

1891

Writing of the Text-book

fitness for the task - 3

Robb reminiscences 21; Welch's 22

(Success of Prof. 'Doodle' Account (XVI 31-2)

XVth Anniversary Johns Hopkins University

"Recent Advances in Medicine"

Preaching cleanliness 7; 14. (also XX, 12

Revival of Med. & Chir. Faculty of Maryland by W.O. 10
(cf. also XVI, 57)

Interest in, & support of libraries
Founding of Med. Library Association.

"Healing of Tuberculosis"

Calls to Jefferson and Harvard

Told to 'stick to his last'

"Doctor and Nurse"

MacDonnell's death

"Fable of the Tower" in Text-book - 20. -

Triennial Congress Phys. & Surgeons, Washington
Pepper's Tribute to Leidy

Neurological Assn - "Double Athetosis"
Keen, as "Infant Bacchus"

Uncanny memory for names

Celebration of Virchow's 70th birthday

1; 18; 21;
27; 28; 34

7

11; 14

14

24

25; 38

26

28

30

30

32

32

1892

Dedication & prefatory note to Text-book

Mr. Powell's reminiscences of magnum opus 38
Widespread influence of book 4 (also XVI, 33)

Chapters for Pepper's Text-book Vol. I
(Vol. II: Chap. XX, 45)

Engagement announced

Presidential Address, Paediatric Socy, Boston
"Specialism"

Wedding

Wedding trip to London, Cornwall, Nottingham,
Lincoln etc.

No. 1 West Franklin Street

"Teacher and Student", Univ. of Minnesota
(cf. also Chap. III, 42)

"The License to Practise", Minn. Acad. of Medicine.

Changes in the Staff

Historical Club's programme for the year
Hippocratic writings
W.O.'s address on Plato

Miss Garrett's gift to build J.H. Medical School
(cf. also XX, 15)

Call to the Grill
(cf. also XV, pt, XVI, 1-6)

35-37

43

46

47

49-59

60

61

65

68; 69

72-75

77; 80

77

Chapter XIVThe First Born and after.
1891

The larger part of ~~this~~^{the} year was given over by Osler to the writing of his chief work - "The Principles and Practice of Medicine." Whether he would have undertaken the task, had he realized what burdens, in the way of successive editions, its extraordinary success would impose upon him for the remainder of his life, is a conjecture not worth wasting time over. It was certainly then or never. The university was in serious financial straits owing to the depreciation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad shares with which Mr. Hopkins had endowed it, and though this ^{misfortune did not} ~~fortunately~~ ^{seriously hamper} ~~did not affect~~ the hospital, it postponed indefinitely any idea of ^{erecting} ~~building and opening~~ a medical school which was primarily a university affair. Disappointing to all as this was, it furnished the necessary freedom for a long consecutive piece of writing. The hospital was in smooth running order and much of the work could be delegated to his capable juniors: ^{there} ~~there were~~ ^{likely to be no serious interruptions} ~~no special outside calls upon his time, for consultations~~ were few and general practice forsworn.

There was need of a new students' treatise on General Medicine.

For nearly forty years Watson's justly celebrated "Practice", first

published in 1843, had successfully held the field against all rivals,

and these were many, but the book was now out of date. Sir Thomas Watson

had died seven years before at the age of ninety 'wearing the white flower

off a for blameless life' as Osler wrote in a characteristic obituary notice

sent to the Canadian Practitioner. In 1836 Watson had succeeded Francis

Hawkins as Professor of Medicine in King's College, and then it was that

he delivered those immortal 'Lectures on the Principles and Practice of

Physic', which take first rank amongst the standard Classics of Medicine".

Osler had also reviewed, as they appeared, many other less notable

text-books during the preceding years, most of which though by eminent

men had been short-lived.* He had written chapters for some of the

*Three of them: by Nathan S. Davis, by Alfred L. Loomis, and by John S. Bristowe had appeared shortly before his book *Osler's* review entitled "Recent Works on Practice" in the American Journal of Medical Sciences, 1885, lxxxix, p. 175, in which he says in part: -

"In a review, written in 1881, we remarked upon the paucity of American text-books of medicine, and upon the modesty of the sixty-five professors of 'Theory & Practice', who for nearly twenty years had left the field in possession of foreign authors, with whom Wood and Flint alone competed. The example set by Dr. Bartholow in 1881 was soon followed by Dr. Palmer of Michigan; and now we have placed at the head of the list two new candidates for professional favour, which we propose to introduce to our readers. . . . Dr. Davis's therapeutics are most consoling in these days of general scepticism. Art with him is everything; Nature, as understood by Holmes and others, 'not merely a fanciful goddess, but a positive hindrance to the advancement of practical medicine'. . . . It has been said that the climate of Chicago is unfavourable to careful proof-reading. We do not wish to be too critical, but there are a FEW errors which spoil one's pleasure in reading."

large Systems or Encyclopedias of Medicine, like that edited by Pepper and Keating, and was participating in another of the kind, so that he knew what was required. He had persistently kept up with the current literature of his subject through the agency of the Journal Clubs which dogged his steps in Montreal and Philadelphia; and by his constant reviews and editorials he not only possessed an unusual familiarity with medical progress in nearly all of its aspects, but had acquired facility and ease in the expression of his thoughts. His pathological training was such as to make possible, from first-hand knowledge, vivid descriptions of the morbid anatomy of disease in a way unusual for a clinician. He had a great fondness for medical history and its heroes and for the allusions to medicine which occur in general literature. His only weak spot was in therapeutics, if a healthy scepticism concerning drugs may be regarded as a weakness.

He was, all things considered, extraordinarily well equipped to undertake the task. The one 'weakness' which has been mentioned proved in a curious way, as will be seen, to render an unexpected and most important service to medicine in general. For it led in the first place to the rescue of the hospital from its financial embarrassment after the

1891

Baltimore fire in 1903; to the establishment of the Rockefeller Institute a few years later; and finally to the incalculable benefit to humanity which the General Education Board has rendered with Mr. Rockefeller's money, owing to their interest in the prevention and cure of disease. Indeed, the present position of his colleague Welch, as Director of the Institute of Hygiene, is ^{indirectly} due to the fact that Osler set himself thirty years before to write a Text-book of Medicine and, as Falconer Madan said years later, 'succeeded in making a scientific treatise literature.'

On the fly-leaves of the interleaved copy finally sent him by his publishers when the work was finished, Osler penned the following statement of how the book had been written:

On several occasions, in Philadelphia, I was asked by Lea Bros. to prepare a work on Diagnosis and had half promised one; indeed I had prepared a couple of chapters, but continually procrastinated on the plea that up to the 40th year a man was fit for better things than text-books. Time went on and as I crossed this date I began to feel that the energy and persistence necessary for the task were lacking. In September, 1890, I returned from a four months' trip in Europe, shook myself, and towards the end of the month began a work on Practice. I had nearly finished the chapter on Typhoid Fever when Dr. Granger,

Messrs Appleton's agent, came from New York to ask me to prepare a Text-Book on Medicine. We haggled for a few weeks about terms and finally, selling my brains to the devil, I signed the contract. My intention had been to publish the work myself and have Lippincott or Blakiston (both of whom offered) handle the book, but the bait of a guarantee circulation of 10,000 copies in two years and fifteen hundred dollars on the date of publication was too glittering, and I was hooked. October, November, and December were not very satisfactory months, and January 1st, 1891, saw the infectious diseases scarcely completed. I then got well into harness. Three mornings of each week I stayed at home and dictated from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. On the alternate days I dictated after the morning Hospital visit, beginning about 11.30 a.m. The spare hours of the afternoons were devoted to correction and reference work. Early in May I gave up the house, 209 Monument St., and went to my rooms at the Hospital. The routine there was:- 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. dictation; 2 p.m. visit to the private patients and special cases in the wards, after which revision, etc. After 5 p.m. I saw my outside cases; dinner at the club about 6.30, loafed until 9.30, bed at 10 p.m., up at 7 a.m. I had arranged to send MS. by 1st of July and on that date I forwarded five sections, but the publishers did not begin to print until the middle of August. The first two weeks of August I spent in Toronto, and then with the same routine I practically finished the MS. by about October the 15th. During the summer the entire MS. was carefully revised for the press by Mr. Powell of the English Department of the University. The last three months of 1891 were devoted to proof reading. In January I made out the

Jan.
1891

index, and in the entire work nothing so wearied me as the verifying of every reference. Without the help of Lafleur and Thayer, who took the wards off my hands, I never could have finished in so short a time. My other assistants also rendered much aid in looking up references and special points. During the writing of the work I lost only one afternoon through transient indisposition, and never a night's rest. Between September, 1890, and January, 1892, I gained nearly eight pounds in weight.

During all these months of composition Osler's hospital duties were by no means neglected. An instalment of Koch's tuberculin had been sent in December to John S. Billings who had turned it over to Welch for the hospital use, and a full report of the selected cases on whom it was being tried under the supervision of Lafleur, Reese and Hoch, was issued in January.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital,
Jan. 5th, 1891.

Dear Ogden: - Happy New Year. Many thanks for the book, which I am sure will be charming. I have read several of Henly's things with pleasure. Sorry about the Senn row, but he is too big a man for the small fry about him in Chicago. I think his book is excellent.

We are all taking the Koch's virus. The January number of the Bulletin will contain a detailed statement of the cases. I am afraid that in pulmonary tuberculosis we are going to be disappointed. The boys often ask after you and we expect a longer visit from you this spring. All well at Toronto.

Jan.
1891

He meanwhile has had a succession of cousins, nephews, and nieces staying with him, as is evident from his mother's letters, one of which says:

Willie wants Ethel to go down there next week but she cannot see her way clear to go - she goes to Dundas on Monday, you will be sure to see her soon after her arrival there and she will give you all the news of this small family. Amy may pay you a visit on her way back from Baltimore - I am not sure whether she is to leave there Monday or Tuesday. "Willie wants Nellie to go with Georgie for at least 10 days to Atlantic City - he shuts up house on May 1st, except for office hours and takes up quarters in the hospital for three months giving himself up to the Book he is working at so busily."

only three days before he 'sold his brains to the devil' and signed the contract with Appleton's agent,
On February 22rd the fifteenth anniversary of the university was held,

Osler giving the main address on "Recent Advances in Medicine."* This being

*Science, 1891, xvii, 170.

an occasion on which local public officials meet with the university, doubtless with the notoriously unsanitary conditions which then existed in Baltimore in his mind, he laid stress on the movement toward the prevention of disease through sanitary science, in which medicine had achieved its greatest victories and in which the profession 'requires and can often obtain the intelligent co-

Feb.
1891

operation of city authorities and the public,' pointing out that 'clean streets, good drains and pure water have in many towns reduced the mortality from certain diseases fifty per cent.' He dwelt also on the new knowledge relating to the agents producing disease and how it had revolutionized the practice of surgery through the same methods of bacterial cleanliness that should be applied to prevent the infection of cities. He emphasized as a third great advance the diffusion among the public of the more rational ideas concerning the treatment of disease, stating as an interesting problem in psychology that 'the desire to take medicine is perhaps the great feature which distinguishes man from animals.'

Of one thing I must complain, - that when we of the profession have gradually emancipated ourselves from a routine administration of nauseous mixtures on every possible occasion, and when we are able to say, without fear of dismissal, that a little more exercise, a little less food, and a little less tobacco and alcohol, may possibly meet the indications of the case - I say it is a just cause of complaint that when we, the priests, have left off the worship of Baal, and have deserted the groves and high places, and have sworn allegiance to the true god of science, that you the people, should wander off after all manner of idols, and delight more and more in patent medicines, and be more than ever at the hands of advertising

Feb.
1891

quacks. But for a time it must be so. This is yet the childhood of the world, and a supine credulity is still the most charming characteristic of man.

The weekly Medical Society meetings continued to be held during the year with Osler in the chair and the interesting reports in the hospital Bulletin of what transpired on these Monday evenings, before small groups of some thirty or forty people, members of the house staff and graduate students, furnishes most interesting reading. The monthly meetings of the Historical Club, always less well attended, he never missed and rarely failed to contribute something, though his communications were not always published.* Nor was there any neglect of teaching, for it is evident

*On January 12th he gave abstracts from John Jones's "Manual of Surgery", 1776, with a review of the life of this interesting Marylander. On February 9th he gave an account of the introduction of Aspiration for Pleurisy. On October 12th his topic was "Nathan Smith and his Treatment of Typhus (now Typhoid) Fever".

from the elaborate schedule of exercises that the hours were as full as would have been the case had the undergraduate school been in operation. He kept up with his weekly clinics from October to May, gave a prescribed series of afternoon lectures, and meanwhile his output of papers though fewer in number than in preceding years was nevertheless considerable.

There was probably no one feature of his life in Philadelphia at first more greatly missed than his intimate relations with the College of Physicians and its superb library. In Baltimore, the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, before which body he had given his "Licence to Practice" address in 1889, bore the same titular relation to the local profession as did the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, but it was a dormant body which possessed at this time a few hundred dusty volumes of the midcentury vintage, housed in the basement of the Maryland Historical Society. The rejuvenescence of this respectable and aged society, which to all appearances had passed into a hopeless dotage, is almost wholly attributable to Osler's interest and activity. In this year, 1891, he volunteered to go on the library committee and continued to serve in this capacity until the end of his Baltimore period in 1905, the 'Faculty' during the interval having made two migrations each time to better quarters while its library expanded from the original small nucleus to a collection of nearly 15000 volumes. As an element in this renaissance he succeeded the following year in getting a trained librarian appointed, Miss Marcia C. Noyes, who has given her own account* of Osler's great services, behind the scenes

Footnote [*Osler's Influences on the Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland. Johns Hopkins Bulletin, July, 1919.

as they often were and which by no means ended with his departure for England.

Osler's interest in libraries was accumulative and as with his innumerable friends, a contact once made was never subsequently lost. As will be seen, the library at McGill, that of the Surgeon General in Washington, of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Philadelphia, of the Johns Hopkins Hospital, of this Maryland Faculty, and many others which he perhaps knew less intimately, all continued to profit by his unflagging support - moral and often financial. Nor was his interest confined wholly to medical libraries. But not even his supreme delight in the Bodleian, of which he became a curator in his later years, effaced in the slightest his zeal for the libraries and librarians known to his earlier days. Like others he realized the desirability of drawing people with common interests together but few have been gifted with a genius equal to his of bringing about such combinations, and almost wholly through his personal backing the Medical Library Association which has done such important work for the profession, was founded at about this time. At the opening of the new building of the Boston Medical Library a few years later he made the following confession:

It is hard for me to speak of the value of libraries in terms which would not seem exaggerated. Books have been my delight these thirty years, and from them I have received incalculable benefits. To study the phenomena of disease without books is to sail an uncharted sea, while to study books without patients is not to go to sea at all. Only a maker of books can appreciate the labors of others at their true value. Those of us who have brought forth fat volumes should offer hecatombs at these shrines of Minerva Medica..... For the teacher and the worker a great library such as this is indispensable. They must know the world's best work and know it at once. They mint and make current coin the ore so widely scattered in journals, transactions and monographs. The splendid collections which now exist in five or six of our cities and the unique opportunities of the Surgeon-General's Library have done much to give to American medicine a thoroughly eclectic character.

But when one considers the unending making of books, who does not sigh for the happy days of that thrice happy Sir William Browne whose pocket library sufficed for his life's needs; drawing from a Greek testament his divinity, from the aphorisms of Hippocrates his medicine, and from an Elzevir Horace his good sense and vivacity. There should be in connection with every library a corps of instructors in the art of reading, who would, as a labour of love, teach the young idea how to read.....

For the general practitioner a well-used library is one of the few correctives of the premature senility which is so apt to overtake

him. Self-centred, self-taught, he leads a solitary life, and unless his every-day experience is controlled by careful reading or by the attrition of a medical society it soon ceases to be of the slightest value and becomes a mere accretion of isolated facts, without correlation. It is astonishing with how little reading a doctor can practice^s medicine, but it is not astonishing how badly he may do it. Not three months ago a physician living within an hour's ride of the Surgeon-General's Library brought his little girl, aged twelve, to me. The diagnosis of infantile myxedema required only a half glance. In placid contentment he had been practising twenty years in "Sleepy Hollow" and not even when his own flesh and blood was touched did he rouse from an apathy deep as Rip Van Winkle's sleep. In reply to questions: No, he had never seen anything in the journals about the thyroid gland; he had seen no pictures of cretinism or myxoedema; in fact his mind was a blank on the whole subject. He had not been a reader, he said, but he was a practical man with very little time. I could not help thinking of John Bunyan's remarks on the elements of success in the practice of medicine. . . .*

*"Books and Men." 1901. Reprinted as No. XII in "Aequanimitas and Other Addresses."

Apr.
1891

But Osler's relations to the Maryland Medical and Chirurgical Faculty by no means were restricted to the upbuilding of its library. At the annual meeting on April 30th of this year in the old Hall at the corner of St. Paul and Saratoga Streets he gave an address on "The Healing of Tuberculosis" which may be regarded as the date of his personal enlistment in the crusade against this disease - a crusade which demanded above all else the awakening of public opinion from its existing indifference and ignorance. ¶ Though Osler's writings had been on a great diversity of subjects his bibliography shows a predominance of articles on typhoid fever, on pneumonia and on tuberculosis. For like Virchow, whom he so much admired, he became the champion of improved public health measures, national and local, and though, unlike Virchow, he never held public office his time, his pen, and his great personal influence had almost as much to do with the modern sanitary improvements which Baltimore has come to enjoy, as Virchow's influence had to do with those instituted during the 80's in Berlin. But his vigorous early participation in what has become a world-wide campaign against tuberculosis must stand in the fore-

Apr.
1891

front of the many public services he rendered - services which in large measure have been lost sight of in the maze of his other activities. In spite of Laennec's writings early in the century on the "Curability of Phthisis," it was still a prevalent idea even among the profession that 'pulmonary consumption' was a hopeless malady. Osler had seen enough of tuberculosis on the autopsy tables at the Montreal General as well as at Blockley, where fifty-two of his 191 post-mortems were made on the fatal cases of tuberculosis, to appreciate, perhaps better than any of his contemporaries*,

*He had already published occasional papers on certain aspects of the subject, the more important of which, however, before the discovery of the tubercle bacillus, had dealt with a non-infectious form of pulmonary phthisis, the fibroid or so-called 'miner's' variety.

the ravages of which the disease was capable.

In spite of this experience which must have been sufficiently discouraging to breed pessimism in the mind of a less buoyant disposition, his duty as a physician was to inspire hope not only in his patients but among the profession and in the community at large. Only a year hence, Meredith Reese, one of his own house staff, was destined to die of consumption at Saranac.

Apr.
1891

where too late, alas, he had gone to join Trudeau, who for the past fifteen years had been making his own gallant struggle against the disease in the Adirondack forests. Nor was Reese, to Osler's despair, by any means the only one of the younger members of his staff whose careers in years to come were cut short by tuberculosis.

In his address, after calling attention to the fact that the discovery of the tubercle bacillus and its presence in the sputum had not only made an early diagnosis possible, but had also supplied a proof that many affected individuals recovered from the disease, and after quoting the maxim ascribed to Virchow that 'everyone shows at his end, a trace of tuberculosis'* he says:

*With an unerring eye for historical priorities, Osler pointed out in his essay on Richard Morton, read before the Johns Hopkins Historical Club, January 1900 (published 1904) that Morton had a strong belief in the great prevalence of tuberculosis of the lungs, for in his "Phthisiologia" the first systematic treatise on consumption, published in 1689, Morton says: "Yea, when I consider with my self, how often in one Year there is cause enough ministered for producing these Swellings, even to those that are wont to observe the strictest Rules of Living, I cannot sufficiently admire that any one, at least after he comes to the Flower of his Youth, can dye without a touch of a Consumption." This antedates by 200 years Cohnheim's and Virchow's dictum.

My attention was called to the point in 1870 by Palmer Howard, of Montreal, who was in the habit of pointing out the great frequency of puckering at the apices of the lungs in elderly persons. Subsequently, when I became pathologist to the Montreal General

Apr.
1891

Hospital, we frequently discussed the significance of these changes, whether indicative or not of healed phthisis.

I have carefully reviewed the records of 1000 post-mortems, dictated in all instances by myself, with reference to this question. In 216 cases death was caused by pulmonary tuberculosis. Excluding the simple fibroid puckering, the local thickening of the pleura, and the solitary caseous or calcareous mass, there were among the remaining 784 cases, 59, or 5.05 per cent., in which persons dying of other diseases presented undoubted tuberculous lesions in the lungs.

These facts demonstrate, first, the wide-spread prevalence of tuberculosis; and secondly, the fact, as shown by my figures, that at least one-fourth of all infected persons recover spontaneously. In the great majority of these cases the disease is very limited and has made no progress, and in many instances could not have given physical signs. But even in more advanced disease, where the local indications are marked and bacilli and elastic tissue present in the sputum, arrest is by no means infrequent, and although post-mortem evidence shows that we are wrong in speaking of the process as cured, yet the condition is consistent with comparatively good health.

Once infection has occurred, the chief indication is to place the person in surroundings favorable to the maintenance of the maximum degree of nutrition. The influence of environment has never been better illustrated than by Trudeau's experiment. Inoculated rabbits, confined in a damp dark place, rapidly succumbed, whilst others allowed to roam at large either

Apr.
1891

recovered or had slight lesions. It is the same in human tuberculosis; a patient confined to the house, living in close, overheated rooms, or in a stuffy, ill-ventilated dwelling of the poor, or treated in a hospital ward, is in a position analogous to the rabbit confined in the cellar, whereas a patient living in fresh air and sunshine for the greater part of the day has a chance comparable to that of the rabbit running wild. The very essence of the climatic treatment of tuberculosis is improved nutrition by change of environment. Fresh air and sunshine are the essentials with which, in comparison, altitude is of secondary importance. . . .

"The Healing of Tuberculosis," Climatologist, Phila., 1892, ii, 149-53. "Oster was perhaps the first to write out the home-treatment of tuberculosis" writes Professor Lohr. One of his patients, Sties Leung, and with whom he kept up a correspondence till his last days contracted the disease at that time and was encouraged to live an outdoor life in a specially constructed sleeping porch.

Meanwhile he was hard at work on his textbook, and must have

borrowed his old pathological records from the Montreal General, for, as is known, he made repeated reference to them in his writing. Evidently they were inquiring for these records in Montreal and on April 6th he wrote as follows to Richard MacDonnell, who had a sister in the training school, and who, poor fellow, died an untimely death from tuberculosis only three months later:

(*advised*
Mrs. Proctor ?)

Apr.
1891

Dear Mac.: To tell you the truth, it would not be very convenient to part with these volumes just at present for the following reason. I have, like an idiot, agreed to write a text-book on medicine, and am about half-way through it. I am drawing a good deal on these volumes for certain statistical material; thus the other day, in writing up mediastinal growths I went over the whole list, looking for my cases of pulmonary and other thoracic tumours, and also when I come to the liver and other organs I shall do the same thing. I am very sorry as I should like to oblige you in this matter, and as I told you, I shall ultimately put the five volumes in the medical library. There are several things I wish to consult you about in the matter of the book.

About Pepper: I do not know at all why the work is hanging fire. The contract has been arranged, and I suppose the only delay is in the assignment of subjects, though we went over that before Christmas. The idea was at first to have the manuscript ready by October, but Fitz who has been spending a few days with me, says that now it will be quite out of the question.

Excuse this miserable typewritten letter. I know you don't like any such novelties; and forgive me also for disappointing you, pro tem. in the matter of hospital reports. I thought you were coming down this spring. We should be so glad to see you and Mrs. MacDonnell, to whom give my kind regards. Your sister keeps well and seems very happy. . . .

Apr.
1891

He drew a good deal on the Montreal 'volumes for statistical material', but he also drew even more frequently from another source for many allusions, and poor Dick MacDonnell may have been in his mind, hoping that the seed had fallen by the wayside, when he utilized the parable of the Sower in this paragraph which has stood unaltered (??) through all the subsequent editions of his volume.

In all tubercles two processes go on: the one - caseation - destructive and dangerous; and the other - sclerosis - conservative and healing. The ultimate result in a given case depends upon the capabilities of the body to restrict and limit the growth of the bacilli. There are tissue-soils in which the bacilli are, in all probability, killed at once - the seed has fallen by the wayside. There are others in which a lodgment is gained and more or less damage done, but finally the day is with the conservative, protecting forces - the seed has fallen upon stony ground. Thirdly, there are tissue-soils in which the bacilli grow luxuriantly, caseation and softening, not limitation and sclerosis, prevail, and the day is with the invaders - the seed has fallen upon good ground.

May
1891

As stated, he moved into the hospital on May 1st and, except for a brief interim in August, worked consecutively on his task until the middle of October, when the manuscript was finished. The four senior residents, in medicine, surgery, gynaecology and pathology, at the Johns Hopkins have, from the early days, enjoyed the luxury of a separate study and bedroom, sparsely furnished though they then were, and Hunter Robb, Kelly's Resident, happened to be in possession not only of the largest but the quietest suite situated at the end of the corridor. It was there that Osler camped out for the next six months. As Dr. Robb recalls:

He asked me if I would loan him the use of my library for an hour or so in the mornings. I of course said yes, with great pleasure. The first morning he appeared with one book under his arm (and his stenographer, Miss Humpton). When the morning work was over, he left the book on my library desk, wide open with a marker in it. The next morning he brought two books with him, and so on for the next two weeks, so that the table and all the chairs and the sofa and the piano and even the floor was covered with open books. As a consequence I never was able to use the room for fully six months. Oftentimes right in the middle of his dictating, he would stop and rush into my other room, and ask me to match quarters with him, or engage in an exchange of some funny stories. It was a great treat for me, and except

May
1891

when he would court inspiration by kicking my waste-paper basket about the room, I thoroughly enjoyed his visits.

Robb does not mention that he was cured of the paper-basket habit, by treating it in his usual fashion one day after it had been weighted with concealed bricks, but the fact merely serves to show the degree of informality that existed between Chiefs and Residents in those days. There was also much give and take between the Chiefs themselves, as the following tale from Dr. Welch indicates.

I have told the story so often that I really believe it. The circumstances were these: It must have been in 1891 or '92, and Osler who was then living on Monument Street had sent to the printer most of the MSS. of the 'Practice', and galley proof was beginning to come in. He was closing his house, his books were packed up or covered or not readily accessible and he was about to leave for the summer, when he came to my room one evening about nine o'clock, when I was living on Cathedral Street, and asked if he could look up the subject of ergotism, which he had discovered suddenly that he had forgotten in the 'Practice'. You recall how he has something to say about everything in the 'Practice'. I told him not to bother, that I had been looking up ergotism and could give him the latest information. Taking a number of the 'Deutsche Med. Wochenschrift' I pretended to read him a wonderful description of the disease with startling statistics of its prevalence in Southeastern Europe and its relation to obscure nervous affections. He took a pad and jotted down the notes

23
13-a
May
1891

which I gave him. I recall that I gave him the figures for Roumania. He became greatly interested, said that he had no doubt that they were overlooking ergotism every day as a cause of obscure nervous diseases and that he would put Harry Thomas to work on it in the dispensary.

Off he went with the material for a beautiful article on ergotism, which would have immortalized the 'Practice'. I did not really expect him to swallow it, but he did, and thinking it over I became uneasy and early the next morning I confessed the hoax to him, and took him around a real article on ergotism. He never quite liked reference to the joke. It was not a very good joke and I am rather ashamed of it, but the facts really are as I have stated. Like most practical jokers, Osler was easy to fool or else he was so confiding that he did not think me capable of trying to fool him.

Though the hospital had only been two years in operation, other schools were beginning to look to it as a source of supply for young teachers: Abbott had already received a call to Philadelphia as Director of the new Institute of Hygiene, and Brockway had been ^{gone} called to Columbia. But calls did not come to juniors alone, for their Chiefs also were, in a sense, on the market, and in the midst of his writing Osler must have been disturbed by the receipt of these two letters and the inevitable parleys which go with such matters:

24

May
1891

To W. O. from Furman Sheppard

Philadelphia May 11, 1891.

Dr. William Osler

My dear Sir:- A Joint Committee, consisting of Ex-Mayor Fitler, Professor Hobart A. Hare, and the undersigned, has been appointed by the unanimous action of the Board of Trustees, and of the Faculty, of the Jefferson Medical College of this city, to communicate with you with reference to the vacant Chair of Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine in that Institution. We would be much pleased to have the favour of a personal interview with you, and will gladly come to Baltimore for that purpose. If however you are likely to be in Philadelphia within a few days, and will kindly advise us to that effect, we can meet you here if it will be equally convenient and agreeable to you. We will cheerfully consult your wishes in this respect. Very Resp^{ly} y^r Ob^t s^{vt}

Furman Sheppard

To W. O. from H. P. Bowditch.

Harvard Medical School.
Boston, May 15, 1891.

My dear Osler: - Dr. ^[Francis] ~~E.~~ Minot has resigned the chair of Theory and Practice and we are looking round for a successor. I suppose there is no more use in trying to induce you to consider the subject than there was when the chair of Clinical Medicine was vacant a few years ago but still I venture to enquire whether there are any circumstances under which you would like to come to Boston and share our work. I think we shall soon adopt a four years' graded course and your assistance in organizing the instruction would be very valuable. There would probably be no difficulty in getting you a service at one of the hospitals and it is the feeling of the faculty that

25
June
1891

the teaching of theory and practice should in the future be much more clinical than it has been in the past. Drop me a line if possible before next Wednesday as there is a committee meeting then to consider the question.

Yours very sincerely,

H. P. BOWDITCH.

But there was another, for him, still more important consideration, beside which university calls and text-book writing seemed of little moment. The decision regarding the calls to Philadelphia and Boston he settled himself, but this other, a matrimonial one, was settled for him. It is said that Mrs. S. W. Gross, who was abroad this summer of 1891, received a letter from him stating that he was busy writing a book, but that if she would cable 'yes' he would leave immediately and let the book go hang. She cabled back that he had better stick to his ^{last} ~~book~~, or words to that effect.

On June 4th graduated the first class from the Nurses' Training School, seventeen in all, including a future Superintendent of the school, who was to be Miss Hampton's successor after her marriage with Dr. Robb, and at least ~~three who after graduation were willing to forego their profession in order to~~

June
1891

~~many members of the staff.~~ Osler gave the graduating address*, in which he

["Doctor and Nurse." Baltimore, John Murphy & Co., 1891.

his learners were to play
pays a tribute to the part ~~the nurse plays~~ in the great drama of human suffering with its inevitable stage accessories of doctor and nurse.

In one of the lost books of Solomon, a touching picture is given of Eve, then an early grandmother, bending over the little Enoch, and showing Mahala how to soothe his sufferings and allay his pains. Woman, 'the link among the days,' and so trained in a bitter school, has, in successive generations, played the part of Mahala to the little Enoch, of Elaine to the wounded Lancelot. It seems a far cry from the plain of Mesopotamia and the lists of Camelot to the Johns Hopkins Hospital, but the spirit which makes this scene possible is the same, tempered through the ages, by the benign influence of Christianity. . . .

Here we learn to scan gently our brother man, and - chief test of charity in your sex - still gentler sister woman; judging not, asking no questions, but meting out to all alike a hospitality worthy of the Hôtel-Dieu, and deeming ourselves honoured in being allowed to act as its dispensers. Here, too, are daily before our eyes the problems which have ever perplexed the human mind; problems not presented in the dead abstract of books, but in the living concrete of some poor fellow in his last round, fighting a brave fight, but sadly weighted, and going to his account 'unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled, no reckoning made.' As we whisper to each other over his bed that the battle is decided and Euthanasia alone remains, have I not heard in

June - July
1891

reply to that muttered proverb, so often on the lips of the physician, 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes,' your answer, in clear accents, - the comforting words of the prayer of Stephen? . . .

Useful your lives shall be, as you will care for those who cannot care for themselves, and who need about them, in the day of tribulation, gentle hands and tender hearts. And happy lives shall be yours, because busy and useful; having been initiated into two of the three mysteries of the Great Secret - that happiness lies in the absorption in some vocation which satisfies the soul; that we are here to add what we can to, not to get what we can from, Life; and the third, - is still a mystery, which you may or may not learn hereafter.

According to his terms with Appleton he had finished the first sections of his book on time, as is evident from this line scribbled to J. H. Musser.

Saturday.

Maryland Club.

Dear John Musser Sorry to have left yours of ? unanswered but everything goes now-a-days. I am on the last lap with that blooming old book & hope to finish by Aug. 1st. Have sent July 1st first batch to printers - all the fevers and am now finishing the nervous system How are you? Do come down for a Sunday. You could give me some good advice & help in one or two matters & suggestions why not next Sunday we have a score of interesting cases on the wards.

Yours

W^m OSLER

~~Love to all at home. Is it not delightful about Rock?~~

July
1891
Aet. 42.

Word came on July 31st of MacDonnell's death - 'the seed had fallen

upon good ground' - and he writes:

To F. J. Shepherd from W. O.

Maryland Club
(Aug. 2, 1891)

Dear Shepherd Thanks for your telegrams and the letter. What a sad business it has been & what a loss! Poor fellow, I can hardly realize it. I suppose it was one of these cursed acute outbreaks. I have sent an obituary notice to the N. Y. Med. Jr.* Foster valued him

Foot-note
~~*In this notice~~ (New York Medical Journal, Aug. 8, 1891) Osler said of him: "Very few men have entered upon the race with greater advantages than Dr. MacDonnell did. To a fine physique and presence, and a charm of manner which is so often continued in this country in the second generation of Irishmen of the Brahmin class - to use an expression of Oliver Wendell Holmes's - there were added those mental gifts which alone assure success - industry and perseverance. Very early in his career circumstances in connection with the accidental death of his father altered his surroundings and threw upon him responsibilities that were faithfully and courageously met, and that gave an unmistakable stamp to a character naturally refined and noble. Success came, cares lightened, and, with domestic, social, and professional relations of the happiest possible kind, the future could not have looked brighter, but - es hat nicht sollen sein, and a devoted wife, and aged mother and a loving sister, with colleagues, students, and friends, mourn his untimely union with 'The inheritors of unfulfilled renown.'

as one of his very best contributors & the work which he has been doing of late was making his reputation quite national.

So sorry to hear that your wife continues poorly. Bring her down in Sept. - the change may do her good. I am still in harness, revising MSS. & reading proofs. I hope A & Co will get it out early in October. I hoped to get off by Aug. 1st but there is much yet to do. I dare say I shall have to give up Montreal & Cacouna. I shall come up to the C.M.A. With love to all at home.

Sept.
1891

He had to forego the Canadian Medical Association meeting which met in Montreal September 16-18 and which he had promised to attend. He was in Toronto, nevertheless, shortly before, and on his return writes Musser again, expressing impatience over the delays in his proofs.

Just back from Canada. I heard from Jim Wilson - a week ago Friday when in Phila on my way thro-that you were a candidate [Professor of Medicine, Jefferson Medical College]. He seemed to think that the Univ. men were pushing you hard & that you had several very strong friends on the board. Of course I should be delighted - if W. has no chance - should the board select you. It would be splendid in every way. Wilsons chances are improving I think. It is unfortunate that the Trustees have not more confidence in him. I shall be in Phila. next week & we could have a chat. Or if you could run down for a night. All sorts of vexatious delays with the book I have all the MSS finished & they have had since July 1st, the Fevers, but they have been disgustingly slow.

And somewhat later from the Maryland Club^{he} sends a card without date:

Dear Old Man Shall be so glad to see you - looked for you last Sunday. I am still buried in these infernal proofs. They have been cruelly slow - only up to about 700 pages but they keep me very busy. Poor Wilson would have been bitterly disappointed had he not got the berth - tho. it would have been lovely for you I hope to be in Phila one day this week - if so I will telegraph you & we might have luncheon together Yours ever, W.O.

The triennial Congress of Physicians and Surgeons had its second meeting in Washington, September 22-25, under the presidency of Weir Mitchell who at this time gave his much-quoted address on "The History of Instrumental Precision in Medicine." There were two important combined meetings of the several societies comprising the Congress; one of them on the conditions underlying the infection of wounds, at which Welch was referee and Roswell Park co-referee; the other was on the subject of interstitial scleroses, with Alfred L. Loomis as chief spokesman and Osler co-referee. Though his chief affiliation was with the Association of Physicians*, he was a member of several other

*Pepper was President of the Association of Physicians for this year and paid in his address a glowing tribute to the life and character of Joseph Leidy, whose death occurred April 30th. "Only a few days before his death, as I stood by his bedside, he chanced to notice the flowered pattern of the carpet on the chamber floor, and said, 'How can they work flowers in a carpet? We love flowers! No one would tread on flowers!' " With Leidy's death ended the meetings of the Biological Club.

special societies as well, and read at this time a paper on "Double Athetosis" before the Neurological Association, and two others* before the American

*"The Diagnosis of Bronchopneumonia from Tuberculosis" and "The Association of Congenital Wry-neck with Marked Facial Assymetry."

Paediatric Society of which he was elected President for the ensuing year, to succeed T. M. Rotch of Boston.

Probably no one ever attended one of these large meetings who enjoyed himself more than did Osler, for the responsibility of reading papers weighed lightly upon him. His effervescent spirits and good-fellowship were apt to make him the life of the social gatherings and dinners, and the liberties he took with people were so innocent and apt to be so amusing as never to cause offense. One of the traditional tales of the Neurological Association which dates back to the annual dinner of the Society at this time, concerns the ceremonies which accompanied the crowning of W. W. Keen, a lifelong teetotaler, as the infant Bacchus.

It is doubtful if any physician ever had a wider acquaintance among the profession at large, and he had the rare gift of recalling people's names and remembering his association with them, no matter how brief the previous encounter may have been. His memory for names has been described as positively uncanny and may possibly be ascribed in a measure to his early training at Weston when as Head Prefect it was necessary to call the roll of the school from memory, on the unexpected order from the Head Master, to see if any boy was truant. One of his old McGill students, who insists that he was an inconspicuous member

Sept.
1891

of a class in which there was another student of the same name, relates that, never having seen Osler in the interval, he met him unexpectedly one day in the corridor of the Johns Hopkins and said, "Of course you don't remember me."
"Remember you?" said Osler, taking his arm, "You're Arthur J. MacD-----, McGill, 1882. Come with me, I've something to show you and then we'll go to lunch."

On October ¹³~~12th~~ he writes Ogden:

Are you not going to pay us an autumnal visit this year? I looked for you at Washington. We had really a delightful gathering. Rogers was on from Denver and he came over to the Hospital for a few days. I wish you could have come on to our Virchow Celebration. Let me have a line from you soon. It seems an age since I heard how you are getting on.

The following day ~~the~~ ^{there was a} local celebration in honour of Virchow's seventieth birthday to coincide with the great festival being held in Berlin, ~~was held~~, and fragments of Osler's address,* which was partly reminiscent of his personal

*"Rudolph Virchow: the Man and the Student." Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Oct. 22, 1891, vol? pp?

association with Virchow, have already been given. Few tributes have ever been paid a member of the medical profession such as these paid Virchow at this time, for 'as the shadows lengthen, and ere the twilight deepens, it has seemed right to his many pupils and friends, the world over, to show their love by a

Oct.
1891

gathering in his honour on this his seventieth birthday.' These were prophetic words, for Osler was the next, thirty years later, to have a comparable, equally world-wide tribute paid to him as a septuagenarian, even more universally beloved than Virchow. There is not likely to be another. He concluded his address with this paragraph:

Surely the contemplation of a life so noble in its aims, so notable in its achievements, so varied in its pursuits, may well fill us with admiration for the man and with pride that he is a member of our profession. The influence of his work has been deep and far-reaching, and in one way or another has been felt by each one of us. It is well to acknowledge the debt which we every-day practitioners owe to the great leaders and workers in the scientific branches of our art. We dwell too much in corners, and, consumed with the petty cares of a bread-and-butter struggle, forget that outside our routine lie Elysian fields into which we may never have wandered, the tillage of which is not done by our hands, but the fruits of which we of the profession (and you of the public) fully and freely enjoy. The lesson which should sink deepest into our hearts is the answer which a life, such as Virchow's, gives to those who today, as in past generations, see only pills and potions in the profession of medicine, and who, utilizing the gains of science, fail to appreciate the dignity and the worth of the methods by which they are attained. As Pausanias pestered Empedocles, even to the end, for the details of the cure of Pantheia, so there are with us still those who, 'asking not wisdom, but drugs to charm with,' are impatient at the slow

Oct.
1891

progress of science, forgetting that the chaos from which order is now appearing has been in great part dispelled by the work of one still living - by the man whom tonight we delight to honour.

During October ~~and~~ ^{and December} November ~~he~~ ^{was} very much occupied with proof reading ~~as his 'Q.C.' order~~ of what he lightly refers to as his quiz compend in this note to Ogden of

November 2nd:

. . . . You can just tell Appleton's drummer to hand back that subscription, as, for you, there is another way to get that volume, and I shall forward you one of the earliest copies with the greatest pleasure.

Why don't you send on that paper of yours of Alkaptonuria to the Medical News. I have a short note on it. I hope to go abroad myself next spring, and it would be delightful if we could go together. I have to attend the meeting of the Pediatric Society in May, but I hope to have the meeting early, so that I hope to get off about the middle of the month. Sorry to hear of your sister's illness. Should you have to go earlier, we might arrange in any case to join somewhere, and to take a month's tramp would be perfectly delightful.

Mercier has a streak of genius. All his books are good. I have no time for anything but this infernal "quiz compend," the proofs of which I hope to finish by the first of December. The Francis children are all well.

1892

Jan.
1892

To the
Memory of my Teachers:

WILLIAM ARTHUR JOHNSON,
Priest of the Parish of Weston, Ontario.

JAMES BOVELL,
of the Toronto School of Medicine, and of the
University of Trinity College, Toronto.

ROBERT PALMER HOWARD,
Dean of the Medical Faculty and Professor of Medicine,
McGill University, Montreal.

magnum opus the last 8
Thus Osler dedicated his ~~Text-book~~ which was practically completed by

the end of December, though the load was not entirely lifted. He dated his

Dear, the date of
prefatory note January 1st, and *he sent falling* on the next evening ~~sends these~~ notes from

the Maryland Club to Ogden, and to Lafleur who, in September, had resigned from

his post as Resident Physician and returned to Montreal to enter practice.

Dear O. Thanks for the Lincoln. Most interesting! Why should we not sail together March 12th on the Werra for Genoa? I think I could get off at that date. You could see a bit of N. Italy & join your sisters. It would be cheaper than going through London. My Q. Compend is thro - index now in preparation. Gott sei dank! Yours sincerely, W^m Osler.

Dear L. So sorry the Path scheme has fallen thro. 'Twould have been a great card for the College. Just back from Toronto - very busy 4 days. Index nearly ready - all proofs in - should be out in a few weeks. Reese better - now at spital, very thin - has looked badly, but will improve now I hope. How soon could you leave? *for abroad* I am warned as to date of the Paedia-

Jan.
1892

tric Soc - meeting is some time in May - At the end I fear, which would be too late for me. I should like to get off earlier. We miss you very much. I often wish you were back again with us. I am glad a few patients are dropping in - they will come in time, too many perhaps. Love to Ross & the brethren Yours as ever, ~~Wm Osler.~~

Look this up: H.C.

P.S. ~~Did you read Fitz(?) Editorial in Boston Med Jr?~~

W. O.

And a week later to the same.

Dear Ogden That will be delightful. It is so much pleasanter to travel with a congenial companion & we might see one or two of the N. Italian towns together before you go to Munich. The \$100 berths are very good & we save at least \$50 by this route & avoid a very weary R. R. journey.

I telegraphed you today & if I get a favorable reply I will secure berths 151 & 152.

Dear Lafleur How early can you go abroad? The Pediatrics meet May 30, 31 & June 1st, which leaves it very late for me too late so that if I could get off the middle of March I would go direct to Genoa by the North German boat. My father is going down hill & I would not be able to be away more than 8-10 weeks. You will not have exams? if so you could leave when the lectures close. T'would be better too as you could catch the Spring trade. Write me at once I have sent for the sailings &c of the N. G. Lloyds. The passage is about \$100 & as this takes ^{one} ~~me~~ to Genoa it is cheap. Very busy. Index in press. Yours ever, W.O.

4 a to
~~They expect to visit~~ at much station towns was evidently in prospect with Osler and
Lafleur on conference and we went so far as to base their journey ~~the for and the~~
but it was a plan not to be fulfilled for some ^{one} sufficient reasons. There is no copy of

Jan.
1892

And on the 18th it was apparently settled, for he writes Ogden: "They sent word that they had secured berths for us on the Werra March 12th & said nothing about payment. I suppose they will send us word. We shall have a delightful trip I am sure." It was a pleasant plan, but one not to be fulfilled.

The prefatory note to the Text-book, as stated, was signed from the Johns Hopkins Hospital, January 1, 1892, and reads as follows:

My thanks are due to my former first assistant, H. A. Lafleur, for much help, direct and indirect; to his successor, W. S. Thayer, for assistance in the section on Blood Diseases and for the preparation of the illustrative charts; to D. Meredith Reese, for the statistics on Tuberculosis; to H. M. Thomas, for many suggestions in the section on Nervous Diseases, and particularly in the section on Topical Diagnosis; to L. P. Powell, of the Johns Hopkins University Library, for a careful revision of the manuscript; and to Miss B. C. Humpton, for valuable aid, especially in the preparation of the index.

The Mr. Powell he mentions was acting librarian of the historical department of the university and at Mr. Gilman's suggestion had been engaged to help get his rapidly accumulating and hurriedly written manuscript in form. He has lately written in regard to his connection with the Text-book, that:

Jan.
1892

Healing the sick, guiding the infant footsteps of the lusty Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, courting a wife, and writing while publishers called incessantly for 'copy' for his magnum opus on the practice of medicine, were proving too much (almost), even for a man of such versatility and efficiency as he. . . . For months I spent each afternoon with Osler. In the morning to his stenographer he poured, out of of a memory so retentive that he rarely had to verify a fact and out of a rich medical experience, page after page on typhoid fever, tuberculosis, meningitis, neuroses, and other technical themes. When I arrived at two o'clock the typewritten pages were turned over to me for arrangement. Osler was modest. He embarrassed the mere boy by assertions that he really could not write a book. But seldom could I find more than a trifling inadvertence due to a rapidity at times tumultuous. When the first edition of that book of 1,079 pages appeared at the end of six months without neglect of any other duties, or of his supreme joy, the work immediately took its place as first in medicine.*

*New York Times, Sunday, Jan. 4, 1920.

As there is no copy of the first printing ^{of the first book} in Osler's library ^{and} it is pre-

sumable that this may have gone to the lady who had told him to 'stick to his

^{last}. She was visiting friends in Baltimore at the time, and he appeared

^{it is said} with a big red book under his arm, tossed it in her lap ^{with the words} and said, "There, take

the darn thing; now what are you going to do with the man?" A few days later

he writes John H. Musser:

Smulking
muttered
I'm up in my
sneak near
Ho: verified - JHS.

Mar.
1892

The Johns Hopkins Hospital,
March 3, 1892.

Dear Johannes I shall join you late on Saturday eve. I am going over to dine with the Bakers and shall come in about 11. I hope you have had a copy of my compend by this time I asked the Appletons to send to the teachers first. I am sorry they cut out the Index of Authors which I had prepared with great care. I see about eight references to J.H.M. I have not neglected my Philadelphia friends. ~~I see that~~ of 1049 references to authors 264 are American. I had the 1100-odd references in Fagge* over-

*The IIIrd edition of Fagge and Pye-Smith's "Principles and Practice of Medicine," 2 vols., London, 1892, had just been published.

hauled & found 36 American, so that I have a more even division. Yours
ever, W.O.

Another copy of this first printing must have gone to Mr. Gilman, who promptly replied:

1300 Eutaw Place,
Mch. 6. 92.

My dear Dr. Osler: Pray accept my grateful acknowledgment for an inscribed copy of your magnum opus. I sat up late in the evening endeavoring to become a master of the ills that flesh is heir to. Sometimes I have expected to be President of a Medical Faculty, - (not an inchoate faculty but one that is fully organized) - so I take more than common interest as a layman in all the sufferings of poor humanity. I find your volume, - in Dr. Harper's phrase, - half 'prophecies' & half 'histories.' I see the record of all that I have ever felt, & of all that I expect to encounter, as I walk through life

Mar.
1892

with your vade mecum in my overcoat. It is a wonder to me that amid the innumerable interruptions to which you are exposed, you have found time to complete so great an undertaking and that after all you had the Herculean strength remaining for the compilation of an index.

When I see the evidences of science & of art which are enlisted in the service of the Hospital I can hardly be patient with the delays in starting the School of Medicine. Always yours

Sincerely,

D. C. GILMAN

Not until the second printing, which was necessitated within two months by the unprecedented sale of the book, did he have abundant copies to distribute among his friends, as well as an interleaved one to retain himself. On the fly-leaf of this he wrote as follows:

Received first copy Feb. 24th, 1892. This one - second reprint - April 16th, 1892. This is the 2nd printing, with some of the errors corrected. The 1st printing of 3,000 copies was distributed by March 17th, on which date I had notice from Appleton & Co. to send corrections for 2nd printing. Private Copy. May all the curses of the good Bishop ^{Ernulfhus} ~~Emulphus~~ light on the borrower-and-not-returner or upon the stealer of this book.

And in the copy he ^{left in} ~~handed to~~ Hunter Robbs ^{Room} was written:

Mar.
1892

N. B. This book was conceived in robbery and brought forth in fraud. In the spring of 1891 I coolly entered in & took possession of the working room of Dr. Hunter Robb - popularly known as the Robin. As in the old story of the Cookoo & the hedge sparrow I just turned him out of his comfortable nest, besplattered his floor with pamphlets papers & trash & played the devil generally with his comfort. In spite of the vilest treatment on my part he rarely failed to have oranges in his cupboard, chocolates &c (yum! yum!) on his table & gingerale & 'Old Tom' on the sideboard. In moments of contrition I feel how sadly he has suffered - and as this is one of those rare occasions I have taken advantage of it & make here my public confession to him.

Signed on behalf of the Author

E. Y. D.

4/21/92

4-21-92

However conceived and brought forth, the ^{book} ~~volume~~ received, both in America as well as in England, ~~and for sufficient reasons,~~ the greatest possible approbation even on the part of those who ~~were led to accuse the au-~~ ^{thor of therapeutic nihilism.} ~~thor of therapeutic nihilism.~~ ^{view. But when they were for the most part correct.} It was widely reviewed and at great length, and even his meticulous colleague Welch, in his review in the Johns Hopkins Bulletin, had little to say in criticism beyond picking out the few inevitable errors in typography. A single quotation from one of the reviews must suffice.

Mar.
1892

. . Osler is a therapeutic conservative, a therapeutic skeptic, though by no means a nihilist. "Many specifics have been vaunted in scarlet fever, but they are all useless." "Pneumonia is a self-limited disease, and runs its course uninfluenced in any way by medicine. It can neither be aborted or cut short by any known means at our command." These are hard words for the neophyte but not for the experienced. Drugs, drugs, is the cry of the average doctor, and of the average patient, too. But drugs are not all, and in many cases it is well for us to remember their uselessness as compared with other means. Weir Mitchell, in his little book on Doctor and Patient, admirably puts the fact that, all along the history of medicine, the really great physicians were peculiarly free from the bondage of drugs. . . .

^{indeed}
The volume, ~~in which the fathers of medicine and the makers of~~
~~its history were given their full credit,~~ was what might be called a practical pathology in which were given the results of modern investigation, microscopical, bacteriological, and chemical. On this foundation was built up the symptomatology and diagnosis of disease, and where a specific form of treatment was known to avail it was given its due prominence. Otherwise there were few recommendations beyond giving a chance to Nature aided by proper nursing and proper hygiene.

A success for Dr. Osler's book. The best of a successful text book is that a child may hold its author in unexpected bondage and ~~and~~ the revision which the same printing calls for ~~to~~ together with

Mar.
1892

~~But though the Text-book appeared to be off his hands it was not
long before it had to be gone over and revised for the second printing,
and at the same time the promised chapters for Pepper's projected volumes
~~were the revised for~~ *forced him into seclusion,*
were called for, so that he had to bury himself for another six weeks.~~

This, or possibly a better reason, led him to write Ogden on February 29th:

I have been delaying writing to you until the last possible moment, hoping against hope that I might be able to finish the articles for Pepper's new text-book. I simply cannot before March 12th & shall have to give it up. I have not got more than half through. Yours of 26th just come - your friend could take my bunk. I am very much disappointed as I had set my heart on a 2 mos. trip to Italy, & it would have been so nice to go with you. You will come in here of course on the way.

No subject is more difficult to present to students than that which deals with the diseases of the nervous system, and though Osler's interest in them since his appointment to the Orthopaedic Hospital had been profound, nevertheless the chapters in his own book dealing with these subjects were perhaps somewhat less satisfactory than the other portions of the volume. It was his custom in all his subsequent editions to call upon the junior members of his staff for amendments and criticisms

Mar.
1892

and many of them, first and last, had a finger in the pie. Thus to Dr.

H. W. Thomas:

March 10, 1892.

Dear Harry T: Will you kindly look over the section in my Q. C. on diseases of the muscles, particularly the idiopathic muscular atrophy, and make any comments, suggestions and corrections. I have to re-write that section for Pepper. What are the new points which Erb brings out in his most recent papers?

He managed to wade through this task on time, though it was a matter necessitating four pages a day; and much excellent writing, particularly his chapters on the diseases of the blood in the second volume, has come to be entombed in Pepper's covers.*

*Though called a text-book and recommended to students, Pepper's two volumes ("An American Text-book of the Theory and Practice of Medicine". Vols. II, Phila., W. B. Saunders, 1893.), really an abbreviated form of encyclopaedia with many contributors, were completely eclipsed by Osler's monograph, *single volume*, the product of a single mind. Osler wrote a review of the work signed E.Y.D. in which he particularly criticized the chapter on the blood written by a man named Osler. *Said before*

Yes, Chap. XL, 23

* XY, 41.

He had nearly finished by April 15th, when he scribbles Musser:

Dear old man, Had I not a letter from you about 10 days ago? It is lost & unanswered. I am finishing my task & reading proofs - pleasant job. Shall be here for 2 weeks yet. Could you not spend a night - come by the 3.50 dine here with me & Welch & come out for a cool eve at St. Johns. Yours W.O.

Apr.
1892

P.S. ~~Where is that stomach tuberculosis case of yours reported? or have you a reprint?~~

He had been at home to impart to ^{his family} ~~the Toronto relations~~ the news which, apparently as an afterthought he ^{adds} ~~decides to impart in~~ a postscript ^{to a letter of April 15th in the following} to Lafleur ~~of the 15th~~.

The Johns Hopkins Hospital,
Baltimore, April 25, 1892.

Dear Lafleur: - I was greatly distressed to find you had been here in my absence. I wish you could have let me know and we might have arranged a meeting. It is too bad also that your copy had not reached you before you left. Owing to an oversight my private list did not go until after the first printing of 3000 copies had been entirely distributed. Your brother acknowledged the receipt of it. I enclose a note to Déjérine and have written to him about you. I shall spend the month of June in London and the greater part of July on the sea-coast in Cornwall. I hope you will be able to come over and join me in London toward the end of the summer. I sail for Canada about the middle of August. * * *

P.S. It will not be unexpected news to you to hear that I am to be married to Mrs. Gross. We sail for England May 28th. Shall hope to see you in London. Poor Reuben!"

^{I and father} His mother a few days later, April 29th, writes to her "dear Chattie:"

I'm sure you heard from Willie of the new life opening before him with a Lady Help at his side - "he let me and Father into his secret when he was up, but we were not at liberty to make known the fact - these young things always think their love affairs are secrets to the outside world, whereas

lookers-on often see ~~things~~ plainly enough, so it may have been in this case - however I think we all feel glad at heart that there is good hope of Willie having a loving wife to care for him. When you see Grace I think you will bid her welcome as a sister-in-law, I feel quite pleased to have her as a daughter-in-law and Father is right glad that Willie is likely to have such a good life-partner; the event will make quite a stir in the family - Georgie is to be home this evening - then we shall know when her wedding is to come off - who can tell how far and wide this epidemic may spread amongst the young people. Hal may be smitten.

Though the members of his family, Lafleur, and the Gilmans, were let into the secret of these 'young things' in their early forties, it remained unannounced 'to the outside world' until the day of the wedding. Meanwhile on May 2nd his Presidential Address on the subject of "Specialism" was given before the fourth annual meeting of the Paediatric Society held in Boston. The diseases of children as a specialty was new, and he referred to the paediatrist as the vestigial remnant of what was formerly the general practitioner. 'That which has been is that which shall be,' and he reminded his hearers that medicine seemingly began with specialization and that 'the tail of our emblematic snake has returned into its mouth, for at no age has specialism been so rife as at present'. It was a timely address, on

an important topic, and he had the courage to say that 'no more dangerous members of our profession exist than those born into it, so to speak, as specialists.' After an acknowledgement of the unquestioned advantage of the division of labour in the profession, he goes on to say that:

Specialism is not, however, without many disadvantages. A radical error at the outset is the failure to recognize that the results of specialized observation are at best only partial truths, which require to be correlated with facts obtained by wider study. The various organs, the diseases of which are subdivided for treatment, are not isolated, but complex parts of a complex whole, and every day's experience brings home the truth of the saying, 'When one member suffers, all the members suffer with it.' Plato must have discussed this very question with his bright friends in the profession, - Eryximachus, perhaps, - or he never could have put the following words in the mouth of Socrates: 'I dare say that you may have heard eminent physicians say to a patient who comes to them with bad eyes that they cannot cure the eyes by themselves, but that if his eyes are to be cured, his head must be treated; and then again they say that to think of curing the head alone and not the rest of the body also, is the height of folly. And arguing in this way they apply their methods to the whole body, and try to treat and heal the whole and the part together. Did you ever observe that this is what they say?' A sentence which embodies the law and the gospel for specialists.*

*Boston Medical & Surgical Journal, May 12, 1892,

Three days later, Saturday May 5th, the Johns Hopkins Hospital residents held the second of their annual dinners, at which Osler responded to one of the toasts. These gatherings in the early days were apt to be such festive affairs that it was necessary, lest some of the pranks likely to be perpetrated suffer interruption, to include the Superintendent among the guests. ^{on this occasion} Certainly none of the company had any suspicion of what was uppermost in the mind of the gayest of the party.

The following Monday morning, which promised a lovely day in May, Osler took an early train to Philadelphia. There was nothing unusual in this, nor in the fact that in the course of the morning he called at 1112 Walnut Street. Here, unbeknownst even to the faithful coloured servants, Morris and Margaret, some trunks had been packed and sent by an expressman to the station at an early hour in the morning. Shortly before lunch, James Wilson dropped in, and finding Mrs. Gross and his ^{former colleague} friend sitting under a tree in the garden, remarked, "Hullo Osler, what are you doing over here? Won't you have lunch with me?" "No", said Osler, "I'll come in to tea. I'm lunching here. Why won't you stay?" This he did, and ^{Wilson} ~~he~~ recalls that 'we talked lightly of Grand Manan which they knew; of St. Andrews and the salmon rivers, and moose hunting; of northern New

Brunswick of which I had knowledge, and of the charming Canadian doctors, Osler's friends, whom we had met.' This dragged on between the two men until presently Mrs. Gross asked to be excused, with the statement that she was going out and a hansom was waiting at the door; whereupon Wilson made his manners pleading an appointment, leaving Osler who said that Mrs. Gross would give him a lift as she was going in his direction.

It was not until then that the devoted Margaret was told by her mistress that she was to be married at 2.30, and, darkey-fashion, the faithful girl overcome by the informal ways of 'white folks', exclaimed "My Gawd, Mam, only a hansom! Lemme go and fetch a hack." Leaving their bags at Broad Street Station, they drove to St. James' Church where the ceremony was performed, and having walked back to the station, Osler sent this telegram to Wilson: "It was awfully kind of you to come to the wedding breakfast."

All this may not be exactly correct but it is nearly enough so to show something of Osler's informality and imperturbability on even such a momentous occasion as this. To be sure, they had known each other for a good many years and both had good reason to feel secure, - she in spite of the fact that some one had warned her, perhaps Osler himself, that she was going to marry a man who had books all over the floor. He may have had this in mind in speak-

May
1892

ing a few months later to some medical students on the virtue of method, when he said:

"In one respect, too, the unsystematic physician is absolutely criminal. By the great law of contraries there is sure to be assigned to him to wife some gentle creature to whom order is the supreme law, whose life is rendered miserable by the vagaries of a man, the dining-room table in whose house is never 'cleared,' and who would as he could 'breakfast at five o'clock-tea and dine on the following day.'"

"Teacher and Student." 1892. Reprinted as ~~No. III~~ in "Aequanimitas and Other Addresses."

They went to New York, and then to Toronto where on the 16th he was victimized by a public reception given by his professional friends*, and ~~also~~

*"To William Osler, M.D.

Dear Sir: - We desire, on behalf of a number of your medical friends in Toronto, to offer you our congratulations on your marriage, and to express our best wishes for Mrs. Osler and yourself. We have watched with pride your successful career as a physician, a teacher and an author in Canada and the United States. Your departure from the land of your birth caused us deep regret, but never diminished our interest in your success. It matters not where you may reside, we will ever rejoice in your prosperity, and if in the future you decide to come back to us, we will gladly give you a hearty welcome.

(Signed) Adam H. Wright.
C. O'Feilly.
F. L. W. Grasett.
Albert A. MacDonald.
T. E. Graham.
Halford Walker.
Committee.

Toronto, May 16, 1892.

who

May
1892

presented him with the bronze inkstand ^{that in later years always} ~~which subsequently~~ stood on his desk and which Osler acknowledged with a few appropriate remarks to the effect that he owed his success in life largely to James Bovell of Toronto who, by his kindly interest and advice, had given him the first impetus in his work and had filled him with ambition to do something in his calling.

There followed a visit to Montreal where Mrs. Osler had to be introduced particularly to some Howard children who thought they were going to be very jealous of anyone with whom they would have to share their beloved 'Doccie O's' affection, but they were most agreeably disappointed. Then a similar visit in Boston to introduce him to her Revere relatives, and by the 23rd they were ^{writes Thayer to expect him for breakfast at the Hospital on Wednesday and} back in Philadelphia whence he ^{Telegraph} ~~writes Thayer, and sends for Hewetson in order to bring~~ ^{over some material which he needs in preparing for} ~~to help him prepare for the discussion of~~ a paper to be read before the Association of Physicians who were to meet in Washington. ^{(H) met 1/2 1/2} ~~for 'Balt.'~~ was a slip not unusual for his hurried pen. ^{And on the Wednesday in Baltimore he wrote Latham saying:}

May
18921112 Walnut St
Monday (May 23)

Dear Thayer I shall be at the Hospital to bkfast on Wednesday and shall spend the day with you. I go to Balt. tomorrow am. to the association meeting Could you not come over for the afternoon meeting? Telegraphed for H. to bring over the typhoid material as I shall present our experiences at the morning session in the discussion on Wilkins paper.*

Footnote.
*At the Association of American Physicians, Washington, May 24th, on "The Cold Water Treatment of Typhoid Fever". Osler subsequently (Nov. 9) used this same topic for a clinical lecture before the graduate students in Baltimore (Medical News, Dec. 3, 1892, lxi, p. 626). In the discussion he mentions that Nathan Smith had used cold bathing in fevers as early as 1798 shortly after its introduction by Currie.

~~On the Wednesday in Baltimore, when they made a brief stay with their friends the Keys, he writes of their plans to Lafleur,~~

"
~~So glad to hear from you.~~ I - we - sail on the Ems on the 28th to Southampton. Brown Shipley & Co London will be our address. We shall be in L. until the 1st week of July then go to Cornwall & come north to Nottingham for the 28 for the B.M.A. meeting. Do try to come over for it. Let me know your plans - you might get away for a week or so with us for a little trip at any rate after the meeting. You will like Mrs Osler very much. She is an old friend of mine. I feel very safe.

To W. S. Thayer from W. O.

Radley's Hotel,
Southampton
June 6th, 1892

Dear Thayer We arrived here last evening after a delightful trip - sunshine all the way & no rough weather until Thursday. I escaped all discomfort and have' but once, ~~and that without any of the attendant nausea etc.~~ We are off to Salisbury for the day and shall spend tomorrow at Netley Hospital. I hope you are not being worried too much by the cranks. Tell Hoch I shall send the introductory note to Hirt next week. I quite forgot about it. Ask H. to keep up these Typhoid blanks as the cases come in it would save time. Love to all.

Yours W^m Osler.

Taking rooms in Clarges Street they quietly enjoyed London during the first few weeks but, soon discovered, ~~they~~ found it impossible to escape from being wined and dined by their many and cordial English friends.

To H. V. Ogden from W. O.

Savile Club,
107, Piccadilly, W.
July 1st [1892]

Dear H. V. O. So glad to have your address this a.m. from Batchelor. Mrs. O. (!!!) has often said to me, where is Dr. Ogden, I should like to meet him to apologize for the theft of his friend. Our programme is as follows - tomorrow to Exeter and Dartmoor, Cornwall until the 25th. eve of that date at the George Hotel Nottingham for the B.M.A. Do come to it if you can. Sunday 31st at Lincoln - ~~why~~ not go with us there? First week in August London (Psychological Congress) then to Gowers for a few days by the sea & sail on N. G. L. from Southampton on the 17th (Havel).

Let me know your programme

So July was passed in Devon and Cornwall with a visit on his Aunt ^{Lizzie} Ellen Osler in Falmouth; and they subsequently posted along the picturesque Cornish Coast to Penzance and Land's End, where he must have indulged his antiquarian interests and partaken of the squabbles of his ancestors. But even a honeymoon could not keep him away from medical meetings, and together they attended the British Medical Association gathering at Nottingham, an occasion which gave Mrs. Osler such a distaste for these functions that her advice to wives in general was to keep away from them lest they pass their time darning their husbands' socks in a hotel bedroom while he gallivants with his male companions. One cannot spend the entire day seeing the Wedgewood in Nottingham Castle.

There were many old friends at the meeting - Roddick and Alloway from Montreal, Broadbent, Lauder Brunton, Jonathon Hutchinson, A. E. Wright, Sandwith from Cairo, Godlee, D'Arcy Power, and Allbutt who had just been appointed Regius Professor of Medicine at Cambridge. Victor Horsley was President of the pathological section and possibly

July
1892

the most important communication of the meeting was made by him and his pupil Murray on "The Pathology and Treatment of Myxoedema," in which an account was given of the first four patients who had been cured by feeding them with the juice of thyroid glands - a direct outcome of their experimental researches on animals, the beginnings of which Osler had seen in 1885 at the Brown Institute.*

[*The death was recently reported (1921) of one of these patients who had successfully combatted the disease for thirty-one years, under thyroid administration.

Whether they took advantage of the place of meeting to visit Chatsworth and Haddon Hall and the 'Dukeries' of Sherwood Forest near at hand is not apparent, but they did at least go over to Lincoln at the end of the meeting and attended a service at the Cathedral and probably saw John of Gaunt's palace and had tea with the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Lincoln.



July
1892

The Minster which he then saw for the first time ^{deeply affected} made a great impression upon him, and ^{as} ^{customary for} it was not unusual with him to make reference in his addresses to impressions which were recent and fresh, whether from his reading or from his own observation, so, in the first address delivered soon after his return, in speaking of 'the calm life' necessary to continuous work for a high purpose,' he said:

Sitting in Lincoln Cathedral and gazing at one of the loveliest of human works, as the Angel Choir has been described, there arose within me, obliterating for the moment the thousand heraldries and twilight saints and dim emblazonings, a strong sense of reverence for the minds which had executed such things of beauty. What manner of men were they who could, in those (to us) dark days, build such transcendent monuments? What was the secret of their art? By what spirit were they moved? Absorbed in thought, I did not hear the beginning of the music, and then, as a response to my reverie and arousing me from it, rang out the clear voice of the boy leading the antiphon, 'That thy power, thy glory and mightiness of thy kingdom might be known unto men.' Here was the answer. Moving in a world not realized, these men sought, however feebly, to express in glorious structures their conception of the beauty of holiness, and these works, our wonder, are but the outward and visible signs of the ideals which animated them.

Practically to us in very different days life offers the same problems, but the conditions have changed, and, as happened before in the world's history, great material prosperity has weakened the influence of ideals, and

Aug
July
1892

blurred the eternal difference between means and end. Still, the ideal State, the ideal Life, the ideal Church - what they are and how best to realize them - such dreams continue to haunt the minds of men, and who can doubt that their contemplation immensely fosters the upward progress of our race?*

*"Teacher and Student." Journal of the American Medical Association, 1893.

During the first four days of August the International Congress of Experimental Psychology met in London with many notables present - Lombroso, Hughlings Jackson, Galton, Charles Mercier, Romanes, Herbert Spencer, Horsley and many more. Osler's friend Schäfer was one of the readers on a matter concerning cerebral localization and after the Congress Gowers took the Osler's off with him for a few days at the seashore.*

*If they had had any intent of so doing it was not a favorable summer for a visit to the continent, for it was the year of another cholera epidemic which had spread through Russia, and reached as far as Hamburg and against which even New York, which had been touched, was taking vigorous precautions. It was the summer the Parisians were wisely advised to boil their ice before using. Somewhat casual in recalling dates, Osler's note in the introduction to Mr. Phipps's reprint of "The Life of Pasteur" in which he says: "Except at the London Congress [1881] the only occasion on which I saw the great master [Pasteur] was in 1891 or 1892, when he demonstrated at the Institute to a group of us the technique of the procedure [inoculation against hydrophobia] and then superintended the inoculations of the day", refers in all probability to the visit to Paris in 1890 with Ramsay Wright.

Aug.
1892

They did not succeed in making connections with Ogden, to whom he writes
shortly after:

40 Clarges St.
August 3rd.

Dear O.

I am afraid that you will not see many of the men in London unless you delay your visit until October. I enclose cards to Beevor, Horsley, & Tooth. Gowers is away. We leave next week the 10th., (Trave) earlier than we had arranged but my father has been very ill & I am anxious to get home. So glad that you have had a pleasant visit. We have been most fortunate & had nearly four weeks in Devon and Cornwall with only a day or two of rain. Do come to Baltimore on your way back and see Dr. Osler as a sober married man.

The critics have been most kind. The Lancet & the B. M. J. very complimentary & the Med. Chronicle most laudatory. They disposed of the first printing (3000) in three weeks, and I believe the publishers are very gratified.

So sorry not to have seen you here - 'twould have been such a pleasure. * * *

Ever yours Wm Osler

Sept.
1892

Before their departure for England they had looked in vain for a suitable residence and on the return voyage it was learned by mere chance that the Curzon-Hoffman house on the corner of Charles and Franklin Street in Baltimore was on the market. Consequently, no sooner had they reached Philadelphia than Osler dashed over to Baltimore, put his head in the front door of No. 1 West Franklin Street, and without further investigation made an immediate offer which was accepted. He promptly returned saying he'd bought a house merely because it reminded him of 1112 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. With such unhesitating and quick decisions ^{he} ~~Osler~~ transacted business; but the choice proved a fortunate one, and during the succeeding fourteen years No. 1 West Franklin Street remained their home, famous for the hospitality which radiated from it.

They had returned in time to join many Johns Hopkins friends and the large Osler family connections in Toronto for the wedding on August 30th of his niece and former housekeeper, Georgie Osler, to Dr. A. E.

Abbott, but apart from this visit ^{were fully occupied in their own way} they ~~remained for the next few weeks~~

~~in Philadelphia during Mrs. Osler's~~ ^{with the} ~~preparations for~~ ^{mediated to} the transfer of her household to the new home, ^{and her husband was his hospital duties - "mending ships while they were away"} ~~Toward the end of September as locum tenens~~

in away" as he expressed it in a note to Osler.

61

Oct.
1892

^{he}
for H. M. Hurd he temporarily took up his residence again at the hospital,
as told in a letter to Lafleur:

Very glad to hear of your return. I wish you could have been
in London & Nottingham with us. I am sure the trip must have been
delightful in every way. I understand your feeling about the winters
work but after all you have had a very rich experience for your years
and you know better than many older just what the student requires.
Let me know anything you hear about the R.V. Hospital. I could, I
think, influence McDonald and Stephen in your favor. From all
accounts your work last year was much appreciated. What is Ross'
condition? I am 'minding ship' while Hurd is away. We have
secured No. 1 West Franklin that old fashioned double house just
opposite the Unitarian Church. Mrs. Osler is busy packing in Phila.
We shall have plenty of room for our friends, remember." ~~kindest~~
~~regards to all the old friends.~~ *

*as then, Hurd was not yet
ready to move into the new house
They did not get in to 1 West Franklin Street till the middle of October and*
they meanwhile took in old
~~and for a time until the house was ready had rooms at the Mount Vernon Hotel~~ *and*
hardly regard this situation as
not suppose these conditions were favorable to comfort yet he
~~In the midst of all this he~~ *address.*
~~had sufficient 'equanimity' to write one of his~~ *address*
~~most successful addresses on~~ *entitled* "Teacher and Student" which was delivered

October 4 in Minneapolis on the occasion of the opening of the new medical
buildings of the University of Minnesota.

Oct.
1892

He appears to have been reading Newman and Plato during his honeymoon,
and from them he took as his text these two quotations:

A University consists, and has ever consisted, in demand and supply, in wants which it alone can satisfy, and which it does satisfy, in the communication of knowledge, and the relation and bond which exists between the teacher and the taught. Its constituting, animating principle is this moral attraction of one class of persons to another; which is prior in its nature, nay commonly in its history, to any other tie whatever; so that, where this is wanting, a University is alive only in name, and has lost its true essence, whatever be the advantages, whether of position or of affluence, with which the civil power or private benefactors contrive to encircle it. - JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

It would seem, Adeimantus, that the direction in which education starts a man will determine his future life. - PLATO,
Republic, iv.

The occasion offered, as he said, a chance
~~He stated (at the outset) that he had accepted the invitation gladly for~~
~~"here was a chance to satisfy the besoin de respirer in an atmosphere bright-~~
~~ened by young lives, to still a deep autumnal yearning not unnatural in a~~
~~man the best years of whose life have been passed with undergraduate students,~~
~~and who has had temporarily to content himself with the dry husks of graduate~~
~~teaching."~~ He spoke freely of the new ideas in medical education, beginning
to supplant an old order, which, however admirable in certain respects, ~~per-~~
~~mitted~~, in the absence of the sense of responsibility only to be preserved
when the teachers of a school have university opportunities, ^{permitted} "a criminal lax-
ity in medical education unknown before in our annals." ^{And he went} But he goes on to

Oct.
1892

emphasize
~~say that~~ what is so plain our control over in this later day seems that

... it is a secondary matter, after all, whether a school is under State or University control, whether the endowments are great or small, the equipments palatial or humble; the fate of an institution rests not on these; the inherent, vital element, which transcends all material interests, which may give to a school glory and renown in their absence, and lacking which, all the 'pride, pomp and circumstance are vain'- this vitalizing element, I say, lies in the men who work in its halls, and in the ideals which they cherish and teach." There is a passage in one of John Henry Newman's Historical Sketches which expresses this feeling in terse and beautiful language: 'I say, then, that the personality of the teacher is able in some sort to dispense with an academical system, but that the system cannot in any way dispense with personal influence. With influence there is life, without it there is none; if influence is deprived of its true position, it will not by those means be got rid of; it will only break out irregularly, dangerously. An academical system without the personal influence of teachers upon pupils is an Arctic winter; it will create an ice-bound, petrified, cast-iron University, and nothing else.'

And turning to the faculty he ventured to speak ^{in no uncertain terms} of the professor who has outgrown his usefulness, alone unconscious of the fact, ^{and he continues,} in a way prophetic of his Fixed Period address thirteen years later ^{he said:}

From one who, like themselves, has passed la crise de quarante ans, the seniors present will pardon a few plain remarks upon the disadvantages to a school of having too many men of mature, not to say riper, years. In-

Oct.
1892

sensibly, in the fifth and sixth decades, there begins to creep over most of us a change, noted physically among other ways in the silvering of the hair and that lessening of elasticity, which impels a man to open rather than to vault a five-barred gate. It comes to all sooner or later; to some only too painfully evident, to others unconsciously, with no pace perceived. And with most of us this physical change has its mental equivalent, not necessarily accompanied by loss of the powers of application or of judgment; on the contrary, often the mind grows clearer and the memory more retentive, but the change is seen in a weakened receptivity and in an inability to adapt oneself to an altered intellectual environment. It is this loss of mental elasticity which makes men over forty so slow to receive new truths. Harvey complained in his day that few men above the critical age seemed able to accept the doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and in our own time it is interesting to note how the theory of the bacterial origin of certain diseases has had, as other truths, to grow to acceptance with the generation in which it was announced. The only safeguard in the teacher against this lamentable condition is to live in, and with the third decade, in company with the younger, more receptive and progressive minds.

He goes on to address the students on the Art of Detachment, the Virtue of Method and the Quality of Thoroughness, and above all that most precious gift, the Grace of Humility, using, ⁽²⁾ ~~in spots~~, the 'quaint language of Sir Thomas Browne,' _(now and again) or the words of the Son of Sirach.

before
used in
III pg 47
Yes-

Oct.
1892

On the following day, ^{addressed} ~~October 5th~~, he ~~addressed~~ the Minnesota Academy of Medicine, ^{on the} ~~his subject being~~ "License to Practise," ⁽¹¹⁾ the same topic he had used ^{(12) had with him} on a former occasion in Baltimore to drive home certain truths regarding the prevalent laxity in the matter of registration, the United States being 'the only country in the world which commits the mistake of thinking that the doctorate should carry with it the license to practise.' He must have spoken extemporaneously, and holds up as a model plan that which had been adopted in Canada - the election of a medical parliament to control medical affairs, to hold examinations, and set medical standards, rather than to have each individual school enjoy the privilege not only of conferring its degrees but of licensing its graduates as well. This he had fought over in the McGill Faculty which had, indeed, not been unanimous in its opinion, for Osler and his friend Dick MacDonnell had heartily disagreed.

Difficulties have, of course, been encountered in the development of this plan. The first came when the homoeopaths demanded representation on the boards. This was bitterly opposed, but the legislature refused to grant any privileges in which all schools did not have an opportunity to share. I do not think that this issue with the homeopathic school is a real one today. Men are brimful of prejudices. But, after all, the home-

Oct.
1892

paths only differ from the regulars in therapeutics. There is no homoeopathic anatomy or physiology; no homoeopathic surgery; no homoeopathic midwifery; no homoeopathic pathology; no homoeopathic practice; there is only therapeutics of special difference. And I do not differ more from my erring brethren in the matter of therapeutics than I do from many of my regular brethren who write shot-gun prescriptions a yard long and fire them indiscriminately at their suffering patients. The way to sift out any medical error is to pass all candidates through the same portals to the profession. Mistakes will be minimized when men are taught alike in the essentials of anatomy, physiology and pathology.*

*"License to Practise." Northwestern Lancet, Nov. 1, 1892, xii, 383.

There had been many changes on the staff in Baltimore and he had planned to see Ogden in Milwaukee to discuss the possibility of his joining forces with the Hopkins group, but failing to connect with him he wrote shortly after his return: *to offer him 'a berth on the Medical Department' adding that*

The Johns Hopkins Hospital,
Nov. 8th, 1892.

Dear O.: You may remember I wrote you some time ago, asking whether you had any thought of ever leaving your present place, and saying how glad I should be if you could pitch your tent with us. It has just occurred to me that you might like to know the following circumstances. I have always had, in addition to the first assistant and the four or five juniors,

Nov.
1892

a special assistant, whose work has been largely in the Medical Dispensary in differentiating and supervising the cases between the hours of ten and one daily. You may remember that Thayer came to me to do this work three years ago, and a very good man, Barker, has been doing it for the past two years. It is not a paid position, but the man has his quarters in the hospital. Now I have been on the lookout for a long time for some one who might settle in the town and devote three hours a day to the Medical Dispensary, acting as its chief, just as Finney acts as chief of the Dispensary on the surgical side. The man who would take it now, however, while he stayed in the hospital would have to do the bacteriological work on the medical side, which is, however, not very much, and the technique of which could be easily acquired. It has just occurred to me that such a berth (chief of the Med. Dispen) would ultimately be a very pleasant one for you, and if you spent six or nine months in the hospital you could in that way get to know the town, and the men, and could make a more satisfactory start. Of course you know the hospital well enough, and the sort of men we have about here. As I wrote you before, "the town is a God-forsaken place but full of very nice people." ~~We could get along without having this place filled until January.~~

Not long after their move into what was to be their permanent Baltimore abode, Osler received word from Montreal of the loss of another of his old Canadian friends.

Nov.
1892To H. A. Lafleur from W. O.1 West Franklin Street,
Nov. 11th, 1892.

Dear Laffie I was very glad to have your letter today. Howard, MacDonnell & Ross - all gone since I left. Poor Ross! My thoughts have been much with him. Had we been in any way settled I should have gone up this night last week but we are camping still in two rooms and I did not care to leave madam (who has by the way a young Professor under contract) in all the wrack and ruin of painters plasters & paper hangers. Had Ross not had some leaven of the modern spirit I should not have been appointed in '74 and when the ice was once broken between us he was a warm friend and grew year by year in my affections.

Now about yourself. What are your prospects for the chair and for the wards either at the R.V. or the M.G.H.? I suppose at the latter one of the O.D. Staff will go in but at the former your chances should be first class. I will write personal notes to all the Trustees and any others who may in your opinion be able to help. The Minnesota appointment would not be open until next Oct. but would be a good thing to fall back upon in case things do not go as we wish at home. There would be many things to try you but the school will be progressive and when they get a Hospital on the Campus the field would be good. I hope of course that all may be arranged to your satisfaction in Montreal.

I am hard at work on two monographs for the next six months task - Tuberculosis of the serous membranes and chorea. I often wish you were back again - the material grows more interesting every year. Hoch goes about Xmas. Billings and Ramsay are new men - both good fellows. I hope

Nov.
1892

you will be able to come for a couple of weeks in the spring. There will be a room here for you & we might go off to Old Point for a few days or to Phila. Is your friend Martin still in Montreal? I want to send him a copy of my Aequanimitas address. You will have read or skimmed by this time my "Teacher & Student" platitudes. . . Yours ever. *wo* *

* The Billings he speaks of as a new member of the staff was the son of John S. Billings; and Ramsay a recent Toronto graduate was subsequently transferred from medicine to a place on Kelly's staff. Among Welch's group George H. F. Nuttall had succeeded Abbott in July of the preceding year; W. S. Thayer had taken Lafleur's place as Resident Physician in September; John Hewetson, F. R. Smith and L. F. Barker had been made assistant resident physicians; Hunter Robb had been moved to the dispensary; J. Whitredge Williams had been appointed an assistant in gynaecology; and W. W. Russell, T. S. Cullen, Eugene Van Ness, J. C. Bloodgood and others had come into the house.*

*It is possible to trace some of Osler's movements by dates in his various papers. Thus, his "Note on a Remarkable House Epidemic of Typhoid Fever," (University Medical Magazine, Phila., April 1893), says: "November 26, 1892 I went near Darlington, above Havre de Grace, Md., to see a case in connection with which Dr. Sappington gave me the following remarkable history." There had been ten cases of typhoid with four death in this one house, the situation of which, with all its surroundings, he describes:

"The house, a comfortable, old-fashioned, square stone building, is situated on a ridge in the beautiful rolling district of Hartford County, only a few miles from the Susquehanna

Nov.
1892

River. In front of the house the ground slopes rapidly toward the roadway, which runs along a narrow valley. At the back of the house the ground slopes more gradually. At a distance of about seventy-eight yards in front and to the left of the stone house, and about two-thirds of the way down the hill, is a comfortable frame house, occupied by the tenant, with a family of nine, of ages from 14 to 85. About seventy yards further down the valley, close to the roadway, is a spring of clear water, close to which is erected the 'spring house' for dairy purposes."

One is reminded of his first experience, while in Montreal, of being called to investigate the typhoid outbreak in the school at Lenoxville, before the discovery of the typhoid bacillus. He was unable positively to trace the source of the infection but suspected the contamination of a certain cistern from which water was used to wash the kitchen utensils. There was still much to learn about typhoid fever, for at this time the idea of 'carriers' had not been suggested.

As is evident from ^{the} letter to Laffeur, Osler had already plunged into work with two prospective monographs in mind. But no matter how much occupied, he had thoughts for other people and ample time to dash off frivolous notes and to do kind acts. Thus to one of his small nieces:

Dearest Trixie girl I was very glad to get your letter this week. Please dear lamb, do not get icelated yourself, or eat anything horrid. I have been missing you both today & said several times to Aunt Grace - I mean Mrs. --- you know! - I want my little girls, but you are very far away & only my thoughts can go to 40 Division St. Too sorry about the pussy. I am writing a letter of condolence to Gwen. Please you black eyed darling measure yourself from the neck to the hem of your skirt & give me your size for a nice new very superior John Wanamaker-ish winter

Nov.
1892

dress - Hurry too as I may go to Phila at the end of the week. I have a cold in my head - but no pain in my pansy. Kiss yourself in the looking-glass for me and give my love to Auntie & the Jim boy. Ask Mr Jim what he wants for Xmas You just find out quietly & tell me Your loving old Man

the Doctor.

On November 28th he read a paper before the Philadelphia Neurological Society on the subject of the hereditary form of chorea (Huntingdon's^t), examples of which he had observed in two Maryland families. But of greater present interest than this was an address, seemingly the outcome of his non-professional summer's reading, given two weeks later before the Johns Hopkins Historical Club. *Mr. Club*

Nov.
1892

During the session of 1891-1892 the ~~Historical Club~~, with H. M. Hurd presiding, had mapped out for itself a programme which began with a description by Welch of the AEsculapian temples and worship; and there followed a systematic study of the Hippocratic writings in which many of the staff participated. It was intended to devote the 1892-3 sessions to Galen, but Galen almost proved the undoing of the society - he was too colossal - so that after nibbling at him the club again took refuge in such miscellaneous topics as the mood of its members suggested. The 'Greek thinkers' had long been a source of inspiration to Osler for he was ^{among} ~~one of~~ those who believed that 'nothing moves in the world that is not Greek in origin.' When and by whom he first was introduced to Plato is not clear, unless by James Bovell those evenings when he browsed in Bovell's library, but ^{however this may be the} ~~he at least~~ had come to mention Plato almost as often as Sir Thomas Browne in his more recent addresses and had used, as the rubric for his Text-book, Plato's definition of the Art of Medicine. Accordingly, it was natural that he should choose, as a sequel to the sessions of the club which had been devoted to Hippocrates, the writings of his great contemporary in so far as they cast sidelights on the conditions of medicine

Dec.
1892

in the fourth century B. C., for Plato only twice directly refers to Hippocrates. He restricted himself to the Dialogues, the third edition of Jowett's translation of which had just been published by the Clarendon Press. This, ~~he had~~ ^{in all probability been} purchased in London, ~~and had~~ devoured on the steamer.

The paper entitled "Physic and Physicians as Depicted in Plato" read at the meeting of December 14th consists largely of quotations from Jowett, and he gives at length the dialogue between Theaetetus and Socrates in which Socrates likens his art to that of a midwife in that he looks after the souls of men when they are in labour. There is in fact less of Osler than Jowett in the essay, perhaps the most interesting paragraphs from the standpoint of the former being ^{the} ~~his~~ introductory ^{one} ~~paragraph~~ in which he gives ~~his~~ reasons for ^{the} ~~selecting~~ ^{his} topic. He said:

. . . that in the golden age of Greece, medicine had, as today, a triple relationship, with science, with gymnastics, and with theology. We can imagine an Athenian father of the early fourth century worried about the enfeebled health of one of his growing lads, asking the advice of Hippocrates about a suspicious cough, or sending him to the palaestra of Taureas for a systematic course in gymnastics; or, as Socrates advised, 'when human skill was exhausted,' asking the assistance of the divine Apollo, through his son, the 'hero-physician,' Aesculapius, at his temple in Epidaurus or at Athens itself.

Dec.
1892

Could the Greek live over his parental troubles at the end of the nineteenth century, he would get a more exact diagnosis and a more rational treatment; but he might travel far to find so eminent a 'professor' of gymnastics as Miccus for his boy, and in Christian science or faith-healing he would find our bastard substitute for the stately and gracious worship of the AEsculapian temple.

From the Hippocratic writings alone we have a very imperfect knowledge of the state of medicine in the most brilliant period of Grecian history; and many details relating to the character and to the life of physicians are gleaned only from secular authors. So much of the daily life of a civilized community relates to problems of health and disease that the great writers of every age of necessity throw an important side-light, not only on the opinions of the people on these questions, but often on the condition of special knowledge in various branches. Thus a considerable literature already illustrates the medical knowledge of Shakespeare, from whose doctors, apothecaries, and mad-folk much may be gathered as to the state of the profession in the latter part of the sixteenth century. So also the satire of Molière, malicious though it be, has preserved for us phases of medical life in the seventeenth century, for which we scan in vain the strictly medical writings of that period; and writers of our times, like George Eliot, have told for future generations in a character such as Lydgate, the little every-day details of the struggles and aspirations of the profession of the nineteenth century, of which we find no account whatever in the files of the Lancet.

On reading the address, Edward H. Sieveking wrote him:

I congratulate your university on having one who, in the best sense, is a laudator temporis acti. I for one fully acknowledge the enormous strides taken by modern medical science, which particularly in its preventive and sanitary as-

Dec.
1892

pect must be regarded as entirely an achievement of our day. But at the same time the more I know of the Ancients, the more I feel that we have scarcely done justice to them yet, and I fancy that in many respects time and nations that are commonly called barbarous, are much more highly cultivated than historical records show. The tendency of the present day is to exalt the present unduly, and I am not one of those who regard all education from that is called a 'practical' point of view. We are taught modesty by going back into antiquity and scarcely a day passes that I do not learn to appreciate more and more the Horation - Vixere fortes ante Agamemmona.

But Osler's own pen was not alone busy and it must not be forgotten that his juniors were all successively spurred to engage in more or less ambitious writings of one sort or another. Thayer had begun his monograph on malaria, while F. R. Smith and August Hoch had been translating Ludwig Hirt's Handbuch der Nervenkrankheiten. The latter appeared early in the next year with the introduction by Osler referred to in his letter of June 6th - the sort of thing he in later years often wrote to boost the sale of some volume in whose authorship he was interested. He could make interesting even this sort of perfunctory writing, and in this note he tells of Weir Mitchell's introducing him in 1890 to Professor Hirt's admirable treatise, and how he had written the author to ask if he might have it translated

Nov.
1892

into English; and he concludes with this compliment to his young colleagues:

And lastly, I think the author has been fairly handled by his translators, who, bearing in mind the admonition of Dryden, 'not to lackey by the side of his author but to mount up behind him,' have given a clear and interesting rendering of the original."

The courses for graduates were still kept going with the participation of all the members of the staff^a, and in addition, Billings continued to come

What? Given before H.C. Footnote

*Osler published a number of his lectures - one of them on November 9th of this year being on "The Cold Bath Treatment of Typhoid". Medical News, lxi, 628.

Chap. XI, p. 53.

over from Washington to give his three lectures on the History of Medicine.

But

But as Osler confessed in his recent Minnesota address, the dry husks of graduate teaching were beginning to pall on the Johns Hopkins group and there was even danger lest some of them be lured away by calls from other institutions if there was to be much further delay in the opening of the medical school. Even Welch had been strongly tempted by a call from Harvard to take the chair of Pathology*, and it is possible that this may have expedited

Footnote

*It was subsequently offered to and accepted by his associate W. S. Councilman, as related by him in an article on "Osler in the Early Days" of the Johns Hopkins Hospital". Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, April, 1920.

Mr. Gilman ~~the President~~, and the University Trustees in a campaign to secure

Dec.
1892

funds sufficient to ~~enable them to erect a school~~ ^{for a} building in which ~~the~~
~~an undergraduate school might be started.~~
~~preclinical courses for undergraduates could be given.~~ The name of the

university still represented an individual to the generation who had known

~~John~~ Hopkins the Quaker merchant, and ~~it was to be~~ ^{must reach before} many years before an

institution ~~came~~ ^{should have come} first to mind when the name was mentioned. In spite of

this it was a Baltimore lady who came to the rescue with a generous sum
sufficient to erect the building, which finally became Mall's anatomical
laboratory, and to justify the organization of a school - the proper link
to hold together the hospital and university.

Meanwhile Welch was not the only one of the chiefs who was being
angled for. The death of George Ross had left vacant once more the chair
Palmer Howard had occupied before him, and a concerted effort which apparently
had taken its origin among the McGill men in Ottawa, was being made in Canada
to secure Osler for the post at whatever cost. He must have been strongly
urged to return by friends and relatives alike, and too much may have been
said, for in reply to a letter from his cousin Jeanette he gives this modest
opinion of his own attainments:

I do wish you would not build upon me for doing anything beyond my fellows;
my abilities are but moderate, and I feel bitterly sometimes that defi-

Dec.
1892

ciences in early education and a lack of thoroughness may be with me at every step. In addition to this I have to earn my bread, so that general medical studies absorb the time that might be spent in building up a scientific reputation. One thing is certain: the cultivation of science at the expense of paying work is an injustice to one's family.

This call to Montreal which had been thoroughly ventilated in the lay press, apparently culminated December 13th when the McGill faculty were permitted to announce the action of a generous benefactor. This is explained in a clipping from the press.

Montreal, Dec. 13, 1892. - There is important news this evening in university circles, and the members of the medical faculty of McGill are particularly anxious that the report which has passed from mouth to mouth today shall be abundantly fulfilled. For some months past, ardent desire has been expressed by those interested in McGill that every effort should be made by the university authorities to induce Dr. Osler, who has become as famous in the United States since his connection with the Johns Hopkins University as he was in Toronto and Montreal, to return to Montreal. There was, however, a serious difficulty in the road, as all felt that the presence at McGill of a man possessing the abilities of this distinguished medical professor would require a heavier drain upon the finances of the institution than its present position could possibly allow. McGill's friends, however, have never deserted her in the past and it seems that once more a rich and

Dec.
1892

generous benefactor has come forward with an offer to pay down a lump sum of \$100,000 and guarantee an additional \$8,000 annually if the famous Canadian doctor, already mentioned, will once more place his services at the disposition of McGill and his native land. It can be readily imagined, therefore, the interest such a matter has created in the city amongst all classes of our people.

It would appear from Osler's omission of any reference to this in the following letter dictated to Lafleur that the matter either was not being seriously considered at No. 1 West Franklin Street, or else that there had been as yet no formal proposal.

Baltimore, Dec. 13, 1892.

Dear Lafleur: - I am very pleased indeed to hear of your election at the Montreal General Hospital, which, however, is a minor matter in comparison with the Royal Victoria. Please write to me fully about your prospects there. I have a list of the Governors and will write strong letters to each one of them on your behalf whenever you say the time is ready. What have they done about any college appointment for you, and what are the prospects?

We are most comfortably settled now. Why could you not come down and spend New Year's with us? I shall be at home in Toronto after Christmas, and shall try, if possible to run around by way of Montreal.

There was certainly need of expedition on the part of those soli-

Dec.
1892

citing subscriptions for the \$500,000 fund deemed necessary to justify opening the school in Baltimore, only a small portion of which had been raised.

On December 22nd Miss Mary E. Garrett addressed a letter* to the university

[*Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, Dec. 1892, iii, 139.]

officials offering to make up the remainder of the sum, with these provisos:

that women be admitted to the school on the same basis as men; that the building

be designated the Women's Memorial Fund Building; and that a lay committee

of six women be appointed to supervise the extracurricular affairs of the

women students. On December 24th the University Trustees met and accepted

the terms of this timely offer and during the course of a happy dinner-party

of house officers invited to celebrate the first Christmas in 1 West Franklin

Street, a copy of Miss Garrett's note and of the action of the Trustees,

knives
left at the door by Mr. Gilman, was brought in and read with jubilation.*

*Accounts of the early days of the Johns Hopkins Hospital to the time of the opening of the school have ~~come from~~ many hands. *been recorded by* Cf. The Launching of a University by D. C. Gilman, 1906: Fielding H. Garrison's account in his Life of John S. Billings: Abraham Flexner's testimony before the Royal Commission on University Education, London, 1911: "Some Memories of the Development of the Medical School and of Osler's Advent", by H. M. Thomas, Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, July, 1919.