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Chapter XIII

THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL ORGANIZATION OF A CLINIC

1889 - 1890.

Johns Hopkins, a Baltimore merchant, a bachelor and a Quaker of economical habits, had amassed during and after the Civil War what for the time seemed a princely fortune. Influenced, it is said, by a conversation with his former fellow-townsmen, the London banker and philanthropist George Peabody, he came to believe that there were two things that were sure to endure - 'a university, for there will always be youth to train; and a hospital, for there will always be suffering to relieve.' ~~He~~ Consequently caused two corporations to be formed, one for the maintenance of a hospital, the other for a university including a medical school which was to be associated with the hospital. On his death in 1873 he left in the hands of his chosen trustees the sum of seven million dollars to be equally divided between the two institutions which were to perpetuate his name. The two boards of trustees, which were largely interlocking, ~~from the time of assuming their responsibilities soon after Mr. Hopkins's death,~~ in the unhurried manner, said to have

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~~always~~ ^{all} characterized their actions, proceeded to choose a leader, and with rare wisdom, two years later decided upon Daniel Coit Gilman, then President of the University of California. To the sagacity of this man probably more than to any other single influence, the 'Johns Hopkins' came to be founded upon 'the idea of a university' to use Cardinal Newman's phrase, as distinct from that of a college.

For twelve years - since 1877 - the hospital had been building. Despite an endowment of three and a half million, the hospital trustees, with a degree of foresight unusual in a lay board unfamiliar with the problems involved, had bided their time and utilized only the accrued income of the large fund at their disposal in constructing the plant. They had been fortunate in their selection of John S. Billings ^{as} ~~to be~~ their medical advisor, and the general plans of the hospital ^{which} ~~were~~ the product of his brain, ~~it~~ had been erected in the so-called 'pavilion' style, an outgrowth of the system of separated wards with which Billings had been so familiar in the army hospitals during the later years of the Civil War. The

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grounds were extensive, comprising four city blocks on the crest of a hill - a superb site which had been selected by Mr. Hopkins himself, on the eastern edge of the city of his day.

The university, 'across town,' had no such setting - indeed for the casual visitor was hard to find - for D. C. Gilman believed in spending more money on men and their tools than on buildings, and the first group of six professors he had assembled - Gildersleeve, Roland, Sylvester, Remsen, Morris, and in biology Huxley's pupil Newell Martin - fully justified his judgment for they quickly placed the Johns Hopkins, as a university in fact rather than in name, far in the lead of all other institutions in the land which were endeavouring to establish higher courses for graduates. It was looked upon in educational circles as more or less of an experiment though one in which everybody confessedly was deeply interested, and from the outset the place had been well advertised - almost too well on its baptismal day in 1876 when Huxley delivered the inaugural discourse without accessories of

music, prayer or benediction.

episode in which he says:

a perfectly consistent general procedure.

"Vain it was to mention the unquestioned orthodoxy of the
D. C. Gilman has left an account of the

trustees and the ecclesiastical list of those who had been
selected to be the professors. Huxley was told enough: Huxley
within a prayer was intolerable." (11)

Cf. Daniel & Ford into next page.

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Many people who thought that a university, like a college, could not succeed unless it was under some denominational control, were sure that this opening discourse was but an overture to the play of irreligious and anti-religious actors. Vain it was to mention the unquestioned orthodoxy of the trustees, and the ecclesiastical ties of those who had been selected to be the professors. Huxley was bad enough; Huxley without a prayer was intolerable.

Some weeks afterward, a letter came into my hands addressed to a Presbyterian minister of Baltimore, by a Presbyterian minister of New York. Both have now gone where such trifles have no importance, so I venture to give the letter, quoting from the autograph. The italics are mine:

"New York, 3 Oct., 1876.

Thanks for your letter, my friend, and the information you give. The University advertised Huxley's Lecture as the 'Opening' and so produced the impression which a Baltimore correspondent increased by taking the thing as it was announced. It was bad enough to invite Huxley. It were better to have asked God to be present. It would have been absurd to ask them both.

I am sorry Gilman began with Huxley. But it is possible yet to redeem the University from the stain of such a beginning. No one will be more ready than I to herald a better sign."

It was several years before the black eye gained its natural colour. People were on the alert for impiety, and were disappointed to find no traces of it - that the Faculty was made up of just such men as were found in other faculties, and that in their private characters and their public utterances there was nothing to awaken suspicion or justify mistrust.*

*Daniel Coit Gilman: "The Launching of a University." New York, 1906, Dodd, Mead & Co. To D. C. Gilman, the hospital as well

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as the University owed much. Andrew Carnegie said that his special gift was in drawing all men after him by pleasing all and offending none, 'doing the absolutely unnecessary ungentle things in a gentle way.' And Osler in his "Fixed Period" address said his association with him had been an education and a revelation, adding: "I had never before been brought into close contact with a man who loved difficulties just for the pleasure of making them disappear. But I am not going to speak of these happy days lest it should forestall the story I have written of the inner history of the first period of the hospital" - a history, be it said, as yet unpublished.

But great changes may occur in thirteen years, and though there was still considerable local hostility ^{toward} ~~mingled with not a little jealousy of~~ 'The Hopkins', it was beginning to give way under the unquestioned excellence of the university programme and the rapidly growing fame of the institution which made it in the early years a Mecca for the most brilliant of the young scholars of the land who were looking for inspiration and post-collegiate instruction.

^{The intervening years}
During ~~all this time~~ ^{all this time} Billings had been writing and lecturing on the subject of the hospital and the proposed medical school, and meanwhile all the leaders of medicine of two continents had been consulted by Gilman. In 1883 the first step had been taken toward a provisional Medical Faculty consisting of Ira Remsen in chemistry, Newell Martin in biology, and William H. Welch

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called from New York to take the chair of pathology - the first time such a

post had been established on a full university basis. ~~Two other tentative appointments were made, in medicine and pharmacology*, and Billings had been~~

*Matthew Hay [writes Dr. Welch] was appointed to the Chair of Pharmacology in 1884 at the same time that I was elected to the Chair of Pathology. We corresponded about plans for the school, but never met. I see that Hays records this in "Who's Who." When I was appointed it was intended to proceed with the selection of other members of the medical faculty, so as to be ready to open the school at the same time that the hospital was opened, which it was thought then would be in two or three years. Then came the financial difficulties due to failure of the B. & O. to pay dividends on the stock, and I found myself somewhat stranded as regards medical teaching and human autopsies. If we had been able to proceed, say in 1885 or 1886, with the selection of other members of the Faculty we should probably have missed Mall, Abel, Halsted, Kelly, and, above all, Osler, and our fate might have been very different. Martin became incapacitated only just as we were starting the medical school in 1893.

~~offered a chair of hygiene, ^{which he could not accept} but owing to his duties in Washington in connection with the Surgeon General's Library, was unable to accept.~~

On Welch's return from abroad, in 1886, something more nearly resembling an institute of experimental medicine than anything the country had seen before, was soon in operation in the first building erected on the hospital grounds. Here, from 1886 to 1889 courses in pathology for graduates had been

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given, and around Welch there gathered a group of enthusiastic co-workers, including Franklin P. Mall, the first appointed Fellow, Sternberg, Councilman, Halsted, Abbott, Bolton, Flexner, Booker and Walter Reed, some of whom were to remain as permanent appointees. As a culmination of all this, the formal opening of the hospital, ~~on Tuesday, May 7th~~, coinciding as it did with Osler's ~~appointment as Physician-in-Chief, and the transfer of his residence to Baltimore~~, ^{advent} ~~more~~, was widely heralded. Not only the medical but the lay press of the month contained elaborate accounts of the hospital, its plans, specifications and purposes. No plant certainly was ever dedicated under more favourable circumstances, nor with a more widespread interest in what the future might have in store for it.

On Monday, May 6th, the new hospital buildings were thrown open for public inspection, and on the following day came the formal opening which began with a prayer - the omission of which, in due accord with the custom of the Society of Friends, had nevertheless raised such a storm ~~around Huxley~~ thirteen years before, - and ended with music. There ~~were~~ ^{appropriate} three addresses, ~~of course~~

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by Francis T. King the President of the Board of Trustees; by John H. Billings who gave a detailed though impersonal account of his connection with the great project; and the third by Mr. Gilman on "Charity and Knowledge" which closed with this characteristically felicitous phrase:

Upon one hill of Baltimore rises a temple, 'whose guardian crest, the silent cross,' is an emblem of the Christian faith; upon another a lofty column reminds us of the patriot's hope; upon a third the Hôtel-Dieu is placed, - the house of charity. Significant triad! 'Here abideth Faith, Hope and Charity, but the greatest of these is Charity.'*

*Maryland Medical Journal, May 4, 1889, xxi, 30.

A reception followed, with a viewing of the plant, and it may be assumed that Osler played an enthusiastic part in showing his personal guests over ^{the new buildings.} ~~what was supposed to be the last word in hospital construction.~~

. . . It was a brilliant day, and notabilities, medical and otherwise, from Baltimore and the principal medical schools of America were grouped under the vast dome of the administration building to witness the inauguration of what was confidently believed to be the last word in hospital construction and management for the scientific study and treatment of disease. There was a feeling of elation - one might even say of

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exaltation - that the structure which had taken twenty years to evolve, absorbing the energies and thought of so many able minds, had at last become a fait accompli. And to none more than to Dr. Osler was this a red-letter day. To blaze a perfectly new road, untrammelled by tradition, vested interests, or medical 'deadwood' - best of all, backed by a board of management imbued with a fundamental and abiding respect for scientific opinion and commanding an ample budget - what more could the heart of man desire? The days that followed were filled with the many details of organization. There were record-forms and charts of various sorts to be devised, instruments of precision and appliances for diagnosis to be purchased, diet lists to be drawn up, and not least, a clinical laboratory to be furnished and equipped - the latter a temporary affair, as those who had planned the magnificent pile of buildings had omitted to make provision for this essential feature of a medical clinic. With all these matters Dr. Osler busied himself with his usual cheerful and untiring industry, and the thought that was uppermost was to have the best that could be obtained.*

Lafleur, H. A.: "Early Days at the Johns Hopkins Hospital with Dr. Osler." Canada Medical Association Journal, May 1920, Memorial Number, p. 42.

The responsibility of organizing the clinic rested primarily on Osler's shoulders, and from what has gone before, the course he would pursue could have been foretold. ^{From the first} ~~With the best traditions of Edinburgh as translated to~~

*** The dispensary was opened first and patients were admitted to the wards from it, and Osler, surrounded by a few of us, himself wrote the first dispensary history. Until the wards were full he was constantly in the dispensary, organizing the various subdepartments of medicine, for it was an unique feature of the system that the services were continuous, and that the various special departments were grouped under either medicine or surgery. As it was in the early days of the university, so it was with the hospital at the beginning. Workers formed a closely united body. All that happened was of interest to each of us. On the medical side Osler radiated by his example and personality constant stimuli to careful clinical work and investigation along all sorts of lines. He pointed out problems, encouraged every one in what he desired to do, and was more than liberal in his commendation of work done. His absolute generosity threw open his whole clinical material to the use of any one who had a problem. He urged and assisted in the publication of the results, and saw to it that the young men got the whole credit of the work when often it should have gone to himself. Is it to be wondered at that such a chief has such devoted followers? *

*Thomas, Henry M.: "Some memories of the development of the Medical School and of Osler's Advent." Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, 1919, ~~xxx~~, 188.

Five venturesome patients visited the dispensary the morning its doors
~~later turning in their waiting on the first case of admission~~
 were first thrown open, and a few days later, on May 15th to be exact, the
 first case, one of aortic aneurysm, was admitted to the single medical ward

then ready for occupancy: ^{and} But from this small beginning things ^{must have} moved ^{rapidly} ~~fast~~ ^{rather for}
~~a fortnight later~~ ^{he}
 and by June 3rd Osler scribbled on a card to Musser: "'Spital booming -

very busy." ^{* make just 7 June}

^{too} He was not ~~so~~ busy, however, ^{to attend} as to forget later in the month the an-

nual meeting in Newport, Rhode Island, of the American Medical Association* ^{where he}

*Osler showed specimens of brains prepared according to the Italian method, and reported a case of "Word Blindness with Hemianopsia" published later in the American Journal of Medical Sciences for March 1891, ci, 219.

- the first time in twenty-five years that the A. M. A. had met in New England. There Pepper gave the chief address and Welch another on "State Medicine" in which he outlined the ~~new and important topic of the~~ bearings upon the future prevention of disease, of the rapidly accumulating knowledge regarding bacterial infections - the forerunner of ideas which have culminated in the School of Hygiene and Public Health of which thirty years later he was to become Director.

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On the 1st of June a public announcement had been made of the provi-
^{consisting of Osler as Physician-in-Chief with his three assistants,}
sional staff organization. ~~The resident assistants under Osler the Physician-~~
~~in-Chief, were Lafleur, Toulmin and Scott as already stated, whereas Welch~~
as Pathologist-in-Chief was represented by W. T. Councilman and Alexander
Abbott in residence. As the ambulatory clinic for out-patients was to be
made a feature of the hospital and its natural feeder, Halsted, temporarily
slated as "Acting Surgeon" ~~to the hospital,~~ was made chief of the dispensary
with F. J. Brockway the first Resident Surgeon, and J. M. T. Finney and
^{With Mr. Gilman as acting Director}
G. S. Clarke as his assistants. ~~During the summer,~~ all of these first-
^{they together}
comers ~~lived in the hospital, together~~ With Mr. Gilman as acting Director,
while the dispensary was being put in operation and the first of the hospi-
tal's wards were being opened. On the dispensary staff, also, in charge of
special departments, were Samuel Theobald, R. B. Morison, William D. Booker,
H. M. Thomas and J. N. MacKenzie.

^{and} ~~Toward the end of the summer~~ Howard A. Kelly who had been appointed

^{With Mr. Gilman as acting director}
^{few few months}
~~As these first comers~~ ^{lived together in the hospital during the first summer}
while the wards one of the another were being opened.

2nd V. open two.

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Gynaecologist to the hospital in June and had gone abroad for a few months'

study, joined the group with his former assistant and future Resident,

Hunter Robb.

To H. V. Ogden from W. O.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital,
Baltimore.

June 26th, 1889

Dear Ogden I send my Cerebral Palsies of Kids, & a val. address. Health Boards will save the profession in this country if well organized. Wish you could come down here - hed always at your disposal. We are in full swing - 50 patients in wards & averaging 60-80 in Dispensaries daily. I am largely responsible for Kelly who is the highest gynepod & one of the best operators in the country. I know him intimately. He has a bitter enemy in ^{J. P.} Je-Price & I have no doubt some of his friends have been talking. His record is remarkable. His third successful Caesarian - mothers & children - was performed 6 weeks ago. I wish we could have had Senn here. That Washington escapade & those letters killed him in the East. I shall be in Toronto for Aug. 1st. Was there last week - all well.

Yours ever,

W. O.

*It at the Howard a lady, with his former assistant and future Resident - Hunter Robb joined the group
late in the summer and finally*

Finally, early in August, Henry M. Hurd, previously head of the State Hos-
pital for the Insane at Pontiac, Michigan, who ^{Chosen} also had been selected in June
as the future Superintendent as well as Professor of Psychiatry, came to relieve

Mr. Gilman from his self-imposed task, ~~as Director, which he had occupied~~
~~since the opening, and at this time John S. Billings withdrew from the posi-~~
~~tion he had held for twelve years as Medical Advisor to the trustees. Except~~
for the suite of rooms set apart for the ^{Dr. Hurd and his family, for he} Superintendent, for Dr. Hurd was the
only married member of the household, the more desirable rooms in the admin-
istration building were given over to the juniors, several of whom rejoiced
in a separate study and bedroom - such quarters, indeed, as hospital internes
had never before known. Halsted, Councilman and Osler, meanwhile, occupied
~~small rooms on the upper story, not yet fully furnished nor ready for occu-~~
~~pancy.~~

So this original group living intimately together, the chiefs and their
juniors, became a closely knit body of friends who knew how to work as well
as to play together. One may be sure that much lively banter passed between
these actively-minded people and that their individual foibles were not spared.
The new Superintendent ceased to preface his remarks by "I once knew a man in
Pontiac, &c." after he had reprimanded the staff one morning for putting an
out-of-town visitor unable safely to negotiate his way across town, in bed

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the night before in one of the wards, for he was told 'it was the man from Pontiac'. It was a toss-up as to whether Welch, Osler, Halsted or ^{who was a time} Hurd had the upperhand in some practical joke played on one or the other of their colleagues and carried out with a solemn face. ^{Even today it is told how} Someone would come to the table and tell of an extraordinary new disease they had seen reported: ^{malady, feverish} thus, ^{repute:} Welch for a long time ^{continued to drop} dropped hints concerning a rare ^{an extraordinary} malady called 'Herod's disease' - concerning which he would pretend to translate extracts from the foreign journals, until he was finally exposed by some chance slip and it was recognized as Myiasis - 'to be devoured by worms.'

Then Osler, one Saturday night, had been to see Richard Mansfield in "The Parisian Romance", a play in which Mansfield dies of a well-simulated stroke of apoplexy. The pathologists of the hospital naturally enough were eager not to lose any opportunity for post-mortem examinations, and on Osler's return, seeing Councilman reading in the common room, he announced that there had been a fatality - a cerebral haemorrhage - and an immediate examination was requested. This hint was promptly taken by Councilman and Abbott, who repaired to the pathological laboratory and made their preparations, but as

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nothing happened, after a long wait they telephoned the ward, and learned the true facts. Osler had long since gone to bed and taken the precaution of locking his door. ~~Councilman's retiring remark was, "I'll get him yet."~~

the victim of this fraud recalls that:

In some reminiscences of these days, written by W.T. Councilman, he says:

. . . He [Osler] was then not quite forty and looked younger, a well-knit but rather spare figure, of about the average height, a rather long moustache, the position of the ends of which seemed to vary with his mood, hair even then a little sparse, a clear but rather sallow complexion, a broad forehead, good eyes, and lively expression. I think that ^{any} a stranger with good knowledge of men would have thought him from appearance interesting and been attracted by him. His clothes were always simple and worn well and he fancied cravats of rather striking colour. At first, with the exception of Welch and Mall, we all lived in the hospital, our rooms in the main building were capacious, comfortably furnished and the outlook over the city and harbour was fine. No one of the small group of men who participated in the hospital life at this early period can forget its fascination. . . . ~~For some weeks Mr. Gilman acted as Superintendent even to the extent of catering. Finally a very amusing and interesting man, Emory, who had large experience, was chosen as caterer and the hospital table left nothing to be desired.~~ . . . We breakfasted together, then each sought his particular duties, to meet again at luncheon. The luncheon hour, at which most of those working at the hospital gathered, was the most delightful of the day. Osler, Welch, Halsted, Mall, Lafleur, and with the usual visiting stranger, sat at a table in the end of the dining room. The conversation was always lively and inter-

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esting, everyone sought to bring something to the feast. There was talk about work, jokes and laughter. A favourite game in which Osler rather excelled, his early experience with Egerton Y. Davis and the Caughnawauga Indians having given him previous practice, was to relate the impossible and to lead up to this so skilfully ~~through the fact~~ that the line between fact and fiction was obscured. It was very well for us who knew the game, but occasionally it would be played when the serious visitor was present and he often carried away with him striking information of new facts in medical science. The exchanges between Osler and Halsted were always a delight and we all sought to get something on the other. I remember once that I had gone to Philadelphia to read a paper on a subject in which we were all interested, but unfortunately I had mistaken the date by a week, at that time not being accustomed to think of evils long in advance. I was naturally somewhat fearful of the fact being ascertained, and the first thing, the next day, Osler asked me about the paper, how it had been accepted, what ^{was} the discussion, etc. I rather welcomed the opportunity to get the matter over with and spoke of the enthusiastic reception accorded the paper and gave at some length the discussion upon it. "What did Wilson say?" asked Osler, and I thought it well to put Wilson in opposition and gave as well as I could his opposing argument. "Yes," said Osler, "Jim Wilson spent last night with me and said he immensely enjoyed your paper but he could not quite agree with you."*

*"Osler in the Early Days at the Johns Hopkins Hospital."
Boston Medical & Surgical Journal, Apr. 1920, clxxxi, 341.

Two things must not be lost sight of in regard to the chiefs of service.

Their youth in the first place, for Osler not quite forty was the senior in years,

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with Welch a year younger, Halsted thirty-seven, Hurd thirty-six, and Kelly only thirty-one. In the second place, these young men, as had been true of those originally gathered to make the nucleus of the university, had been imported into a conservative community which had its own fine medical traditions, and it is but natural that there must have been some heart-burnings on the part of certain local physicians and more particularly of their chauvanistic friends that there was no representative of the Baltimore profession on the new Faculty. It was a situation requiring on the part of ^{new comers} ~~these young men~~ a combination of patience, of tact, of good-fellowship, of kindly feeling, and, at the same time, evidence of indubitable professional superiority. ~~As Lafleur recalls:~~

It would be idle to say that patients at once flocked in large numbers to the spacious and well-appointed wards. There can be no harm in stating now, at this distance, that the attitude of the general public of Baltimore was at first rather lukewarm toward the new institution. The Baltimoreans of that day were essentially clannish and 'southern', and as most of the heads of hospital departments had been chosen from other centres of medical education in 'the north', there was no immediate bond of union between the hospital staff and the public, who clung to their local medical authorities. It is only fair to state that this

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feeling has entirely disappeared, and that Baltimore is justly proud of its great hospital and medical school. To no one more than to Dr. Osler - to his personal charm and tact, no less than to his great professional attainments, is due the credit of having 'broken the ice' and established the most cordial and intimate relations between the general medical profession and the public of Baltimore and the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

The group at the hospital was soon joined by A. L. Chriskey, D. Meredith, Reese and, in the fall, by W. S. Thayer; and there are many amusing tales told of the pranks which were played and the high spirits which prevailed, for many of these men had a well developed sense of fun as well as a highly developed capacity for work. Highly developed, too, was a spirit of hospitality, for even had this not been ingrained one may not live long in the atmosphere of Baltimore without its becoming second nature; and many were the visitors who came, filled with curiosity to see what progress was being made.

W. T. Councilman has said:

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There was much conjecture as to the character of the new medical school, the creation of which was believed to be imminent, much curiosity as to what was already in existence, and visitors were many. How well I remember these visitors and the trips which Dr. Welch and I used to make with them through the hospital buildings then nearing completion; he usually explaining the heating, while the more obscure and intricate ventilation fell to my part on the ground that I had more imagination.

To John H. Musser from W. O.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital.
Thursday.

Dear Musser I have just had a note from J. W. White saying that he & Mrs. W. proposed coming down on Sunday next. Now as I wish to have you quietly here with grandpa Welch, & no intrusions I believe we should spend a more profitable day if you postponed your visit until the 30th. I had asked W. to dine with you here next Saturday eve. at 7. If you have any other engagement wh. would make the 30th less convenient come this Saturday as I could hand White over to Halsted & we could at least have Saturday eve. undisturbed.

Love to the chicks.

Yours,

Wm OSLER

Though the Nurses' Training School had not as yet been formally opened nor its directress yet been chosen, a number of capable women had been attached

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from time to time, one of whom an Englishwoman, graduate of the Florence Night-
ingale School, a Miss Louisa Parsons, of whose sad death years later the cir-
cumstances will be told, was temporarily put in charge. During most of the
summer Osler remained at his post, for though Baltimore in midsummer is not
an ideal place for sustained work, the hospital is so fortunately situated that
life there is comfortable enough.

To President Gilman from W. O.

(Dictated)

The Johns Hopkins Hospital.
July 19th, 1889.

Dear Mr. Gilman: - I dare say you will be glad to have a line or two from me
giving an account of my stewardship. The machine works smoothly, thanks to
your manipulation. Thanks, also to your arrangements, there has been no
trouble so far. The number of patients keeps about the same - forty-seven
today. The nurses continue satisfactory. I think that we have been very
fortunate in our selection.

I hope that you are enjoying your well earned holiday, and I will be glad
if you will give my regards to Mrs. Gilman - our lady visitor. Should I get
anywhere near Mt. Desert this summer, I shall assuredly come to Northeast
Harbour.

Yours very truly,

W^m OSLER

previous correspondence and papers having been written out in long-hand. *at this time*

Set to work

perla col rub

in and about the Chesapeake Bay.

He got away by the end of August for a visit in Toronto, and from there

proceeding

五

spending the summer on the Island of Grand Menan^a on the southwest corner of

• Peter was 'uncle' by courtesy to all the younger Francis children who were second cousins.

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as told below,
the Province, joined forces with them ~~and it was an amusing and enjoyable~~
~~journey to which leprosy and the Leper Colony were only incidental.~~

On returning home he attended the fourth session of the Association of Physicians in Washington, September 18 to 20, and though Osler as usual participated freely in the discussions, his special topic on the subject of rheumatism and rheumatoid arthritis was postponed.

To H. V. Ogden from W. O.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital,
Baltimore, Sept. 23rd, 1889.

Dear Ogden The F's move to 83 Carlton St. this month - perhaps better address c/o Percy Bath 16 King St. W. I had a quiet month at home - ran off to see the lepers at Tracadie, N.B. Wish you would come here before I leave the Hospital - I am sorely tempted to stay on for a year. It flourished apace. Did I send you my Valedictory? I do not think I did. I send one with a couple of reprints. Poor F(riend)!: That girl had a lucky escape.

Sincerely yours,

WM OSLER

~~You look very well~~
~~in the photo.~~

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As hinted in this letter to Ogden, he was about to leave the hospital, and shortly after took up his residence at 209 West Monument Street where the eldest daughter of his brother Featherston, whom he persisted in introducing as 'Mrs. O.', came to keep house for him. "I am going into house-keeping" he writes on October 3rd to his old friend Mullin of Hamilton, - "Tell Mrs. Mullin this is preparatory to marrying a widow with 8 or 10 children." The arrangement gave him the first opportunity he had ever had of entertaining in his own home, and it came to be the exception for him ever to sit at table without ^{having} one or more guests, and if there happened to be no transient visitors ^{or} from out of town, members of the hospital staff ^{or} were ^{as informal guests, I am} sure to be there. His mother writes: *sure" his mother write "You will find the dear Georgie*

Our love to the dear Georgie I'm sure you will find her all you could wish, only be careful in having so many young M.D.'s about and treating them so kindly too. It is only a very special specimen of its kind that is to set his affections on your very extra niece."

On October 9th the Nurses' Home was formally opened, and the Training School for which ample provision had been made was inaugurated with due

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ceremonies. Isabel A. Hampton, a remarkably capable woman, a Canadian and a graduate of Bellevue Hospital in New York, had been brought from the Illinois Training School in Chicago of which she was then Superintendent, and under her leadership as principal the school rapidly came to hold ^{high} first rank among the training schools of the country, the pupil nurses for the most part young women of superior attainments, many of them daughters of Southern families representing a higher social level than had heretofore been encouraged to take up the profession of nursing. Osler had seen to it that his friends, the Superintendents of the Training Schools at Blockley, the Pennsylvania and the Orthopaedic Hospital of Philadelphia were invited. As Miss Hampton said in her address, certainly a training school for nurses had never opened under better auspices, for though the preceding twenty years had seen many of them established in connection with existing hospitals, they had been inadequately supported from lack of funds, whereas here ^{it was} for the first time such a school ^{had been} ~~was~~ recognized from the outset as an essential part of the hospital foundation.

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In this same month the Monday evening societies which came to play such an important part in the life and work of the hospital staff, were organized. The first and third Mondays of each month were to be given over to the presentation of interesting cases, to the reading of papers and to the discussion of problems in process of solution. The first meeting was held on October 22nd with Welch presiding and Hunter Robb acting as secretary: ^{and} Osler reported a case of multiple thrombi and Welch a specimen of miliary aneurysm. Two weeks later Halsted presented his views on the radical cure of hernia which revolutionized the subject, particularly in view of his advocacy of wound-closure with buried silk, an adaptation to the clinic of his experimental observations.

Before this group of enthusiastic young people eager to advance knowledge and to control their views by experimental tests, hardly a subject could be mentioned at one of these meetings that did not lead to further work in view of the free and suggestive exchange of ideas. In the history of medicine there has never been anything quite like it; and it is recalled that

(There was no need to drum up an audience for these meetings.)

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Reginald H. Fitz who at about this time went down from Boston to learn something of the spirit of this new place which already was being so much talked about, likened the life to that of a monastery with the unusual feature that the monks did not appear to bother their minds about the future. ~~There was no need to drum up an audience for these meetings - most of them were living in the hospital.~~

It has been seen that both in Montreal and Philadelphia Osler had organized a foreign-periodical club, and so here what was called "The Hospital Journal Club" was started, with its first meeting in the library of the hospital on Thursday afternoon of October 29th, at which nearly everyone of the staff gave the gist of his reading of the current literature concerning his special field - Osler in general medicine, Abbott on hygiene, Brockway on general surgery, Robb on gynaecology, Thomas on neurology, Morrison on dermatology, Brown on urology and Randolph on ophthalmology. ^{in case of} The purpose of the 'club' was "to enable all members of the staff to keep fully informed as to what is being accomplished by workers in every branch of medical science with the least expenditure of time," and many of these reports and reviews subsequently found their

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way into Hays's journal or elsewhere, so that others could get them second hand, though in these ^{printed} reports the stimulating discussions which took place on the Thursday afternoons was missing. *Such things as this*

All this was not unlike that, must have occurred many times before in other places but never under ^{more} ~~such~~ favourable auspices nor with a more enthusiastic group, undistracted by any outside calls upon their time and eager to justify their connection with a new institution untrammelled by tradition, whose present and future reputation lay entirely in their hands.

D. C. Gilman
The President of the University was a wise propagandist and realized the importance of getting the publications of the workers stamped with the seal of the university*, and consequently the hospital trustees were encouraged to

*The American Journal of Mathematics under Simon Newcomb, the American Chemical Journal under Remsen, the American Journal of Philology under Gildersleeve, Studies from the Biological Laboratory under Martin and Brooks, and H. B. Adams's Studies in Histological and Political Science had already been launched under the aegis of the university.

Suitable medium
provide ~~proper media~~ of publication for the medical group, not only an annual volume on the lines of the famous Reports which had emanated from some of the London hospitals, but a monthly journal as well, to contain the reports of

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meetings, discussions, and the shorter occasional papers. Thus in December there appeared the first number of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, which was to play such an important part in bringing the activities of the hospital group before the medical world.

This first number contained the preliminary account of Welch's studies on Hog Cholera and a further statement from Osler on the value of Laveran's organism in the diagnosis of malaria, a subject on which his juniors had become deeply engrossed and which in time led to Thayer's comprehensive monograph on the subject. It also contained an announcement of the courses which were to be offered to graduates, for disappointed as all must have been in the postponement of plans to open a medical school, teaching was nevertheless regarded as an essential stimulus, even^{ly} for those engaged actively in research.

At the Medical Society meeting of December 16th John S. Billings brought over from the Surgeon General's Library some forty items - manuscripts, incunabula, and rare medical publications - from among the treasures in the growing

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collection in Washington which his foresight had made possible. An account of the meeting with a list of the books was published in the 'Bulletin', and thus interest was started in the bibliography and history of the profession, which has since spread widely and for which Billings primarily, and Osler and Welch in turn, were so largely responsible. An "Historical Club" was soon established, ^{one Monday evening in each month ~~was~~ being given over to its purpose, and} ~~and to it was given over one of the regular monthly meetings.~~

~~Thus the Monday evening gatherings, so important a feature of the Johns Hopkins School, came to be provided for - the Medical Society taking the first and third Mondays, with the Book and Journal Club and the Historical Club the other two of each month. At all of these ^{weekly} meetings, unless he ^{was} ill or away from home Osler ^{was ~~factually~~ in his attendance at these weekly Monday evening gatherings, which he} ~~was a regular attendant and active participant for the en-~~
^(for the fifteen years to follow was) ~~suing fifteen years. He regarded them as educational agencies of ^{great} no less im-~~
~~portance than any other feature of~~ ^{to} ~~the hospital and school.~~~~

^(There was a falling) ~~A visit to his relatives in Toronto late in the month was made possible by~~
~~an invitation to participate in the exercises of December 16th to 20th connec-~~
^{to celebrate the} ~~ted with the formal opening of the new Biological Laboratory of the University~~

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of Toronto, which had been erected largely through the energies of Professor Ramsay Wright, ^{on this occasion a} A number of distinguished men had been asked to ^{give} give addresses, among them Welch, Charles S. Minot of Harvard, Vaughan of Ann Arbor, and 'our own Osler' as the local papers had it. Welch chose as his topic a discussion of "Pathology in its Relation to General Biology"; ^{and on} Minot "The Use of the Microscope and the Value of Embryology"; Vaughan emphasized 'the necessity of encouraging scientific work'; and Osler again spoke on the etiology of malaria. On the evening of the 20th a special meeting of the ^{Local} Pathological Society was ^{staged} called in which the guests all participated.

Accustomed to have Osler play the ^{major} leading rôle in Canada as a pathologist, it must have caused some comment ^{among the profession in} in Toronto to see how completely he had surrendered the part to his ^{new found} colleague, Welch. There can be no question, but that such a training as Osler had had ^{in pathology} is the ideal preparation for a clinician, though it is unusual for those who have begun as pathologists to end their careers as did Osler and Fitz in the clinic. It is even more unusual for clinicians thus trained to be willing to relinquish to another the post-

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mortem studies incidental to their own work.

In view of Osler's wide personal experience, had Welch not been a man of superior ability as a pathologist, or had either of the two not been generous and cooperative to the highest degree, friction might have arisen, but between two such men nothing but mutual respect, affection and admiration was possible and their example in this regard was the standard set for the entire hospital group.

Osler's training was largely as a gross pathologist and he had the same rare ability, which Laennec had possessed, of interpreting his patients' symptoms in terms of the pictures of the disease so familiar from his autopsy experiences. Welch on the other hand, no less familiar with the gross appearances of disease, had been trained, as Osler had not, in the modern bacteriological technique, and also excelled as an experimentalist, in which field of work Osler's talents had not taken him far. Nevertheless, to those of his old friends who had closely followed Osler's development it must have been

surprising to see how completely ^{he} ~~Osler~~ had relinquished to ~~Welch~~ ^{his colleague} the

subject which has for so long been the source of his keenest interest. ⁽¹⁸⁾ ~~and into the hands of his~~
~~appointments~~

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subject which had for so long been the source of his keenest interest.* ~~the~~

*Before the Johns Hopkins Medical Society, March 17, 1890, Welch exhibited a series of gross and microscopic specimens of entozoa observed in the domestic animals in Baltimore, and stated that 'the interest in animal parasites has been overshadowed of late years by the study of the pathogenic bacteria, but nevertheless the entozoans are of great interest and importance and deserve our careful attention.' It has been pointed out that Osler had begun his own studies of, and collections of entozoa a year or two before the important relation of bacteria to many infectious diseases had become appreciated. His own collections and observations on the entozoans are far larger in scope than those presented by Welch at this meeting. Unfortunately there is no report of the discussion, which ~~probably~~ followed.

Yang

It was really the first time in an American university that pathology had been given its just dues, and Welch's appointment, long before ~~the~~ medical school had been established and even before a hospital was opened, represented the first recognition of pathology as a subject entitled to stand alongside of biology and the other sciences on the university calendar. Osler nevertheless continued to look upon disease largely from the standpoint of ~~the~~ ^{medical} ~~anatomist~~ the pathologist, an attitude which probably made him sceptical regarding much of the drug therapeutics of the day, and in the Text-book he finally came to write, his pathological descriptions, of disease drawn from his own ~~personally~~ ^{gained} experience, were the best part of his ~~book~~ ^{treatise} and could have been written by no

Nevertheless for him to have given up without question the privilege of conducting the first systematic studies incidental to him upon fatal cases as his own service is many an example of the security of spirit which pervaded 'The Sturgeons' in these days. ~~He had this long apprenticeship in~~ ^{But his} ~~his~~ ^{has been} ~~no~~ ^{no} ~~man~~ ^{man} ~~wrote~~ ^{wrote} ~~it~~ ^{it} ~~pathology~~ ^{pathology} was unquestioned an ideal preparation for a clinician and gave him the rare ability to interpret his patient's symptoms in terms of the lesions which his long hours at the autopsy table had markedly brought on his mind. So

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who had been a London trainee
other clinician of the day unless possibly by Fitz. His straightforward admissions regarding the existing poverty of medicinal therapeutics to which others were blind had a very important bearing on the future development of medicine as will be seen. In his address given on this very occasion, Welch stated that 'pathology must constitute the scientific basis of practical medicine.'

This [he said] is not the less true because the prevention and cure of disease have not kept pace with the advance in our knowledge of the nature and causes of disease, and of necessity cannot do so. Preventive and curative medicine, however, is constantly making beneficent application of pathological discoveries, and the most intelligent and efficient management of disease is becoming more and more that which is founded upon the most accurate knowledge of its nature and causes.

There was a widespread influenza epidemic at the time, almost though not quite so serious as the epidemic of thirty years later during the Great War, and his mother writes a Christmas letter on his return from Toronto."

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"I'm quite ashamed of myself to have been so long without sending a scrap to my Benjamin--you know the rush we have when the holidays are on hand, the girls and boys coming in in twos and threes many times a day and as there has been no skating no sleighing for them it has been more rush this Xmas than usual-- then in between the acts I've been at work for Chattie who needs all the help my fingers can give her so with one thing and another the days have slipped by and many things left undone, writing amongst them that should have been done. "I hope the cold you had did not prove to be influenza and lay you up on the sick list. We hear of several here who have it -- Nellie has a very bad cold so have the Craighleigh family party but not the genuine attack, for that is unmistakeable when it appears. Georgie has gone home today stopping for an hour or two at Dundas and at Hamilton tonight it has been pleasant to have her back but I feel quite happy when I think she is adding to your comfort and is herself happy in so doing."

And she writes ^{again} on January 21st:

My very dear Willie One day after another I have waited hoping to hear from you, or of you by Georgie for I know full well you are too busy to find much time to write, this epidemic is everywhere and keeps the poor M.D's very busy or what is worse lays some of them low, our opposite friend was in bed for 10 days or more every house has its tale to tell. . . .

Wm. H. H.

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Whether he escaped is not told, but he probably did not for whenever there were 'colds' about he was almost certain to be victimized and it became his custom to surrender immediately, to remain in bed for a day or two and saturate himself with literature in lieu of drugs.

As the hospital affairs were flourishing, as there was no immediate prospect of starting the medical school, and inasmuch as the staff was so organized that anyone, even the Chief, might drop out without affecting the routine work, he made plans to spend a few months in Europe, for he had not been abroad since his Gulstonian Lectures ^{were given} five years before. ~~His plans, which included attendance at the International Medical Congress to meet in Berlin, were completed early in the year, as is evident from the following:~~

To Henry P. Bowditch from W. O.

209 W. Monument Street,
2/28/90.

Dear Bowditch You know how unreliable I am & will scarcely believe me when I say that my passage is taken for April 26th - Etruria - to Liverpool. I should have preferred to go direct to Germany but I have two old Aunts in Cornwall who are ill & I must see them first. Let me know what your plans are. I shall spend May & June knocking about the medical clinics in the small towns which I have not yet visited. I want particularly to see the arrangements of the clinical Laboratories & study the methods of

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teaching, &c. July, I shall spend in England with relatives & friends. Shall be at the Congress in August & am due here Sept. 1st.

If you are in Dresden I shall go to see you first but I fear you may be in Italy or on the road, in which case we could meet later.

We are having a very comfortable winter. I like Baltimore, & the Hospital has prospered beyond our expectations. I have a niece keeping house for me. I shall be so glad to see you all. Kind regards to Mrs Bowditch & love to the children. Sincerely yours

W^m Osler

A week later he writes Mr. Gilman who needing a much deserved rest after fifteen years at his post, had taken his family to the Mediterranean for the winter months and then to England where honorary degrees were bestowed upon him at Oxford and Cambridge.

To Daniel C. Gilman from W. O.

209 W. Monument Street,
March 6th.

Dear Mr Gilman I feel rather conscience-stricken that I have not reported progress to the Ex-Director. Everything works smoothly on the lines laid down by you but a few details will give you an idea of our present conditions. We have now had nearly 1000 in-patients & over 11,000 out-patients! Today the ward population is 130 and the income from private patients over \$360. The new Director is excellent in all respects & gets on well with everyone. I do not know that he has quite our appreciation of the Train-

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ing School tho he & Miss Hampton are on the best of terms. Halsted is doing remarkable work in Surgery & I feel that his appointment to the University & the Hospital would ~~now~~ be quite safe. Kelly's department is now in full swing. We made a great hit in Sister Rachael who is a bond of peace, but I tell her that she has sadly degenerated, & has so far departed from the faith once delivered to Fox as to frequent playhouses. Miss Hampton has fulfilled Mrs Gilmans prognosis, and she has been most successful in getting probationers of a high class; but unfortunately she selects them altogether for their good looks & the House staff is by this time in a sad state. The chief is, I fear hopeless - you remember Keats - "They could not in the self-same mansion dwell without some stir of heart &c," but it is not the 'gentle Isabel.' Miss Parsons as I dare say you have heard has gone to the Maryland General.

The Bulletin you will have already seen & the first two numbers of the Reports. Both start with firm support but the latter may drag a little as it is so hard to get men to write.

I leave April 26th by Etruria & shall be in London about May 6th. My address will be Brown Bros. Do let me know of your whereabouts as I am most anxious to talk over the Medical School & if possible arrange to go to Cambridge with you. I shall spend the great part of May & all of June in a systematic inspection of six or eight of the leading German & French clinics & return to London about July 1st.

We follow your progress with great interest & all rejoice that you are having such a good holiday. ~~With kind regards to Mrs Gilman~~ Yours
sincerely

W^m Osler.

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The first fasciculus of Volume II of the Hospital Reports for 1890 to which he refers, comprised seven papers from Osler's clinic, and though such publications necessarily have a small circulation and a very limited audience, they had been written - and the second volume indeed was completed, - long before the papers were all in hand for Volume I, 'as it is hard to get men to write.' They were on a variety of clinical topics, perhaps the most important being those by Osler himself on tuberculous peritonitis and on the intermittent fever associated with gall-stones, for which conditions even at this early day he advocated more frequent operative interference.

At one of the January meetings of the ^{Hospital} Hopkins Medical Society Osler ^{has presented} reported a case of filaria sanguinis hominis, a parasitic disease of the tropics and sub-tropics, practically unknown in northern latitudes, an example of which however had been sent from Charleston to the hospital for study. Though it was not known at this time that filariasis was transmitted by the mosquito, Guitéras had discovered a few years before that the disturbing symptoms of the disease are produced by the entry into the lymphatics of a blood parasite which in certain cases may provoke chyluria or elephantiasis in its victims.

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though for years they may not suffer greatly in their general health. The embryos of the parasite, as Manson first observed, only appear in the circulatory blood during the sleeping hours, and in this particular patient some of them had been found and had been kept alive for nine days after the withdrawal of the blood. At the time of his presentation, Osler called particular attention to the widespread distribution among animals of these filarian parasites which only cause symptoms when the adult worms obstruct the lymph channels.

Though he had written an editorial on the subject for the Medical News in 1886, ~~which was~~ inspired by John Guitéras's discovery of the parasite in the Southern States and as far north as Charleston, South Carolina, he had probably never before seen a case to recognize it, and the incident trivial ^{enough} is only mentioned to point out again the intense interest which diseases produced by parasites always roused in him. ^{It was} ~~it was~~ an interest easily traced, for it ^{dates from} ~~was~~ almost certainly ^{dates from} his discovery of the trichinae in the dissecting room during his student days in Toronto. In natural sequence came his youthful collection of the entozoa, which indeed had been started with Father Johnson in Weston, and in the course of which he sought

and in natural sequence
led to his collection of the
entozoa, to his early

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for parasites in all vertebrates, bird, beast and fish, that came to hand.

During his McGill period this same interest was one of the influences which

kept him in contact with the Veterinary School and led to his papers on

cestode and echinococcal infections, ^{and subsequently} later, in Philadelphia, it culminated

^{to} in his malarial studies, ^{to one} and ~~one~~ may imagine his delight when on March 22nd

of this year he discovered amoebae in the material secured from an abscess of

the liver of a patient with chronic dysentery whom he had seen in consulta-

tion with Dr. Friedenwald of Baltimore and on whom Dr. Tiffany had operated.

Not even Leidy 'with one more rhizopod' to discover could have been more

elated.)

In one of his case note-books which has been preserved he has drawn innumerable pictures of the organism, especially of one amoeba which on March 24th was watched for many hours and of which there are a succession of sketches showing its changes in contour. Two days later he writes ^{in this is headed to} Musser:

When are you coming down? MacDonald of Montreal will be here towards the end of the week. Could you not come & take dinner with us & stay the night -

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always a room ready. We have been much excited over Kartulis' amoebae which we have found in a liver abscess & ~~also in the stools~~ ^{from} of a case of dysentery - a Dr. from Panama. They are most extraordinary & striking creatures & take ones breath away at first to see these big amoebae - 10-20 times the size of a leucocyte - crawling about in the pus. The movements are very active & in one case ^{kept} keep up for 10 hours. I get a fresh stock of pus from the drainage tube every day so if you could run down some eve. we could look for the creatures in the morning. Koch & Kartulis found them constantly in the stools and bases of the ulcers in Egyptian dysentery & the latter in the liver abscesses. Keep an eye on your Blockley dysenteries as it would be most interesting to find similar bodies in our dysenteries. I am off on April 20th by Etruria. Very busy - I go north for Easter - few days.

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An account of this observation was promptly written up and appeared in an early number of the Bulletin.* It was the first confirmation in English-

[*Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, 1890, i, 53.]

speaking countries of observations made by an Athenian, Kartulis, who had been stimulated to make studies of dysentery in Greece following upon the discovery by Koch during his sojourn in Egypt in 1883 with the Cholera Commission, that amaebs were occasionally to be found in the intestines of persons dead of dysentery. Up to this time a good deal of doubt had been cast upon the conclusions of Kartulis, for many had regarded the amoebae as secondary invaders, so that the discovery of the parasites in the liver abscess Osler regarded as the first important observation made on the medical service. Late in 1913 when preparing for an address, already much quoted, in which he gave a summary of his life as a clinical teacher,* he had written certain sections which were

[*The Medical Clinic." British Medical Journal, Jan. 3, 1914.]

not included in the address as printed. One of them refers to this discovery and its sequel, as follows:

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Familiar with the various forms of amoebae, the opportunity appeared to be an important one for the study of a disease which was widely prevalent. We very soon had other opportunities, and within a few weeks Dr. Lafleur demonstrated their presence in a local case. In the same year the amoebae were demonstrated by Dr. Charles Simon in a case in the wards, in which the abscess had perforated the lung. The disease was found to be common, and Dr. Councilman in the Pathological Department and Dr. Lafleur - then first Assistant in the Medical Clinique - issued in vol. II of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Reports for 1890 the Monograph on the subject which still remains the most exhaustive contribution in ^{English} ~~England~~, and at once convinced both pathologists and clinicians of the specific nature of this type of the disease. Many subsequent reports are to be found scattered through the Bulletins, one of the most interesting of which was the examination of the presence of the amoebae in an abscess of the jaw by Dr. Flexner. The hepato-pulmonary abscess - of which we had a great many cases - was made the subject of a careful study by Dr. Fletcher.*

During all this time Osler had sufficient reasons for running over to Philadelphia whenever opportunity permitted. His visits were more often social, though sometimes official, and on one of the latter occasions a few days before his sailing he was called upon to present to the College of Physicians the portrait of its recent President, Weir Mitchell*, of whom he said, ^{member of the profession} ~~one~~ ^{in this}

* The President of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia can be elected only three years in succession. Weir Mitchell's terms were 1886-1888 and 1892-1894. ^{Osler remarks were reported in the J.H.H. Bulletin June 1890, 764.}

Generation and so passing - warm bath and at the fire of life! "

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A worker in the science of physiology, with an ardour which waxes, not wanes, with growing winters; a practical physician, of unrivalled skill in dealing with obscure and troublesome affections, he is a notable modern representative of those great men of the past who, from Harvey to Hunter, illuminated the dark pathways of practice with the lamp of science. And in a hard age of narrow specialism this lesson of his life is, perhaps, best worth reading. . . . Heredity has done much, environment has done more, in the career of which I speak. Unlike the majority of those who have 'passed the chair' of this honourable Faculty, the path along which Weir Mitchell trod to fame led around, not through, academic halls. When university positions are so coveted, and when the ambition of every worker is to teach, it is a satisfaction to be able to point to a man who has risen from the ranks, so to speak, to the highest generalship and command. But may I allude - if only to show the truth of Schiller's dictum,

"Des Lebens ungemischte Freude
Ward Keinem Irdischen zu Theil."

to disappointed academic ambitions on the part of our distinguished Fellow, now long past, perhaps even forgotten by him. Truly the stone which the builders rejected has become the chief stone of the corner. For his sake I have always thought that in so doing they 'builded better than they knew.'

Again, in relation to this college, around which clusters so large a part of all that is best in the history of the profession in this city, the man whom we now delight to honour has fostered its growth, widened its influence, and stimulated its life. For this we thank him best when we place his portrait in line with those of Redman, Shippen and Wood.

Is it too weird a speculation to think that here, tonight, in this hall, amid the volumes of forgotten lore, a ghostly procession of our presidents

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who have gone will pass verdict on this picture and will greet as worthy one who, caute, caste et probe, supported the traditions which they held so dear?

Amid the racket and hurly-burly few of us have the chance to warm both hands at the fire of life. No member of the profession in his generation, either in America or Europe, has so pleasantly toasted hands and feet before the logs as S. Weir Mitchell; and no one has been more ready to give a brother a place at the glowing hearth. If asked for a scroll to place beneath that frame I would write that he was one

"Whose even-balanced soul
Business could not make dull, nor passion wild;
Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole." * .

*Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, June, 1890, i, 64.

The time for his departure was approaching and his plans were matured, as shown by the following brief notes to Ogden, and a later one to Schäfer.

Tuesday - 1st

Dear O. When are you coming to see St. Johns Hopkins? Do try to come on before I leave - April 26th - for England. We have everything in fair order now. There is a bed ready for you at any time. I go north for Easter Sunday to say goodbye to them all. . . . How are you? it seems an age since I saw you. Mrs. O. ^[his niece] who keeps house for me joins in hoping that you can come on before I leave.

And a week later:

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9th April

~~I sail on the 26th, by Etruria.~~ I have just returned from Toronto - all well. Wish you could have come down. I return Sept. 1st. & shall be living in the Hospital Sept. & Oct. Come & stay a week then or longer with me.

To Edw. S. Schäfer. from W. O.

(April) 17, (1890)

Dear Schäfer, I leave on the 26th by Etruria for England and shall call early in May. After settling a niece at school I shall go to the Continent to join the Bowditches. I shall return to England for the month of July. I hope Mrs. Schäfer and the children are well. It seems an age since I heard of you all. I daresay that you know of my migration to the Johns Hopkins University where I have everything I could desire and more than I could deserve.

With kind regards to Mrs. Schäfer and love to the children.

Yours sincerely,

WM OSLER

Reference has ^{probably} already been made to Osler's habit of note-taking and to the pocket note-books which he invariably carried, and a number of them filled with abundant jottings on topics of all sorts written in pencil and now for the most part illegible are in existence. It was a habit that he strongly recommended to his students as one of the three essentials in their education:

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Given the sacred hunger and proper preliminary training, the student-practitioner requires at least three things with which to stimulate and maintain his education, a notebook, a library, and a quinquennial brain-dusting. I wish I had time to speak of the value of note-taking. You can do nothing as a student in practice without it. Carry a small notebook which will fit into your waistcoat pocket, and never ask a new patient a question without notebook and pencil in hand. After the examination of a pneumonia case two minutes will suffice to record the essentials in the daily progress. Routine and system, when once made a habit, facilitate work, and the busier you are the more time you will have to make observations after examining a patient. Jot a comment at the end of the notes: 'clear case', 'case illustrating obscurity of symptoms,' 'error in diagnosis,' &c. The making of observations may become the exercise of a jackdaw-like trick, like the craze which so many of us have to collect articles of all sorts. The study of the cases, the relation they bear to each other and to the cases in literature - here comes in the difficulty. Begin early to make a three-fold category - clear cases, doubtful cases, mistakes. And learn to play the game fair, no self-deception, no shrinking from the truth; mercy and consideration for the other man, but none for yourself, upon whom you have to keep an incessant watch. You remember Lincoln's famous mot about the impossibility of fooling all of the people all of the time. It does not hold good for the individual who can fool himself to his heart's content all of the time. If necessary, be cruel; use the knife and the cautery to cure the intumescence and moral necrosis which you will feel in the posterior parietal region, in Gall and Spurzheim's centre of self-esteem, where you will find a sore spot after you have made a mistake in diagnosis.

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It is only by getting your cases grouped in this way that you can make any real progress in your post-collegiate education; only in this way can you gain wisdom with experience. It is a common error to think that the more a doctor sees the greater his experience and the more he knows. No one ever drew a more skilful distinction than Cowper in his oft-quoted lines, which I am never tired of repeating in a medical audience:

Knowledge and wisdom, far from being one,
Have oft-times no connexion. Knowledge dwells
In heads replete with thoughts of other men;
Wisdom in minds attentive to their own.
Knowledge is proud that he has learned so much;
Wisdom is humble that he knows no more.*

*Osler: "The Student Life." No. XX in "Aequanimitas and Other Addresses."

During the course of the 'quinquennial brain-dusting' which he took this summer one of these 'student' note-books was kept. It is filled with the usual miscellany, though for the most part with notes such as any careful ^{observer} student might have taken of clinics which he had attended. ^{It was a typical} With its ^{Continental Studienreise during which he enjoyed the companionship of Pausanias Wright - whose purpose was} aid Professor Wright ~~has refreshed his memory of their trip and has written~~ the following account of it. ^{who had joined}

In the spring of 1890 Osler and I arranged to join in a Studienreise on the Continent, he to investigate clinical arrangements and laboratories, I to study museum methods - in view of the recent destruction by fire of

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the University of Toronto Museum. ^{Mus} Osler crossed on April 26th and met
me in London on May 5th, when we decided on Freiburg as a starting-point, ^{backed}

^{there} On May 17th, we saw the new surgical theatre, visited Weissmann, and
Wiedersheim the comparative anatomist, and spent a pleasant evening with
Ziegler, v. Kahliden and others at a Kneipe, ^{and} the following day, Sunday,
we went to Titi-See, climbed the Feldberg and dined on the top, without
the promised view of the Swiss mountains. ^{May went on}

Next morning we attended a lecture by Bäumler at 7 a.m., accompanied
him round his wards at 8, listened to a clinical lecture at 9, and were
present at an autopsy performed by Ziegler at 10, after which we went on
to Basel and Berne. ^{where} There Osler was interested in the number of women
students attending the classes of Langhans and Sahli. He learned that
they had improved in quality within the last few years, although one was
discovered to be immersed in a Tauchnitz novel during the lecture, and ^{later}
Osler notes that he did not see one who looked likely to become the Trotula
of the twentieth century. ^{Then Zurich and Munich, where, being}

At Zürich Prof. Eichhorst's Clinical Laboratory with Chemical
and Bacteriological outfit was much admired. We spent, however, the
greater part of the day with Gaute, who showed us preparations
illustrative of his cell-theories, and after dinner rowed us up the
Zürcher See to Bändlikon where we had supper.

On the 23rd we left Zürich at 10, and arrived at Munich in time
for supper, having dined on the deck of the steamer from Romanshorn
to Lindau. • Being Whitsuntide, the University Laboratories were
deserted, ^{as} and as ^{everyone seemed to be going to} Munich was full of people going to Oberammergau for

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the first representation of the Passion Play we ~~decided to~~^{they} followed suit and their example. Accordingly we left Munich at 6.30 next morning, and found what we were led to expect as unlikely, places in a Stellwagen from Oberau to Oberammergau. There we were fortunate to discover a bedroom of sorts in the Wittelsbacher Hof, ^{since} and were glad to learn that tickets for the play were allotted to the beds ^{which were described as 'psychically analitic'} in the village. After dinner we climbed the Kofelsteig, the highest point in the immediate vicinity - WhitMonday was devoted morning and afternoon to the play, which pleased me by its simplicity in contrast with the most elaborate representation which I saw twenty years later. The same night we returned to Munich, Osler having arranged to see Ziemissen and Bollinger on the following morning.

From Munich ^{we} went to Erlangen ^{particular of those Strümpell and Zenker and} where Osler notes "the university is Erlangen - practically there is nothing else in the little Bavarian town, which forcibly illustrates the great truth that men make a seat of learning, and, if given proper facilities will attract students." ^{Then,} There we saw a number of interesting cases with Strümpell and a visit was paid on Zenker and Selenka.

The following day we spent at Würzburg ^{where a} - Osler's note-book contains few references to our sojourn in Germany, but our visit to Köllicker impressed him so much that he ^{notes} wrote in it, "The type of a senior Professor which might well be more common - the intellectual digestion usually gets feeble after the crux de quarante ans and new methods are assimilated with difficulty. A man however who has brought out within a month or so the first part of a new edition of his General Embryology 25 years

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after the last edition cannot be called old, although he may have reached the Psalmist's limit. Nothing is more inspiring than to see a veteran in the van."

After visiting the Anatomical Department, the Julius 'Spital and the fine surgical amphitheatre, a visit was paid to Semper, and Olser noted some interesting cases seen in Leube's wards, also in Rindfleisch's pathological theatre, in which Virchow had first made his name.

En route to Heidelberg ¹⁶we had some hours in Frankfurt with Edinger, and with Weigert whom Osler had known in Leipzig and who was found busy with a new stain for neuroglia. Heidelberg was described as 'too alluring to spend much time in Hospitals or Laboratories,' ^{and} ~~so~~ yielding to the seduction of the place ¹⁶we spent some days in long walks over the hills ^{and} evenings at "Zum Perkeo" &c. ^{Professor Lyke needs this}

W. O. felt the romance of every nook and corner of the place. On one of these outings, Sunday June 1st, a gypsy caravan passed us, and our attention was arrested by the beauty of the young girl who sat on the end of the last van. Later in the day we encountered the caravan in Neckar gemind; the men had been taken in charge by the police for entering the town without permission, the women were protesting noisily, and our sympathies were awakened and our pockets lightened to the extent of a few marks by the tears of the young beauty - Osler left unfinished ~~in his note-book~~ a most poetical version of this incident, beginning, "Upon what trifles depend events of the utmost importance to the individual." He evidently intended his 'philologically-inclined young Cousin Egerton Y. Davis Jr., Instructor in English in the University of X' to join the gypsy band with the object of acquiring Romany!

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From Heidelberg ^{they} ~~we~~ proceeded to Strassburg where ^{the} ~~my~~ wife who had been wintering in Lausanne joined us. There we saw most of Schwalbe the anatomist, but Osler ^{was also present} notes visits to Naunyn's wards and laboratory, ^{where} also to those of von Recklinghausen, Hoppe-Seyer, Schmiedeberg, and Golts. ^{Call this one →} ~~we~~ ^{to p. 55}

Stopped over at Nancy en route to Paris, and visited Bernheim's hospital where all the cases appeared to be treated by suggestion.

Rooms had been secured for us in the Rue Gay-Lussac by a friend of Osler, which proved very convenient for the University quarter. One of the first visits we paid was to Laveran at the Salpêtrière, who showed us his malaria preparations. From the 10th of June onwards Osler's notebook contains full accounts of the numerous lectures he attended, by Seter 'chiefly a tirade against the germ-theory,' Déjérine, Debove, Bouchard, Charcot, Hayem, Strauss, Luys. To judge by his notes, Déjérine's lectures were most highly appreciated. Hypnotism was very much to the fore at this time, and Osler records an unsuccessful attempt in Charcot's clinic by Giles de la Tourette, Charcot's assistant, to induce a girl of 13 with twisted feet to walk. A lecture which we attended by Luys at the Charité, (Osler described it as 'a regular circus') has a special note: "Theatre crowded, many women, some fashionably dressed - First a short lecture on suggestion, then two girls came in, to one of whom he suggested that she was Professor Luys and was about to deliver a lecture before the class - She immediately asked for her 'tablier', changed appearance and style and began a lecture on Hypnotism which she had heard two years before when in the hypnotic state - It was admirably delivered with every alteration of voice and gesture of the original, even to the request to the back

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rows to make a little room for new-comers. She then, as Prof. Luys, hypnotised another girl and showed the entire process."

We were living at the Hôtel de l'Universe near the Pasteur Institute, where we often attended Pasteur's inoculations which were made in the early afternoon. ^u Visits were also made to the laboratories of Metchnikoff, Richet and Cornil, and lectures of other celebrities were attended. Of Quatrefogues he notes 'an active and well-studied lecture against Darwinism which might have been delivered in 1860,' and of Renan who was lecturing on the Book of Daniel 'an old man, stout, looking like a priest, very heavy cheeks and large nose, expression good, often laughs, voice not over sweet.'

The month spent in Paris was not destitute of distractions. On the invitation of Dr. Hugenschmidt, the successor of the famous Dr. Evans the Paris dentist, we 'assisted' at an interesting experiment at the Observatory where telephonic communication with the Opera had been installed, through which the voices and orchestra were somewhat imperfectly heard.

Early in July we left for England, and experienced one of the most disagreeable channel crossings it has been my lot to encounter. We separated at Dover, Osler feeling too ill to go on.

Towards the latter part of the month I again went to Germany, visiting Dresden, Prag, Leipzig, Halle and Berlin, the last city in time to be present at the International Medical Congress, during which, although attending different sections, Osler & I frequently met. He left for England on the morning of the 8th August by which time the Congress was approaching its close.

In his introduction to the English Edition (Constable & Co) of the Life of Pasteur which he wrote for Mr Phillips in 1891 ^{traces} ~~Osler refers to the demonstration by the first master~~ ^{at the request of} ~~Osler, the great master's death, was caused in maintaining dates and was caused to be wrong.~~ ^{as often}

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All of this and much more Osler told in a series of "Letters to my House Physicians" sent ^{in turn} to 'L' [Lafleur], 'T' [Toulmin], 'R' [Reese], 'S' [Simon] and 'H' [Hoch], and which were published in the New York and also in the Montreal Medical Journals of this year. These long letters contain delightful pen-pictures of the men and places that were visited, and many of the things he picks out as worthy of comment find their reflection in some of the teaching methods which he subsequently adopted. The last of the letters, which was written from Strassburg and sent to August Hoch ends with the following paragraph.

Now, as you are in part a Teuton, it may interest you to know the general impression one gets of the professional work over here. I should say that the characteristic which stands out in bold relief in German scientific life is the paramount importance of knowledge for its own sake. To know certain things thoroughly and to contribute to an increase in our knowledge of them seems to satisfy the ambition of many of the best minds. The presence in every medical centre of a class of men devoted to scientific work gives a totally different aspect to professional aspirations. While with us - and in England - the young man may start with an ardent desire to devote his life to science, he is soon dragged into the mill of practice, and at forty years of age the 'guinea

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stamp' is on all his work. His aspirations and his early years of sacrifice have done him good, but we are the losers and we miss sadly the leaven which such a class would bring into our professional life. We need men like Joseph Leidy and the late John C. Dalton, who, with us yet not of us, can look at problems apart from practice and pecuniary considerations.

I have said much in my letters of splendid laboratories and costly institutes, but to stand agape before the magnificent structures which adorn so many university towns of Germany and to wonder how many millions of marks they cost and how they ever could be paid for, is the sort of admiration which Caliban yielded to Prospero. Men will pay dear for what they prize dearly, and the true homage must be given to the spirit which makes this vast expenditure a necessity. To that Geist the entire world today stands debtor, as over every department of practical knowledge has it silently brooded, often unrecognized, sometimes when recognized not thanked.

The universities of Germany are her chief glory, and the greatest boon she can give to us in the New World is to return our young men infected with the spirit of earnestness and with the love of thoroughness which characterizes the work done in them.

The last three weeks of June were spent in Paris and the notes below give a picturesque account of their days there.
While in London he took rooms in Russell's Hotel off Piccadilly and was

encountered by his future sister-in-law one day, engaged at a fashionable shop

in the difficult and embarrassing task of purchasing dresses for his many

*which began with a visit to Laveran at the Salpêtrière. and they saw ^{Saw} Dujérine, Debove, Bouchard
Charcot, Hagen, Strauss and Lys: and Dujérine's lecture the following evening ended. Syphilis
was very much to the fore at this time and ^{there in} the fair, a long account of an unsuccessful
attempt by Siles de la Jonette to induce Guérin a long account of a lecture - described as a
popular circus - given by Lys at the Claret. They were then ^{Chene before a crowded amphitheatre} ^(over) ^{near the Pont des Invalides}*

He attended Volcanic Hydrophobia inoculations which were held in the east of London. ^(#) met Melchior
Richter & Cornie and attended Lectures of a week & then further celebrated with Penan who was
Sister of his
Lecturing on the Book of Daniel, and Guatri's ops who ^{gave} ~~delivered~~ on a lecture on well-extended attacks
on Darwinism since a number have been expected in the South.

Some days James and I and I of the worst possible
of chance crossing the Pacific in England to meet again at the later
on in Berlin. While in London he

(#) Ind note p. 54

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cousins in Toronto. He saw, of course, all his London friends and ~~made his~~ ^{spent a}

^{week-end} promised visit with the Schäfers, then living at Croxley Green, Hertfordshire, ^{the}
^{following incidents among many other reminiscences started in}
Sir Edward has given these reminiscences of the time ^{memory}:

A good many years ago - about 1890 - when I was in London, on one of his visits from the other side, I happened to be walking with him in the West End, and as we were passing a boot-maker's he said - "Come along in here a moment, I want to see an old friend." The proprietor, an elderly gentleman, was standing with his back to us: Osler went up, slapped him on the back, and exclaimed, "Hullo, old boy, how have you been all this time?" The 'old boy' had been his boot-maker when he first came to work in London in the early seventies - and the meeting was like that of two old friends.

It was nearly always fine summer weather when he made his annual visits to us in one or other of our country houses in Hertfordshire, and we generally lazed away the hours of the Sunday on the grass or in lounge chairs, doing nothing particular and doing that remarkably well. But on one occasion at Croxley Green ^{he} Osler had a fit of activity, spending a large part of the afternoon in carving W. O. and the date in ^{large} huge characters on a fine young beech tree standing in a charming copse close to our house. I expect the inscription is there to this day, but it is many years since we left the neighbourhood. Next time I go I will try and find the tree: no doubt the inscription will be there still.

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It still is; but the tree is now a monarch, ~~on which Osler left his~~
~~mark,~~ ^{initials} with much the same boyish impulse ~~that~~ made him scratch his initials on
the window-pane of the rectory at Weston. ^{chanced to} ~~It would have been somewhat less~~
~~remarkable had he cut~~ James Bovell's initials instead of his own ^{Had he cut the initials} ~~during this fit of fancy~~

~~Professor Schäfer says he would have been mystified.~~ ^{There followed a}
The last week in July he attended the meeting of the British Medical Asso-
ciation held in Birmingham, not a particularly stirring occasion from all ac-
counts, ^{and the} except for the facts that the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a service
at St. Martin's-in-the-Bull-Ring, that Jonathan Hutchinson gave an address on
the "Future of Dermatology", and that a medal was presented with due ceremonies
to Surgeon Parke, 'the rarest doctor in the world' according to Henry M. Stanley
with whom he had just returned from Africa.

The next week - evidently reading a volume of Lamb's poems en route -
he joined Ramsay Wright again in Berlin for the Xth International Medical
Congress ^{held} ~~at~~ Virchow, v. Bergmann the surgeon, and Waldeyer the anatomist com-
prising ^{ed} the Committee of Organization. ^{to} ~~for~~ ^{their} whom, after the fiasco of the IXth
Congress in Washington, had been given the task of putting these important

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gatherings again on their feet. ^{* if} Osler's ^{never} attention was more or less obligatory, for with Abraham Jacobi, William H. Welch, R. H. Fitz, William Pepper, James Stewart and others he was officially a member of the American Committee.

Anyone unfamiliar with the workings of these great assemblies can hardly ever-estimate the enormous amount of detailed work the Committee of Organization for months ahead is called upon to perform. At this gathering, for example, there were 8831 registrants, fifty nationalities being represented and 600 communications from selected readers being given before one or another of the twenty separate sections representing special subdivisions of medicine. But from among these thousands Osler doubtless managed to ferret out the group of his old Montreal friends who were present - Ross, Roddick, William Gardner, Stirling and Arthur Browne.

Virchow's name was not only a household word ^{known to} in science the world over, but he was a prophet, of the people at least, in his own country; as well, and the Congress had abundant support from the Government, as well as from those who occupied the new palace in Potsdam. Among the names

Nevertheless in his final address he

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of the participants in the Congress are to be found nearly all of the leaders of medicine and the medical sciences of the day - names still familiar and likely to remain so - Paget, Lister, Macewan, Horsley, Jonathon Hutchinson, Brunton, Acland, Sir Andrew Clark, Sherrington, and Grainger Stewart, to mention a few from Great Britain; Key and Retzius from Sweden; Kocher and Socin from Switzerland; Billings, Keen, Senn, Jacobi and Loomis from America; and even the French were well represented by Roux, Richet, Ollier and others.

Virchow in his opening address ventured on the subject of militarism, saying, and emphatically expressed his feelings 'that the bonds which unite are really stronger than the sentiments which so often divide people;' and pointing to the scientific advances of the Fatherland for the benefit of humanity ^{he} assured his hearers that 'there can be no real desire for war among a people who so sedulously cultivate the arts of peace.' But even a host of Virchows - ~~who~~ ^{and he} was never ~~very~~ popular with his Emperor though ~~he was~~ finally made Rector of the University of Berlin - could have stemmed the holocaust precipitated twenty-five years later.

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It was customary for the Executive Committee of these triennial International Congresses, which have been interrupted by the Great War, to invite certain prominent individuals to give general addresses, and on this occasion Lord Lister, then Sir Joseph Lister, of London, Robert Koch of Berlin, C. J. Bouchard of Paris, Axel Key of Stockholm, H. C. Wood of Philadelphia and Theodore Meynert of Vienna had been thus honoured. Of all these addresses, the one which made the greatest stir was that by Koch, who spoke on Bacteriological Investigation, in the course of which he made the startling and, as it proved, unfortunately premature announcement of the discovery of a cure for tuberculosis, the nature of which, however, was not disclosed.

[he said]

I found a number of substances - ethereal oils, tar-pigments, mercurial vapour, salts of gold and silver, especially cyanide of gold for instance; some of which, like the last, even when very strongly diluted, prevent the growth of the bacillus, which, of course, suffices to bring the disease to a standstill. All these substances, however, have proved ineffectual when used against the bacillus in the bodies of animals. I continued my search, however, and found what I sought. Susceptible as the guinea-pig is to the tubercle bacillus, it proved non-inoculable when treated with the substances in question, and even when its disease was far

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advanced it could be brought to a standstill by this means. This fact may give occasion to search for similar effective remedies in other infectious diseases also, and here lies the field for an international contest of the highest and noblest kind.*

*Lancet, Aug. 16, 1890, ii, 355-6.

Koch's address at the Congress was soon followed by his article "A Further Communication on a Cure for Tuberculosis." Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift, Nov. 14, 1890. Even in this article he withheld the nature of the substance (Tuberculin) which was called Koch's lymph.

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The medical world, taking Koch far more than at his word, promptly went mad, and from every side physicians flocked to Berlin to get tidings of tuberculin, for such the substance was called; and saddest of all, innumerable victims of consumption in its last stages did likewise. *On his return home* Osler

Clinical made some careful tests with the substance himself after his return, and made *Tuberculin and its use*

of this note (Chap. XXV, p. 9) an early report to the J. H. H. Medical Society after a few months' trial, *issued* ~~and~~ a report *which on the whole*

On the whole, his report was favourable, especially for cases with cutaneous and surgical tuberculosis, though he *in spite of* makes this conservative statement:

The extraordinary enthusiasm which has been aroused by the announcement, is a just tribute to the character of Robert Koch, who is a model worker of unequalled thoroughness, whose ways and methods have always been those of the patient investigator, well worthy of the confidence which other experts in pathology place in his statements. The cold test of time can alone determine how far the claims, which he has now advanced, will be justified, and meanwhile the question has been transferred, so far as human medicine is concerned, from the laboratory to the clinical ward, in which the careful observations of the next few months will furnish the necessary data, upon which to found a final judgment.*

*Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, Dec. 1890, 1, 108.

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On his return to Baltimore and until the return, on October 1st, of his niece, he took up his residence once more in the hospital. From there he writes Ogden September 1st:

Dear O. So delighted to hear you will be with us. Come any time after this week. Let me know & I shall have a room ready. If after Oct. 1st you shall stay at 209 W. Monument - with us. I shall be here until 1st when ^{my} ^[his niece] Miss Osler comes. Have had a delightful trip. Just in today from Toronto.

Yours ever,

WM OSLER

and a few days later, September 8th:

Dear O. Do come this week - we are brim full of interesting cases of all sorts & I am sure you could be very comfortable. Drive direct to the Hospital & you will find me here.

By this time or soon after, the house staff had been augmented by the appointment of ^{A. L. Gray, D. Meredith Reese} C. E. Simon, August Hoch, W. H. Baltzell, W. S. Thayer,

Simon Flexner, George H. F. Nuttall, W. W. Russell and others; and early the next spring came a young McGill graduate, the much-beloved 'Jack' Hewetson,

'doubly dead in that he died so young.' Though Osler loved him like a son

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even Hewetson did not escape from his practical jokes, and not long after his advent Osler sent him over to Philadelphia to look up something in the library of the College of Physicians, saying in an off-hand way as he was leaving, "Do drop in on my old friends Philip Syng Physick and Shippen, and give them my love." Hewetson, who could not have been expected to know much of the worthies of Philadelphia's medical history, nor of the characteristics of his new Chief, spent most of his afternoon in Philadelphia trying to locate Drs. Physick and Shippen, and it was not until his return that he learned they belonged to the past.

Poor Hewetson subsequently developed tuberculosis, against which he made a long and losing fight for some years in California, and after his death in 1910 Osler wrote a memorial notice, in which he ^{Save the following} gives a picture of these early ~~and happy~~ days.

The men of the first few years of the existence of this hospital formed a very happy band - young and eager, with a great problem before them, too great, indeed, to be fully appreciated by us. It was a motley group that the gift of a new foundation in medicine had brought together, strangers to each other, strangers in a strange city; yet there was something in the air, and something in the spirit of the place, that quickly

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ripened a mutual trust into good-fellowship. The 'lead' already given by that great triumvirate, Martin, Remsen and Welch, with Mr. Gilman's strong personality and intense interest in the hospital (~~which he had opened for the trustees~~) made the running comparatively easy. It has often been remarked that the reputation of the Johns Hopkins Medical School has been made by its young men, to which I may note incidentally my shelves bear weighty testimony in the twelve volumes with the 500 papers of the graduates of the school during the first eight years. We were singularly fortunate in the senior assistants with whom the work began: Councilman, Lafleur, Brockway and Robb. I have forgotten how it was that Lafleur came to us from Montreal, probably through my friends Ross and MacDonnell, but it proved a very happy selection, and the 'Dane' as we loved to call him, gave a certain cachet to the position, which his successors have been keen to appreciate. In the first year we had for house physicians Toulmin from Philadelphia, Reese from Baltimore, and 'Al' Scott from Philadelphia, all congenial spirits and enthusiastic workers. Reese was cut off by tuberculosis at the very outset of a brilliant career; while his many friends had to lament Scott's untimely death last year. As the work grew the following year, Simon and Hoch came into the house. Then, in the ~~summer of 1891~~ ^{Fall of 90}, Thayer joined the staff. and in October succeeded Lafleur as first assistant. In ⁹²1890 there came to us, probably through the influence of Lafleur, John Hewetson from McGill, who had just finished a term of residence at the Montreal General Hospital. I have just had the sad news of his death, and wish to pay a brief tribute to his memory. Long practice has given me a fair control of my vasomotors, but my grip has never been sure when a letter or some incident brought suddenly to my mind the tragedy of the life of 'Jack'

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Hewetson. As I write there comes the far-away vision of a young face, frank and open, with the grey-blue eyes that looked so true, and a voice to match, with a merry laugh - no wonder that everyone loved him! Three happy years he lived with us, growing into a strong, earnest worker, and contributing with Dr. Thayer an important monograph on malaria, and many minor papers. Frank Smith and Barker, who joined the staff about the same time, became his devoted friends. The controller, Mr. Winder Emery, at once fell under his spell, and it was touching to see the affection with which the stern old martinet regarded the younger man. In 1894 Dr. Hewetson went to Germany, and in Leipzig appeared the signs of pulmonary tuberculosis. He had had a pleurisy in Montreal, and the disease made rapid progress. He returned to California, where his father lived, and began to fight the long and losing battle which has just ended. Brave and cheerful, never repining, even in his broken life, much happiness - happiness that comes with a devoted wife and faithful friends. We who loved him in those early days have never recovered from the tragedy of the wreck of a career of such peculiar promise.*

*Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, Dec. 1910, xxi, 357.

An elaborate schedule had been worked out for the winter courses, which attracted a large number of post-graduate students. The Monday evening meetings were gotten under way, Osler presiding at the medical meetings and vying with Welch and Kelly in being the moving spirit of the Historical Club. The first

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meeting, formally to organize this club and at which Osler presided, was held on November 10th and Welch was elected President for the year. Osler expressed his intention of briefly reviewing at subsequent meetings the essays, monographs, and works of American authors which might be called American Medical Classics, and which have influenced most markedly the progress of medicine in this country. ^{, a pursuit which accounts for the following letter to} He took as one of the most important of the eighteenth-century contributions John Morgan's celebrated Discourse of 1765, and went on to give an account of Morgan's life and work. At this same meeting Kelly, who had no less interest than his colleagues in medical history but was able earlier than they to begin making a collection of rare and precious volumes, showed a number of volumes illustrating the early obstetrical literature, one of them the rare volume by Rösßlin, 1556, the still rarer first edition of which Osler subsequently secured a copy, as already told, for the College of Physicians.

Osler even at this early date, as the following letter shows, had begun to gather material for his account of Beaumont and Alexis St. Martin, not to be published till twelve years later.

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1890*one of his friends in the
Cincinnati & Cincinnati*

On September 27th he writes Dr. Baumgarten of St. Louis *when he writes*

(dictated)

I was very sorry to miss you and the meeting at Washington this Spring; but I have been on a delightful jaunt to Europe.

I want to bother you for a few minutes. Do you know anything about Beaumont, the army surgeon and gastric physiologist, who died in St. Louis in 1853? Has he relatives in the city with whom I could communicate? I want certain details of his life which are not given in St. Louis M. & S. J., 1854, ^{and} I want particularly a photograph or portrait. I know they have called a mushroom school after his name ^{and} I dare say that without too much trouble you could put me in communication with persons who know all about him.

And again on October 3rd:

(dictated)

Thanks very much for your prompt reply. I have written to Mrs. Kaim, asking for details about her father, for whose memory, these many years, I have had the deepest respect.

Judge Baby has promised me full details with reference to the last days of St. Martin (Beaumont's subject) who died only a few years ago. I have a photograph of the old sinner, in his eighty-second year and I shall, at an early date, make it a text for a short account at our Hospital Medical Society, of the life and work of Beaumont.

Welch has just returned. Councilman is on the sea. Lafleur is in the woods enjoying a well earned holiday after four months' hard work in my absence. I suppose there is no chance of seeing you before our next meeting; but should you come East remember I always have a room at my house at your disposal or my room at the hospital.

in the further pursuit of the malarial plasmodium

But this sort of thing was just of vocational: what really occupied his time was the malarial studies and which

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The following letter shows that others even at a distance were beginning to appreciate even the Historical Club's activities at the J. H. H.

To W. O. from Henry I. Bowditch.

Boston, Mass.,
Dec. 6, 1890.

Dear Dr. Osler:- How I should like to be present at your Historical Club! but my days for such pleasures are gone. Like everything you do at Johns Hopkins, I sit at a distance and admire.

How utterly ignorant medical students, and the majority of their elders, also, are of the History of Medicine, has been curiously illustrated in our city. For forty years under the direction of Dr. H. J. Bigelow, the Society for Medical Improvement, has been willing to receive and guard the portrait of an unknown surgeon as the likeness of Ambroise Paré and had his name on the frame. During the time necessary to bring this about, I was astonished at the ignorance displayed in regard to this great man, this really noble scribe! One of the elders and middle-aged, seemed astonished that I cared to prevent the Society from sending down to posterity a lying portrait of him, said "Who and what was Ambroise Paré?" "I have always thought of him as being only a great butcher!" Your Historical Society will tend to prevent such calamities, hereafter, where you have influence. Dr. Bigelow after the name was removed, set to work to find out who the man was who had represented Paré for half a century nearly, and by correspondence with Le Raulnuers & use of photography he found out that Francis Herard, a man now totally unknown to fame, a surgeon who flourished (if we can use that expression) in the century after Paré, has usurped his name thereby. And

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this Dr. B. published in the papers as an "Art Discovery."

But Dr. B. makes no allusion to the fact that he was at the purchase of the picture and consented to the name, if he did not actually name it Paré, and certainly as I can vouch for from the first moment I expressed my disbelief, contended against any change being made. Finally my data proved so conclusively to the Society the gross blunder that had been made, that the members voted almost unanimously to remove the ^{name,} ~~frame~~. Then and not till then Bigelow took hold of the question and has worked it out most admirably, and as if it had been done of his own accord and not after the rebuke of the Society. His forty years of opposition are wholly ignored in his paper.

Goodbye. God keep all the workers at Johns Hopkins. I say this heartily dear Dr. for I am still simple enough to think that there is a Supreme Being above, keeping us 'in the long run' correct and progressing.

Give my kind regards to Dr. Billings when you see him. What a fine fellow he is! He deserves to be a Surgeon General.

Yours very truly,

HENRY I. BOWDITCH.

Though by this time, as will be told, Osler had undertaken another task, ^{assistants had become enthused with} he was still enthusing over the malaria studies of his residents, ~~for on~~

in their turn

November 29th he writes Joseph Leidy, Jr.:

a form of sport was once about only his residential staff had been infected
his enthusiasm for which not only infected his residential staff (he also chance visitors like Joseph Leidy, Jr.
when he visits a November 29th:

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Mult. embolism is common in chr. heart dis. - particularly when fresh endocarditis attacks old valves. That must have been a case of the sort. You will see several in my endocarditis lectures I think, (copy will be sent you)

Come down soon again, some Sunday - I shall not be in Philadelphia
until Xmas again

W. OSLER

The Johns Hopkins Hospital,
Baltimore,
December 9, 1890.

Dear MacDonnell:- I send you a report of Gilliard's case, but I regret to say that I find no note, whatever, of the case of Andrew Jackson, December 19th, 1881. It possibly might be in the reports of the Medico-Chir. Society.

But and all ^{space} this time was given over to watching Hermodia
But his evenings were not entirely given over to watching the Hermodia under the microscope for he
has accepted an assignment as contributor to the stimulating work of an Argand burner.

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Medical Sciences for October 1882, and there is a supplementary report in the Pathological Society's Transactions, Phila., volume XIII, referring to six other cases.

- I shall be in Montreal on December 28th or 29th and shall of course see you. Pepper and I have had several conferences about the distribution of work in that new text-book and have made a preliminary assignment. I dare say you have already heard from him. The work ought to take well, and as there will only be ten or eleven contributors we should get a very decent sum annually from the sale.

I am so sorry to hear of Mrs. Shepherd's illness and hope she is better. Give my kind regards to Mrs. MacDonnell. Your sister seems to take very kindly to her work. Miss Hampton was here last night and spoke very enthusiastically about her.

Very sincerely yours,

Wm OSLER

for he had again been 'bothered' into the promise of a contribution,
~~The assignment~~ for Pepper's projected two-volume "Theory and Practice of
at this very time when he
 Medicine"* in which 'Dick' MacDonnell's untimely death kept him from partici-

*This was published 1893-4, Osler's chapters being on Organic Diseases of the Brain, Diseases of the Nerves, Diseases of the Muscles, Vasomotor and Trophic Disorders, Diseases of the Blood, and Diseases of the Ductless Glands - 187 pages in all.

~~pating, had been solicited and promised at a time when Osler himself was about~~
~~persuaded*~~ ^{as soon} to undertake ~~a still more ambitious task of a somewhat similar sort~~

~~*The contract with Appleton was signed February 26, 1891.~~

in which he was to cover single-handed the whole field of medicine.