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Aet. 28.

Chapter VIII

PHYSICIAN TO THE MONTREAL GENERAL 1878 - 1880

On January 23rd of ~~1878~~, before the Pathological Society in New York Osler presented the results of one of his more important studies in the domain of comparative pathology.* He had chanced to hit upon a most

*"On the Pathology of So-called Pig Typhoid." Veterinary Journal and Annals of Comparative Pathology, London, 1878, vi, 385. ~~It is of interest that he does not use his actual title~~ ^{instead} of "Professor of the Institutes of Medicine," ~~but~~ ^{he} gives instead "Professor of Physiology and Pathology in McGill University and the Veterinary College, Montreal."

baffling epidemic disease affecting hogs, knowledge ~~concerning~~ ^{of} which, ~~was~~, at the time, ~~most~~ ^{very} meagre, and, for that matter, still remains so, for it appears to be one of those infectious disorders due to what is called a filterable virus, that is, an organism too small for microscopic observation. A trained microscopist, a keen observer and ardent pathologist, had Osler undertaken as Pasteur did just at this time (1877) the study of a simpler disease such as anthrax the causative agent of which, even unstained, is easily seen in the blood when examined under the microscope, he might in all likelihood have been led to make equally important dis-

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coveries. But he had come under Bastian's rather than Pasteur's influence: he never really became an adept in bacteriological technique, and, by the time Pasteur's ~~doctrines~~^{to view} had become accepted, ~~Osler~~ had moved on to other fields than experimental medicine and comparative pathology - fields which engrossed him completely.

Pasteur had written to Bastian in July, 1877: "Do you know why I desire so much to fight and conquer you? it is because you are one of the principal adepts of a medical doctrine which I believed to be fatal to progress in the art of healing - the doctrine of the spontaneity of all diseases." Naturally enough the younger generation sat back and watched the ^{telling} of these giants, and, until Tyndall entered the lists on Pasteur's side, and finally Lister, English-trained youths were naturally imbued with the ideas of spontaneous generation as Osler seems to have been when he saw the blood platelets apparently transform into bacteria.

This particular epidemic among hogs which Osler undertook to study, had originally been regarded as a form of anthrax, though latterly the

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view prevailed that it was the counterpart in hogs of typhoid fever in man, the bacterial origin of which was of course as yet unknown.)

"Having in the course of my reading become acquainted with this unsettled state of the matter, ^{Cole wrote} I gladly at Principal McEachran's suggestion investigated a local epizooty which had broken out near Quebec in a drove of 300 hogs, hoping that by a series of independent observations the truth of one or the other of these views might be confirmed." ~~And in the course of his enquiry,~~

In this paragraph he explains the occasion of the investigation, in the course of which he not only studied the post-mortem appearances of the disease, but performed a few successful experiments by transfer inoculation, ^{drawing} in an effort to determine what organs were chiefly affected. These experiments had been made the preceding September, possibly in Quebec but more probably with material brought from there; ^{and he concluded the conclusion} He concluded that the disease ~~had been~~ ^{was} ~~one sui generis~~ ^{that was} having no relation to typhoid or anthrax, but ~~it was a~~ dysenteric in character though without parallel in human dysentery. ^{This} view is sustained today, the term 'hog cholera' have ^{been} substituted for 'pig typhoid.'

Feb-Mar.
1878

At this time he was still on the council which arranged for the meetings of the Natural History Society, and the ~~programme~~ ^{That} ~~for~~ ^{on} February 25th, ~~was a student~~ ^{meeting under the auspices of} ~~was given over to~~ ^{a student's society was held at which} the Microscopical Club, the ~~medical students~~ ^{being in-} ~~vited.~~ ^{when he delivered his} His topic was upon ~~the~~ ^{all} ~~different modes of microscopic illumination,~~ and a number of instruments showing the ~~(newer methods)~~ ^{were demonstrated.}

a further evidence of his persistence in emphasizing the importance of the microscope in the study of disease, ^(highly this can) ~~But this instrument unfortunately~~ ^{did not} ~~has not helped us much in the study of hog cholera.~~ ^{but greatly his} ~~of the blood.~~ ^{However it was well suited for investigation} ~~He continued to sponsor - a section~~ ^{of the blood. So among the many pathological}

^{Specimen was one in May 1876 before the McGill Student Society, whose weekly meetings} ~~He was busily engaged the next month~~ ^{has been during the early spring} campaigning for a clinical appointment ^(in succession to Dr. Dorr) at the Montreal General, and in his account-book there occurs a long list of names and addresses of people whose support he might count upon, for this is the custom when applicants seek positions in British and Canadian institutions. ^{He offered to be printed letter of application to} ~~He must have solicited testimonials from a hundred or more of his professional acquaintances,~~ ^{It was} ~~a distasteful procedure,~~ ^{- this solicitation of testimonials -} and it is little wonder that thirty years later on his call to Edinburgh, he flatly refused to repeat the process, though ^{contrary} ~~according to all precedent,~~ ^{he} ~~was expected to do so.~~ ^{His printed appeal reads as follows:}

To The Board

Mar.
1878

1351 St. Catherine St., March 18th, 1878.

Dear Sir, - Dr. Drake having intimated his intention of resigning his position on the staff of Attending Physicians to the Montreal General Hospital, I beg to solicit your vote and influence in my favour at the election which takes place in May next. I have already served the Hospital as Physician to the Smallpox Department, and for the past two years, under the direction of the Medical Board, as Pathologist. At present, I hold the position of Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in McGill University. As affording evidence of a desire to advance the cause of Medical Science and of diligence in the pursuit of my profession, I may be permitted to append a list of my contributions to scientific and Practical Medicine, many of which have issued from the Montreal General Hospital.

I have the honour to remain

Your obedient servant,

WM. OSLER, M. D.

Confronting the list of names recorded in his account-book, ^{to the year} he has written in a later hand: "Offense"

2 Opposite (is an interesting reminder of the canvas[s] of the Governors for the M.G.H. physicianship in 1878. I had been physician during the smallpox outbreak in 1874-5 and pathologist, but I had not been an assistant physician. However Howard and ^[Dean] Campbell thought I might 'run' so I

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May
1878

did against Frank Campbell. I had to see all the Governors and a hard job it was. I had a large majority. The dictum was May 23rd. Geo. Ross and I left that eve for England where we spent 4 mos. I took my M.R.C.P. that year." *It the Board,*

He continued, meanwhile, with his regular attendance at the various Society meetings and usually presented one or more interesting pathological specimens, a description of which often found its way subsequently into print. The last of these demonstrations on May 18th was before the McGill students' society whose weekly meetings he *continued to sponsor.* invariably attended. Among the

must be
specimens he showed at this time was a section of bone from a case of pernicious anaemia with the marrow showing nucleated red blood corpuscles.* *True*

*His studies of this case formed the basis of one of his more important contributions to the subject of the blood and concerned its formation from the bone marrow. It was subsequently published in extenso in German (Centralbl. f. d. med. Wiss., Berlin, June 29, 1878, xvi, 465). It was widely commented upon (Cf. editorial, Lancet, Lond., Aug. 3, 1878, ii, 162).

~~Five days later his appointment was announced: it was the end of the school year, and he immediately left for abroad.~~

The Board must have felt sure of their man, for it was an appointment

May
1878

which not only required vision but a certain degree of courage, qualities in which trustees are sometimes wanting. In the first place he was thoroughly identified as a laboratory worker in physiology and pathology, though, to be sure, with pronounced clinical interests and capabilities as shown during his period in the smallpox ward. Moreover, like many other pathologists he was ^{fully aware} ~~imbued with an appreciation of~~ ^{fatality} the uselessness ^{of the} ~~of most~~ ^{in common use that} drugs, which led ^{he came to be} ~~later on~~ to his being termed a therapeutic nihilist; and fifty years ago one holding such views was far less likely to be regarded as a suitable candidate for a clinical position. Furthermore, he had not gone through the usual apprenticeship as physician to outpatients as some of the rival candidates had done. ^{But,} ~~Apparently,~~ however, outweighing all this, ^{what must have} ~~there was one thing which greatly~~ influenced the Board of Governors, ^{was} ~~namely,~~ a petition from the students, who, having taken part in the campaign, Edinburgh fashion, warmly favoured his candidacy. ~~This note occurs in the minutes of the Board for May 23rd:~~

The following gentlemen having been duly nominated and seconded - Drs. Thomas Simpson, F. W. Campbell, Wm. Osler and Wm. Gardner - as candidates for the vacant post of Attending Physician, the Governors recorded their votes one by one, and having counted the votes Mr. F. W.

8
May
1878

Thomas announced that Dr. Wm. Osler had received a considerable majority of the votes, and the Chairman declared him to have been duly elected Attending Physician.

Frank Campbell was considerably his senior, and another of the rival candidates, William Gardner, was a particular friend and intimate, a member of the celebrated Dining Club; but apparently no one ever harboured a grievance against Osler for being beaten by him in a contest of this kind. Long afterward in his address at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1914 he reminisced as follows concerning this period.

May
1878

Four years in the post-mortem room of the general hospital, with clinical work during the smallpox epidemic, seemed to warrant the Governors of the general hospital in appointing me, in 1878, full physician, over the heads - it seems scandalous to me now - of the assistant physicians. The day of the election I left (with my friend George Ross) for London to take my Membership of the College of Physicians and to work at clinical medicine. For three months we had a delightful experience. Murchison, whom I had seen before in 1873, was most kind, and I do not think we missed one of his hospital visits. He was a model bedside teacher - so clear in his expositions, so thorough and painstaking with the student. My old friend Luther Holden introduced us to Gee, in whom were combined the spirit of Hippocrates and the method of Sydenham. Fred. Roberts, at University College Hospital, showed us how physical diagnosis could be taught. We rarely missed a visit with Bastian and Ringer, and at Queen Square I began a long friendship with that brilliant ornament of British medicine, Gowers. With my old comrade Stephen Mackenzie we went to Sutton's Sunday morning class at the London - his 'Sunday School' as it was called - and we learned to have deep respect for his clinical and pathological skill. I mention these trivial details to indicate that before beginning work as clinic teacher I had at least seen some of the best men of the day.*

*An address on the Medical Clinic. British Medical Journal, 1914, i, 10.

June
1878

The object of the ^{trip} visit, as ^{he has} told, ~~in this note~~, was primarily to pass his M.R.C.P. examinations, and incidentally he wished to brush up on his clinical work before assuming his new position in the fall. This ^{'quinguenal brain-dust'} became a habit with him and in later years similar visits had no little influence in keeping him always in the front rank. Long sojourns of this sort away from home are impossible for physicians who permit themselves to become anchored to one spot by a growing practice which they fear to leave. Moreover it was always the means of broadening his intellectual horizon through new contacts, which, with him inevitably resulted, as in the case of Gowers, in the establishment of lasting friendships.

They visited Edinburgh, where the Royal Infirmary was just approaching completion, and they felt while there that what had come to be called 'Listerism' was not making great headway even in this northern metropolis.

They attended the conversazione of the Royal College of Physicians, always one of the features of the season. They heard Burdon-Sanderson give his Harveian Oration in which he urged young men to devote themselves to research despite the promise of any immediate reward, and in ^{an open} a letter which

Ross sends home from London on July 11th, he says:

11878

June-July
1878 Oct. 29

You will be pleased to hear that the small volume of Pathological Reports lately issued from the Montreal General Hospital has been extremely well received by those best competent to judge of its scientific merits. I have heard it in some quarters very highly complimented. Having now attended several of the best autopsy-rooms in London, I have not yet found one in which the post-mortem examinations are conducted as well or as systematically as they are in our own General Hospital.

3-3/4 space
It was at this time that Osler first made acquaintance with two of his life-long friends, Seymour J. Sharkey and George Savage. Sharkey had just returned from a long period of study on the continent and having been appointed Resident Assistant Physician at St. Thomas' Hospital, the position gave him practical control of the wards during the summer months. For two months Osler and Rods took full advantage of this opportunity. On finding in Sharkey a physician of their own kind,

Sir George Savage has written the following:

It was in '78 when Osler was studying in London, that I first made his acquaintance. ^[write Sir George Savage] I was then Physician to Bethlem Royal Hospital, and I had classes for post-graduates and for other members of the profession who were not ordinary medical students: in fact I used to have men belonging to various professions. I used to have literary men and actors as well as doctors, who came to study what might be called the psychological side to mental disorder. Among them was Osler. I admit I did not at that time appreciate the strong individuality of the man, yet I was drawn to him at once. We also were members of the Savile Club, which was, and is, a London centre for scientific and literary men. At this club.

June-July
1878 Aet. 29

there was a regular table d'hôte and men talked freely to their casual neighbours and associated. There was a constant literary give-and-take which suited Osler very well. The talks in the smoking-room after dinner were eminently interesting and very far-ranging.

Osler did not pretend to make any special study of mental disorder, but in after life he used to chaffingly say that from my clinics he learned all that he knew on the subject, and that in Canada he got a reputation which he did not deserve. Then, as ever, he was bright and friendly with anyone, and I never heard of a man who spoke ill or unkindly of him.

Years passed, and we kept up occasional correspondence, but I never found Osler to be what might be called a good general letter-writer: he would in a few words convey his meaning and did not give way to sentiment. He was, in some respects, rather like Gladstone in that he communicated his wishes or his intentions by means of post-card. * * *

Osler himself ^{mentioned} ~~refers to~~ the Savile Club in connection with the malady ^{that caused} ~~of~~ his dear friend Ross, the premonitory symptoms of which first showed themselves at that time; ^{and to}

One morning I had a shock, the first of the kind I had ever felt - I realized that my dear friend George Ross was seriously ill. He had always seemed well and strong, though one hot day, in 1878, at the old Savile Club in London, he had an attack of shortness of breath. This day he told a strange story: he had been awakened by the night-bell, and attempting to put out his right hand to get the match-box, he found he had

another

Summer 1878

lost power in it. With his left hand he struck a match and rang the bell. When the servant appeared he could not speak. He realized perfectly what had happened - that he had had a stroke; but to his surprise in a few hours power had returned to his arm, and he could speak, but not quite clearly. When I saw him he was quite himself - no trace of paralysis, and the speech was clear. Arteries like whip-cord - apex beat out - the usual story that we now know so well. This was the first of a series of transient attacks of aphasia, monoplegia, and hemiplegia extending over four or five years, with intervals of good health during which he lectured and carried on his practice. - Once, on his return from Europe with Dr. Roddick and Dr. Alloway, he had an attack of partial paraplegia and had to be helped off the steamer, but it disappeared in the course of a couple of days.*

***"Transient Attacks of Aphasia and Parályses in States of High Blood Pressure and Arteriosclerosis." Canadian Medical Association Journal, Oct., 1911, i, 919. It was Osler's first experience with the condition which came to be called Cerebral Angiospasm, and though Dr. George Peabody was the first to call attention to the condition in a formal paper on the subject, Osler describes it in all the editions of his Text-book, and in a letter of November 17, 1912, to the Lancet, London, says: "My knowledge of transient aphasia and monoplegia in arteriosclerosis dates from the early 'eighties' when a dear friend and colleague had scores of attacks."

3-2600
 In another incident of this summer's visit, chiefly in London, he referred in an address many years after in a portrayal of the two types of students - the owl and the lark - he himself throughout his life having managed to keep a very happy mean between these two, though he does not say so.

Summer 1878

One day, going with George Ross through Bedlam, Dr. Savage, at that time the physician in charge, remarked upon two great groups of patients - those who were depressed in the morning and those who were cheerful, and he suggested that the spirits rose and fell with the bodily temperature - those with very low morning temperatures were depressed, and vice versa. This, I believe, expresses a truth which may explain the extraordinary difference in the habits of students in this matter of the time at which the best work can be done. Outside of the asylum there are also the two great types, the student-lark who loves to see the sun rise, who comes to breakfast with a cheerful morning face, never so 'fit' as at 6 a.m. We all know the type. What a contrast to the student-owl with his saturnine morning face, thoroughly unhappy, cheated by the wretched breakfast bell of the two best hours of the day for sleep, no appetite, and permeated with an unspeakable hostility to his vis-à-vis, whose morning garrulity and good humour are equally offensive. Only gradually, as the day wears on and his temperature rises, does he become endurable to himself and to others. But see him really awake at 10 p.m! While the plethoric lark is in hopeless coma over his books, from which it is hard to rouse him sufficiently to get his boots off for bed, our lean owl-friend, Saturn no longer in the ascendant, with bright eyes and cheery face, is ready for four hours of anything you wish - deep study, or

'Heart affluence in discursive talk,'

and by 2 a.m. he will undertake to unsphere the spirit of Plato. In neither a virtue, in neither a fault; we must recognize these two types of students, differently constituted owing possibly - though I have but little evidence for the belief - to thermal peculiarities.

cf. *Quaestiones et Alia Adversus*
 "The Student Life" 1905 Oxford, Horace Hart &c.

Aug.
1878

They attended the ^{meeting of the} British Medical Association meeting, held this year at Bath, August 6th to 9th, where possibly Osler first encountered Granger Stewart, Jonathan Hutchinson, Clifford Allbutt ^{Gairdner} and William Broadbent who were coming to be the outstanding figures in British Medicine and who subsequently became his staunch friends. An account of the proceedings, ~~was~~ forwarded by Ross for publication in Fenwick's journal of which he was soon to become co-editor, ~~The letter~~ was dated August 12th from Paris where they must have gone for a short time, possibly to attend the first International Congress of Hygiene, held there during the summer. (2). It was the year, as may be recalled, of the yellow fever epidemic in the States and Osler's public health interests in Montreal must have made him deeply interested. They were back in London by the end of August, as the following shows:

To Miss Greenough (Mrs. Barrett Wendell) from W. C.

Scientific Club, 7 Savile Row, W.

~~[London]~~,

August 28 [1878]

Dear Miss Greenough: - I am very glad you like the vol. of poems by 'a new writer.' Some of them, particularly the Organ Boy & 'Children of the Street' are very good. I fully intended, and indeed, had made arrangements

Aug.
1878

to keep my promise & spend a few days in Boston on my way to England, but the very week before I purposed leaving, circumstances arose which upset my plans. One of the Physicians to the hospital resigned suddenly, and, at the request of my confrères, I remained to compete for the position, the election to which did not take place until the 23rd of May, so that I was kept waiting for nearly two months (not in vain), and then, two of my colleagues decided to join me, we all left via Quebec. I have a return ticket & we go back together on the 12th of next month, so that I shall be unable to accept your kind invitation this autumn. When I shall get Bostonward again I do not know, as year by year I am becoming tied & bound in the chains of my Profession - perhaps next spring I may be able to get away.

I have enjoyed a working holiday in London for the past three months & have just returned from a pleasure holiday with my relations in Cornwall. The rocks remind me of Tadousac. Please give my kind remembrance to Miss Abbot and also to your Father. Mr. Fiske wrote to me telling of his approaching marriage. I had hoped to meet them in London.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

W^m OSLER.

Sept.
1878

3-space → They did not get back to Canada until ^{in September} ~~September 25th~~, too late to attend the annual meeting of the Medical Association which ~~had been~~ held in Hamilton earlier in the month. Osler was still a member of the Publication Committee, and despite his labors of the ^{previous} year ~~before~~ in editing the Transactions, there was no one, in his absence, ^{had sufficient influence to gain win} ~~to urge~~ support for their continuance; ^{nor did he} His attempt to revive the project by the ^a following circularized letter ^{calling upon the} ~~did not~~ bring in enough ^{voluntary subscribers} names to justify further publication.

1351 St. Catherine St.,
Montreal, Oct. 10 (1878)

The Publication Committee of the Canada Medical Association are anxious to issue immediately a volume of Transactions containing the papers read at the Hamilton meeting. To cover expenses, at least, three hundred subscribers at \$1.50 are required. The Committee earnestly hopes that the profession throughout the country will give their cordial support to this undertaking, believing it to be one deserving the 'cooperation of every intelligent practitioner.'

Intending subscribers will please forward their names at once to the undersigned, as the publication cannot be proceeded with until the requisite number have been obtained.

WILLIAM OSLER, M. D.,
Chairman.

Fall 1878

His ^{position} duties as Registrar of the Medical School necessitated his being early on his job; and though a time-consuming duty ^{he it} brought him in contact with the entire student body from the day of their admission, and his unusual memory for names and faces specially qualified him for the post. Fortunate the school that could have such a one the first to ^{candidates for admission,} meet its ~~entering students,~~ and There is hardly a McGill medical student of the day who does not vividly recall his first interview. Dr. William M. Donald writes:

"When I, a raw stripling, marched into his office to register in my Freshman year, he greeted my answer to his query regarding my residence with the question, 'What has become of Ephraim ----?;' naming a student who lived in a small village in Ontario, which was my home. I replied that he was not coming back to college, and that unfortunately he had fallen into evil ways, and was drinking somewhat heavily. Immediately he retorted, 'Ah, Ephraim is joined to his idols.' I smiled, remembering my reading of the prophet Hosea, and came back at him with the quotation from the Second Epistle of Peter, 'The dog has returned to his vomit and the sow that has washed, to her wallowing in the mire.' Osler smiled and replied, 'Good Scripture, Donald, but rough Anglo-Saxon.' I always felt that there was a somewhat closer bond between us after this on account of our mutual knowledge of ~~studies in, and admiration for,~~ the Book of Books."

19-20
Fall
1878

Another student of the day has written:

. . . There was, too, a most engaging lightness and aliveness about him, and a friendliness that we undergraduates rather took for granted, not realizing at the time how virtually unique it was, in sincerity, helpfulness and lastingness. His very walk, 'light hearted, spring heeled' (that's R.L.S., isn't it?) showed both the temperament and the youth. One often met him walking with books or papers under his arm, and with him, generally foreshadowed in a smile, came the greeting, always cheery and always the right one for the occasion, the place and the persons. This was entirely instinctive and yet so noticeable that more than once it provoked the remark that he was 'among us but not of us.' Beyond that no one in Montreal, at least no one of us students of medicine, ever had so much as a glimpse of W.O.'s bright and shining place in the future medical world.

Oct.
1878

In ^{his} ~~the~~ introductory lecture to the students on the re-opening of the school, October 1st*, William Gardner ^{the following} made ~~this~~ statement:

Footnote

*On this same date William Osler was giving the opening lecture before the students of the Montreal Veterinary College under the title, "Comparative Pathology", a report of his remarks in extenso being given in the Veterinary Journal, 1878, vii, 405. After defining pathology as the physiology and microscopical anatomy of disease, particularly of anthrax, of hog cholera, etc., he referred to the "Contagious Diseases (animals) Act of 1878" as unjust to the cattle trade, ^{and} advocated warmly inspection as a protection against hog cholera, Texas fever, and so on, concluding with a plea that the students take full advantage of the great opportunities of study open to them.

I have to announce to you what this Faculty congratulates themselves ^{on} ~~is~~ a most important step they have taken in providing the means for the practical teaching of an all-important subject. For some years the Faculty have contemplated establishing a Physiological Laboratory. To-day I am proud to announce to you that that Laboratory is an accomplished fact. Under the able direction of my friend Prof. Osler, we expect that this very Laboratory shall be the scene of many original researches by present and future students of McGill in the unexplored fields of physiology.

But despite this important ^{step} ~~material development~~ in the school, which for the first time gave the budding Department of Physiology its ^{an} ~~proper~~ opportunity ^{for development,} it was not as an experimental biologist that Osler's particular bent showed itself. Of this he made repeated confessions in years to follow. But

Fall
1878

Whether it may be attributed to an imperfect training, to a temperament unsuited to experimental physiology, to accident of environment, or to some other element, Osler's leanings certainly did not lie in this direction. ~~In~~ *was more to his liking the way here* the pathological laboratory, it was his industry aided by keen powers of observation and of interpretation rather than any particular technical *facility in* gifts, *the selling up of apparatus that in the long run told in his favour.* ~~that told in the long run, for not even there did he show the experimentalist's~~ imagination. ~~But~~ But it was quite another matter when he came to enter the hospital wards as an attending physician, as he did this autumn. His belief that over-treatment with drugs was one of the medical errors of the day has been hinted at, and it was always one of his favourite axioms that no one individual had done more good to the medical profession than Hahnemann, whose therapeutic methods had demonstrated that the natural tendency of disease was toward recovery, provided that the patient was decently cared for, properly nursed and not over-dosed. This, it is true, had been emphasized *among others by Jacob Bigelow* by Henry I. Bowditch *remarkable for the time (1835),* in his essay on "Self Limited Disease"; but it was the therapeutic cult of Homeopathy, contrary to its intent, that had given the actual proof.

Dr. Rogers thus speaks of ~~his~~ *Osler's* advent as physician in the M. G. H.:

Fall
1878

When therefore his time came to take charge of a section of the hospital older doctors looked on with bated breath, expecting disastrous consequences. He began by clearing up his ward completely. All the unnecessary semblances of sickness and treatment were removed; it was turned from a sick-room into a bright, cheerful room of repose. Then he started in with his patients. Very little medicine was given. To the astonishment of everyone, the chronic beds, instead of being emptied by disaster, were emptied rapidly through recovery; under his stimulating and encouraging influence, the old cases nearly all disappeared, the new cases stayed but a short time. The revolution was wonderful. It was one of the most forceful lessons in treatment that had ever been demonstrated. * *

During this fall, winter and spring, the usual succession of brief reports before the Medico-Chirurgical Society continued. There are eighteen separate titles given in the full bibliography of the period, which would

seem to represent more presentations than could have been thoroughly pre-

but his Jervis' last year methods are sufficiently well illustrated by the report upon two
pared for: ~~an~~ example, however, may be given to show his studious and

painstaking characteristics. He demonstrated at one of the meetings of the

Jan.
1879

"Med.-Chi." Society, and later before the Students' Society, two examples of rare kidney tumour. The tumours were thoroughly studied: a detailed report upon them was subsequently printed,* and as an appendix to this report there

*The Journal of Anatomy and Physiology, London, Jan. 1880, xiv, 229.

was published a long translation ^{from the subject of tumours from} of Cohnheim's celebrated Vorlesungen über allgemeine Pathologie which had just appeared (1877) ^{in which the author} containing Cohnheim's ^{the origin of} views regarding tumours ^{as set forth}.

(So one may easily dog the trail of what)

Cohn called his medical career. He was the activating spirit of the Med. Chi. Society and should anyone wish to know what his contemporaries felt toward him the remarks made by Henry Stewart, the old but not the Conacher alienist - one criminalist, or referring to president ~~for~~ for the fear they be corrected. In Cohn appears to have ^{given demonstrations on topics most chosen as} ~~held forth on subjects~~ ^{in Hummer's fashion but with an enthusiasm which was infectious} ~~as~~ ^{in "Humboldt's method of preserving the brain": in "Humboldt's method of preserving the brain" and the heart of the sword fish with an explanation of the comparative anatomy of its circulation ^{to be 27. H. Henry}}

quate accommodations at present offered in the Smallpox Hospital, and expressed as, in his opinion, the best mode of dealing with this foul and fatal disease that established in Germany in 1872. Hospital accommodation was provided, and then all cases were compelled to go to the hospital, the result being that the epidemic was stamped out. It is fearful to think that in this period of civilization the pest should have existed here for many years, and for the past ten years in almost epi-

And Cohn called his medical career: but it is of greater interest to know what his contemporaries thought of him. H. Henry

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demic form, and yet so little effort should have been made to rid the city of a disease that is carrying off many of its inhabitants and mar-
ring its commercial prosperity.*

*Canada Medical Record, Feb. 1880, vii, 140. Within a year, however, a great change took place in the entire small-pox situation, largely due to the energies of Dr. W. E. Bessey the public vaccina-
tor, who succeeded in supplying an abundance of pure bovine lymph and of getting it used.

Henry Howard the distinguished Canadian alienist

and criminologist was President of the Med.-Chi. Society for this year, and

in his retiring address ^{eloquently} ~~paid~~ ^{showed} ~~this unusual~~ ^{as follows} tribute to the member who was evi-

dently the moving spirit of the ^{organization} ~~Society~~:

And here I feel it my pleasing and bounden duty ~~to~~, for myself and the society, ^{to} return thanks particularly to one member of the ~~society~~ for all that he has done for us ^{and} ~~done~~ for medical science, during the year that is past. He has, if I may be allowed the expression, fed us with this science, and not only fed us with, but given us an appetite for it, and I trust he has imparted to us a portion of his own healthy enthusiasm, so that the more of this scientific food he gave us the more we looked for, and he did not disappoint us, for his recreation was to search in the Atlantic Ocean to still obtain more knowledge, and he came back to us laden with good things,

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part of which was to demonstrate to us the heart of the sword fish, explaining to us its comparative anatomy, its physiology, and the circulation of the blood in that monster of the deep. None of us, ~~I hope~~, will ever forget the many interesting pathological specimens that he brought before us, and so ably explained during the past year. Then, again, his anatomical preparations of the brain, what can surpass them? so perfect ~~and so beautiful, because natural~~, that the student of anatomy, and we are all students, can learn by these preparations the anatomy of the brain, not only as well but much better than if we were to attempt to dissect ^{it} the brain for ourselves. ~~I hope that in time he will not only show us more of such anatomical preparations, but also more pathological preparations of the brain.~~ Gentlemen, I ~~knew~~ I but speak the mind of the society when I say I hope he may reap ample reward for his persevering industry. I know it is not necessary, but I must name our scientific friend, Dr. Osler... ~~Other members of the society have also presented us with some rare pathological and anatomical specimens, to whom, on the part of the society, I return our most sincere thanks, and beg of them to persevere in their good work.~~

One of Osler's communications must have been particularly gratifying to ^{Henry Howard} him, for in one of the later sessions in the year he had given a demonstration on "Giacomini's Method of Preserving the Brain," to which ~~later~~ reference will ^{again} be made.

Doney all

Feb.
1879

In an issue of the local journal early in 1879* there is an account

*Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, Feb., 1879, vii, 329.

of a medico-legal case in which ~~he~~ participated and which would have interested James Bovell. An inquest had been held by an aged and incapable coroner on the body of a well-known and heavily insured man who was found dead in a sleigh, stored in a hay-loft, and foul play was suspected. Dr. Reddy, one of ^{his colleagues} ~~the elder visiting physicians~~ at the ^{Montreal General} ~~M. G. H.~~ had been entrusted with the examination, and ^{the} testimony brought out that "he had associated with him Dr. Osler, a clever and promising young practitioner." They reported an absence of all natural causes of death - with the exception of the stomach 'which they do not examine but tie up carefully, and insinuate that there will probably be found the cause of death.' It was - morphia, in undoubted quantities. The jury, nevertheless, returned a verdict 'He died of grief: not of ^{poisoning} ~~morphia~~.'

During all this time, lest James Bovell be forgotten, ^{there are letters} ~~these two~~

Spring
1879

To Arthur James Johnson
 letters, may be given which show not only that Father Johnson is far from

"because of the person involved from that unfortunate smoke for case"
 well) but also that the church is not occupying Bovell's attention to the
"I am a most most crasse recluse" he writes "and rarely see — contains it first letter to "terrible time yet"
It Bores He has become
 exclusion of medicine. It would appear that he was enthusiastic over the

new views regarding the bacterial causation of infectious diseases, and

another from my father's letter at in worded
 from the second letter one would judge that he had actually observed an-
affected
 thrax bacilli in the organs of animals with 'cattle plague.' He could

hardly have known of Robert Koch's epochal paper of the year before, iden-

tifying the bacilli as the cause of the disease: *But he writes to Arthur James Johnson: "So*
early in June he wrote, saying he

was filled with grief and alarm at the news of Father Johnson's illness which he
ascribes to the person involved from that unfortunate smoke for case and he goes on to
say of himself
I am

without letting
yourself to work and don't let any body know what you are doing but examine the blood
in every place of fever and pyæmia and also the matter adhering to the apertures where
you draw them out. You must get at least a 1/16 or a 1/20 of a "Hartmann". Don't wait until you
have drawn out of life." Such was James Bovell M.D. M.R.C.P.

JAMES BOVELL TO ARTHUR JUKES JOHNSON

Stuarts-Hill, Nevis *nd*

June, 1879?

(cf. other of July 10, 1879)

My dear Arthur

Your letter has filled me with grief and alarm, and at a time when I am pretty well crushed. I write by return mail to answer as best I may your quite dear account of my dear Johnsons symptoms. I quite remember the earlier facts and I have no doubt whatever that the provoking cause of his present state was the poison inhaled from that unfortunate small pox case - But I candidly confess that I do not agree either with dear old Phil or yourself as to present state. I feel convinced the Mischief from the poisonous germinal Matter has fallen on the Glandular system & the Mysteric, most likely, Colonic and Prostate, this latter at his time of life having a tendency to take on disease. The next point is this the Mischief Malignant requires to be carefully kept in mind. Any how I say put him on Sulpho-Carbolate Magnesia 30 grs morning and at bedtime in water and gr 1/2 Sulphide Calcium rubbed down fine in a little Gum water twice during the day, say 10 O'C. and 6 P.M. - ~~Get Burgoyne's oleate Mercury 10 per cent and pass it per rectum opposite prostate or inject by syringe 5 drops with a little pure almond oil to neck of bladder.~~ I write in much distress, but I think I am on the right track - His heart has been intermittent ever since his last severe attack of rheumatism: so do not consider that circumstance, as of much consequence. I am a most miserable recluse and rarely see any but the members of my own family. I am not idle but have collected a good deal towards a little Class Bk: on Disease Germs in relation to Disease But I am kept back from want of a high objective. I had just written to Beck about his 1/20th when your letter comes. Beck's is 85¢ so I felt quite dispirited. Have a talk with Fred, and see if he can squeeze out 65 for Spencers Professional 1/4 which must be a wonderful Glass. I am very poor it is true, but my goodness anything to relieve this cruel monotony. As soon as the Manuscript is ready I will send it with Drawings and most of the Specimens. You see my clothing is Brian O'Syng's, "for I have no breeches to wear" and altho' I am obliged to Knock under to Granny and let her keep the purse I do hope somehow to contrive to get the 1/4 out of saved clothes. We have had a terrible time of it. James Connell desperately ill with fever and as he began to mend poor little May all but died of it. You may guess how ill she was one night, that I had the Service and gave her Anointing with Consecrated oil, all I know is she began to recover from that time. Fancy a Pulse 130, and heat 105° Do my dear fellow write me as soon as you can and say how your Father gets on - send me the Names of the two Books on Histology you lent me when with you. I had some wood cuts of Cell growth and one repair of ulcer could you get them and send me prints of them so as to know how to place them There are some of Glands of Intestine one especially of Kitten dead of starvation and some of Villi - among the things here I have examination of two outbreaks of spleen disease in Cattle - and specimens of Filaria from Man and Fish in the latter I am original - God bless you old fellow and guide you - I hope Johnson will not give over the Weston Chapel or land - He has been abused enough. Give my dearest love to him and tell him to cheer up - I shant write to Abby this time. Read the enclosed and then explain to her the ignorance of the Asses in Trinidad.

Y^{rs} affectly

J Bovell

Ps.

P S/ Should you like Manuscript and it can be printed stick your name to mine and let it be ours - J B

FROM JAMES BOVELL TO ARTHUR JUKES JOHNSON

Stuarts-Hill, Nevis
West Indies
July 10th, 1879

My dear Arthur,

I owe you a letter and for a long time, but I really have not been able to pen a line at times and could not stand the fatigue. I have been whenever I could steal an hour, working at Bucnemia Tropica and *Chichiens* [pellogra] I have got some interesting facts together, together with Microscopical observations which I am throwing into the form of a paper for Osler. I am rather "stumped" for want of a good ^{now} ~~well~~ & Lealand 1/25th You are making a grievous mistake in not using the higher powers for the 1/4 only takes you to the margin of inquiry. It is simply impossible for you ever to do any real good work without at least the 1/16th and 1/20th The other day we were threatened with a visitation of Cattle plague. In less than a week 10 head of oxen were done for. I got the spleens, Lungs, Heart, Kidnies of several - With the 1/16th (Wales) I succeeded in demonstrating the presence of peculiar bodies, which with active living Bacteria, were present in the utterly broken down and disorganised splenic pulp. These oblong bodies were present in each of the Spleens examined. The Muscular fibre of the heart was especially pale the transverse markings scarcely discernable and the fibre broke up readily into short fractured bits. I treated the whole herd on Beales plan and from the time Carbolic Acid was freely used and the water supply changed the disease was stayed - You must get Beale on diseased Germs. It is the Book of the day and well worth deep study. You have or had some preparations of Meningitis which were well put up, but you do not know their value 'till you get a 1/16th at least. I should think Hartnacks objectives would be among the best and are cheaper than Powells. I am afraid I shall have to weep and sigh for one as there is no chance of my ever having the means to get one - I hear Sweatman is the Bp. of Toronto. Well so much for trimming and straddle-the-fence Kind of work - I only care for the matter on your dear Fathers account. He will be hounded and sat upon, and then the rest of the old party will be sat upon. I am now so out of the way, and have so little to do with the outside world that I am utterly ignorant of the state of parties in the Church. How are you getting on and how is dear old Phil. What is the truth about Checkley? did the Papspoon party really keep him on gruel till he died? Poor Man, he told me of some of his troubles, but not half I could see, of what he really suffered. What about your father, how is he and what is he doing. Will the Sulpho-Carbonate Magnesia do him any good - Has Jim taken his Coll. Phys. License. I wrote to him long ago about it, but the little villain never wrote me a line - Love to your dear old daddy to Phil and remember me to Bethune when you see him. Write me soon as it cheers me when I hear from you all. Just 13 months in prison. -

Yrs affectly

Jas Bovell

[75] Carbolic 1 in 100 will yet be injected into the nerves in Diphth, Scarlet & Typh: I have said so for years - J B

(From James Bovell to Arthur Jukes Johnson - 2)

[PPS]

You would be delighted with R. I. Becks 4/10th I saw Carpenters Notice of it and on using it finding all he says of it to be true. Go quietly to work dont let anybody know what you are doing but examine the blood in every case of fever and pyaemia and also the matter adhering to Ligatures when you draw them out. You must get at least a 1/16th or 1/20th Hartnack. Dont sink into a hum-drum sort of Life.

Yrs

J B

Such a man was James Bovell M.D. M.P.C.P. and it may be assumed that many similar letters must have gone from him likewise to others.

May-June
1879

From May to July of this year Osler had his first taste of ^{instructing students at the bedside} clinical teaching in the wards of the Montreal General; and his enthusiasm can be imagined for he was at his best under the stimulus of a group of students at the bedside. And so during the next five years his teaching-time was divided between the prescribed courses in physiology and pathology during the winter session, and clinical medicine in the summer. He says himself:

In the summer session of 1879 I had my first clinical class. We ^(the subsequently united) worked together through Gee's "Auscultation and Percussion", and in the ward visit, physical diagnosis exercises, and in a clinical microscopy class the greater part of the morning was spent. I came across the other day the clinical note-book I had prepared for the students with a motto from Froude, 'The knowledge which a man can use is the only real knowledge, the only knowledge which has life and growth in it, and converts itself into practical power. The rest hangs like dust about the brain, or dries like raindrops off the stones.' //

*Address before the Abernethian Society, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, Dec. 4, 1913: "The Medical Clinic; a Retrospect and a Forecast." British Medical Journal, Jan. 3, 1914, i, 10.

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Aet. 30

In August Ross and Molson took over from Fenwick the editorship of the Canada Medical & Surgical Journal in which so many of Osler's brief papers during these past years had been published, and he ^{soon} ~~sends~~ to them an account of the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held on August 27th in Saratoga.* This he had attended in

*Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, Sept. 1879, viii, 63.

view of a circular letter issued by the General Secretary to the effect

that a Subsection of Physiology and Anatomy would be established at the

meeting, ^{and he} but ~~unfortunately not a~~ ^{an in} sufficient number of members were present

to justify such an organization. ^{foregathered at this meeting with} He must have ~~met~~ his future Baltimore

colleague Remsen, as well as Michelson, ^{and} C. S. Minot. He speaks ^{also} of Edison

as the 'bogie of gas companies,' and says that Edison told him in conver-

sation that 'he believed it would be possible to illumine the interior

of the body by passing a small electric burner into the stomach.' ~~This~~

~~was fourteen years before Röntgen discovered a better way.~~ ^{He also}

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He was somewhat disturbed by the subject matter of some of the 125 papers which were presented in the various sections, and speaks with unusual impatience of the occasional diffuse reader always to be found on such a programme.

. . . So far as I know there is yet to be written a series of papers on "Types of Professional Character", but when it is, one of the most interesting will be on the half-educated, often original character whose mind has grasped an idea, perhaps a true one, and round it he will make all the facts of physiology and pathology cluster in a manner satisfactory to himself, most painful to others, who see nothing but crudities in his badly observed facts and ill-concocted theories. In all large gatherings such a specimen is sure to be found, and he is generally quite irrepressible. George Eliot says, "Blessed is the man who, having nothing to say, abstains from giving us wordy evidence of the fact, from calling upon us to search through a heap of millet seed in order to be sure that there is no pearl in it." But what about the man who does?

In somewhat lighter vein, the letter being to his friend Ross, in speaking of a paper by Clarence J. Blake of Boston on "The Consonantal Expression of Emotion" he goes on to say that:

. . . according to Herbert Spencer, emotion is an excess of nerve force which must have peripheral expression, and naturally deep feeling finds its outlet in forcible sounds. The various 'cuss-words' in common

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use afford relief to irritated man, simply because they contain the consonants of the highest logographic value. This may be called the physical basis of swearing, and affords a physiological excuse for the use of bad language. In private conversation afterwards with Dr. Blake it was suggested that he invent a new 'swear-word' of the highest possible logographic value, and with no moral significance. This might be sanctioned by the American Association, and be recognized henceforth as the scientific 'damn.'

He also heard Professor Marsh give an address on "The History of Palaeontology" and relates the following story told by Marsh of an old German professor in the first quarter of the eighteenth century who had taught his students that fossils were mere 'sports of nature.'

. . . Some of the students thought they might follow nature's example, so they carved forms from the soft limestone and buried them in the professor's favourite hunting-ground. They were soon found, and the delight shown at the new treasures stimulated the wicked students to fresh efforts, so that before long the professor had a large collection of unique fossils, the like of which had never been seen. After an immense amount of labour and time spent upon them, he published a work with twenty folio plates, figuring the new fossils. His fame was apparently secure. The joke was, however, too good to be hid, the deception became known, and the unfortunate professor was overwhelmed with ridicule. He bought in all the volumes he could, but as they became scarce the price rose, and he finally died in great poverty. The widow, a woman of enterprise and of a practical turn, retrieved the fallen fortunes of the family by the issue of a second edition.

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It seems that after this meeting he paid his first visit to Beede's, ^{former} the Adirondack camp of his ^{Bowditch} friends, H. P. Bowditch, where each year there ^{Charles and James Putnam and William James who} gathered a group of Boston friends including, this summer, Charles J. Minot and the Putnams. This charming picture of the surroundings has been given by Henry James.

At the head of these valleys, in the basin of the Ausable Lakes and on the surrounding slopes of the most interesting group of mountains in the Adirondacks, a great tract of forest has been preserved. Giant, Noonmark, Colvin, and the Gothics raise their splendid ridges and summits to the enclosing horizon, and Dix, Haystack, and Marcy, the last the highest mountain of the Adirondack range, are within a day's walk of the little community that used to be known as "Beede's." Where the Ausable Club's picturesque golf-course is now laid out, the fields of Smith Beede's farm then surrounded his primitive, white-painted hotel. Half a mile to the eastward, in a patch of rocky pasture beside Giant Brook, stood the original Beede farmhouse, and this Henry P. Bowditch, Charles and James Putnam, and William James had bought for a few hundred dollars (subject to Beede's cautious proviso in the deed that "the purchasers are to keep no boarders"). They had adapted the little story-and-a-half dwelling to their own purposes and converted its surrounding sheds and pens into habitable shanties of the simplest kind. So they established a sort of camp, with the mountains for their climbing, the brook to bathe in, and the primeval forest fragrant about them."

cf. "The Letters of William James." Boston, 1920.

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3-3 page

Shortly after this ^{visit} he attended the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Medical Association held in London, Ontario, ^{some failure and then he reported} September 10th to 12th. He made a report for the publication committee in regard to the second volume of Transactions, ^{stating} and stated that the Association evidently was not sufficiently advanced to justify the continuance of the effort. The project, therefore, was abandoned, but with Mullin and Sloan he was appointed on a committee to look into the ^{association's} financial affairs of the Association, a post for which he was far less well fitted. ~~In~~ The minutes of the meeting ^{state that} there occurs this note:

"On the morning of ^{September} the 11th, after the reading of the minutes Dr. Osler of Montreal gave a description of the anatomy of the brain, illustrating his remarks by specimens of the brain preserved by Giacomini's new process." ^{adding that} The specimens were beautifully preserved, retaining their form and colour, whilst being firm, hard and smooth. The various convolutions were marked out and Ferrier's centres traced carefully upon one specimen. Dr. Osler was highly complimented upon his patient labour and his most interesting and instructive remarks.

This Giacomini whose methods he had adopted, a most extraordinary man, was Professor of Anatomy at Turin, where in his laboratory he literally lived, died, and was buried, in the midst of an amazing collection of brains.

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One of his paramount interests was in cerebral topography, and being a colleague of the famous criminologist Lombroso* it was natural that he

*Lombroso's "L'Uomo Delinquente" had been recently published: 1876.

showed him more a special study of

became interested in the brains of criminals and that Osler likewise

should have followed suit, as will appear.

There follows a visit to
~~It must have been at this time that in~~ *where* Hamilton ~~he saw and visited~~
School
 his old Barrie friend Charlie Locke, for the last time, for Locke died

the next spring*, like many another doctor leaving *scant funds* little for his family

*"Charles F. A. Locke, M.D., CM." Obituary notice by W.O. Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, 1880, viii, 479.

to live upon; and the burden of the education of his three children was

subsequently assumed by Osler, *who had* ~~one of them having been put~~ through a course

in medicine. *Then* *Toronto and* ~~He was in Dundas and Weston and stopped in Toronto~~ for the *customary*

round of visits on all old acquaintances which he was accustomed to make: and

particularly when there were children in the house one may be sure that there

was a frolic with considerable disarrangement of the nursery. The pictures

would have their faces to the wall, or a pillow-fight -- his favourite sport --

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would be ^{jumpily} organized and in brief time an untidy but happy child would be abruptly left with its delighted but hysterical nurse. Dr. Adam Wright relates that he sailed into ^{his home} ~~him~~ one morning, and finding Mrs. Wright telephoning the butcher took the instrument from her and most violently but amusingly ^{beerated} pitched ~~into~~ the surprised party at the other end for sending such an outrageously tough steak the day before.

Another student, on Osler's appeal, was added this fall to the establishment at 1351 St. Catherine Street. Henry V. Ogden, a Southerner whose parents had gone to Canada after the Civil War, had been at the Bishops College School at Lennoxville near the lakes Magog and Memphremagog in southern Quebec. He was a tall youth, therefore with schoolboy quickness of wit called "Og, Rex Basan" and there was a school jingle concerning 'Og, Gog and Memphremagog' which might mystify boys less familiar with the ^{scriptures} ~~Bible~~ than those attending a Church School. After a sojourn at Trinity reading for honours in mathematics, followed by a ~~try at the law in McGill~~, Ogden had decided upon medicine and ^{as} a first-year ^{in medicine Ogden} student had been attending Osler's lectures, ^{and on} ~~on~~ learning from Rogers that

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he was living in a forlorn boarding-house in a cheap part of the town,

^{was} Osler persuaded ^{by Allen} Buller ^{as an acquaintance of to share} to have him taken in, ~~with them to share the third-~~
~~floor quarters with Rogers.~~

[writes Ogden]

. . . I can, and do, see him perfectly as he came up to my room on the third floor of 1351 St. Catherine Street, the second or third night after I moved in. I happened to be sitting up in bed reading at physiology. He broke out at once in praise of the habit of reading in bed, but heartily disapproved the physiology. He told me of his plan of reading in bed, for ten minutes to half an hour, every evening before he went to sleep — but, only literature, never medicine. He then walked across the room standing with his back to me, his hands in his trousers' pockets, tilting up and down on his toes, and inspecting ^{the} ~~my~~ little collection of about twenty or thirty books ^{that} ranged on two small hanging shelves. He chuckled and talked about each as his eye ran from one to the other, and taking down the "Golden Treasury" came over, sat on the foot of the bed, and half recited, half read, interjecting a running comment, a number of the poems. Then tossing the book to me he said: "You'll find that much better stuff than physiology for reading in bed." That same evening, too, he spoke of Sir Thomas Browne and the "Religio", and probably for the first time, for I don't remember his making any reference to the subject in his lectures at the college. His enthusiasm rose as he spoke, and running downstairs he brought up his copy, pointed out and read several passages and then left me to tell the story — or at any rate I told it — of the student

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with whom I went shopping one afternoon. This youth asked for a copy of the "Religio Medici", pronouncing "medici" as an Italian word, and kept it up until the book-seller bluntly told him that "medici" referred to the profession of medicine and not to the famous Florentine family. W.O. seemed, at least, to be much amused at this story. He also asked me if I had a copy, and what edition. I was obliged to say that I had not, that all I knew of the book was a reference in it toward the end to something as being 'beyond the power of Hellebore.' "Oh, yes," he said, "you will find plenty of things in medicine 'beyond the power of Hellebore'," and with one of those amused, twinkling smiles of his, asked me what I had learned about hellebore at the Materia Medica lectures. And then as a last word before going down to his own rooms he urged me to give the "Religio" first place in the list of books to be bought.

The whole incident - W.O.'s coming up to my room, I mean - made a tremendous impression ~~on me~~, for I had never before met a professor who struck one as so completely human, who actually liked some of the same things you did, and, above all, talked about them with you as an elder equal, so to speak. As you can imagine, it started my relations with him on a pleasant footing and in a pleasant direction, and naturally I have blessed my friend Rogers a thousand times for getting me into 1351.

Dr. Buller, known as the 'Landlord', is remembered as a somewhat irascible soul with a propensity to raise the rent. The three upstairs ten-

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ants breakfasted with him but otherwise lived a life apart - a young professor and two students who became friends and intimates. Incidentally the students were used by the professor from time to time for his own dire purposes, and Ogden one day was sent to perform an autopsy on a horse that had died from some mysterious nervous ailment. It necessitated the removal 'intact and in one piece' of the animal's brain and spinal cord, a difficult enough procedure even for one more experienced, and it took Ogden nearly all day. Not knowing how to dispose of the trophy, it being late afternoon, he took it home and proudly laid it out full-length in the family bath-tub where it unfortunately was first discovered by Buller, who was furiously angry. Osler fortunately came in in time to save from harm both specimen and student, and pacified the 'landlord' by agreeing to take the first bath.

- These lunches and dinners were taken outside, and every afternoon-
^{usually} tea-time found them with the Francis cousins on McGill College Avenue on the way home from the college to their rooms. As stated, Osler occupied the two ^{second-floor} upstairs rooms over Buller's ^{quarters} waiting-room and office, for

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a study and office of his own, with the bedroom in the rear; and there was a little shelf by his bed which ^{Ogden recalls} always held The Golden Treasury, Shakespeare's Sonnets and a copy of Shelley, no matter what else might be there from time to time.

^{Dr}
In his "Reminiscences", Rogers has stated that 'Osler's charity reached everyone in whom he could find some measure of sincerity and application'; that 'he had the greatest contempt for the doctor who made financial gain the first object of his work'; and 'even seemed to go as far as to think that a man could not make more than a bare living and still be an honest and competent physician.' ^{His student house-mates} It may be quoted that his income for the year from the college, including student fees, was \$1,055, of which \$314 came from practice assumed during Palmer Howard's absence from town. Dr. Ogden remembers only three consultations in his office, which indeed was hardly suited for this purpose, being usually littered with untidy evidence of literary activity. One of these ^{consultations} few occasions, however, was such an important one that preparations had to be made for it and Ogden was requis-

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tioned as an assistant, for the patient was none other than old Peter Redpath the wealthy Montreal sugar refiner who, being on the M.G.H. Board, had hopes that the ^{newly appointed} ~~young~~ physician might be able to cure him of an intractable lumbago. He arrived exhausted after mounting the stairs and in due course ^{they proceeded} to treat him by acupuncture, a popular procedure of the day, which consists in thrusting a long needle into the muscles of the small of the back. At each jab the old gentleman is said to have ripped out a string of oaths; and, in the end, got up and hobbled out, no better of his pain, this to Osler's great distress for he had expected to give him immediate relief which, as he said, 'meant a million to McGill.'

The first glimmering of Osler's subsequent deep interest in matters relating to medical history and biography dates from this time, in connection with an aged French Canadian, a ^{one time} voyageur in the service of the American Fur

Company who had been accidentally wounded in the side by the discharge of a musket on the 6th of June 1822 at Michilimacinac. This accident and its consequences, and the fact that the victim came under the care of William

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Beaumont, a United States Army surgeon stationed at the time in this frontier post, led to the most important contributions to the physiology of digestion made during the century.

Fifty-seven years had elapsed but according to a note in

in In the Montreal medical journal for August, 1879, *of the year Alexis St. Martin, father of twenty* fifty-seven years *children, still with the hole in his stomach, was living at* after this occurrence, appeared this note.

ALEXIS ST. MARTIN, famous in physiological works for the experiments of Dr. Beaumont, is still alive, and at present a resident of St. Thomas, Joliette County, Province of Quebec, Canada, and is seventy-eight years old. The wound in his stomach has never closed, and at present the opening in his side is nearly an inch in diameter. His general health appears not to have been in any way affected by the curious wound in his side, but has always been excellent. For his age he is now quite strong and hearty. He has been the father of twenty or more children of whom four are now living. He has always been a hard worker, and never suffered from lack of digestion.

It is not improbable that this ^{note} may have been inserted by Osler himself, for it was his invariable custom, as the students of the period *Beaumont and* ~~will recall~~, to tell the story of St. Martin when taking up the subject of digestion in his course in physiology. After doing so he usually asked

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the class where St. Martin's stomach should finally be deposited. A student of the time recalls that, in his year, someone shouted "The McGill Museum!" Osler said, "No," and another then volunteered "Ottawa," and again "No," when a third suggested "The Hunterian Museum;" whereupon Osler said, "Can't you use your heads? The United States Army Museum in Washington, of course," and at this juncture a red-headed Irish student asked to know "Why?"

This had gone on with successive classes for a number of years and it became generally known that Osler expected to hold a post-mortem examination after old St. Martin's demise. So in this spring of 1880 Ogden was ^{told} warned that he might have to go out to Joliette County at a minute's notice, taking with him some other student, for ^{it was learned} ~~a notice~~ ^{word} had been received to the effect ^{knowledge} that St. Martin's end was near. ~~Word~~ ^{Word} of Osler's intent had reached the community, which had apparently been aroused in opposition and on the day of St. Martin's death a ^{warning} telegram ^{came from the first saying} was forwarded to this effect: "Don't come for autopsy: will be killed," ^{and this was followed by the announcement that the} ~~To~~ Ogden's great relief, therefore, he was not obliged to go, particularly when word came that St. Martin's grave

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French Canadian
was being guarded every night by ~~men~~ ^{men} armed with rifles; but it was a great disappointment to Osler. *ms*

~~The following letter was received from the local doctor who had done what he could to make possible the desired examination, for which Osler~~
~~"had offered to pay a fair sum in case the relatives would agree to de-~~
~~posit the stomach in the Army Medical Museum in Washington."~~ *(x)* *ms 179*

I have much pleasure today in placing in your hands such information about St. Martin as Rev. Mr. Chicoine, curé of St. Thomas, has just handed over to me. Alexis Bidigan, dit St. Martin, died at St. Thomas de Joliette on June 24, 1880, and was buried in the cemetery of the parish on the 28th of the same month. The last sacraments of the Catholic Church were ministered to him by Rev. Curé Chicoine, who also attended at his burial service. The body was then in such an advanced stage of decomposition that it could not be admitted into the church, but had to be left outside during the funeral service. The family resisted all requests - most pressing as they were - on the part of the members of the medical profession for an autopsy, and also kept the body at home much longer than usual and during a hot spell of weather, so as to allow decomposition to set in and baffle, as they thought, the doctors of the surrounding country and others. They had also the grave dug eight feet below the surface of the ground in order to prevent any attempt at a resurrection. When he died St. Martin was 83 years of age, and left a widow whose maiden name was Marie Jolly.*

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first note

(*) Osler's own brief account of the episode was given in his well known address "A Backwood Physiologist," before the St. Louis Medical Society in 1902, based largely on Beaumont's papers which had come into his hands through his St. Louis relatives. As the direct result of this address, local interest was aroused in William Beaumont and Dr. Jesse S. Myer in 1912 prepared an admirable biography of him, for which Sir William wrote the introduction; and finally all the Beaumont papers were deposited in the archives of Washington University at the time of the celebration in connection with the opening of the new medical buildings.

During this whole academic year of 1879-1880 ~~there was if anything~~
~~an access of his~~ ^{accustomed} ~~amazing industry.~~ ~~Not only was a second volume of Patho-~~
~~logical Reports projected, but he had prevailed upon his colleagues at the~~
~~Montreal General to issue a volume of Clinical Reports, of which he was the~~
~~voluntary editor,~~ ^{and according to the} ~~An advertisement~~ ^{with} ~~of this appeared in the journals as~~
~~early as January, 1880, "the subscribers' names to be sent to W. O., 1351~~
~~St. Catherine Street."~~ Though customary in British hospitals, this was

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(it appeared in July)

the first publication of the kind to be issued from a Canadian institution,*

***Montreal General Hospital: Reports Clinical and Pathological."
Ed. by William Osler, M.D., M.R.C.P. London. Montreal, Dawson
Bros., 1880, pp. 367.

its perusal shows that he was not only the prime mover but the chief contributor; for two
~~and it is obvious from its perusal that he was the prime mover; for not only~~

~~does it contain his long ^{detailed} pathological report subsequently reprinted, but two~~

of the sixteen original papers were written by him, and his name appears as

participant in several of the others, ^{and the volume also contains a long detailed account of} Thus R. P. Howard who has the leading

article, an important one on "Cases of Leucocythaemia," states in his preamble

that:

Don't note

"An additional gratification is derived from the reflection that several important contributions to the condition of the bone medulla in pernicious anaemia have been made within the last two years by my friend, Professor Osler, of this city, and that it is owing to his ability, industry, and zeal, that the writer of this paper is in a condition to record the histological conditions of the bone-marrow and blood in the following examples of that interesting and obscure affection, leucocythaemia."

his second series of autopsies. These were subsequently

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From this notable volume his own "Pathological Report No. II" was ^{which contains a}

^{from the volume} extracted and separately published, ^{as his} It has this preliminary note ^{stating that it}

The first Pathological Report from the Hospital was issued in 1878. The present "comprises a selection from 225 post mortems performed between October 1877 and October 1879." The autopsies are made by the students attending the Hospital under my personal supervision, and the notes are dictated on the spot. During the winter session a "Demonstration Course", in imitation of Virchow's celebrated course at the Berlin Pathological Institute, is held every Saturday morning, at which all the specimens in mortuary anatomy collected throughout the week are demonstrated to the senior students. In this way I am enabled to devote more time in the post mortem room to the instruction of the student in the details of the method of performing autopsies, a very important branch of his education, and one too much neglected in the schools; while at the Saturday morning class, the specimens can be more systematically demonstrated and the material be made more instructive to a larger number of men.

The limited time at my disposal has often compelled me to regard the cases more from the standpoint of the teacher than the scientific investigator.

Though he credits the students with much of the labour, as a matter of fact the actual autopsy records were written out in long hand in detail by himself, possibly from the notes given to the students as bare memoranda. In the printed report, however, the autopsy note is invariably preceded by a brief account of the patient's condition during life. Many

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of the cases of more particular interest had from time to time been presented at one of the meetings of the Med.-Chi. Society, and for this purpose probably put into some sort of shape for ultimate publication, but the mere transcription of such a record as this in the days before the typewriter shows a prodigious energy. ¶ During this academic year, in addition to his physiological course, his pathological demonstrations, his hospital duties, and these two large reports, he had published five papers in conjunction with his colleagues, three original independent papers, seven in conjunction with his students, and before the Med.-Chi. Society had exhibited and recorded at the successive meetings which he invariably attended, thirty-five different specimens of sufficient rarity in most cases to justify their preservation in the McGill Museum of Pathology.*

*It had been Osler's intention to issue a third volume of these Reports, as subsequent notes will show. Though he was never actually appointed as Pathologist (so it is stated) at the M.G.H., his official successors in the position were in turn Wyatt Johnson, John McCrae the soldier poet, B. D. Gillies, C. W. Duval, S. B. Wolbach and Lawrence J. Rhea. In 1895 Wyatt Johnson issued a third Volume of Reports consisting largely of a bare statistical study. He states that since Osler's day there had been fifteen complete changes of management in the laboratory. He refers to the fact that he had performed seven hundred post mortems, ^{but} Johnson includes Osler's autopsies Nos. 701-790 performed between the dates Jan. 10, 1883-Feb. 14, 1884, in his own Report.

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There was one ^{naturally} interesting thing about Osler's career as a pathologist, both in Montreal and Philadelphia, vividly recalled and commented upon by many who then stood as students at his elbow. This was his frankness over his own diagnostic errors, for if anything was disclosed which had been overlooked or misinterpreted he particularly dwelt upon it and called every one to see. Then as regards the mistakes of others he had none of the sly delight which many pathologists have evidenced in 'showing up' ^{at the autopsy, later the opinions} ~~the mistakes~~ ^{of his clinical colleagues.} ~~of his clinical colleagues.~~ ^{than}

~~The following very remarkable~~ ^{is told indeed} story of how, to spare a surgeon's feelings, he concealed the truth regarding a bad ^{operative} ~~surgical~~ error. ^{When this incident was recalled by}

An amputated hand, now a pathological specimen, was sent in from the outside for Osler's examination and report. The surgeon sending it was of a much older generation than ours, in the highest standing in the community in which he lived. He was in no way associated professionally with Osler and was not in any way connected with any of our institutions. He has now long since passed beyond the reach of our criticism.

In order to eradicate a supposed malignant tumor, the hand had been amputated above the wrist. The growth had apparently begun in the metacarpal bones and had destroyed the normal appearance of the whole hand. . . . It felt so hard and its outline was so definite that it seemed undoubtedly to be a solid bony growth. The diagnosis

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in his presence
Someone may fear Osler's hesitation and then said,

seemed so unquestionable that no local exploration had been made. A single incision through the deep fasciae revealed an easily enucleable lipoma which had originated between the metacarpi and had grown in both directions. . . . The situation of an average young and ambitious pathologist under these circumstances can be easily presumed. Here was a unique and interesting specimen the demonstration of which to any of the medical societies constantly meeting would give satisfaction and delight. And fees were rare and welcome in those days, but if no report were made the possibility of a fee was gone. But Osler gave no thought to such matters as these; his one idea was how to protect the operator from the chagrin and humiliation that would certainly result from his discovery of the real condition. Osler delayed, with many excuses, making any report. More than ten years afterwards, when visiting in Johns Hopkins Hospital, something recalled this incident and I asked what the ultimate outcome of the affair had been. Osler hesitated and then said, "He never asked me for a definite written report. In fact, no one but you and ~~me~~^I ever knew of the unfortunate circumstance, and we have both forgotten it."

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But with all ~~this~~ serious attention to his real work in life, it must not be forgotten that Osler was always ready for a frolic and was fond of a jest whether at his own expense or at that of another, ~~of his Dinner Club friends~~ ^{and confidants}.

In 1880, shortly after Ross and Molson had taken over from Fenwick the Canada Medical & Surgical Journal there appeared on the scene a creature named Eger-ton Yorrick Davis, soon recognized as a pathological fabricator of ill re-pute, whose name became coupled ~~in a curious way~~ with that of William Osler.

It would seem that ^{a member ~~one of the dinner club members~~} Molson ^{was} one of the few people who did not thoroughly understand and enjoy Osler's practical jokes, a good many of which, though harmless enough, were apt to be at his expense; and being well-to-do, ~~and~~ the son of the man who had been ^{the} most prominent benefactor of McGill, it is possible that he may have had some lurking ^{figure regarding} jealousy ^{of} the young Toronto ^{upstart} im-port who, as Palmer Howard's favourite, was forging to the front as the leader of the local profession.

Among the MSS. preserved in the Osler library there are eight sheets of note-paper containing an article ^{apparently} ~~purporting to have been~~ written by a certain E. Y. Davis, of which the title and first paragraph may suffice.

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By
Egerton Y. Davis, M.D. Late U. S. Army Surgeon.

The following notes may be of interest to the readers of your local journal, though bearing as much upon social as upon medical subjects.

They are the outcome of many years' intercourse among the natives in the above mentioned locality***

The article, which purports to ^{deal} ~~treat~~ with some ancient tribal rites ~~practised~~ ^{observed},
dealing with marriage and the practice of obstetrics ^{by} ~~among~~ the Indians ^{of the North West}
was written in a serious though somewhat Rabelasian vein. It had been mailed
to the journal office, during the absence from town of Ross the senior
editor, and soon after Molson's appointment as co-editor. ^{Molson} ~~by him~~ Accepted ^{as an}
authentic communication, it was forwarded to the Gazette Printing Company
to be set up for publication. This printing office used to be frequented
by Osler, who scribbled across the MS. on its being returned with the galley ^{proof} ~~to~~
^{to the journal office,}
"Joke on Molson. W.C." ^{But Molson had his revenge a year later.}
~~Molson had his revenge a year later.~~

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The only thing which the journal has kept but some time since, and which I have seen in the past
Early in June Osler attended the meeting held in New York of the American Medical Association which assembled in the Y.M.C.A. building there, with a registration of 800, then regarded as phenomenal. He wrote an open letter for Ross to publish, describing the occasion, though it is hardly in his best vein. A special section on the diseases of children had been organized under the leadership of Abram Jacobi who gave an address, which he commends, and it must have been at this time that he first met Mary Putnam Jacobi of whom twenty-seven years later he said:

I recall vividly the first occasion of our meeting. It was at the medical section of the American Medical Association in New York, 1880. From that time I became interested in her and her work, and read with care papers and reviews in Séguin's Archives and in other journals which soon gave her a high position among American writers. . . .

Gills present paper
 The usual routine of the summer session must have been resumed, and though apart from his publications it is difficult to trace his movements, *but not the* he probably spent some time 'up country' in ^{Como} ~~Como~~ with Ross and Shepherd, for they were not often long separated. Osler was a lean and somewhat shadowy person at this period [photo] but full of fun as usual, and it was his de-

Cf. Chap IX, p. 3.
"2 weeks at Mrs. Stephens's."

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light to abuse an old Irish housekeeper of Shepherd's by calling her the 'hypothénuse of a right-angled triangle' and using similar terrifying epithets until she had retreated to her proper regions, audibly chuckling that 'that skinny yaller Doctor Rosler would be the death of her yet.'

He then left in September came a

~~He attended, September 1st and~~

~~2nd, the meeting in Ottawa of the Canadian Medical Association, of which~~

Palmer Howard was ^{this year} President: ^{and} ~~that year.~~ Osler ^{as usual} himself took an active part

in the proceedings. ~~He read~~ ^{He read} an important paper on spastic spinal para-

lysis. ^{He also} gave a report on the progress in pathology, and it is characteris-

tic to find him proposing at the business session: 'that the time devoted to the reading of any paper, except addresses on special subjects which at a previous meeting had been assigned to a member, shall not exceed thirty minutes.'

^{two} There were human frailties which perhaps irritated him as much as

any others, - one of them was unpunctuality, the other was garrulousness: and

~~It was customary for him to tell students that punctuality was the primary~~ ^{it was one of his common sayings to} ^{and brevity was}

requisite, of a physician and would insure success even with ^{myriads} ~~peer medical~~ ^{other qualities to carry.}

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training. In his days as 'Chief' at the Johns Hopkins Hospital he invariably attended the evening medical meetings, and if the presiding officer was not there on the dot he would open the meeting himself and, what is more, would depart early even if the program was not finished, for ten was his bed-time. ^{when he was present} Needless to say, meetings were usually punctual, and papers ^{usually} brief and to the point.

His most important contribution to this Ottawa meeting was a demonstration of a series of specimens illustrative of the morbid anatomy of the brain and spinal cord. For this exhibit a printed catalogue had been prepared, and, as it was the sort of demonstration in which he excelled and through which he was able to rouse enthusiasm in others, it was most favourably received.

~~In the fall he got into the new physiological laboratory of which~~
Gardner had given promise to the students the year before, ^{was ready for occupancy in the fall and later in describing} ~~and wrote a~~
^{could hardly have failed to have upper-}
~~brief description of it*~~ in which he speaks of the changes which have

*Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, Nov. 1880, ix, 198.

~~taken place in the teaching of practical physiology, doubtless having upper-~~

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most in mind Bowditch's ample space and abundant apparatus, ^{at Harvard.} It was merely the conversion into a laboratory of three ^{small} lecture-rooms of the medical building; but it was a step forward for he confesses that for six years he had used "the practical chemistry laboratory for the Saturday demonstrations and the students' waiting-room in the summer ^{Session} season for the histology classes." ^{enumerated, piece by piece, the laboratory equipment} He gives a ground plan and enumerates the pieces of apparatus he has been able to gather together, including ^{beside} his eleven ^{Hartnack} microscopes ^(the 12th appears to have gone to Johnson) ^{and} ^{Hartnack} three microtomes, a kymograph, and ^{other things more or less} there followed an itemized list of other things, ^{commonly found in a physiological} familiar to a laboratory of the Ludwig ^{Stef} Kronecker type, ^{and the use of which he was less adept}

^{particularly} It is not at all certain that he was ~~very~~ familiar with the use of all of the things he listed, ^{for} as he often confessed, He was ~~not~~ ^{un} skilled in the setting-up of apparatus, ~~for~~ his physiological training with Sander-
^{Having} son ~~had~~ been of a different sort from that received by Bowditch and the innumerable other pupils of the Leipzig School under Carl Ludwig. For in Germany the microscope was primarily the research instrument of the anatomist and pathologist rather than of the physiologist as in England: ^{and} ^{years}

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^{in a letter to}
later he wrote as follows to W. G. MacCallum: ^{he answered:}

. . . ^u I followed the line of least resistance. There was always technique enough to do a good p.m., but never enough to handle complicated apparatus. I never could get my drums and needles and tambours to work in harmony. After all it makes a good basis for the ward work and for the teaching of bread and butter medicine to medical students.

^{More to his late were medical and public health questions and in December of this year}
On the 18th of December, 1880, he was made a member of a committee,

together with two others from the Faculty of Medicine of Bishop's College, to investigate an outbreak of typhoid fever which had occurred at Bishop's College School, Lenoxville. ^{# #} This led to an elaborate report*

^{cf.}
*This is signed Jan. 21, 1881, and appears in the Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, Feb. 1881, ix, 433.

^{Int. Pub.}
^{dealing}
which deals chiefly with the sanitary conditions at the school which

were far from the best.

It may be recalled that in 1880 Eberth had

only just isolated the typhoid bacillus, and the methods of its cultivation had not as yet been perfected, so that had the discovery been known and the relation of the bacillus to the disease been widely accepted it could

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hardly have been utilized at this time. In conjunction with ^{the committee's} ~~their~~ report, an editorial appeared in the local journal, entitled "Does Typhoid arise Spontaneously?" and it is not unlikely that Osler ^{too} may have been influenced ^{at this time} by the opinion of Murchison, Flint, Pepper and others who believed that the poison might be generated independently and not merely passed on from a previous case. The chief interest, however, in this episode, lies in the fact that ^{Osler} ~~he~~ was chosen to serve ^{on a committee with} ~~with~~ the members of the faculty of ^{Academy} a school which, having a medical department of its own, regarded itself as a rival of McGill, ^{and to pass judgment} on a public-health question which chiefly concerned a dependency of this other institution.

This year of 1880 bridged the last days of the two men whose influence on Osler's life had been greatest. Bovell's concern about Johnson was expressed in the letter of June 1879 to the latter's son, but Bovell himself was first to go - on January 15th in his seventy-fourth year, a few days after a paralytic stroke. ^{There appeared shortly after an unsigned tribute to his memory} ~~Shortly after there appeared an un-~~

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~~the~~ ^{what he has ascribed to Osler and which} signed sketch of his life* which rightly or wrongly has been attributed to

"James Bovell, M.D." Canadian Journal of Medical Science,
April. 1880, v, 114.

Osler. It ends with this paragraph:

The influence for good which a life like that of Dr. Bovell exercises in the profession and in society at large is in many ways incalculable. Enthusiasm, high moral principle, and devotion at a shrine other than that of material prosperity, are not the qualities that build a princely fortune, but they tell not only on a man's own generation, but upon the minds and hearts of those who are growing up around him, so that his own high purpose and unselfish life find living echoes when he himself has long passed away.

¶ On December 29, 1880, the Rev. W. A. Johnson died, in his sixty-fifth year - much beloved for all his faults. Not long before, he had written ^{these words} to his son of his boyhood in England:

. . . I remember Greenwich & Lewisham well. Bromley Hays Common & a little bit further to a village called "Down." You may go & see my old home. It was then called "Down House". The House of the neighbourhood in those days. Some of the oldest crones in the Village would soon tell you all about Colⁿ Johnson &^c These English peasants do not move much; & that village is so situated as not to be cut up by Railways. You had better take a horse & ride over there some day. Tell me how

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the old Ch. is Drummond was the Priest in my time the lowest of the low. The Hendersons are at Seal too I believe. See the old Roman trenches at M^r Wards park & on Hays Common. The ponds called "ravensboone" said to be so called because a raven was seen drinking near there which led to the discovery of water for Caesars men. Those chalk hills are interesting as well as magnificent. I expect a long account one of these days. Lewisham is no longer long, lazy, lousy Lewisham as Geo. IV called it, I suppose. I remember a very nice stream running through it on the left hand as you go from Bromley to London. Hundreds of times have I ridden and driven through it. Further down near Chiselhurst & Farnboro & over the hills to Seven Oaks is the beautiful country. Said to be the Garden of Eng. How I have made the horse hoofs patter over those hills as a boy. Fine hunting in those days, they used to throw off at Farnboro! & a stag has been known to run for the coast from there. O how I would like to set foot on those pleasure spots of my youth once again but cui bono? It is only the natural man & the less he has that gratifies & indulges him the better. Still methinks it would cause my heart to bound with thankfulness but there is plenty here to be thankful for. Write long descriptions like a good fellow when you get time. . . . The
Sara Fuller you - "

For four years Father Johnson had been far from well - ever since a serious smallpox epidemic in Weston, during which he had volunteered as a public vaccinator, having, it is said, on one day alone vaccinated the two hundred employes of the Weston Woolen Mills. It is not clear whether he actually contracted a mild form of the disease himself, but if so he was less fortunate than Osler had been. The coroner's statement reads as follows:

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County of York: Division Yorkville.

Death Certificate of W. A. Johnson

Septicaemic Lymphadenitis contracted in Weston in handling a dead body infected with Black Small Pox and which all but himself and his clerk refused to touch.

CORNELIUS JAMES PHILBRICK.

Dec. 29, 1880.

Johnson lies buried in the church-yard of St. Phillip's, Weston;

Bovell in St. Paul's Lowland church-yard of his parish in Nevis, British

West Indies.