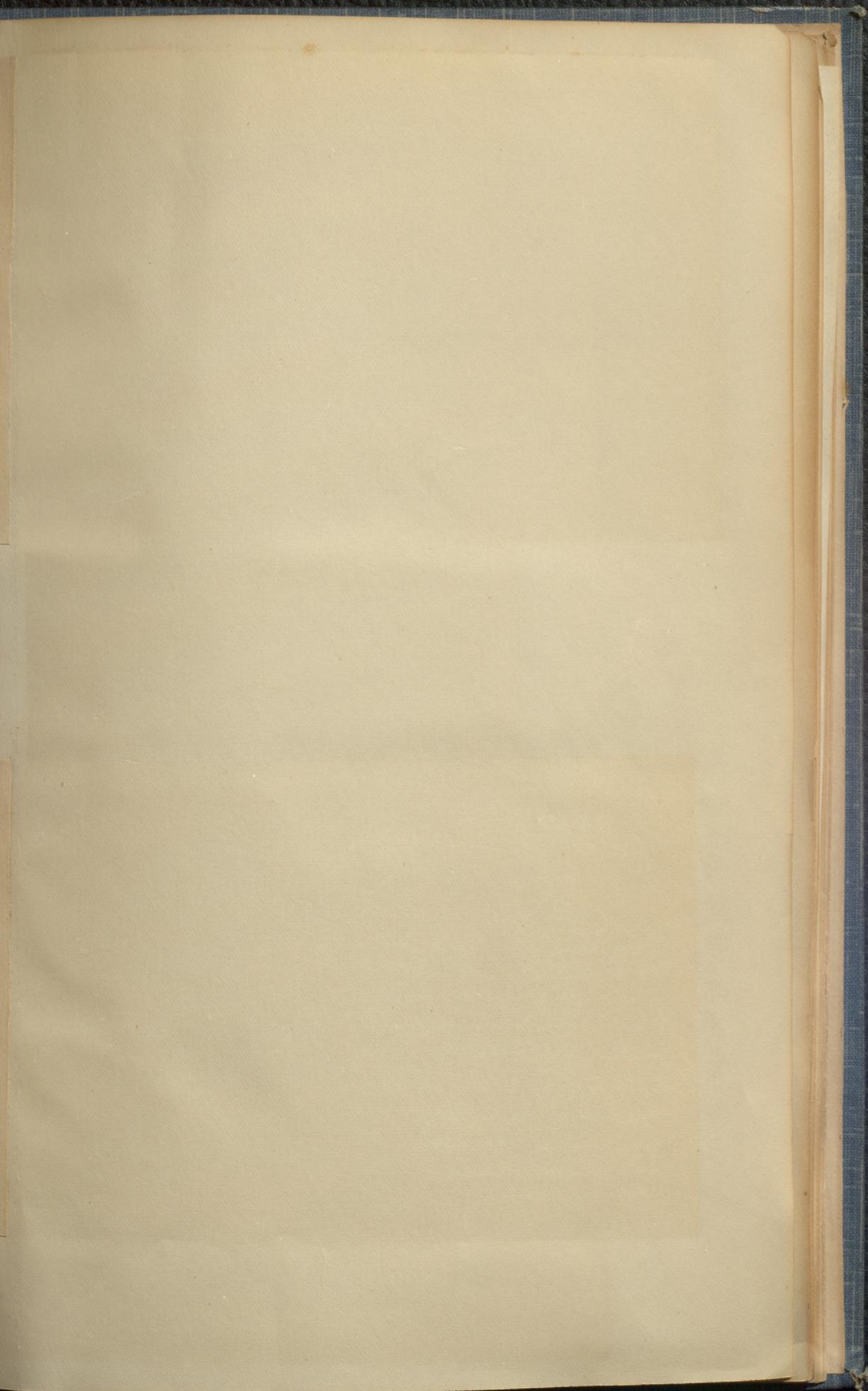
Dr. H  
Ex-Médecin

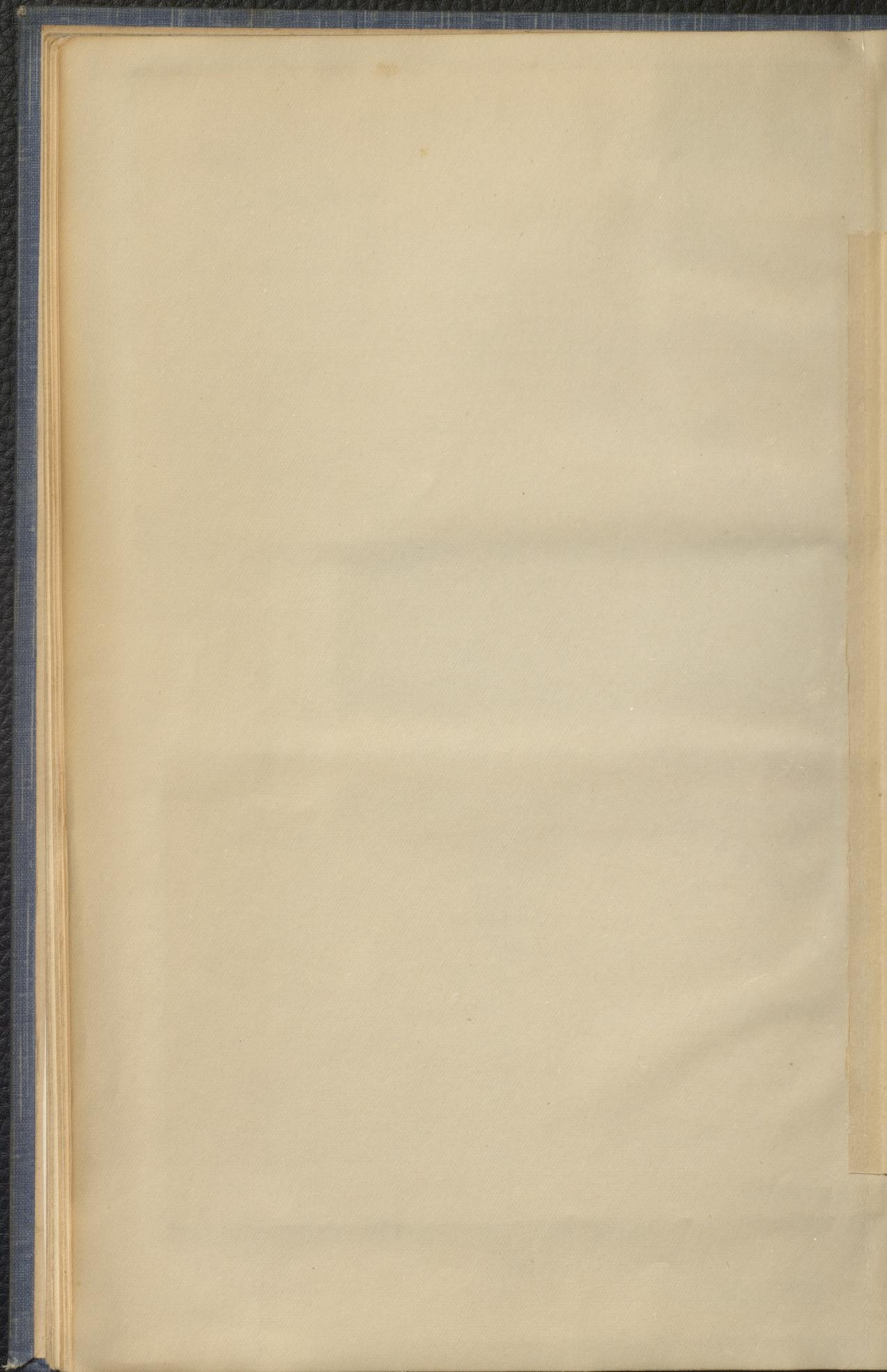
Dear  
I see  
medic  
with  
his  
Poss  
be pla  
oblige  
soon

Correspondance  
Cher Monsieur,  
Bien reçu votre envoi du 13 et  
Tous mes remerciements - Surtout,  
je n'ai pu y répondre plus tôt.  
J'ai envoyé votre brochure à notre  
secrétaire et j'ai donné le. J'espère  
à Paris, et je vais me docu-  
menter sur les renseignements  
que vous me demandez - Je  
vous écrirai prochainement  
et tout sera réglé.  
Vienna, le 20 Janvier 1910 -

Adresse  
M<sup>r</sup> le D<sup>r</sup> W. Osler,  
Professeur de médecine  
à l'Université  
Oxford  
Angleterre

Yours sincerely  
J. Reboul





COMITÉ  
du  
MONUMENT

Vien

London, 68 Curzon St.  
Mayfair.

Dear Professor Osler,

This is what a hear of  
Servet's statue in Vienna - I  
give you the quotation, it may  
be it will amuse you:

"Il n'y a pas - il n'y a pas  
encore de statue de Servet à  
Vienna. L'année dernière, au  
mois d'août, on a inauguré  
solennellement le socle qui  
doit porter la statue future. Pour  
le moment, c'est tout. La  
statue est commandée, l'artiste  
y travaille - mais l'argent manque."

Monsieur l  
Profe

Monsieur,

me perma

28 Août  
associat  
qui sign  
illicite  
de cet

re 1907  
ur dema  
le que

Mars 1  
xford,

aucun  
"Brit.

son rôle et son  
aux Viena  
le même moment  
erte qui, quelques  
compatriote Har-  
appartenant à  
sieurs, par sa  
la sympathie de  
en Servet.

à notre con-  
venir après des  
à leurs membres  
eux tout en nous  
le sculpteur  
complimenté,

accepter de  
notre nom les  
el Servet. Et  
meille les plus

vous inscrire  
c'est en cette  
er à la cérémonie  
sacralités émi-  
en Août 1907  
Départ, prêt-  
monde Fran

The secretary of the Royal College  
tells me you are leaving for  
Berlin. I do hope I may run  
to Oxford either before ~~you~~ leaving  
or after your return.

I am desperately tugging at  
my work in London, passing the  
licence of the College, which I must  
get, for I shall only be allowed  
to sit for the membership  
conditionally. I have done my  
papers pretty well, except one  
question, the B.P. preparations of  
sulphates and lead - Those English  
therapeutics are my loss! I did not

COMITÉ

du

MONUMENT

Vien

6.7. Monday

I I was sure to meet you.

The letter never to have

Know ~~only~~ of those dear preparations  
except the pil. plumbic. opio! England  
is decidedly conservative—even in  
therapeutics.

I send you enclosed three letters  
which I would like you to read.  
One is an official testimonial of  
Prof. Landouzy (who asked me to "le  
rappelle à votre bon souvenir") - It  
represents the school. The second is  
from Glenard (the inventor of visual ptosis)  
It represents the profession (I am his  
colleague in Viçny.) The third is from  
Prof. ap. Mowat, and represents the family

I dare not bring them myself to Prof.  
Sir Thomas Barlow. What do you think of  
it? It thought that perhaps you would  
be content to hand them over to Sir Thomas.  
But if you think it is the proper thing to do  
please wait until the result of the licence is  
known, for it would look so absurd if I got  
"plunged". It will be over by the 14<sup>th</sup>

at four any day  
I might go

Monsieur L  
Profes

Monsieur,

me perma

le 28 Août  
Associat  
lui sign  
ollicite  
r de cet

bre 1907  
our dema  
cle que

4 Mars 1  
Oxford,

aucun  
"Brit.

son née et son  
aux Vienneis du  
le même moment  
erte qui, quelques  
compatriote Har-  
appartenant à  
ailleurs, par sa  
la sympathie de  
San Servet.

à notre con-  
venir après des  
à leurs membres  
eux tout en nous  
le sculpteur  
complimenté,

accepter de  
otre nom les  
ai Servet. Et  
ments les plus

vous inscrire  
c'est en cette  
er à la cérémonie  
connaissés em-  
t en Août 1907,  
Dépot, prêt-  
remonte pr



The statue seems to have been wished for by the libre-penseurs, as an anticlerical manifestation, but the protestants thought it would be a good diplomatic step to follow in the movement and the celebrated pasteur Comte made speeches and collections.

The leading man is Herriot a very distinguished young universitaire who is actually the mayor of Lyons. On that occasion he gave a lecture published in Le Progrès de Lyons, 11 mars 1907, in which he spoke very strongly against Calvin.

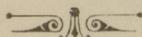
No photo is to be had yet, et pour cause!

COMITÉ  
du  
MONUMENT

*Michel Servet*

SECRÉTARIAT :

*Hôtel-de-Ville*  
VIENNE (ISÈRE)



*Vienna, le* 22 Juin 1908 190

Monsieur le Dr W. O S L E R ,  
Professeur de médecine à l'Université,  
OXFORD.  
-----

Cher Monsieur,

Voulez-vous me permettre de recourir à votre bienveillante obligeance ?

A la date du 28 Août, <sup>1907</sup> j'ai eu l'honneur d'écrire à M. le Président de l'Association Britannique pour le Progrès des Sciences, afin de lui signaler l'Oeuvre Viennoise du Monument Michel Servet et solliciter le généreux concours de cette Association en faveur de cette oeuvre de réparation et de justice.

Le 21 Novembre 1907, j'ai écrit également au "British Medical Journal" pour demander aussi son concours et le prier de publier un article que je lui envoyais en Anglais.

Enfin, le 24 Mars 1908, je me suis adressé à M. le Dr Arthur Thomson, d'Oxford, président de l'Anatomical Society, dans le même but.

Je n'ai reçu aucune réponse, ni d'un côté ni de l'autre, et je ne sais si le "British Medical" a tenu compte de ma demande.

Vous savez, car il me semble que j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous l'écrire, que nous serions très désireux d'associer la généreuse Angleterre, le pays d'Harvey, à l'oeuvre que nous poursuivons. Un admirateur de Servet, M. Alx. Gordon, principal of Missionary College de Manchester, nous a déjà fait parvenir 3 souscriptions de chacune 1.000 Fr. (Sir John Brunner, baronet, MP - Sir Edwin Durning-Laurence, baronet - Miss Riddel, de Belfast). Sir Bilsland et sir Stevenson, de Glasgow, nous ont envoyé chacun 100 Fr. Mais à part vous, la science médicale anglaise n'est pas représentée parmi nos souscripteurs. Or, ce que nous honorons en Michel Servet, c'est, avec le martyr de la li-

COMITE

MONUMENT

*Michel Servet*

SECRETARIAT

Général de Ville

VINNYN (HARRIS)

22 Juin 1908

Monseigneur Le Dr. W. O. S. J. R.  
Professeur de Médecine à l'Université,  
OXFORD.

Cher Monsieur,

Veuillez-vous me permettre de recourir à votre bienveillante obligeance ?

A la date du 28 Août, j'ai eu l'honneur d'écrire à M. le Président de l'Association Britannique pour le Progrès des Sciences, afin de lui signaler l'œuvre Vinnyn du Monument Michel Servet et solliciter le généreux concours de cette Association en faveur de cette œuvre de réparation et de justice.

Le 21 Novembre 1907, j'ai écrit également au "British Medical Journal" pour demander aussi son concours et le priant de publier un article que je lui envoyais en Anglais.

Enfin, le 24 Mars 1908, je me suis adressé à M. le Dr. Arthur Thomson, d'Oxford, Président de l'Anatomical Society, dans le même but.

Je n'ai reçu aucune réponse, ni d'un côté ni de l'autre et je ne sais si le "British Medical" a tenu compte de ma demande.

Vous savez, car il me semble que j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous l'écrire, que nous serions très désireux d'associer la Générale Anglaise, le pays d'Harvey, à l'œuvre que nous poursuivons. Un adhérent de Servet, M. A. L. Gordon, principal of Missionary College de Manchester, nous a déjà fait parvenir 3 souscriptions de chacune 1.000 Fr. (Sir John Brunner, Bart., M.P. - Sir Edwin Durning-Jackson, Bart. - Sir John Brunner, Bart. - Sir Bland et Sir Stevenson, de Glasgow, nous ont envoyés chacun 100 Fr. Mais à part vous, la section médicale anglaise n'est pas représentée parmi nos souscripteurs. Or, ce que nous honorons en Michel Servet, c'est, avec l'auteur de la

berté de conscience, le savant médecin qui, par son zèle et son dévouement, rendit des services inappréciables aux Viennois du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle ; c'est le chercheur qui eut, vers le même moment que l'italien Colombo, l'intuition de la découverte qui, quelques années plus tard, devait illustrer votre grand compatriote Harvey. Des hommes comme Servet, Colombo, Harvey, appartiennent à la science universelle, et celui qui, par ses malheurs, par sa fin tragique et son douloureux supplice, mérite la sympathie de tous les penseurs et hommes de science, c'est bien Servet.

Nous serions donc très désireux de voir les médecins, les savants et penseurs anglais s'associer à notre effort. Et c'est pour obtenir leurs adhésions et souscriptions que je me suis permis de solliciter le concours de l'Association Britannique pour le Progrès des Sciences, de l'Anatomical Society et du British Medical.

Connaissant tout l'intérêt que vous portez à notre oeuvre, serait-il indiscret de vous prier d'intervenir auprès des Sociétés scientifiques anglaises et de demander à leurs membres, en notre nom, un concours qui complèterait nos vœux tout en nous aidant à réaliser l'oeuvre grandiose conçue par le sculpteur, un jeune artiste de grand talent tout récemment complimenté, à ce propos, par le Ministre des Beaux-Arts ?

Nous osons espérer que vous voudrez bien accepter de nous représenter en Angleterre et recevoir en notre nom les souscriptions pour le Monument Viennois de Michel Servet. Et nous vous prions d'avance de croire à nos sentiments les plus reconnaissants.

Nous avons d'ailleurs pris la liberté de vous inscrire au nombre des membres du Comité de Patronage et c'est en cette qualité que nous aurons l'honneur de vous inviter à la cérémonie d'inauguration du Monument, qui réunira des personnalités éminentes du monde entier et aura lieu probablement en Août 1909, sous la présidence de notre sénateur M. Antonin Dubost, président du Sénat, et des représentants des Gouvernements Français et Espagnol.

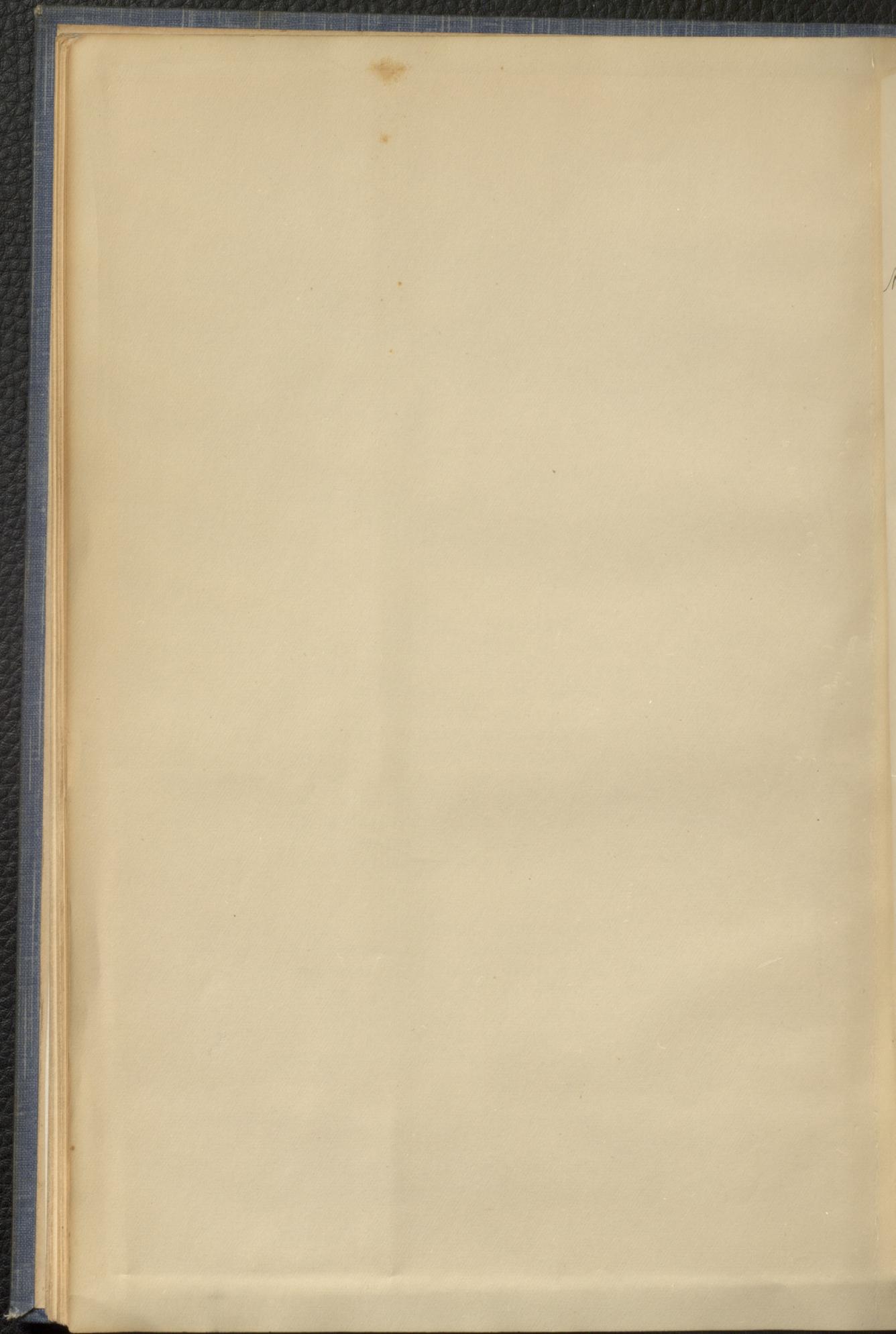
A l'honneur de vous lire et comptant sur une réponse favorable,

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, avec nos sentiments de vive gratitude, l'assurance de notre considération la plus distinguée.

Pr le Comité, Le Secrétaire,

*Albert Mouton*





COMITÉ

du

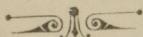
MONUMENT

*Michel Servet*

SECRÉTARIAT :

*Hôtel-de-Ville*

VIENNE (ISÈRE)



*Vienna, le* 27 Juin 1908 190

Cher Monsieur,

Je vous suis bien reconnaissant de votre bonne réponse en date du 24 Juin c<sup>t</sup>. Je ne manquerai pas d'en donner communication au Comité dès sa prochaine réunion, et vous pouvez être assuré d'avance de sa vive gratitude.

J'ose espérer que vos démarches auprès de l'Association Britannique, du British Medical Journal et de la Société d'Anatomie seront couronnées de succès, car, je le répète, c'est notre vœu le plus cher d'associer la généreuse terre Britannique, le pays d'Harvey à notre œuvre.

Des Etats-Unis, nous n'avons reçu à ce jour que deux souscriptions : celles de M. le Dr Hemmeter, prof. de physiologie à l'Université de Maryland, Baltimore, et de M. le Rév. Ch. W. Wendt, de Boston, secrétaire des Unitariens Américains et du Congrès des Religieux Libéraux. Ce dernier a été chargé par le dernier Congrès, tenu à Boston en Septembre 1907, de recueillir les souscriptions pour notre Monument. Décision prise à l'unanimité de 1.800 votants de tous les pays, mais la plupart américains.

Nous acceptons avec le plus grand plaisir votre proposition d'adresser un appel aux journaux médicaux de ce grand pays, et nous vous serons vivement reconnaissants de tout ce que vous voudrez bien faire pour aider à la réalisation de notre œuvre. Nous vous remercions aussi de vos communications à la Lancette et au Journal Médical Anglais, et espérons qu'elles trouveront un écho favorable parmi vos compatriotes, et surtout chez les médecins et hommes de science, mieux en situation que d'autres pour apprécier les mérites du grand martyr que nous honorons.

J'ai dû vous dire que l'inauguration aurait lieu en 1909, probablement en Août. Nous avons l'espoir que vous voudrez bien nous faire l'honneur d'y assister et nous vous adresserons d'ailleurs une invitation spéciale quand le moment sera venu.

27 Juin 1908

COMITE

MONUMENT

*John Harvey*

SECRETARIAT

10th St. N.Y.

MISS (Mrs)

*John Harvey*

Cher Monsieur,

Je vous suis bien reconnaissant de votre  
en date du 24 Juin c. Je ne manquerai pas d'as-  
surer d'avance de sa vive gratitude.

J'ose espérer que vos démarches en  
cité d'Anatomie seront couronnées de succès, car  
c'est notre vœu le plus cher d'associer la Gen-  
tinnique, le pays d'Harvey à notre œuvre.

Des États-Unis, nous n'avons reçu à ce  
souscriptions : celles de M. le Dr Hemmster, prot  
à l'Université de Maryland, Baltimore, et de M.  
Wendell, de Boston, secrétaire des Unitariens Am-  
Congrès des Religieux Libéraux. Ce dernier a été  
dernier Congrès, tenu à Boston en septembre 1907.  
Les souscriptions pour notre Monument. Déclaration  
limité de 1.800 votants de tous les pays, mais  
ricains.

Nous acceptons avec le plus grand plaisir  
tion d'adresser un appel aux journaux médicaux  
et nous vous serons vivement reconnaissants de  
voulez bien faire pour aider à la réalisation  
Nous vous remercions aussi de vos communications  
et au Journal Médical Anglais, et espérons qu'  
un écho favorable parmi vos compatriotes, et au  
médecins et hommes de science, mieux en accord  
pour apprécier les mérites du grand martyr que

J'ai dû vous dire que l'inauguration sera

A l'honneur de vous lire,  
Veuillez croire, cher Monsieur, à nos sentiments les plus  
reconnaissants.

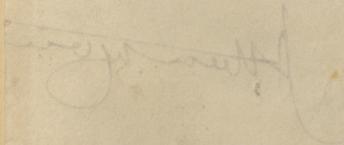
Le Secrétaire,

*J. Hen. Goussier* -



reconnaisante.  
Veuillez croire, cher Monsieur, à nos sentiments  
A l'honneur de vous lire,

Le Secrétaire,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to the secretary mentioned in the text above. The signature is written in dark ink and is somewhat faded and difficult to decipher.

COMITÉ  
du  
MONUMENT

Vienne, le 4 Juin 1909

190

Michel Servet

SECRETARIAT :

Hôtel-de-Ville

VIENNE (ISÈRE)

Cher Monsieur,

Permettez-moi de rappeler notre oeuvre à votre bon souvenir. Je suis inquiet d'être depuis si longtemps privé de vos nouvelles, surtout maintenant que nous avons tant besoin de votre précieux concours.

Les travaux d'érection du Monument sont commencés ; les statues sont prêtes et seront amenées de Paris vers le commencement de Juillet. Le Monument sera placé dans le Jardin de Ville, sur une pelouse bordée par une ancienne voie romaine, fort bien conservée, et une colonne rappelant le séjour de l'empereur Constantin, à peu de distance du Rhône, dans un cadre magnifique.

Nous comptons que vous voudrez bien nous faire l'honneur d'assister à la cérémonie d'inauguration. Et nous vous rappelons aussi que vous nous avez promis d'intéresser à notre oeuvre vos compatriotes.

Veillez excuser notre insistance. Mais votre lettre de Septembre 1908 nous laissait espérer que vous trouveriez beaucoup d'argent en Angleterre et en Amérique. Et, comptant sur votre concours, nous avons permis au sculpteur d'augmenter les proportions de son oeuvre, ce qui a augmenté proportionnellement les frais d'exécution. Sans cela, si nous n'avions pas mis notre espoir en vous, nous aurions réduit la dépense au strict nécessaire ; et maintenant, si les concours attendus nous font défaut, nous serons fort embarrassés.

Vous voyez que je vous parle sans détours, avec la plus entière franchise. Vous apprécierez cette franchise. J'ai mis toute ma confiance, tout mon espoir en vous, et, têtu comme un montagnard du Dauphiné, je persévère dans ma confiance et j'attends de vos bonnes nouvelles, convaincu que mon attente ne sera pas déçue et que vous justifierez mon espoir.

J'ose donc espérer une prompte et bonne réponse. D'avance je vous en remercie et vous prie de croire, cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les plus dévoués.

Le Secrétaire,

Alben Monod



*P.S. - Je suis surpris d'être sans nouvelles de l'anatomical Society. - Une lettre à M. le Dr. Thomson, son président, en votre nom répondez - Nous vous en remercions de très bonne heure et nous vous en remercions de très bonne heure.*

... of L. F. M. ...  
...  
Sept 1923

The above was reprinted in Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin for Jan. 1910 & translated in Deutsche Revue for Dec. 1909. It was reviewed by Rev. Alex. Gordon, a great authority on Servetus, in "The Christian Life" (1909-10) (I have not seen it) cf. Gordon's fine article on Servetus in the Encycl. Brit. Gordon called my attention to Spanish works on S. by P. Gener 1909 & 1911, and S. Pey-Ordeix 1911 which upset previous accounts of S's parentage &c. I have not yet seen them. Gordon now questions the Servetus letter from Louvain relied on in his 1910 address "The Personality of Michael Servetus" (Manchester) and in his article in Encycl. Brit. I have long been working on the bibliographical history of the Christianism Restitutio, and found out much that is new, or forgotten.

Notes on Osler's "Servetus" 1909

Frontispiece (from Allwoerden 1728) of Servetus, after van Sichein.

Gordon's pamphlet 1910 has a frontispiece which he says (reverse of title-page and p. 5) is a facsimile of the "first issue of the original engraving" in the B.M. copy of "Grouwelen der voornaemsten Hooft-Ketteren; Leyden 1607" small 8vo. I have seen this copy published by Henrick van Haestens, who published a German edition in 1608; and I have seen also his 1608 ed. of "Apocalypsis insignium Haeresiarcharum" &c. (of which I have John Davies's English translation "Apocalypsis; or, The Revelation Of certain notorious Advancers of Heresie... London 1655" led., also the 3ed. 1671:--I gave you a copy of an ed. bound with Alex. Ross's "Pansebeia, or View of All Religions in the World." v.d. Linde (p. 321) says Haestens published also "Speculum anabaptisti furoris. 1608" and "De voornaemste Hooft-Ketteren... na 'tlevē ("from life") 1608". These little books issued by Haestens are all similar, and their illustrations may have been printed from the same plates; but I now find that these heads seem to be simply taken (often reversed) out of van Sichein's larger copper-plates as given in "Iconica & Historica Descriptio Praecipuorum Haeresiarchorum... Per C.V.S. Arnheym. Apud Ioan. Iansonium Bibliop. &c. 1609; Folio---which I own. Here the plate of Servetus (#4, measuring 160 x 113 mm.) is just like that in Allwoerden (& Osler, cf. also frontispiece to Mosheim 1748) but far finer in every respect. This large plate is evidently identical with that in the German ed. of van Sichein ("Historische Beschreibung und Abbildung der fürnehmsten Haupt-Ketzer. Durch C.S.V.A., zu Amsterdam, bey Cornelis Nicolauss Buchhandler 1608" folio---which I have not yet seen. cf. Nagler, Künstler-Lexicon 16, 346, and catalogue "Bibliothek J.K.F. Knaake III" #975, Leipzig, Oswald Weigel, Febr. 1907, where by mistake size of Servetus engraving given as "160 x 143"), and this German ed. may have been preceded by a similar Dutch issue in 1607 cf. Allwoerden p. 148f. and Mosheim 1748 p. 242.

To be sure the 1607 Dutch Servetus text as quoted by Allwoerden does not agree with the Latin text of my 1609 issue, but the Apocalypsis 1608 is only an extract from that (Allwoerden) Dutch text, which, as I suggest, may have accompanied the original issue of the large copper-plates of van Sichein. This latter would then be the original source of the Grouwelen, Apocalypsis, Speculum &c. cf. v.d. Linde p. 321.

For these reasons Osler's present frontispiece should be replaced by a photo. of the original much finer large plate by van Sichein (e.g. from "Icon. & Hist. Descriptio")

xx Osler p. 6 Tollin's theory that Servetus & Luther met was exploded by Trechsel in "Theologische Studien & Kritiken" (Gotha) for 1881 p. 669fg. (cf. 317-350 by Knaake, and 1878 p. 498) cf. also Trechsel's "M. Servet" 1839 p. 57 n. 3.

p. 6 fig. 3 is the counterfeit reprint and therefore worthless. cf. Brunet's Manuel s.v. Servetus  
p. 10 line 9 read:--"In Leonardum Fuchsium Apologia. Autore Michael Villanovano. 1536" (as in Encycl. Br. 24, 686). Gordon at last succeeded in discovering 2 copies, one of which I later (independently!) saw in Dr. Williams's Library (cf. their <sup>published</sup> Catalogue vol. III 1870 p. 287---shown me by their Librarian) & cf. also Murr's Adnotationes ad Bibliothecas Hallerianas 1805 p. 60, and Mosheim 1748 p. 72f.

p. 16 fig. 7 translate Hungarian inscription

p. 18 Guizot's theory seems untenable. Colladon himself writes that Servetus:--"este prins en ceste ville où il pensoit passer comme un homme incognu"---(C's preface f. xxiiib. to his translation 1560 of Beza's De Haereticis, as quoted by F. Buisson (Seb. Castellion 1892 II, 20n. 1) who adds:--"déclaration qu'il n'est pas inutile de rappeler aux historiens trop ingénieux qui ont voulu présenter Servet comme l'organisateur d'un grand complet contre Calvin."

x continued. See the following insertion

xx The page was refer to the Oxford ed. of W.O.'s "Servetus" W.O.

SERVETUS #2)

Osler p.18 the definitive account of the "Proces-Verbal" of Servetus is in Calvin's Opera VIII <sup>1870</sup>  
as stated in Encycl.Br.

p.30 n. Wotton 2ed.1697 p.229.230 already in led.1694 p.211-cf.v.d.Linde 279  
but the 2ed.has the additional preface referring to the MS.used.G.V.xxv

##### p.31n. for History read:Doctrines, Philadelphia 1884.

p.32 line 9 on Edinburgh copy of Christ.Rest.cf.Willis in Athenaeum Apr.27,1878 p.541  
cf.also Encycl.Br.

p.32 read Laboulbene & refer to his statement precisely:-Revue Scientifique vol.40  
p.677fg.678f.(Nov.26,1887)reprinted also in "Jos.Alex.Laboulbene(1825-98)  
par Louis Beurnier & Pierre Cambours(Paris 1901)p.291f.--almost unknown!

von Murr's reprint of the Chr.Rest.is dated 1790 not 1791.

p.32 this copy of the English reprint was soon afound again.I have examined it.

p.33 line 4 read A.v.d.Linde & Allwoerden 1828(cf.date at end!)

p.35 note Spiess's translation"Wiederherstellung des Christentums"appeared:- I 1892,  
II 1895, III 1896. I 2.Aufl.1895 being a mere "Titelaufgabe"i.e.old  
sheets with a new title-page!but Spiess omitted a Preface issued with the  
book at first and explaining why he translated it. I & II translate only  
pp.1-576 of the Christ.Rest.,and III merely reprints pp.671-734 in Latin,  
as in your copy.

##### Refer to Gordon's excellent critical list of authorities in Encycl.Br.24,686,and  
to complete list of Tollin's many scattered essays in his amorphous "Geschichte  
der Französischen Colonie von Magdeburg.V.Band III.Abteilung I.A.(Magdeburg,Verlag  
der Faber'schen Buchdruckerei,1892)p.490fg. and see also "Pour Michel Servet" by  
Les Publications relatives à Michel Servet par Th.Claparede. Prix 15 centimes.  
Genève,Imprimerie Paul Richter,1902"p.37fg.Tollin's papers.

⊗ Feb. 19  
1910  
F.93

[Extr. fr. letter of H. Mackall, 28.1.16.] Servetus

I have not yet been able to find Rev.Alex.Gordon's review of your Servetus  
book in "Christian Life",since I can't see the paper.You better write to  
him care 35 Rosemary St.,Belfast,Ireland,on this subject,as he knows so  
very much about it all,as result of his own hard work on the originals.

See also Mackall's 'Servetus Notes' (R.2.10<sup>xx</sup>)

bert (Grundlagen der Geometrie. Göttingen, 1899) an, zu welchen der Verf. auch wichtige Ergänzungen geliefert hat (vgl. Math. Ann., 1898). Man findet darin u. a.: die projektiven Postulate, den Satz von Desargues, die zentrale Kollineation, die Postulate der Bewegung und den Satz von Pascal, das Rechnen mit projektiven Strecken, die metrischen Grundformeln der nichteuklidischen Geometrie, das Parallelenaxiom und das Archimedische Postulat. — Beide Werke können Lehrern und Studierenden bestens empfohlen werden.

Wien.

Hartwig.

**Wünsche O.: Die verbreitetsten Pflanzen Deutschlands.**

Ein Übungsbuch für den naturwissenschaftlichen Unterricht. 5. Auflage, herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Dr. Bernard Schorler. Mit 459 Umrißzeichnungen im Text. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1909. kl.-8° (VI, 290 S.) geb. M. 2.60.

Die verschiedenen Bestimmungsbücher von W. erfreuen sich seit langem in den Schulen Deutschlands großer Beliebtheit, weshalb den Neuaufgaben dieser Lehrbelfe von vornherein ein guter Erfolg gesichert ist. Die Auswahl der Arten ist durchaus vernünftig, die Behandlung klar, die Umrißzeichnungen zwar sehr klein, aber ausreichend, das Format bequem und handlich.

Feldkirch.

J. Murr.

**Naturwissenschaftl. Rundschau.** (Brschw., Fr. Vieweg & Sohn.) XXV, 19–24. — (19.) Hellmann, Magnet. Kartographie in histor.-krit. Darstellg. — Zeleny u. Mc. Keehan, Die Endgeschwindigkeit d. Falles kleiner Kugeln in Luft. — Jaekel, Üb. d. System d. Reptilien. — E. Gerland f. — (20.) v. Wesendonk, Üb. Helmholtz' Lehre v. d. Dissonanz u. Konsonanz. — Burgeff, Die Wurzelpilze d. Orchideen, ihre Kultur u. ihr Leben in d. Pflanze. — (21.) Philippi, Üb. einige paläoklimat. Probleme. — Åkerman, Üb. die Chemotaxis der Marchantia-Spermatozoiden. — (22.) Lenard, Üb. Phosphoreszenz u. üb. d. Auslöschg. der Phosphore dch. Licht. — Lenard, Kamerlingh Onnes u. Pauli, Das Verhalten d. Erdkaliphosphore b. verschied. Temperaturen u. besonders bei sehr niedr. Temperaturen. — Lenard, Üb. Lichtemission u. deren Erregung. — Willis, Prinzipien d. Paläogeographie. — Hertwig, Die Radiumstrahlg. in ihrer Wirkg. auf d. Entwicklg. tierischer Eier. — (23.) Lull, Die Ausbreitg. d. Dinosaurier. — (24.) Krüger, Sonnenflecken u. Witterg. — Roshardt, Üb. d. Betheiligg. lebender Zellen am Saftsteigen b. Pflanzen v. niedrigem Wuchs. — Reinders, Safthebende Kräfte im lebenden Holz.

Berichte üb. d. mathemat. Unterricht in Österreich. Veranlaßt dch. d. internat. mathemat. Unterrichtskommission. Heft 2. Wien, A. Hölder in Komm., 1910. gr.-8°

2. Konrath Prof. Dr. Theod.: Der math. Unterr. an d. Bildgsanstalten f. Lehrer u. Lehrerinnen. — Prof. Myron Dolinski: Der math. u. physikal. Unterr. an d. höh. Handelsschulen. — Prof. Milos Adamička: Der math. Unterr. an d. höh. Forstlehranstalt Reichstadt. (52 S.)

\*Knauer Dr. Friedr.: Tierwanderungen u. ihre Ursachen. Mit 80 Abb. u. e. Karte. Köln, J. P. Bachem, 1909. gr.-8° (XI, 288 S.) M. 3.50.

Strunz Privatdoz. Dr. Fz.: Geschichte d. Naturwissenschaften im M.-A. Im Grundriß dargestellt. Mit e. Abb. Stuttg., F. Enke, 1910. gr.-8° (VII, 120 S.) M. 4.—

Nager Prof. Jul.: Einführg. in die Elemente d. geometr. Analyse. (1. Forts.) (In: VIII. Jahresber. d. n.-ö. Landes-Real- u. Obergymn. in Klosterneubg. Veröff. am Schlusse d. Schulj. 1909/10 vom Dir. Dr. St. Blumauer.) Klosterneubg., Selbstverlag, 1910. gr.-8° (S. 1–21.)

**Medizin.**

**Osler** William, M. D., F. R. S., Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford: **Michael Servetus.** London, Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1909. 8° (35 S.) 1 sh.

Die in das Jahr 1910 fallende 400. Wiederkehr des Geburtstages von Michael Servetus Villanovanus gab Osler Gelegenheit, in einer Festrede das Gedenken dieses Pioniers der physiologischen Forschung aufzufrischen und auf Grund eingehenden Quellen- und Manuskriptstudiums eine in ihrer Gedrängtheit treffliche Schilderung von Servetus' Leben und Schaffen zu verfassen.

Ein gebürtiger Spanier, nach seinem mutmaßlichen Geburtsort Villanueva di Sigena auch Villanovanus benannt, eignete sich Servetus erstlich an der Universität zu Saragossa eine gründliche humanistische Bildung an, widmete sich sodann in Toulouse dem Studium des kanonischen und bürgerlichen Rechtes und kam hierauf als Privatsekretär des Hofbeichtvaters Quintana an den Hof Karls V. In dieser Stellung verfaßt der 22jährige Jüngling, der schon in Toulouse mit den Werken Luthers bekannt geworden war, seine erste Schrift *De Trinitatis Erroribus libri VII*, deren Grundgedanke: man müsse das Christentum vom Standpunkt der Zeit-

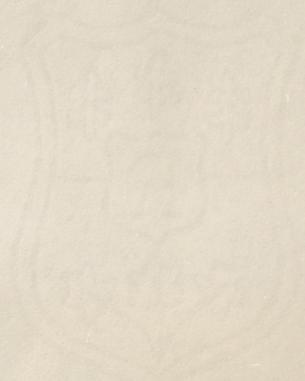
genossen seines Entstehens betrachten, zur Lieblingsidee Servets wird. Von diesem Standpunkte wird hier auch die Trinitas nicht als immerwährend, sondern als fakultativ, mit der Inkarnation des göttlichen Wesens im Menschensohne in Kraft tretend dargestellt. Nach kurzem, von religiösen Auseinandersetzungen mit Calvin ausgefülltem Aufenthalte in Paris sehen wir Villanovanus als Herausgeber und stark kritisch veranlagten Kommentator von Claudius Ptolemäus' *Geographicae enarrationis libri VIII* in Lyon, wo er Campeggio seine *Pharmacopoeia* verfassen hilft, von ihm in der Astrologie unterrichtet und zum Studium der Medizin geleitet wird. Während er nun in anregendem Umgang mit Guinther von Andernach, Sylvius und Vesal medizinischen Studien obliegt, gibt er seiner Vorliebe für Astrologie durch Abhalten eines Kollegs über den Gegenstand Ausdruck, was das Verbot dieser Vorlesungen sowie die Konfiszierung seiner *Apologetica disceptatio pro astrologia* durch den Parlamentsgerichtshof zur Folge hat. Nachdem er eine minder bedeutende medizinisch-wissenschaftliche, die Theorien von Hippokrates, Galenus und Avicenna erörternde Abhandlung über Purgiermittel, *Syruporum universa ratio*, verfaßt, übersiedelt er nach Vienne als Leibarzt des mit ihm schon von den Pariser Zeiten her befreundeten Erzbischofs Paumier; er leitet von da, allerdings mit gemäßigtstem Kritizismus, den Neudruck von Ptolemäus' Erdbeschreibung und gibt fast gleichzeitig die *Biblia sacra ex Sancti Pagnini translatione* mit einem stark heterodoxen Kommentar heraus, was ihn in seiner Stellung nichts weniger als gern gesehen macht. In der Hoffnung, der nur unter dem Namen Villanovanus bekannte Arzt werde nicht in dem Verfasser Servetus erkannt werden, veröffentlicht er unter diesem Namen sein größtes Werk *Christianismi restitutio*, dessen für Häresie erkannter Inhalt ihn ins Gefängnis bringt; er flüchtet nach Genf in der Erwartung, von den dortigen Reformatoren als Glaubensgenosse begrüßt zu werden, muß aber auf Betreiben seines Gegners Calvin trotz eifriger Verteidigung von Seiten der Genfer „Libertinen“ am Scheiterhaufen sterben. — Das letztgenannte Werk umfaßt außer dem eigentlichen Glaubensbekenntnis Servets, die Reformation könne nur durch vollständige Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen christlichen Kirchenzustände ihr ideales Ziel erreichen, die Darlegung der bedeutenden Entdeckung, welche Servet zu einem Pfadfinder in der Physiologie gemacht hat, und zwar als scheinbar unbedeutende Erklärung zum Kapitel über den hl. Geist, die Lehre vom Lungenkreislauf des Blutes; Servet verlegt unter Beibehaltung der wesentlichen Punkte aus der Pneumalehre Galens die Regeneration des venösen Blutes durch Vermittlung der eingeatmeten Luft zur „*apta suppellex*“ für den „*spiritus vitalis*“ aus der linken Herzkammer in die Lungen und stellt somit die Undurchdringlichkeit der Herzkammerscheidewand fest.

Liebe und Bewunderung für Servets Werk, verbunden mit richtiger, von Überschätzung freier Erkenntnis von dessen Wichtigkeit sind die Leitmotive von O.s Festrede. Willkommen sowohl als ästhetisch wertvolle Monographie wie als lehrreiche Zusammenstellung zerstreuter Tatsachen, macht uns die Arbeit in der Person ihres Verfassers mit dem sympathischen Typus eines für alles Edle begeisterten, durchaus nicht in einer trockengefächlichen Auffassung von Wissenschaft und Leben befangenen Amerikaners bekannt.

Krakau.

T. Dyboski.

**Wiener klin. Wochenschrift.** (Wien, W. Braumüller.) XXIII, 19–24. — (19.) Blum, Die funktionelle Nierendiagnostik. — Tutsch, Neue Ausblicke auf die natürl. Heilwege d. Tuberkulose. — Kraus u. Volk, Zur Frage d. Tuberkuloseimmunität. — Kreibich, Leukozytendarstellg. im Gewebe dch. Adrenalin. — Ensbrunner, Zur Behdlg. d. Hämoptys. — (20.) Escherich, Üb. Indikationen u. Erfolge d. Tuberkulintherapie b. d. kindl. Tuberkulose. — Fleckseder, Pylorusinsuffizienz u. Kolliflora im Magen b. Achylia gastrica. — Bondi u. Neumann, Üb. d. Weg d. Fettteilchen im Blute. — Koller, Ein Fall v. Schwellg. u. myeloider Umwandlg. v. Lymphdrüsen im Stauungsgebiet e. thrombierten Vene. — Satta u. Donati, Hat das Sublimat e. Wirkg. auf d. Wassermannsche Reaktion? — (21.) Popper u. Zak, Üb. d. klin. Bedeutg. d. Essigsäurekörper-Nachweises in serösen Flüssigkeiten. — Linnert, Vergleichendchem. Gehirnuntersuchgen. — Herz, Üb. Bradykardie, Hypotonie u. hypoton. Bradykardie. — Frank u. v. Jagié, Üb. Pneumothoraxtherapie b. Bronchiektasien. — Bondi, Üb. Ovarialgravidität. — Götzl, Btr. z. Foersterschen Operation b. gastr. Krisen. — (22.) R. Koch. — Tandler, E. Zuckerkandl. — Raimann, Bewußtsein u. Intoxikation. — v. Bókay, Üb. d. prakt. Bedeutg. d. Straßburgerschen Transparenzuntersuchgen b. Hydrocephalus congenitus. — Goldzieher, Btrg. z. Pathologie d. Nebennieren. — Schiller u. Micen, Üb. protrahierten Ätherausch. — Natanson u. Königstein, Üb. d. Verhalten d. Spermatozoen im weibl. Genitaltrakt b. Effluvium seminis. — (23.) Weiß, Die Blutgerinng. in ihren biochem. u. klin. Beziehungen. — Biernacki, Üb. d. Beziehungen zw. d. Utsatz mineral. u. organ. Nahrungsstoffe. — Selig, Ein Blutdruckapparat f. d. Praxis. — (24.) Hochsinger, Die gesundheitl. Lebensschicksale erbsyphilit. Kinder. — Herz u. Wilhelm, Die Cammidgische Reaktion b. Gesunden u. Kranken. — v. Benczúr, Btr. z. klin. Verwertbark. d. Diastasemenge in Blutsrum u. Urin. — Schwarz, Röntgenoskop. Be-



2000-2001  
SUPERFINE  
TIMEN RECORD  
2000-2001

## Reviews and Views.

CONDUCTED BY THE  
LITERARY EDITOR.

RENDERED into English by the piety of a son, the autobiography of Devendranath Tagore,<sup>1</sup> "latterly known as Maharshi or the Saint," possesses a very deep interest for all religious minds. It is true, as stated in the introduction, that this autobiography "contains no stirring adventures, or sensational incidents of any kind." It is essentially a revelation of religious experience. "Its value consists in its being a record of the spiritual struggle of a noble soul against early associations, conventionality, and family ties—the struggle of a soul striving to rise from empty idolatrous ceremonial to the true worship of the One living God." The outward personality of Maharshi is familiarised to us by no less than seven portraits, taken at various periods from his nineteenth to his eighty-eighth year. His inner man is self-delineated with engaging simplicity and frankness. From childhood he was in touch with Rammohun Roy, and attended his school. The religious influence of this great reformer was not immediate upon his mind, nor was it till long after that he "inwardly resolved that as Rammohun Roy did not take part in any image-worship or idolatry, so would I not join in them either." His point of view was never quite that of Rammohun Roy, still less was it that of Keshub Chandra Sen. He was the means of introducing Keshub to the Brahma Somaj, but "the temperaments of the two men differed too widely to allow of a permanent co-operation." This is his son's judgment, who adds that his father, "though an uncompromising enemy of idolatrous worship, was essentially conservative in his instincts." His theism was a plant of native growth; his social ideals were purely patriotic. "It is singular," remarks his son, "that the one field of religious inspiration which was foreign to him was the Hebrew Scriptures. He was never known to quote the Bible, nor do we find any allusion to Christ or his teachings in his sermons. For him the Indian Scriptures sufficed." Mosumdar even compares his exclusive recourse to "the authority and inspiration of the Upanishads" with the exclusive devotion of "the most straitlaced" Protestant to his Bible; adding that this "nourished and deepened every faculty in him." The parallel is very suggestive and instructive. After all, concentration in religion is a power. We speak sometimes of broad and narrow, regardless of the questions of depth and vitality. "As regards social reformation," says his son, "he was for adopting a slow and cautious policy, a policy of conciliation; he was in favour of leaving such reforms as were really required to the influence of time, and to the effect of the teachings of a pure religion." The spirit of his religion is nowhere more completely expressed than in the thirteen prayers to be found in the appendix. These are the utterance, in great simplicity, of "a guileless heart," and are remarkable for their artless beauty. He was brought up to wealth; but on his father's death it appeared that his estate was deeply involved in debt. The family were provided for by property secured on trust. Maharshi and his brother at once resolved that they would not avail themselves of this protection. No wonder that when the creditors heard "that we were prepared to give all our property, together with the trust property, into their hands, of our own free will, without the least compunction, and independently of any decree of the law courts, they were astounded." Even "moneylenders were moved to tears," and arranged for an allowance to the family out of the surrendered estate. "Whence did this pity enter into their hearts at this moment? He alone inspired them with compassion who is my lifelong Friend." The surrender, it is worth noting, was made and accepted without the intervention of a law court. So great was Maharshi's tenderness of conscience that he

<sup>1</sup> *The Auto-Biography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. (With Portraits).* Translated from the original Bengali by Satyendranath Tagore and Indira Devi. Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri and Co. 1909.

said to his brother, "As long as we have a shred of cloth left on our bodies, we cannot stand up in a court of justice and solemnly affirm that we have given everything. As it is, we will give up everything, but we cannot take our oath upon it. May God and Righteousness protect us." What followed is thus described: "I reduced my staff of servants, sent all my houses [horses] and carriages to be auctioned, brought my food and clothing within reasonable bounds. . . . I had read in the Upanishad about the peace and happiness of him who desires nothing, and now I tasted of it in real life." Ultimately the creditors "gladly and trustfully" placed the management of the affairs of the broken firm in the hands of these strenuous sons. "Thus did we begin to reel up the string of Carr, Tagore and Co.'s kite from the watch-tower of our own house. Whether it would snap halfway or not was the question." It did not, however; though it was years before every obligation was cleared off "to the last farthing." Creed was here proved by character, and faith by works. We have said enough to show that this was a life worth living, and yields a life-story worth knowing. May we now address a mild remonstrance to the editors of this book? Indian names, we know, are very uncertain in their spelling; but should there not be some uniformity observed within the covers of the same volume? Even the name of its subject is sometimes given as Devendranath, sometimes as Devendra Nath. Then we have Rammohun Roy and Rammohan Roy on contiguous pages; Brahma Samaj, Brahma Samaj, and Brahma Samaj; Kesab, Keshab, Keshav, and Keshub Chandra Sen, apparently quite at random. These are but samples. Our difficulty with Indian names is quite sufficient without these disconcerting varieties. As soon as we have got accustomed to one novel spelling, another, still more novel, is sure to emerge.

Dr. Osler's welcome pamphlet on Servetus<sup>2</sup> is chiefly valuable for its illustrations. The letterpress suffers from a too ready reliance on the misleading work by Willis. Thus, from Willis is taken the utterly unhistorical surmise, "He seems to have been nearly a month in Geneva before his arrest." This conjecture, designed as the basis of a theory that Servetus was plotting in Geneva against Calvin, was first broached by Spon. Calvin himself knew nothing of it; and since it is conclusively disproved by the now accessible records of the trial, its revival is quite inexcusable. Again, from Willis is quoted, in the pulmonary circulation passage, the translation, "it may be that some transudation takes place through it." The original, here given in facsimile, reads, "aliquid residare possit;" that is to say, "it may sweat off something"; no transudation is suggested. The use by Servetus of the rare word *resudo* is derived (like other of his terms) from the usage of his countryman, the poet Prudentius. For many of the illustrations we are most grateful. The portrait of Servetus, forming the frontispiece, is the facsimile of a very poor reproduction (1727) from the Dutch engraving of 1607. The Ananese statue, here photographed, is pretty good; far better than the horror at Paris; yet not nearly so good as the fine seated statue at Madrid. The altar piece from Villaneuva de Sigena does not give the Serveto inscription, which belongs to a side altar on the south wall of the plain little church, and of much later date than the father of Servetus (Hernando Villaneuva), whose connection with the altar-piece here figured cannot be regarded as established. The facsimile title page of the *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, here given, is not from the original edition, but from a Dutch reprint. A photograph of the "Expiatory" block at Geneva is given, and, as Dr. Osler says, it professes to record the date of the birth, as well as of the death of Servetus. No one knows his exact birth date. The year is pretty certain; but the month and day have been calculated on the supposition that he was named Michael because born on Michaelmas Day, a supposition for which there is no shred of warrant. Moreover, if the supposition were well founded it would throw back the year date by a year. With regard to the anonymity of the *Christianismi Restitutio*, Dr. Osler rightly says that there

<sup>2</sup> *Michael Servetus.* By William Osler, M.D., F.R.S., Regius Professor of Medicine, University of Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1909. 1s.

appear "on the last page the initials of his name, 'M. S. V.'" It may be added that his Christian name appears in the Hebrew on the title page, and his surname "Servetus" is given on page 199. The copy in the University Library, Edinburgh, has "the first sixteen pages in MS." These pages are of special moment, since they are not copied from the printed work but from the original draft, and contain characteristic touches of autobiographical interest. The date of De Murr's reprint is 1790, not 1791. Some of these *errata* might be set right in a subsequent edition of the pamphlet, which, we should hope, will be called for.

This review is  
by Rev. Alex. Kellon

# THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND UNITARIAN HERALD

is published at 3 every Friday afternoon at THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND UNITARIAN HERALD Publishing Office (for the Trade only) at 123, 124, and 125, FLEET STREET, London, and may be had of all Newsagents in the United Kingdom. Order THE CHRISTIAN LIFE AND UNITARIAN HERALD of any Book-seller or Newsagent, and you will get it at any town in the United Kingdom on the Saturday afternoon.

No attention will be paid to anonymous communications. The name and address of every writer are required, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith.

All communications to be addressed—  
THE EDITOR,

## Romeike & Curtice, Limited.

Ludgate Circus Buildings,  
LONDON, E.C.

Telegrams: "ROMEIKE."  
Tel. No. 4554 HOLBORN.  
For Mounting, fold back or cut at dotted line for the R. & C. Albums which are supplied with adhesive wafers.

*Proof order*

From

*to Christian Life*

19. 2 1910

*Reviews*

*1 copy*

app  
aria  
wor  
S  
este  
sup  
mo  
reac  
the  
gen  
serv  
mu  
inte  
  
I  
poc  
upc  
one  
It  
the  
to  
Fo  
ow  
sin  
cer  
doi  
ma  
the  
not

usly contribute  
ed appeal now  
y-paid ministers  
with them, who  
appreciate their

we would here  
us that in a paper  
week meetings in  
the Fund stated  
the Fund should  
reased income if  
of providing an  
ministers of the  
area which it  
ers to cover the  
and Wales, and  
reland, however,  
wn. In Wales  
believe that it is  
Welsh-speaking  
ition to pay their  
re than £100 per  
ch was their status  
former times Unit-  
principality supported  
m other honourable  
em being also school-  
The conditions have

their number some wealthy members, who doubtless would willingly become contributors to the Fund if they were made sufficiently acquainted with its object and its working—might now and then, without loss of dignity, urge its claims from the pulpit, or in other ways which might seem to them most expedient. It is possible that this is already done in some places; but the practice should be more general. We are well aware that to appeal for money in any shape or form, however worthy the object or commendable the work for the furtherance of which it is solicited, is a somewhat delicate matter with most men; to many of our own ministers it is a proceeding from which they shrink with a feeling which is akin to repugnance. Besides, there are always other necessary and immediate calls which cannot and must not be ignored; and some of these may appeal more strongly to the generous supporters of a local cause. Yet, granting the cogency of all such considerations, it appears to us that there can be no more worthy institution than that which aids our poorer congregations to retain the service of a regular minister, and to support him in a manner creditable to the denomination at large, in a task which, even under most favourable conditions, is an extremely arduous one—a task which often taxes his energies, physical and mental, to their utmost limit of endurance.

changed with the changing times; and it is now becoming increasingly difficult for any man, however resourceful, to follow with any degree of efficiency more than one profession at a time. Success now more than ever lies in specialisation. All the demands of the present age tend that way. Nor do churches form any exception to the rule. The requirements of the average modern congregation are numerous and persistent and exacting, such as to claim the undivided attention, the most thorough devotion, and the whole-hearted energy of its minister.

However fully equipped a minister may be intellectually, he is seriously hampered in his work, and the usefulness and effectiveness of his ministry must of necessity be considerably diminished, so long as he is weighted down by any sort of anxiety, or perplexed by financial straits—that most unendurable of carking cares. Nor can he possibly in such a position maintain that buoyancy of spirit, that cheery optimism, that hopeful outlook upon life, which his hearers invariably expect of him, and which by tacit consent form an essential condition of a successful religious ministry in our times. These are facts which should be patent to all; they are fully recognised by those who are responsible for the administration of the Sustentation Fund, no less than by those who so

It is sometimes apt to be forgotten, however, that the minister is after all but an ordinary human being; he probably has others dependent upon him, and cannot fulfil these ideal conditions if he is compelled to eke out a mere pittance by extraneous work, or is forced to look outside the congregation to which he ministers for the necessary means to sustain himself and family in common decency and comfort. It therefore need hardly be pointed out, that the adequate support of the regular ministry of our less well-to-do congregations is of supreme importance to their welfare, and, moreover, essential to the future vitality and usefulness and growth of our denominational life; while the institution whose sole purpose is to render necessary aid in that direction deserves the unstinted support of the whole body of Unitarians throughout the country.

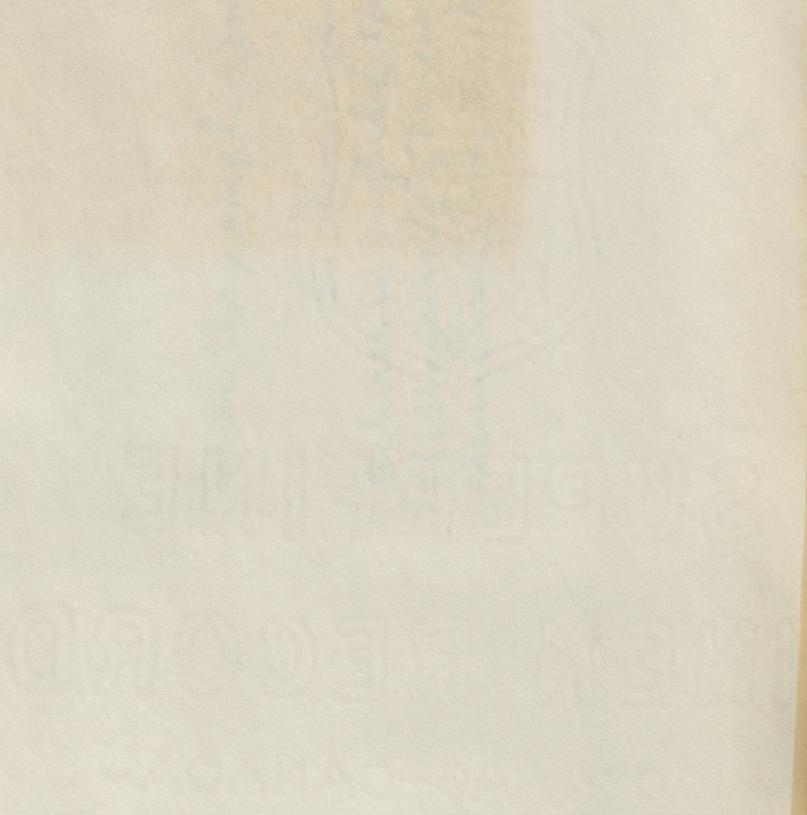
Adverting, finally, to the Report before us, the Managers "remind the subscribers that the list is being constantly reduced by the deaths of those who have subscribed for many years, and it is only by interesting others in the Fund, and thus obtaining their financial assistance, that its usefulness can be extended or even maintained. Meanwhile, the Managers are pleased to be able to state that the amount of the grants actually made has been slightly increased, although they feel that in many cases they fall largely short of what is needed to supplement the stipend which the congregations are able to provide." They assure subscribers that the letters that are constantly received expressing gratitude for even a small increase to the grant, make it

1. List of names by Alex. Gordon

ute  
ow  
ers  
ho  
eir

re  
er  
in  
d  
d  
f  
n  
e  
t  
e  
l

g  
t  
.





THE NEW RECORD  
SUPERFINE  
STANDARD

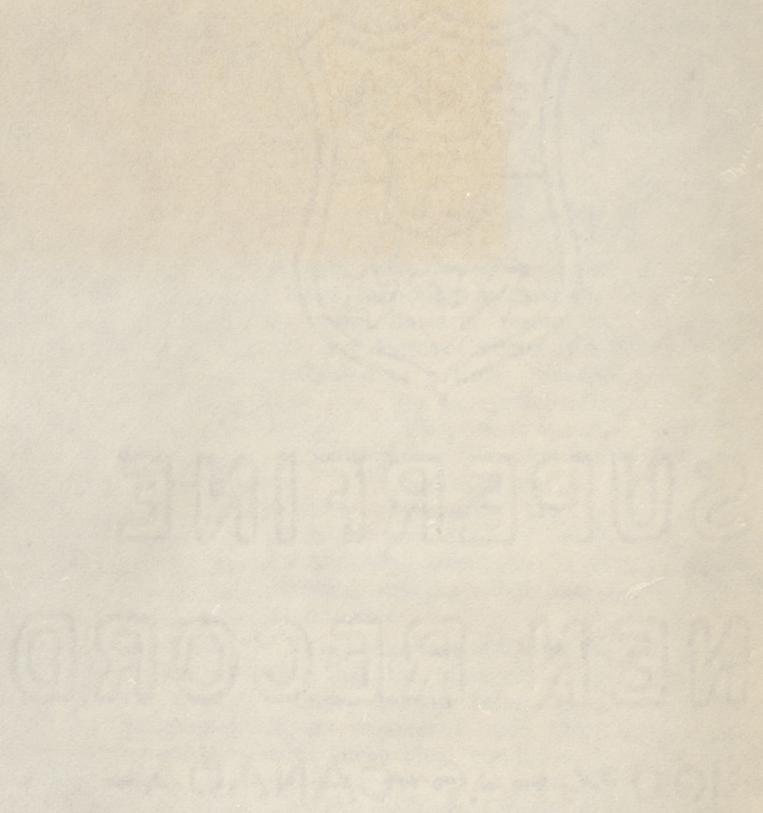
r nation at large, in a task which, even ~~to~~ security and usefulness and growth

Important review by Alex. Gordon

With the compliments of

Dr. Roman Dylowski,

lecturer on English literature in  
the University of Cracow (Austria),  
the enclosed, written by his brother



him in a manner  
nation at large, in a task which, even future vitality and usefulness and growth

Important review by Alex. Gordon

T. Dybowski, student of medicine  
in the same University, is most  
respectfully offered to Professor  
Osler, as a humble tribute of  
foreign admiration.

F. Mica Filipa, Grazioso (Skarpan), Austria,  
11. 10. 1910.

NEW YORK  
TORONTO  
EDINBURGH  
GLASGOW  
WELBURY

BRANCHES  
NEW YORK: 29-35, WEST 32<sup>ND</sup> STREET.  
TORONTO: 25-27, RICHMOND STREET WEST.  
EDINBURGH: 12, FREDERICK STREET.  
GLASGOW: 104, WEST GEORGE STREET.  
MELBOURNE: CATHEDRAL BUILDINGS.



TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESSES  
FOR THE LONDON OFFICE, "FROWDE, LONDON."  
FOR THE EDINBURGH DEPÔT, "FROWDE, EDINBURGH."  
FOR THE GLASGOW DEPÔT, "FROWDE, GLASGOW."

LONDON TELEPHONE NUMBERS  
CITY 2604 (3 LINES)  
HOLBORN 995.

*Oxford University Press,  
Amen Corner, London, E.C.*

April 28, 1911.

Dear Osler,

I wonder if you are back from Egypt yet. I returned from America just before Easter, having travelled many miles and seen many hospitable people. Your kind introductions were of course most valuable.

Michael Servetus is my immediate object in writing. We have no copies, and some 25 copies are wanted, chiefly by Armstrong.

I don't know if you will think it worth while to reprint 250 or 500 copies; I doubt if it would pay you, but you may like to keep the lecture in print. Account is as follows:

Printed	500	Sold	257
		Presented	43
		Sent to	
		you	<u>200</u>
			500

Yours very truly,

*A. S. Milford*

Dr. Osler

I found McGill a complete museum of Osleriana !

NEW YORK  
 TORONTO  
 EDINBURGH  
 GLASGOW  
 MELBOURNE



*Handwritten signature or name, possibly 'John Galt'.*

April 22, 1911

Dear Sir,

I wonder if you are back from Egypt yet. I returned from Amherst just before Easter, having many nice and seen many hospitable people. Your introductions were of course most valuable.

Michael Servetus is my immediate object. We have no copies, and some 25 copies are wanted by Armstrong.

I don't know if you will think it worth reprinting 250 or 500 copies; I doubt if it would be worth the trouble in doing so.

Yours,

500	Printed	500	Sold	500
500	Sent to	500	Presented	500
500	Yes	500		500

Yours very truly,

J. Galt

I have not seen Williams's Bibliog. of Religio. of 1719 or 2

To Sir Wm. Osler Bart. FRS &c.  
Regius Prof. of Medicine, Oxford  
Dear Sir William

L. L. Mackall, Jena, Forstweg 14  
25-6-12

Long ago I should ~~ixxxxx~~ have carried out my promise to find out whether you can recommend any particularly good specialist for "modern physical diagnosis of the heart" in or near Brighton, and if not in Brighton then in London. An old American lady, friend of my family, wishes to have the heart of her little grandson thoroughly examined, and she and he are now in Brighton for a time.

On this occasion I send also some bibliographical notes anent our old friends Browne & Servetus in connection with your essays on them.

Alabama Student p. 264, top of page, Religio Dutch 1655 should this not read 1665 and refer to the 1665 Laege-duynen ed. (here) ?

AS p. 266 ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Browne's reference to the High Dutch & Italian versions is I suppose in his letter 14 March 1672-3 mentioned also in the Dict. Nat. Biogr. VII, 71a & cf. Johnson's Life prefixed to the Christian Morals 1756 p. xiii. Browne seems simply to have been mistaken as to both of these translations, and not merely the Italian one.

AS p. 271 the library here has Christian Morals in English "Hall in Saxony" 1723 (Halle)

As to a German Religio 1680, Ersch & Gruber (I, 108) says all of B's Works transl. Frankfurt & Leipzig 1680 4to., no doubt a mistake due to confusion, and the Dict. Nat. Biogr. says the 1680 Rel. was reprinted in 1746, which statement is contradicted in the 1746 transl. §9 (referring to Allgem. hist. Lexicon 3. Auflage, Leipzig 1730, folio, I, 683, not in 2ed., for a similar mistake). The Auskunftsbureau der deutschen Bibliotheken also knows of no 1680 German Religio, and no doubt Watt (I, 159x) here simply confuses the Rel. with the 1680 Nürnberg transl. of the Pseudod. (which he omits) just as he gives a 1668 Dutch Rel. meaning the 1668 Amsterdam Dutch Pseudod. (Beschrijving &c.). Possibly also Watt's 1732 French Religio is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ really the 1733 (& 1742) Pseudod. which he mentions. Have you seen the mentions of the Rel. in Conringiana Epistolica ed. Helmstädt 1719 p. 4, and the various references to Browne in Morhof's Polyhistor?

Servetus p. 14 S. on Syrups also publ. Vienna 1541 (Vienna "Conversationsblatt" 26 Jan. 1819)

p. 30n. Wotton 2ed. 1697 p. 229. 230 already in led. 1694 p. 211 cf. v. d. Lindep. 279

p. 31n. for History read Doctrines, Phila. 1884

p. 32 line 9 on Edinb. copy cf. Willis in Athenaeum Apr. 27, 1878 p. 541, also <sup>(now)</sup> Encycl. Brit.

p. 35n. read A. v. d. Linde, & Allwoerden 1728 cf. date at end.

Spieß transl. Wiederherstellung des Christentums appeared I 1892, II 1895, III 1896 I 2. Aufl. 1895 being a mere "Titelaufgabe" i.e. old sheets with new title page!

I & II translates only pp. 1-576 of Christianismi, and III merely reprints pp. 671-734 as you will see from the copy I gave you.

On Mead's interest in Servetus cf. Histoire d'un voyage littl fait en 1733 en France en Angleterre et en Hollande. Ala Haye 1735 12mo. p. 169f. by C. E. J. (ordan). I have a priced sale catalogue of Mead's books 1754-55, also Allwoerden, the French transl. 1879 of Tollin (with additions), the Jena Allgem. Lit. Zeitung 20 Nov. 1792 with review of the Christ. repr., and last not least a fine copy of that reprint lately bought from a Geneva catalogue for only 35 francs! The SGO copy bought some two years ago cost ca. 60 Mks. the librarian writes me. No doubt you have Dr. Garrison paper on the Historical Collection of Medical Classics in the SGO, reprinted from the Journal of Am. Med. Ass. June 17, 1811 p. 1785fg.

The American surgeons who arrived here yesterday and left today for Vienna had a good time here and were all much interested in what Lexer had to show in the way of transplanting and repairing faces on a large scale. That your American friends have not forgotten you was very clear. Here is a card which Cushing and one or two others wrote in all haste.

NB I almost forgot to ask whether your address at the opening of Osler Hall in Balto. has ever been printed. Where & when, or why not?

With sincere regards to you all

Cordially yours,

Leonard L. Mackall

W. L. Mackall, Esq.,  
22-3-12

To Sir, Gales Court, 77, St. James's  
Square, London, W.1

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. in relation to the book "The History of the English Language" by Dr. James Murray. I am sorry to hear that you are unable to find a copy of the book in your collection. I have a copy of the book in my collection and I am happy to lend it to you for a period of three weeks. I have also enclosed some additional notes which may be of interest to you. I am sure you will find the book and notes very useful. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
W. L. Mackall

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. in relation to the book "The History of the English Language" by Dr. James Murray. I am sorry to hear that you are unable to find a copy of the book in your collection. I have a copy of the book in my collection and I am happy to lend it to you for a period of three weeks. I have also enclosed some additional notes which may be of interest to you. I am sure you will find the book and notes very useful. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
W. L. Mackall

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. in relation to the book "The History of the English Language" by Dr. James Murray. I am sorry to hear that you are unable to find a copy of the book in your collection. I have a copy of the book in my collection and I am happy to lend it to you for a period of three weeks. I have also enclosed some additional notes which may be of interest to you. I am sure you will find the book and notes very useful. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
W. L. Mackall

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th inst. in relation to the book "The History of the English Language" by Dr. James Murray. I am sorry to hear that you are unable to find a copy of the book in your collection. I have a copy of the book in my collection and I am happy to lend it to you for a period of three weeks. I have also enclosed some additional notes which may be of interest to you. I am sure you will find the book and notes very useful. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
W. L. Mackall

To

Sir William Osler Bart., F.R.S. & C.  
Regius Professor of Medicine  
13 Norham Gardens, Oxford, England

L. L. Mackall  
14 Forstweg, Jena  
6-7-12

Dear Sir William

Many thanks for the address of Dr. James Mackenzie, 133 Harley St. (London, I suppose) which I have sent on to Mrs. Roy.

Since writing to you I have secured also a copy of the Catalogue of Murr's library 1811 (after his death), and ~~xxxx~~ also Murr's Journal zur Kunstgeschichte Zwölfter Theil, Nürnberg 1784 containing pp. 346-372 an account of the Christ. Rest. I have just bought David Cuthbertson's "A Tragedy of the Reformation" Edinb. & London Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1912; but am much disappointed in this formless and superfluous compilation. What C. says by way of description of the Edinburgh copy is well enough in its way, but he simply copies Willis & C. without saying so and even flatly denies that Servetus discovered or really describes the pulmonary circulation!! p. 55f. he emphasizes the fact that Woyton had not himself seen the book, but does not mention that W. quotes the critical passage in the margin!! p. 59 he follows Chereau in disparaging Tollin's remarks on the Paris MSS. but does not add that Dardier (p. 65 of the French transl. of Tollin's Charakterbild, which transl. Cuthbertson cites on p. 24n.!) completely answers Chereau <sup>here</sup> elsewhere! There were many MSS. of the Christ. Rest. in various forms, and it <sup>is</sup> not proved that the Edinb. transcript must have been made from the one sent to Calvin, as Cuthb. assumes.

Now I must ask some more questions:-

- 1) Alabama Student p. 264 top, Dutch Religio 1655 is this date correct, or do you mean the Laege-duynen ed. 1665 which I mentioned in my letter? Does Williams give both of these if they are not the same?
- 2) You write of still looking for the quarto ~~xxxx~~ Dutch ed. of the collected works of Browne. Is not this the 1668 Amsterdam Pseudod. given <sup>no</sup> e.g. in Morhof's Polyhistor as "Beschrijving & C."
- 3) In reading lately Dr. Andrew D. White's History of the Warfare of Science with Theology, N.Y. 1896 I see that he refers <sup>in 1860</sup> to an address of yours as printed in Science for March 27th 1891. Which address is this?

Recently I wrote to Macmillan & Co. suggesting that they supply the Golden Treasury vols. of Sir Thomas Browne in the better binding used also for some other books in the same series. They reply that they are much obliged for the suggestion but do not say whether or not they propose to act on it. I wish they would.

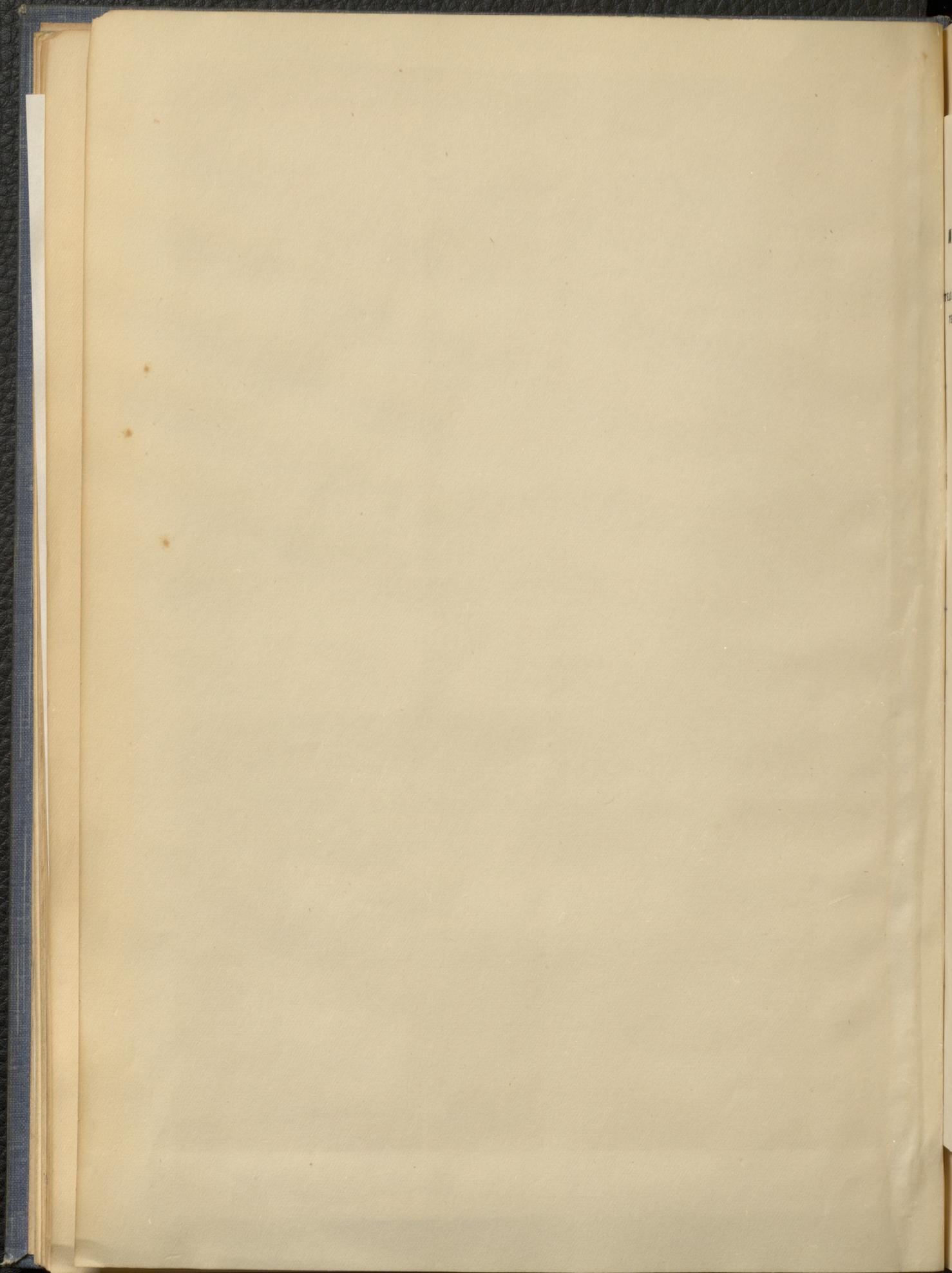
Now I must close in haste, but with cordial regards to you all. I hope that you are well in every way.

Very sincerely yours,

Leonard L. Mackall

21)

What is Billy Francis's address?



NON

TELEPH  
TELEGR

MONTOLIVET  
OUCHY

29. November 1913.

TELEPHONE 188

TELEGRAMS : KLEBS LAUSANNE

Dear Sir William,

If you drive across the main bridge of Geneva, leaving to your right Rousseau's Island, passing the university and the beautiful new monument to the Reformation, you come, if you continue straight for half a mile, to Champel, where poor Servetus came to the end of his life. From there, holding to your left, you traverse the charming suburb of Florissant with many homelike villas. At Chêne you strike the main road from Geneva to Chamonix, and as you leave the Swiss territory entering upon the "free zone" of Savoy, you will find yourself in one of those new pro- saic, uniformly built provincial towns and you will be much astonished to find in the main town square the very green, pathetic statue of Servetus, which the Geneva authorities refused to accept on their territory. This town is called Annemasse, which the "Druckteufel" has changed in your excellent address to Anamnese.

L. L. Meckall  
420 Riverside Drive  
New York City  
Dec. 19, 1918

Professor Sir William Osler, Bart., M.D., F.R.S. &c.  
13 Norham Gardens, Oxford, England

Dear Chief

Your kind letter of Aug. 6th arrived after I had written  
to you on Aug. 18th, and then I sent you a letter introducing my  
cousin Lt. Col. Alexander R. Lawton of Savannah Ga., but <sup>he</sup> was sent direct to  
France after all and so did not get to England at all.

I am sorry that my thanks for your letter thus did not reach  
you much sooner, but I thought that they would!

If you can without trouble have a copy of Ferguesen's Bibl.  
Chem. sent to me by the Trustees, I should indeed greatly appre-  
ciate it. One of my best friends, now dead, was on the faculty of

the College where that collection is preserved.

*With very  
to you ha*

the College where that collection is preserved.

Have any extra reprints of your remarks on Willis in Ann. Med. Hist. #2 ?  
What do you know about Dr. Wm. Stirling's "Some Apostles of

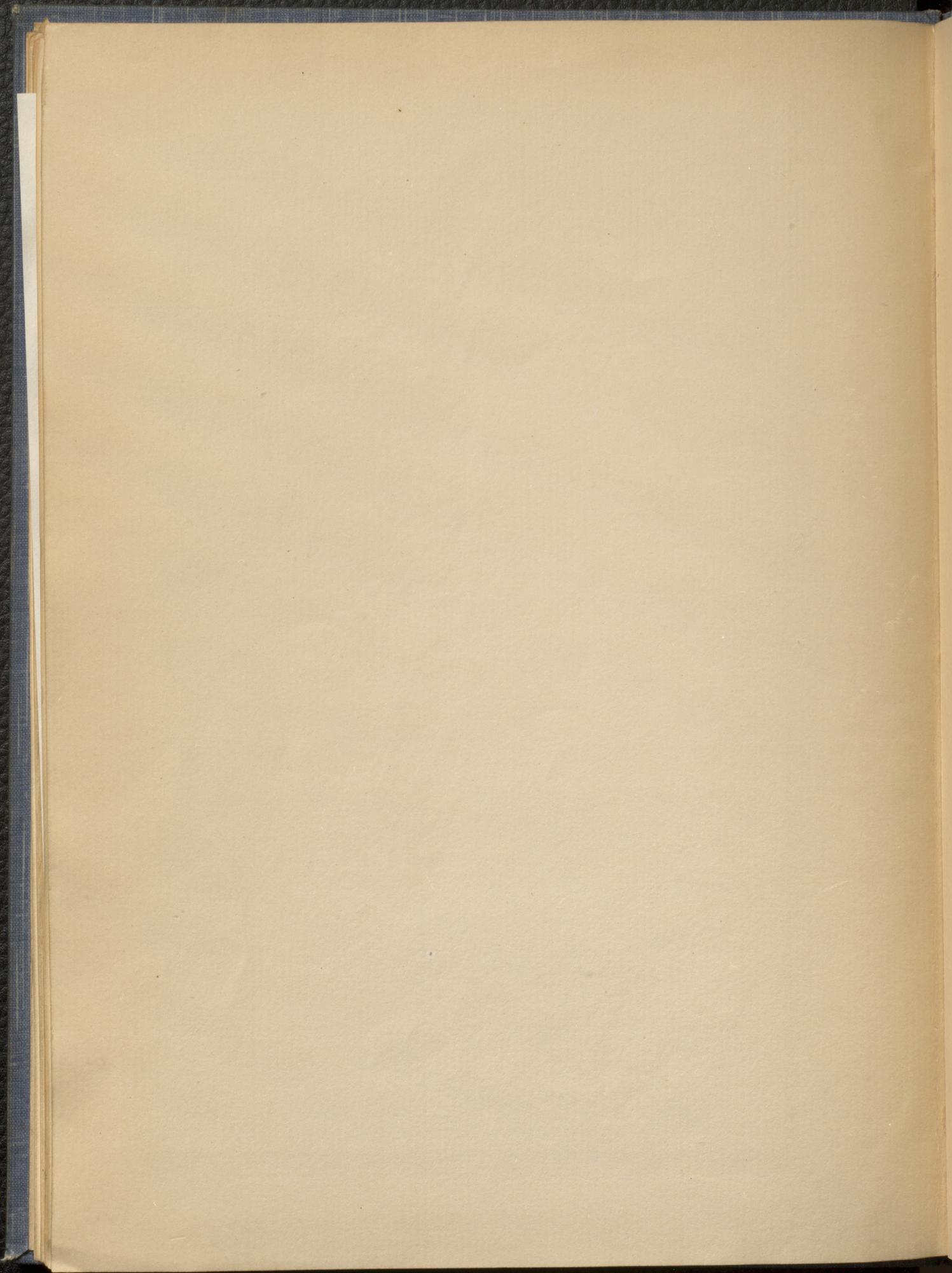
Physiology... privately printed 1802"? It is said to contain  
matter on our friend Servetus, but I have never been able to see  
a copy.

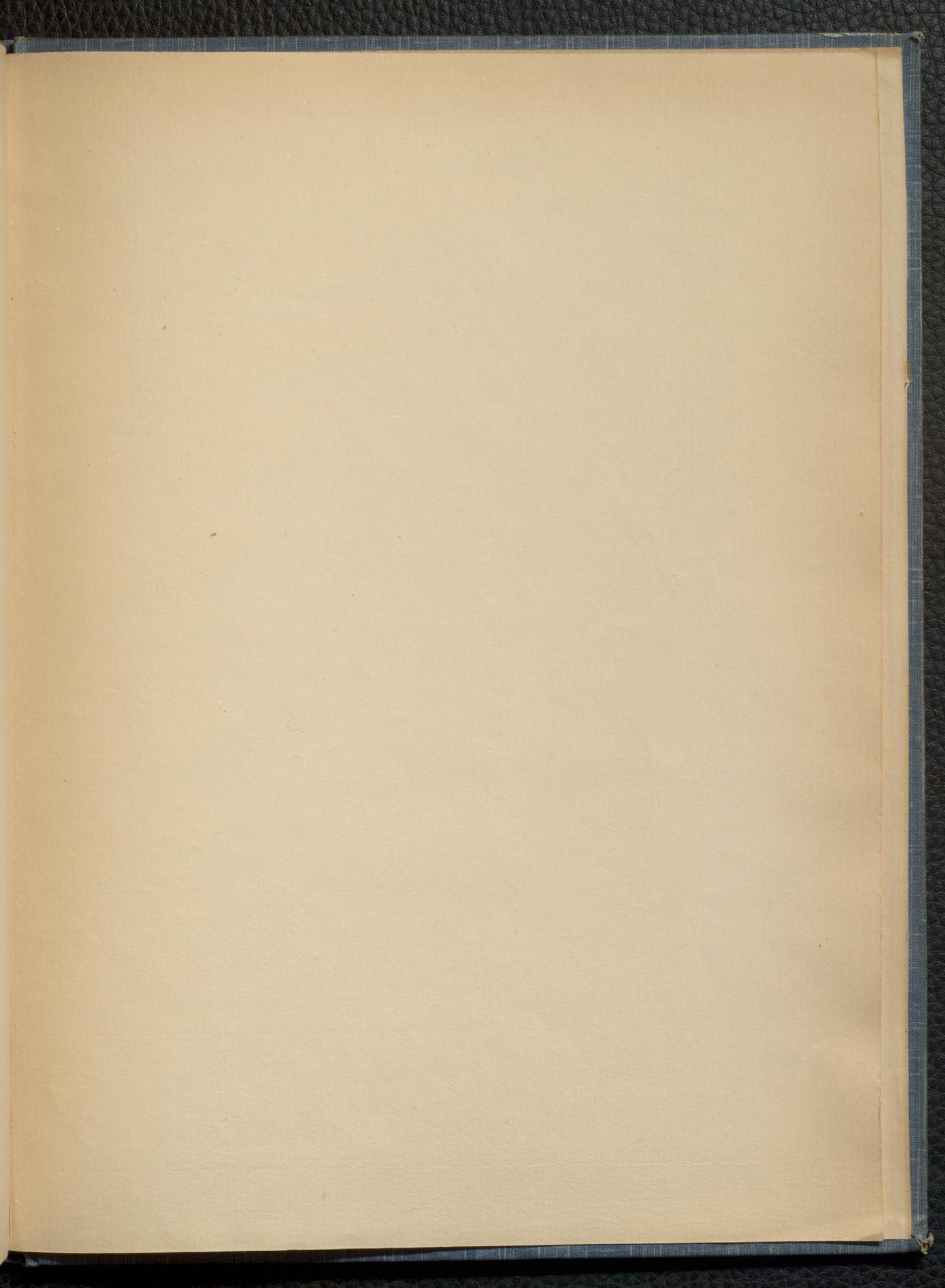
I enclose a copy of my recent article on the DeRenne Library,  
of which I was Librarian until I resigned to enter the Red Cross  
in France. But the prospect of draft laws prevented my acceptance  
at the last moment. Then I was examined in French & German for the  
Corps of Interpreters, and officially recommended for a First Lieut.  
but the armistice stepped that at the last moment. So here I am!

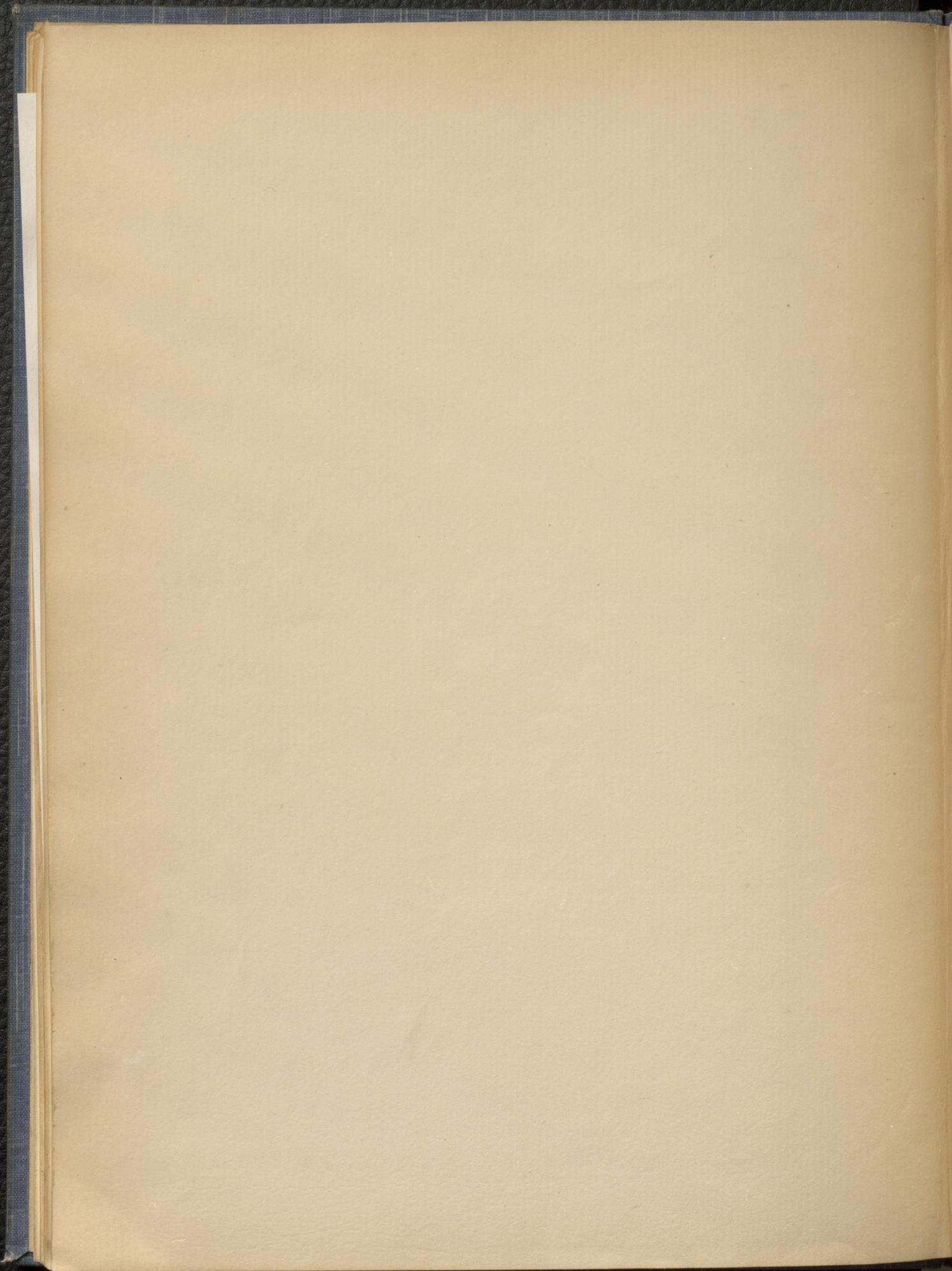
Have you seen the paper on Conrad Gesner in: Papers Am. Bibliogr.  
Sec. X Apr. 1916?

The SGO portrait of Servetus is most probably from: "Historische  
Beschreibung und Abbildung der fürnehmsten Heupt Ketzzer Durch C. V. S. A.  
zu Amsterdam bey Nicolaus Buchhändler. 1608." (title from Nagler's Lex.  
who thinks it by Carl not Christoffel van Sichen). See van der Linde's  
Servetus also. I have (or had!) the Latin issue: "Iconica et hist. descriptio  
praecipuerum haeresiarum... per C. v. S. Arnheim 1609" (also in BM).  
I think I wrote you that the smaller size "Greuwelen" &c. &c. Give only a  
portion of the figure of each heretic. cf. also Allwoerden n. 14. P. 148f.

*cordial regards  
yours as ever  
Edward L. Washburn*







#428140364

