

1893.

Organization of School Standard of entrance requirements 1; 26; 28 Co-education 26. (W.O.'s version - 52) Opening of the school 28; 31	1	Death of Charcot: W.O.'s Tribute	35
Baby - Paul Perere Letter from 'Heaven' 5 Interest always shown in former assistants	3 6	Lectures on "Diagnosis of Abdominal Tumours" Tolerant attitude toward surgical intervention 59	36
Review of Typhoid cases W.O.'s part in stamping it out 7; 9	7	<u>1894.</u> Spurring others to literary activity (also XII, 50.)	40; 42
Attitude toward Pneumonia, Typhoid & Tb.	9	Characteristic brevity in correspondence (cf. also XII, 62.)	42
Description of Baltimore in '90's	10	W.O. on alcohol E.Y.D. postcard to Bowditch Committee of Fifty on Drink	44
V th meeting, Paediatric Society, West Point, May 21 st "Diffuse Scleroderma"; "Tuberculosis in Children"	13	"The Army Surgeon" (cf. also in re. Beaumont & Fletcher address, XXI, p 42)	45
Note of welcome to Adams	15	"The Leaven of Science", Wistar Institute Influences of Art, Science & Charity	48
Association of Physicians, Washington, May 30 th "Texas Cattle Fever" by Theobald Smith Myxoedema discussion; "Sporadic Cretinism"	16	III ^d Congress Amer. Physicians & Surgeons, May 29. Antirivization bills (also XII, 59; XVII,) Antitoxin for diphtheria & tetanus	51
Shattuck lecture: "Tuberculous Pleurisy" W.O. and Shattuck-family names 20	18	Departure for England, July 12 th B.M.A. Bristol B.A.A.S. Oxford Panel of portraits - 59 (also IX, 14; X 29; XVII, 1)	55
W.O.'s relations with Reed and Sternberg	22	O.W. Holmes obituary (also XII (cont.) 112)	64
Pan-American Med. Congress, Washington Standards of medical Education Billings on medical preparation 30	24	Latch-keys (cf. also XVII,) Gold ring when travelling on Continent	67
Opening of School Nicknames of heads of departments 32	28; 31	Contributions to Text-books & Systems at this time	67 (over.)

'Fur caps & square hats To Dr. Osler's'

70

W.O. as host for Physiological Club gathering
Literary jibe at Weir Mitchell - 72

71

Hospitality at 1 West Franklin Street
(cf. also XVI, 37)

71

Jan.
1893
aet. 43

Chapter XV.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTIVITIES AND THE
OPENING OF THE MEDICAL SCHOOL.

1893 - 1894

The promise of an early realization of starting the medical school, so long delayed owing to the diminished income of the university, must have ban-

ished any ^{Possible ~~idea~~ ~~being~~ ~~have~~} further thought of accepting the proposals from McGill. ^{In the following letter} This is ~~the matter is finally dismissed.~~
evident from his letters, as in the following dictated to Lafleur.

To H. A. Lafleur from W. O.

1 West Franklin Street,
Baltimore, Jan. 12, 1893.

Dear L.: Very glad indeed to have your last note. I have, of course, heard all sorts of rumours about Montreal, but I am too comfortable here to think of any change, and I hope to fill out my twenty years, and then crawl back to Montreal or Toronto to worry the boys for a few years. I daresay you would reserve me a chair at your fireside, and we could have many smokes and chats.

We are a good deal excited of course about the organization of the school. Miss Garrett has given the \$300,000. necessary to complete the half million endowment. We have the Chairs of Anatomy and Pharmacology to fill, and shall need someone in physiological chemistry. We hope to be able to secure Mall in anatomy. The restrictions placed by Miss Garrett as to the preliminary education necessary will limit the number of our students very materially. The matriculation examination of the university is in itself very stiff, and either the preliminary medical course in Arts, or its equivalent must be passed before admission to the Medical School. Welch put it very happily the other day when he said

Jan.
1893

to me that it was lucky we got in as professors; we never would have been able to go in as students.

I am busy with the subjects of tuberculosis of the serous membranes,*

Foot
note

*"Tuberculous pericarditis." American Journal of the Medical Sciences (Jan. 1893) and The Shattuck Lecture.

Stet.

and finishing some work on chorea.* The wards are very interesting, the

Foot
note

*"Remarks on the Varieties of Chronic Chorea,&c". Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases, Feb. 1893.

usual number of cases of arteriosclerosis, a good many interesting cases of malaria, and an unusual number of typhoids. I am sorry I did not get reprints of my lecture on the bath treatment. I daresay you saw it in the Medical News. Our results for the first century of cases were really very good.

You must arrange in the spring to pay us a long visit. Let me know, too, when you think I should write to the members of the Victoria Hospital Board. You should certainly make a strong push to go in there on the staff. Councilman was here for two weeks and Chriskey for a week, so that the boys are rather demoralized.

I enclose a little slip which you will please hand to one of the House Surgeons at the M.G.H. I want very much to find the address of the Farr family of progressive muscular atrophy, which I reported many years ago. Sincerely yours,

W^m Osler.

P.S. Do you think Shepherd would come here in anatomy? There would of course be no hospital appointment. He combines surgical and scientific anatomy so well. Mall is the choice of Welch et al., but he has a comfortable berth in Chicago and I doubt if he can come.

Evidently his work is usual work in full swing and revenue must be
 had to his mother: ~~letter~~ ^{to learn that anything out of the ordinary}
 was on his mind: on January 17th she wrote to him: ^{as told briefly in another letter to Laffleur}

Jan.
 1893

Meanwhile he was having anxieties at home, for his mother writes Mrs.

Gwyn on January 24th:

"I had a scrap from Willie this morning - no wonder he has been laid up
 with a cold, such a freezing time for one who loves warmth as he does, he
 puts on a good show of spirits but in his heart of hearts I know he must
 have an anxious time as to the coming event."

And two weeks later:

Unquestionably you had the joyful news flashed over the wires last even-
 ing. We had 4 words which told of Mother and Boy all right, and we are hoping
 there may be a tel. today confirming the same a few hours later a note today
 from Willie written on Sunday - his cold much better but Grace taking it and
 feeling very miserable, but in good spirits.

And on February 17th:

"You will have written to Baltimore I know and will have shared with us
 all in the first glow of gladness and then in the deep wave of sorrow."

To H. A. Lafleur from W. O.

Baltimore,
 Feb. 18, 1893.

Dear Lafleur: - Thanks for Peter Ibbetson, which I shall certainly read on your
 recommendation. I had intended to write to you last evening, to tell you
 about my domestic troubles. . . . the small boy died at the end of a week, very
 much to our sorrow. —•—•—

Everything goes very smoothly at the hospital. We hope to arrange to open
 our medical school in October. There has been a slight hitch about the terms

Feb.
1893.

of admission, but they have all been settled. We hope to be able to secure
Mall in Anatomy.)

We shall go to Toronto at Easter, and very probably go round to Boston
by way of Montreal. Please do not forget that you have promised to spend a
week here sometime in the spring. Your room will be ready at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Wm Oeler

The home visit for Easter was finally given up, for his mother writes him
in April:

Many thanks for the seeds which came this morning, it will soon be time
to have them in their places. Chattie under the impression that you would
be down, wrote to say she would ^{make} her best endeavour to spend Sunday with us.
She knows now that you cannot come but I still hope she will not alter her
plans but be with us and take up Jack and Hugh on Monday. ~~The enclosed from~~
~~Dundas Nellie opened, it looked as if it came from Dr. McMahon who was most~~
~~anxious to see you, Chattie said. We are all mourning over your non-arrival~~
~~but I feel we have no business to grumble only like a dear good son do not~~
~~over work yourself the last few weeks have been trying for you and when the~~
~~heart is heavy it is difficult to take up the daily routine of work with the~~
~~interest required to run things smoothly.~~

They paid a visit later on to their friends the Conynghams in Wilkesbarre,
and one morning ^{his wife} Mrs. Oeler found on her dressing-table a letter which for pathos,

tenderness, ~~inspiration~~ and humour could hardly be excelled, and which must have provoked that mixture of tears and laughter which is best for bereaved people.

It was postmarked 'Heaven' and was written by Paul Revere Osler to his 'dear Mother'.

If we are good and get on nicely with our singing and if our earthly parents continue to show an interest in us by remembering us in their prayers, we are allowed to write every three or four tatmas (i.e. month). I got here safely with very little inconvenience. I scarcely knew anything until I awoke in a lovely green spot, with fountains and trees and soft couches and such nice young girls to tend us. You would have been amused to see the hundreds which came the same day. But I must tell you first how we are all arranged; it took me several days to find out about it. Heaven is the exact counterpart of earth so far as its dwellers are concerned, thus all from the U. S. go to one place - all from Maryland to one district and even all from the cities and townships get corresponding places. This enables the guardian angels to keep the lists more carefully and it facilitates communication between relatives. They are most particular in this respect and have a beautifully simple arrangement by which the new arrivals can find out at once whether they have connections in Heaven. I never was more surprised in my time - we say that here, not life and not eternity for that has not started for us - when the day after my arrival Althea brought me two quill feathers on one of which was written Julius Caesar and the other Emma Osler. I knew at once about the former . . . but the latter I did not know at all, but she said she had been father's little sister and she had been sent to make me feel happy and comfortable. . . .

April
1893

Unlike the real angels we have no fore-knowledge and cannot tell what is to happen to our dear ones on earth. Next to the great feast days, when we sing choruses by divisions in the upper heavens, our chief delight is in watching the soul bodies as they arrive in our divisions and in helping the angels to get them in order and properly trained. In the children's divisions not a friad (i.e. about an hour of earthly time) passes without the excitement of a father or mother, a brother or a sister united to one of us. We know about 1000 of each other so that it is great fun to see our comrades and friends making their relatives feel at home. . . .

Osler's deep interest in the welfare of all of his associates and assistants, past and present, was an outstanding feature of his brief letters. There were literally hundreds of them which have been preserved by his pupils first and last - short notes, which show his concern for their work and prospects, after they had gone out from under his wing. Thus from Baltimore on April 19th he sends one of his frequent missives to Lafleur.

It might not do any harm to write to Donald Smith and to Davidson, (both of whom I know well) and urge your claims. It would really be most satisfactory for you to get the position. Do come down if you can, even for a few days. It will be delightful to have you. You must of course come and stay with us.

I was overjoyed to hear of the extra hundred thousand dollars. It

Apr.
1893

puts the old school in a splendid position. By the time my twenty years here are up I shall enjoy very much going over all the fine departments which McGill will then have. . . .

P.S. I don't believe I sent you the last batch of my papers. Miss Humpton is in doubt about it, so will send you the whole lot. W.O.

He began at this time to plan for a comprehensive review of the hospital's experience with typhoid fever, and the series of seven papers which form the first fasciculus of the Hospital Reports published the next year were projected. These studies were based on the 229 cases of typhoid which had been treated in the medical wards in the four years since the opening of the hospital - that is, to May 15, 1893. Two of the seven papers were by Thayer and Hewetson, the others being in Osler's name. Typhoid has become such a rare disease through the improved sanitation of cities that it no longer occupies the important position in medicine it held thirty years ago when the disease was so prevalent that Osler had led off with it in his Text-book, on the ground that it was the most important point of departure for students.

Then regarded with civic indifference, the disease today is looked upon as a disgrace in any community, and in bringing about this altered attitude Osler played a part far more important than any contribution he may have made

Apr;
1893

to the knowledge of the disease in the way of diagnosis or treatment, or of pointing out some obscure complication like 'typhoid spine.' One reservation to this statement may possibly be made in view of his constant reiteration that the diagnosis so commonly made in the South, of 'typho-malarial fever' - as though this were a special disease - was unjustified by any known facts and merely served as a cloak in civic health reports to conceal actual typhoid. Largely through the influence of his writings, this hybrid disease disappeared. Ample opportunity had been given at the Hopkins to determine the point, for in contrast to the 229 cases of typhoid there had been 500 of malaria in the wards, all proven beyond doubt by the demonstration of the plasmodium in the blood. There had been only one patient in the four years in whom a definite typhoid was implanted on a coexisting malarial infection.

But leaving this aside, his main contribution to the subject related to public sanitation, for until the Baltimore authorities began to wake up, and a skilled bacteriologist was added to the Health Board, he never ceased pub-

Apr.
1893

likely to reiterate statements such as he gives in the opening paragraph of the last of these papers.

Among the cities which still pay an unnecessary Delian tribute of young lives to the Minotaur of infectious diseases, Baltimore holds a high rank. The pity of it is, too, that this annual sacrifice of thousands of lives (2281 for 1892, not including consumption), is not due to ignorance. For more than fifty years this gospel of preventive medicine has been preached - whether they would hear or whether they would forbear - in the ears of councils and corporations: that three measures, efficiently designed and efficiently carried out, reduce to a minimum the incidence of infectious diseases; viz., pure water, good drainage, and a proper isolation of the sick. Of sanitary essentials in a modern town, Baltimore has a well-arranged water supply; still, however, with unprotected sources and constant liability to contamination. It has nothing else - no sewage system, no system of isolation of the sick, no hospital for infectious diseases, no compulsory notification of such a disease as typhoid fever, no disinfecting station, no system of street-watering, no inspection of dairies, no inspection of meat. The streets are cleaned, but so carelessly that for a large part of the year the citizens breathe a mixture of horse-dung and filth of all sorts.

Perhaps the best gauge of the sanitary conditions of a city is to be found in the mortality returns from typhoid fever.*

*Johns Hopkins Hospital Reports. "VIII. Typhoid Fever in Baltimore." 1894-5, iv, 159.

Pneumonia, Typhoid and Tuberculosis - these were the three scourges at

Apr.
1893

which he aimed his shafts - the three diseases an intimate knowledge of which he hammered incessantly into his students. He lived to see one of them, typhoid, nearly abolished, tuberculosis got under control, and pneumonia was to be his own undoing.*

The ~~enormous~~ influence which first and last Osler exercised as a national and civic sanitary propagandist has been too little emphasized. Today in our comparative security against ~~epidemic diseases~~ ^{serious} it is difficult to realize the annual death-roll of the '90's from diseases now under control. In the summer of 1893 the International Medical Congress which was to have been held in Rome despite the prevalence of malaria there, was postponed because of a wide-spread cholera epidemic which had already taken a toll of 10,000 lives in Mecca whence it had reached Rome, even Paris; and New York was in quarantine. Nevertheless, typhus was raging even in New York, smallpox prevailed widely in England and America, and yellow fever continued its devastations - a third year of successive outbreaks.

Baltimore in the early 90's probably differed little in its external aspects from the post-bellum Baltimore of the late 60's. Environed north and west by the beautiful rolling countryside of Maryland to whose wooded hillsides society moved for the sweltering summer months and in whose fertile valleys rode to hounds, the city itself sharply demarkated from all of this was a homely place of architecturally unpretentious block-houses on parallel streets - north and south, east and west. The hospital was planted on a hill on the outskirts of the city to the east, and from the upper windows

May
1893

of the administration building the dwellers, back to their rooms at the end of the day's work, looked across a flat sea of roofs to two other low hills in the residential centre of the town. On one of them, silhouetted against the western sky, stood a tall column - the Washington monument; on the other, near by, the low dome of the Catholic cathedral - in Mr. Gilman's happy phrase, the three hills of Charity, Hope, and Faith.

Near the cathedral was No. 1 West Franklin Street, and the palace, so-called, of his Eminence John Cardinal Gibbons, good neighbour and fine citizen that he was, stood just back of the Osler's, a narrow rat-infested Baltimore alley lying between. A good two miles separated the hospital from this part of the town, and at peculiar and somewhat uncertain hours a bob-tailed horse-car made its tortuous way through untidy, cobbled streets, and after crossing an odouriferous stream called Jones's Falls, convenient for the refuse of the decrepit factories, tanneries and the like which lined its banks, the car would toil slowly up the hill, east or west, with an extra horse attached.

May
1893

In Baltimore of ^{that} ~~the~~ day ~~could not boast of its sewer system, and one's~~
bath flowed shamelessly and soapily into the gutters of the cobbled streets
over which were stepping-stones such as are preserved to be wondered at in
Pompeii. But there was one sanitary rite religiously observed on bended
knee - the scrubbing of the front steps of each of the houses by a genus of
polite but easy-going coloured gentlemen known as 'waiter-men' - a matitu-
dinal rite of suds and marble, yet with an abundant opportunity for saluta-
tion and gossip. Meanwhile the mistresses of the several households like-
wise passed the time of day, provendering in the old-fashioned, buzzing,
open markets, which groaned with the produce of the Chesapeake Bay and the
farms of its fertile Eastern Shore. Untidy, lethargic, hospitable, well-
fed, contented, happy Baltimore.

But this Baltimore, alas, for it was picturesque and beloved, is gone.
A beautiful suburban Baltimore has arisen, the city's streets have been
paved, the newest of sewer systems installed with the vanishing of Jones's
Falls into a conduit; and in all this transformation the influence of the
Hopkins is strongly apparent, and Osler himself had no small part in it.

May
1893

Faithful as he was at attending meetings, there ^{had to be a} ~~must at times be a~~
^{so early in May to write Ogden that he must because of other engagements he would have to}
 limit, and because of other engagements which he enumerates in this next
 letter, he had to forego the American Medical Association which met this
^{for, he said:}
 year in Milwaukee, ~~where lived his old friend, who naturally yearned for~~
 a visit.

To H. V. Ogden from W. O.

Baltimore, May 12, 1893.

Dear Ogden: - It is very kind indeed of you to ask us. Until quite recently
 I had fully intended to be at the Association Meeting, and Mrs. Osler had
 arranged to be in Chicago for the week, but I find that it will be quite
 impossible for me to get away. I have the Pediatric Society at West Point
 on the 23rd, 24th, and 25th, the Association of American Physicians at the
 end of the month in Washington, and the Massachusetts Medical Society at
 which I have the Shattuck Lecture on the 14th of June. ^{He was much beset and a} ~~Mrs.~~
 Osler is quite amused at your letter. She asked me to send her warm-
 est regards and regrets. She has lived to be sorry for my perfidy.
 Yes, May is to be married tomorrow to a very nice young fellow.
 You had better report that Alkapton business in full. It would be
 very interesting. . . .

A few days later he writes Lafleur, in distress that he had failed to
 get the appointment at the Royal Victoria.

13

May
1893

To H. A. Lafleur from W. O.

1 West Franklin Street,
Baltimore, 5.17.93

Dear L. Yesterday was a dies irae Everything went wrong, so when your letter came I would not read it & said to Mrs Osler "I just know Lafleur has not got the RV." The devil take those fellows! It is too bad & I am sorely disappointed. Why not throw up the whole thing & come down here as Associate in Medicine? We could give you from the school \$500, I would supplement it for three years with \$500, and you could control the Dispensary & do some outside practice. I want Thayer to go abroad for Oct. Nov. & Dec. during which mos. you could live in the Hospital & take his duties. The dispensary work, pathological studies &c would keep you busy & your literary ventures would bring you in time a good berth. It was a mistake to have left without a definite call. Do come to the Pediatric Soc. I shall be there Wednesday eve. Leave with me Friday Pm & come straight thro. to 1 West Franklin & we can discuss the situation. * x * x *

P.S. Aequanimitas is out of print - not a copy left. I send the other.

This, the fifth meeting of the Paediatric Society to which he refers, *under the Presidency of him* was held at West Point, ~~New York, May 24-26,~~ his old ~~dinner-club~~ friend of Montreal days, A. D. Blackader, ~~being President for the year.~~ The group of children's specialists was growing and at this time the society had forty-five members, most of them, to be sure, men, of broad training in general medicine. Osler one of the appointed participants in a discussion of whooping-

May
1893

cough, was on the programme for two other papers as well. One of them, an important study of a rare disease, acute diffuse scleroderma, though largely written by Osler was presented in the name of one of the assistant residents - Lewellys F. Barker*, and it was characteristic that he should present this

*Am McCrae's
n. amed.*

Succeeding Barker

*The patient had been under the care of Dr. Ellis of Elkton, Maryland, and Osler had taken Barker, who had recently joined the house staff, down with him to help perform the autopsy. Barker was the first of a succession of Canadians, Toronto graduates, the picked men of their time, who after finishing a service at the Toronto General Hospital, gravitated to Baltimore on the recommendation of Osler's friend, Jos. E. Graham the Professor of Medicine in Toronto. Among them during the '90's were Ramsay, Cullen, Parsons, Fitcher, and the McCrae brothers. Their first summer before going into the Hopkins was usually spent at the Garrett Hospital for Children at Mt. Airy, Frederick Co., Maryland.

paper in full, whereas that under his own name was read by title only, to appear subsequently in the society's published transactions. This was entitled "Notes on Tuberculosis in Children" and was a side issue in the preparation of another study to which he refers in his opening paragraph.

In preparing the article on tuberculosis for Starr's Handbook of Children's Diseases, I was surprised to find how few observations had been made on the prevalence of tuberculosis among the inmates of asylums and children's hospitals in this country. Northrup's studies in the New York Foundling Hospital show, as is well known, a startling prevalence of the disease. We miss, however, detailed statistics, the result of systematic clinical and anatomical observations, such as have been published during

May
1893

the past few years by our French and German colleagues. The most reliable figures, of course, are those obtained in the post-mortem room. The manifestations are so protean that unless in fatal cases the clinical be supplemented by an anatomical examination, very many tuberculous lesions are overlooked.*

X [*Archives of Paediatrics, Dec., 1893, x, 979.]

In the preceding fall, George J. Adami had been called to McGill from the University of Cambridge as Professor of Pathology, and he found awaiting him a cordial note of welcome from the Professor of Medicine of the Johns Hopkins whom he knew only by reputation but who for sentimental reasons was particularly interested in the development of the pathological department of the Montreal General, the directorship of which Wyatt Johnson still held and continued to hold until the appointment in 1903 of John McCrae.

J. G. Adami from W. O.

1 West Franklin Street,
May 17, 1893.

Dear Dr. Adami: Would it not be possible for you to attend the meeting at Washington of the American Association of Physicians, on the 30th, 31st, and 1st prox. You will meet there about the best of American physicians, and I think you ought also to join us. I should be glad to have you stay with me on your way back, and I have no doubt you will be pleased to see the arrangements of Welch's laboratory. . . .

P.S. Stewart and Wilkins should come - so join them if possible.

May
1893

The Association of Physicians, coming to be a group of closely-knit friends, met as usual in Washington for its annual meeting May 30 to June 1st. Unquestionably the most notable communication during the meeting was made by Theobald Smith on "Texas Cattle Fever" in its relation to protozoön diseases. Though his results had previously been published by the Government Bureau of Animal Industry, this was the first time his epochal discovery - that a pathogenic micro-organism could be transmitted only through the agency of an intermediary host (in this case the cattle tick) - was brought before the leaders of the profession. The paper was briefly discussed by Welch alone, and one wonders whether the great significance of the discovery, which was to be followed by a succession of others - the mosquito in malaria and in yellow fever, the Tsetse fly and sleeping sickness, the flea and plague, and louse and typhus - could then have been fully taken in by Theobald Smith's auditors. There were many other papers of less moment, though the persistent Trudeau not well enough to read his own paper had prepared another report of his researches directed toward the control of experimental tuberculosis.

The chief topic for general discussion, assigned before the meeting, had been myxoedema. Francis P. Kinnicutt of New York was the referee and gave an historical account of the advance in knowledge of the disease and its treatment since 1881 when Ord first gave it its name and showed the convincing group of cases at the International Congress which met that year in London. Subsequent to the report by Horsley and Murray of the summer before, it had been found by Hector MacKenzie that extracts of the gland taken by mouth were as useful therapeutically as when its juices were injected, and Kinnicutt was able to report a case of his own thus treated with benefit, and to collect a few others from the literature. James J. Putnam followed with a paper on the treatment by sheep's thyroids, but there was still so great confusion between myxoedema, exophthalmic goitre and acromegaly that in reviewing the situation today it hardly seems possible that the snarl of the thyroid diseases could ever have become so far untangled as it has been.

Osler followed in turn with a paper on "Sporadic Cretinism in America," and there are certain things about his article which are noteworthy. In the

May
1893

first place, when compared with the papers of his colleagues it indicates an extraordinarily clear grasp of the subject, historical as well as clinical, and he strips his facts of all confusing details. In the second place, it shows the immense amount of labour which he put into the preparation of his papers, for in this instance he had not only made an exhaustive search for cases in the literature but had sent letters of inquiry broadcast to the Superintendents of all the Asylums for the Insane, and Institutions for Feeble-minded Children, in both the United States and Canada, as well as to numberless physicians practising in localities where goitre was supposed to prevail. His picture of that 'pariah of Nature,' the adult cretin, remains a classic.*

*At this same meeting he gave a report upon five 'cases of subphrenic abscess' published in the Canadian Practitioner, and during the year a number of other papers appeared, and are to be found in his bibliography.

(the title of which)

As he had written Lafleur early in the year, he was at work on ^{inflammation;} ~~tubercu-~~ lousis of the serous membrane, for the tendency to regard many of the inflammations of these surfaces as tuberculous was beginning to prevail. Having already dealt with the pericardial infections, he devoted his Shattuck Lec-

June
1893

ture before the Massachusetts Medical Society in Boston, on June 13th, to

"Tuberculous Pleurisy." ^(*) He had made an elaborate study of the subject worthy

of the occasion of this lectureship.* *with*

*His monograph on the subject, first published in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, contains an analysis of the seventeen cases which had been observed since the opening of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. It throws an interesting sidelight on his invariable custom of mentioning the names of all of those who in any way came in contact with the patients whose histories were included; and scattered through the report one finds the names of Flexner, Councilman, Finney, Halsted, Barker, F. R. Smith, Hewetson, Thayer, Rupert Norton, Welch and other members of the staff, as well as those of the physicians who had referred the patients to the hospital.

His feeling in this matter is well expressed in a note scribbled to one of the junior members of the staff who had submitted a paper to him for criticism. It reads as follows: "A.A.1. report! I have added a brief note about the diagnoses. I would mention in the medical report the name of the House Physician in Ward E & the clin. clerk, & under the surgical report the name of the House Surgeon who had charge. We are not nearly particular enough in this respect & should follow the good old Scotch custom Yrs W.O."

~~This lectureship~~ had been established through a bequest made by George

Cheyne Shattuck who had died only three months before in his eightieth year.

He was one of the group of Louis's later American pupils among whom were Henry

I. Bowditch, Stillé, Metcalfe and Gerrard ^{who} / while students in Paris in the

early part of the century, when French medicine was at its apogee, had dif-

ferentiated typhoid from typhus fever - a group of men whose names were often

on Osler's lips. This George Cheyne Shattuck was the son of another Dr.

June
1893

George Cheyne Shattuck, and he of a Dr. Benjamin Shattuck near contemporary

and admirer of George Cheyne the famous old London and Bath physician. ~~At~~ *During*

Osler
this visit Osler stayed with his friend of Vienna days, Dr. F. C. Shattuck

the son of the founder of the lectureship, who himself had a son George Cheever

about to enter medicine, and Osler never ceased to harp on the fact that

neither of these two had borne the full name of George Cheyne: *as in this brief note:*

To F. C. Shattuck from W. O.

1 West Franklin Street,
Baltimore.
Thursday.

Dear Mr. Prof. Dr. F.C.S. - Such a shame you or G should not have been
G.C. but I suppose it is now too late. Look up for me in a spare moment
your father's paper on Typhoid read before the Paris Med. Obser. Soc.
It may be among his old papers. Stillé has his in M.S. Gerhard & Pennock's
is in print. It would be nice to get the Coll of Phy to issue them to-
gether. I will talk to S W M about it. Thanks for a very pleasant visit

Sincerely yours,

W^m Osler

He evidently enjoyed his visit as he did all such occasions, and with
Bowditch, Fitz ^{and} Minot, Chadwick and Brigham in the Medical Library ^{which} whom he
never failed to visit, Councilman who had been made Professor of Pathology

June
1893

in the Harvard school the year before, and his many other old friends as well as Mrs. Osler's relatives to see, his time must have been fully occupied. On his return he writes Lafleur, who had been in Baltimore after the Paediatric Society meeting.

1 West Franklin Street,
Baltimore, June 20, 1893.

Dear Lafleur: I had quite forgotten about the pyjamas. Unless you are in a hurry I will wait for an opportunity to send them, as I dare say if they went by express you would have to pay duty. I wish you would get from Shepherd or from the Library my Volume III of Pepper's System, which is among Ross's books. It is bound in morocco; and then the first chance you have of anybody coming down here send it and the Fagge. I had a delightful visit in Boston and saw Miss McDowell, who is very happy and comfortable at the Newton Cottage Hospital. Walcott asked after you and still seems to have a lingering regret that you are not in Boston. . .

P.S. By the way, perhaps you will find among your books my Herard et Cornil, la Phthisie. I cannot find it anywhere.

In this very recital of the occurrences on several rather noisy meetings. The activities at the Hospital must not be forgotten. Chief was at West London Street was a unit which takes very little as chief concerned
succession of visits ^{where have immolation} and ~~to immolate them~~ ^{this immolation would make a total}
system. But it was to the work of his colleagues that ^{the} their attention was ^{drawn to} chiefly ^{drawn}. Thus
when he discovered hospital
he wrote to George J. Adams who had just been called to emigrate from the University of Cambridge a Professor of Pathology and whom the success of his regulation meeting invited him to the meeting of the Association of Physicians and for a visit in Baltimore as the way there as he would be so good to see the work in Welch's ^{department.}
Welch's laboratory indeed for a decade has been in active operation and has proved a measure for many who ~~became~~ subsequently ~~become~~ committed made names for themselves.

22
19

June
1893

*Among the early group of students who had learned their training in
bacteriological technique was*

George M. Sternberg had been stationed in Baltimore as examiner of re-
cruits in the late 80's and, ^{and at about this time he} ~~as noted, took advantage to work in Welch's labo-~~
^{of the opportunity}
~~ratory learning bacteriological techniques~~ ^{along} with the early group of graduate
~~students.~~ ^{has been} He was succeeded in the early 90's by Walter Reed, who likewise
was given permission by the Washington authorities to take some post-graduate
courses in the Hopkins clinic and laboratories, and there were laid the foun-
dations of the training in bacteriology which first set him to work on yellow
fever, then erroneously ascribed to the bacillus of Sanarelli, ^{due to this} and which led,
ten years later in Cuba, in connection with John Guit  ras, Carroll, and Laz  ar,
to ^{Reed's} ~~the~~ epochal discovery of the r  le played by the mosquito in this once-dreaded
disease.*

*It was not until twenty years after Reed's demonstration of the mode of transmission of yellow fever and when the disease had come largely under control through sanitary measures alone, that Nogouchi of the Rockefeller Institute discovered the bacterial agent, an organism beyond the power of vision in the days when Sanarelli, Sternberg, Reed and others spent much time in a search for the organism with the methods at their command.

To G. M. Sternberg from W. O.

1 West Franklin Street,
June 29, 1893.

Dear Dr. Sternberg: Though late, let me offer you my sincere congratulations on your promotion to the Surgeon Generalship. I had hoped before this to be able to call and offer them in person. I see by this

July-Aug.
1893
Aet. 44.

morning's paper that you have organized your Army Medical School, and I am delighted to see that you have appointed Dr. Reed to one of the Chairs. . . .

3-space
Reed had a winning personality which made him so great a favourite with the early group at the Hopkins that any success he might attain in life would be the source of the greatest gratification to them* and this

*Cf. "Walter Reed and Yellow Fever." by Howard A. Kelly.
New York, McClure, Phillips & Co., 1906.

appointment as director of the pathological laboratory of the new Army Medical School was but the forerunner of many others subsequently bestowed upon men who got their training in Welch's laboratory.

The following note to Ogden, written toward the end of August, tells of his summer movements. It was the year of the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, which they had evidently been urged to attend.

Nobska, Woods' Hole
[undated]

Dear H.V.O. Yours of July 12th has been in my handbag too long unanswered. I was very sorry that we could not go to Chicago, particularly as our friends with whom we were to go were very charming and had a delightful house. ~~Now I cannot make up Mrs Osler's mind about it. She insists that she will not go but I may be able to persuade her to leave early in October.~~ I will let you know, should we decide and we would, of course, see you. We left Balt on the 14th of July, went to Toronto stayed 10 days & then I was called away to Wilkesbarre Mountains - case of typhoid in a family very near & dear to Mrs Osler. After 10 days

Aug.
1893

there we returned to Toronto, spent a week & then on to Montreal. I took Gwen & Bea for a little trip and last Friday we came on here to the Fays', cousins of Mrs O. We then go to Mrs Chapin's at Falmouth (a sister in law) & I shall return about Sept. 3th. I cannot make up my mind about the Pan-American ^[Congress] . . . ~~I don't care for Latin Americans~~ - but I do not like to desert my friends who are in it. You have not been away for six months. Do come & spend a week or ten days in the autumn. There are three spare rooms in the house & I should like you so much to see & know Mrs Osler.

The Pan-American Medical Congress, held in Washington early in September on the invitation of the Government in accordance with a joint resolution of Congress, was elaborately organized under twenty-two sections, and Osler as usual did not 'desert his friends', for William Pepper it may be added was President. The Transactions of this Congress were subsequently issued by the Government Printing Office in two fat volumes within whose covers much excellent work has doubtless been entombed. What is of interest, however, is that Section XXI of the Congress was given over to a discussion of Medical Pedagogics - a novel topic for such a gathering.

Sept.
1893

The question of proper standards of medical education and the essential preparation therefor, was, at the time, on everyone's tongue, and much of the discussion revolved around the heretofore unheard-of requirements for admission announced by the Johns Hopkins School, to go into effect with their incoming first group of undergraduate students.

J. C. Warren who presided gave a detailed account of the development of medical education in the United States, with Harvard as his special text.

R. H. Crittenden presented a strong claim for physiological chemistry as an important preliminary subject which should emphasize the physiological or chemical side of biology as an offset to its morphological or structural side to which medical students up to this time had been largely restricted. H. C. Ernst made a plea for bacteriology as a specialty rather than as a mere handmaid of pathology, and, it may be added, the separation occurred; and now after thirty years of divorce efforts are being made to encourage reunion.

Bayard Holmes from the standpoint of the State universities argued for a shortened course with combined B.A. and M.D. degrees. And papers followed by F. C. Shattuck, William T. Sedgwick, V. C. Vaughan and W. C. Dabney, in the discussion of which Welch, Osler, Fitz and others participated.

The air was surcharged with medical education. Editorials in the journals at home and abroad were devoted to the subject. Unquestionably the medical schools in the United States had been hampered by their low admission requirements, by the absence of close union with the branches of learning comprising the other faculties of a university, by being technical schools where chief stress was laid on the art of medicine, and by the absence of endowment which made the remuneration of the teachers depend wholly on the fees of the students. Even William Pepper had become converted, for in his inaugural address to the students the following month at the University of Pennsylvania where an obligatory four-year course had just been adopted, he referred to the enormity of teaching by lectures and stated that 'the broad basis of modern medical education is the careful training of the individual student at the bedside and in the laboratory.' Thus Osler's five years in Philadelphia were evidently not in vain.

Meanwhile the group of Hopkins people who by their action had precipitated much of this, were not themselves entirely at ease - particularly in regard to the question of co-education.

Oct.
1893

"^[Pierce Dr. Welch]
Gilman, Osler and I were not enthusiastic about the conditions imposed by Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas in the gift of the 'Women's Memorial Fund' which met the announced condition of the Trustees for opening the Medical School. My impression is that neither Osler nor I signed the petition to the Trustees for accepting these conditions, and we sympathized with the fruitless efforts of Mr. Gilman to induce Miss Garrett to make certain comparatively slight, verbal alterations in the terms of the gift, the main change which we desired being the substitution of 'equal' or 'equivalent' for 'same' in specifying the terms for admission and training of women and men students, but she would not budge. Still, we were so eager to start the school that we were glad that the Trustees accepted the gift. As it turned out, the embarrassments and difficulties which we feared in the novel venture of coeducation in medicine never materialized.

"The terms for admission to the Medical School were not the invention of Miss Garrett or Miss Thomas, but years before I had set them down in a document which Mr. Gilman and the Trustees asked me to prepare soon after I came to Baltimore. Miss Garrett got this document through her lawyer, Mr. Gwyn, who was an influential trustee of the University. She naturally supposed that this was exactly what we wanted. It is one thing to build an educational castle in the air at your library table and another to face its actual appearance under the existing circumstance. We were alarmed, and wondered if any students would come or could meet the conditions, for we knew that we could not. As Osler said: "Welch, it is lucky that we get in as professors; we never could enter as students."

Of course, as it turned out, Miss Garrett and Miss Thomas were right,

and we were wrong. These lofty conditions and standards became a principal asset of the school and we have never desired to change them, while recognizing that they are not a model for a national standard."

Oct.
1893The Opening of the Medical School

Fortunately there were strong men with strong convictions at the helm of the Johns Hopkins School, and probably Welch, Osler and Billings had most to do with the program which at this time extended little beyond the mere statement of entrance requirements. For without any definitely prearranged curriculum the school in a happy, seemingly haphazard, and rather Southern fashion was allowed to grow and develop from year to year. The requirements for admission comprised in addition to a bachelor of arts or of science degree a two-years' premedical training in biology, chemistry and physics, with a reading knowledge of French and German - requirements which few collegiate institutions other than the Hopkins itself were prepared to meet, and when it became known that the entering class consisted of only eighteen students, whereas the teachers distributed through the hospital and laboratories considerably outnumbered them, there was doubtless much lifting of eyebrows in medical circles elsewhere.*

Foot note **When the School was opened it was currently supposed that it would have no students. Dr. Billings, who was the librarian

Oct.
1893

of the Surgeon General's Office at that time, and who was advising the Trustees in everything concerning the construction and organization of the hospital, made an address in 1877 on the proposed Medical School, in which he suggested that it would probably never have more than 25 in a class, and probably would be very many more years before it got so many. The second graduating class was 32, and the problem now is altogether one of limiting the numbers. The entrance standard is higher than that of any other medical school in the world." ~~From~~

~~cf.~~ Abraham Flexner's testimony before the Royal Commission on University Education, London, 1911.

But much water had run under the bridge since the exercises attending Gilman's inauguration in 1876 when, without an opening prayer - a perfectly consistent Quaker procedure as H. M. Thomas has pointed out - Huxley had ~~impiously~~ stressed the importance for a medical course, of preliminary biological and chemical studies which his favourite pupil H. Newell Martin ^{Subsequently} ~~had since been~~ conducting. ^{Ed. and} ~~But the~~ public was becoming adjusted to these ideas and to the necessity of a union in spirit as well as in name between medical schools and universities, at whatever sacrifice. Welch had emphatically emphasized this in an ad-

Oct.
1893

dress given at Yale* the year of Osler's appointment: ⁵ And John Billings

"Some Advantages of the Union of Medical School and University." Journal of the American Medical Association, Mar. 30, 1889.

in an article written earlier in the same year* had indicated that this

"Medicine as a Career." Forum, N.Y. 1893, XIV, 725.

higher medical education necessitated a long and expensive preparation. In presenting a hypothetical example he said:

My young friend whose attention I wish to direct to medicine as a career will have spent five years at a good intermediate school as a preliminary to entering the university, which he does when he is about seventeen years old. He spent three or four years at the university, four years at the medical school, one and one-half years in the hospital, and two years in travel and special studies. When, therefore, he is ready to begin work he will be about twenty-eight years old, and his education, living, books, etc., will have cost about eight thousand dollars from the time he entered the university. It can be done for less, but this is a fair average estimate.

To these beginnings may be traced our present educational quandaries for this program has widely come into effect, the only difference being that Billings placed the age of entering college two years lower than the

average, so that his hypothetical young friend would be thirty rather than twenty-eight when ready to begin the practice of an arduous profession, the first years of which are apt to be years of patient drudgery.

¶ But Billings and his colleagues had something else in mind than the average medical aspirant, namely, the training of selected men as teachers and investigators. And though they did not come under Osler's immediate influence until two years later, probably no group of medical students ever started their education with more brilliant prospects or had more devoted attention paid to them than the small ^{Cotter's} ~~group~~ who entered the Hopkins School in this fall of 1893. They started in very simply, these first ^{eighteen} ~~seventeen~~, three of whom were women, and were it not too great a digression it would be interesting to learn ^{whence} ~~where~~ they had come ~~from~~ and what happened to them, one and all, during as well as after their four years' course ^{~~which began when finished,~~} for several of them made notable contributions to medicine even before graduation and their subsequent careers show what may be done with a small group of students under equally favourable circumstances. It must have been something of a shock to find themselves planted in the unpretentious factory-like building which Mall the ana-

Oct.
1893

tomist and Abel the pharmacologist then occupied*, and to find that they were

*Physiology was then taught in the university laboratory 'across town' by W. H. Howell, Newell Martin's ~~favourite~~ pupil, who had been recalled from Harvard. Poor Martin's scientific career, so full of brilliant promise ended at about this time.

not going to be stuffed with knowledge previously accumulated but were to be given plenty of opportunities to acquire wisdom for themselves - but this is a side-issue from Osler.

Until it was time for these students to finish their course the house positions were filled by ^{a picked group of} young men, graduates of other schools, a picked group from Toronto successively holding posts on Osler's staff - the last of whom, sometime later, was John McCrae the soldier-poet and pathologist who later became Adami's assistant at McGill. It was a happy and intimate family, and by the students the three heads of departments: Welch, Osler and Halsted, were soon nicknamed 'Popsey', 'The Chief', and 'The Professor.' Outsiders came to complain that the Hopkins group was a 'Society for Mutual Admiration,' and if this may be taken to mean that good feeling, friendliness, charitableness and helpfulness prevailed - enviable qualities enough in schools where they were less in evidence - the epithet was not misplaced. Nor could other than

8/12/14.
foot note

Oct.
1893

happiness and good feeling have prevailed in a group of which 'The Chief' made one.

~~It seems inevitable that a long-established community should become~~

~~Chauvanistic, and there is no gainsaying that the university and hospital~~

~~bearing the name of its none too greatly beloved founder, was looked upon~~

~~by Baltimoreans themselves by the more clannish Baltimoreans who naturally cling to their local~~
~~somewhat askance during these early years; and this was not helped by the~~ *medical writers*

~~fact that a far-seeing Board of Trustees had seen fit to import strangers~~

~~to fill the more important posts - and with few exceptions Northerners at~~

~~that. But chosen with Mr. Gilman's unerring judgment the chiefs were en-~~

~~ergetic and public-spirited men, not only eminent in their respective callings~~

~~but sufficiently cosmopolitan to merge themselves in the community and suf-~~

~~fuse it with new life.~~

The medical profession, perhaps more than others, guards its local prerogatives with jealousy. There were already five medical schools in the city, 'resulting', as has been said somewhat cynically, 'in the division of the profession into as many hostile camps, all the members of which extended any remaining hostility to the Hopkins institutions.'

Oct.
1893

But largely through Osler's personal charm and likableness this feeling was entirely overcome, factions were brought together, hostility vanished, all sharing alike in the reputation being built up for Baltimore as a great medical centre, and there is little wonder that his departure ^{twelve} fifteen years later was looked upon as a civic calamity which roused a wail of lamentation.

He had sent Thayer abroad for a period of study this fall, which threw some added responsibility on his shoulders, and he was probably, at this time, working over the chapters he had promised for the second volume of Pepper's Text-book. Meanwhile he was looking forward to a period of 'brain dusting' for himself the following summer, as the next letter shows.

~~Schäfer was President of one of the sections of the British Association, for its 1894 meeting.~~

To Prof. Edward S. Schäfer from W. O.

1 West Franklin St.
Oct. 3, '93

Dear Schäfer The invitation of the Executive Committee of the B.A.A.S. came I suppose through you. I hope to be at the meeting. Our intention is to leave on the 26th of May for Paris direct, and shall reach London about the middle of July. If you think it would be of interest, I might

Oct.
1893

present a short paper at your section on "The Significance of Leucocytosis." Have you seen anything of Martin? He left for London about ten weeks ago... As you have perhaps heard he has had a sad break up - domestic worries, wife's death, alcohol.* He resigned last Summer and

~~*Newell Martin.~~

I hoped that six months at a quiet place, under strict control, would cure the habit, but it recurred. He left however in good spirits & after a month in one of the private rooms at the Hospital he was better than he had been for months. Love to all at home. Sincerely yours,

Wm Osler.

It was in the fall of this year that Charcot died and before the Historical Club Osler gave an account of him which he thus introduced;

Now and again there is given to medicine a man whose life and work make an enduring impression, and who, escaping the thralls of nationalism, becomes a cosmopolitan teacher and leader. The latter half of this century has had only three or four such men: Lister in Great Britain, Virchow and Koch in Germany, Pasteur in France - men who have revolutionised medicine by brilliant discoveries and by the introduction of new methods, and who have moulded anew our works and ways, and have widened the horizon of our thoughts. In this select circle, by virtue of extraordinary labours, the suffrages of our Guild, the world over, had placed Jean-Martin Charcot, whose sudden death on August the 16th has been so universally deplored.*

Footnote { "Jean-Martin Charcot." Memorial Notice by Professor Osler. Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, Sept., 1893, 4, 87-8.

Oct.
1894

Some of these words were prophetic of the position he was rapidly coming to hold himself, and that without brilliant discoveries but merely as the most greatly beloved as well as the most cosmopolitan of all teachers and leaders the profession has known. For if he introduced no new methods to revolutionize medicine he did much to help revolutionize the clinical teaching of medicine; though for two years more he had to put up with the 'dry husks of post-graduate instruction.'

During this fall term his six carefully prepared lectures on 'The Diagnosis of Abdominal Tumours,' subsequently collected and published (1895) in book form,* were delivered before the post-graduates, the last of them on

[*Published also in the New York Medical Journal, 1894.]

"Tumours of the Kidney" having been given December 26th. He restricted himself to the report of sixty-seven cases, many of them most unusual ones, which had been admitted to the hospital during the course of the year. The first twenty-four cases were examples of gastric tumour, and it must be recalled that in the early '90's these conditions had hardly begun to be turned

Fall
1893

over to the surgeon, and then only with misgivings, fully justified in view of the advanced condition which the disease had often reached before it was recognized. Osler's intent, evidently, was to compare so far as possible for the benefit of the graduate students the provisional clinical diagnoses and subsequent findings either at autopsy or at operation; and although the lectures are historically interesting and admirably presented, it ^{may} suffice to quote ~~two~~ ^{this clearing the} paragraphs ^{was what he closed the last of them in Bremen!} In the introduction of his first lecture, he says:

In the diagnosis of abdominal tumours Bishop Butler's maxim that 'probability is the rule of life' is particularly true, and the cocksureness of the clinical physician, who formerly had to dread only the mortifying disclosures of the post-mortem room, is now wisely tempered when the surgeon can so promptly and safely decide upon the nature of an obscure case.

And he concludes his last lecture three months later, as follows:

In the series of cases which we have studied together you have had many illustrations of how far the reasonable probability of Bishop Butler [#] will carry the clinical physician in his endeavours to determine the nature of an abdominal tumour. You will have noticed in how many cases the surgeon

"Probability is the rule of life" was the maxim of Bishop Butler with which Osler opened the lectures.

Dec.
1893

made it a certainty, not, unhappily, in diagnosis only, but also in prognosis. But desperate cases require desperate remedies, and in no single instance were the chances of a patient damaged by the exploratory incision.

Amid many pleasant memories of Berlin, just twenty years ago this session, none recur more persistently than those associated with that true Asclepiad, Ludwig Traube, who, adding probity to learning, sagacity, and humanity, reached the full stature of the Hippocratean physician. When acknowledging some error he would say - often in a soft, meditative manner, as if gently reproaching himself - Have we carefully observed all the facts of the case? Yes. Did the art permit of a judgment on the facts under consideration? Yes. Did we reason correctly upon the data before us? No. Wir haben nicht richtig gedacht. And with these significant words - may they long echo in your ears! - let us close the exercises of the session.*

["Abdominal Tumours." D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1895.

One may read between the lines of these ¹⁵quotations something of his relation to surgeons and surgery. At this time (1893), as may be recalled, appendicitis was still largely regarded as a medical disorder, the surgery of the gall-bladder had scarcely begun, whereas the stomach and the duodenum ^{lay in} ~~were~~ surgical fields almost unexplored. The sections of his text-book dealing with therapeutics, critics had regarded as the weakest portions of the volume, and his courageously expressed views upon the futility of many of

Dec.
1893

the drugs in common usage had been termed nihilistic. Perhaps because of this, perhaps because of his powers of visualizing disease gained through his wide experience in the post-mortem room, he was far more tolerant than most of his contemporaries with the ^{So called} surgical invasion of the long-time province of internal medicine which took place during the next twenty years. He knew surgeons well, and their particular point of view, and it has been said of him that few physicians have ever shown better surgical judgment, nor had a more instinctive and certain knowledge of the proper moment for surgical intervention.

The year ended with his usual Christmas visit to gladden the hearts of parents and kinsfolk in Toronto.

1894.

1894Jan.
1894*permit me to follow*

There are scraps of letters which ~~give a faint idea~~ of his literary and professional activities during this year.

To H. V. Ogden from W.O.No. 1 West Franklin St.
Jan. 23, 1894.

Dear Ogden:- I am due in Chicago on Wednesday, February 7th, to attend a committee about the Association of American Medical Colleges. If I gave you Thursday evening in Milwaukee I could get back, I suppose, in time on Friday to take the Limited, as I must be here on Saturday. I should be very glad to meet some of the boys at a quiet little dinner - not too many of them of course; just some of your special friends.

When will you have your paper on alcaptonuria ready? Davis I know will be delighted to have it, and carefully studied cases are so rare that it would make a very satisfactory communication. . .

A constant worker and writer himself, he rarely failed to spur on his friends and pupils into productivity; and he dogged Ogden about this subject of alcaptonuria in letter after letter until it was written up and published. Some one of his pupils has said that much as he delighted in getting a postcard from 'The Chief' it was not an unalloyed pleasure for it usually contained a memorandum which meant a lot of work for someone. But his own pen set an example and his juniors needed little prodding to get out their reports.

Feb.
1894To H. A. Lafleur from W. O.1 West Franklin St.,
Baltimore, Feb. 10, '94.

Dear Lafleur:- The highly-scented second volume of the American Text-book of Medicine* is here, and I will take the first opportunity of sending

Foot note

The articles in this, Pepper's second volume, which Osler had been working on the year before, represented 64 very carefully worked-over printed pages. The first section "On Diseases of the Suprarenal Capsules and Ductless Glands" compared to its present-day extent represented a very small subject including only the thymus, thyroid and adrenal. The second and larger section, on "Diseases of the Blood" was a subject then being intensively studied, and one which Osler's experience made him particularly fitted to generalize upon. ~~in such a work. In a review of the volume signed "E.Y.D.", Osler's chapters on the blood came in for special criticism. (?)~~

*See Chap. XII, p. 33.
also "XIV" p. 44*

it. You might let me know if you hear of a chance.

Things go on much the same here. In a few days you will have our Typhoid Fever Report,* in which you will recognize a number of old friends.

Foot note

*The "Typhoid Fever Report" ^{consisted of} represented a collection of eight papers, four of them his own - a matter of 90 printed pages. In the more interesting of the 'three tuberculosis pamphlets' he made a strong plea for the registration of pulmonary tuberculosis.

Hewetson and Thayer are working hard at the malaria material.

I send you three tuberculosis pamphlets. In that Toxaemia case there was a serious error of omission, as there was no tuberculosis of the cerebrospinal system. Mrs. Osler sends kind regards.

Osler, indeed, was coming to be much called upon, not only for his head and heart but for his willing pen, and it doubtless explains the character of

Spring
1894

his correspondence, for abundant though it was in amount, it grew, as his obligations for more serious writing increased, to be more and more laconic in-
studied brevity. Thus, a note at this time to Dr. William Pepper, whose re-
signation from the position he had held for thirteen years as Provost had been
made public the ~~very~~ day before in a remarkable letter to the Trustees of the
University of Pennsylvania, reads as follows:

1 West Franklin St.
4-25-94

Dear Pepper Glad & sorry that you have resigned, but you have done your
share. A thousand congratulations on the splendid work you have accom-
plished. Yours ever, W^m Osler.

Another example of his brevity is given in the appendix of an address
delivered by Weir Mitchell in this same year.* Dr. Mitchell had sent out a

*Journal of Nervous & Mental Diseases, July 1894, xxi, 413.

questionnaire to a number of physicians for an expression of opinion on the
existing conditions in the asylums for the insane in America - their present
faults and changes to be recommended. Most of the replies covered one or two
printed pages. Osler wrote as follows, probably on a postcard, *giving in a nutshell*
all the others have said at length.

Spring
1894

The needs are:

- (1) Emancipation from politics.
 - (2) The separation of executive and professional functions.
 - (3) A staff of assistants trained in modern psychological and pathological methods.
- Yours, W.O.

Osler, however, ~~When necessary~~ could get a great deal more than this on a postcard - as could also Egerton Y. Davis, - a favourite ready-at-hand medium of correspondence for both of them as has been pointed out. The following, postmarked March 27 of this year, was scribbled to H. P. Bowditch, doubtless when E.Y.D. had arisen from the lone breakfast he was accustomed to share with a book at 7.30 a.m. Osler himself, as may be recalled, was a teetotaler, but E.Y.D. perhaps held different views.

1 West Franklin St.

Dear Bowditch That Committee of, & on, drink & drinks & particularly that section of it with which you are concerned, viz. on the deaths from much drink, would do well to investigate the effects immediate & remote of the ~~Boston~~ ^{Berlin} Congress spree. I am reminded of it this a m at breakfast (Ham & eggs again!) by my friend Mr Plutarch who in his life of Alexander gives an account of a rattling old drunk in which "Promachus drunk four measures of wine & carried off the crown but survived it only 3 days." Forty three of the guests died! Love to the family all. Yours ever

Egerton Y. Davis

This postcard alludes to the Committee of Fifty which had been organized the year before for the purpose of accumulating some dependable facts ^{divorced from opinions,} regarding the liquor problem. Four subcommittees had been appointed to consider (1) the physiological, (2) the legislative, (3) the economic, and (4) the ethical side of the question. Of the first of these subcommittees John S. Billings was Chairman and H. P. Bowditch one of the members, and Osler among many others who were not ~~directly~~ ^{themselves actually} members of the original committee had been called upon frequently for their advice regarding the investigations in progress. Osler knew well enough that it was a serious investigation, ~~and~~ ^{his} It was M'Connachie that made him appear trivial.

What ^{he} ~~Osler~~ really felt about ^{the use and abuse} alcohol, which as a physician he almost never prescribed, is shown in a note acknowledging a reprint of a paper dealing with the evil effects of drink which he had received from a friend in the South.

He wrote on ^{his} the usual ^{medium:} postcard: "That was a good address but you are a little hard on Bacchus who after all is a pretty good fellow - when sober. W.O."

Spring
1894

He was beginning to suffer the penalty of his position, his popularity, and literary ability, by being called upon for frequent public addresses which, in the midst of his more serious professional work he somehow found time to prepare. Though he ^{at times} sometimes fretted under these tasks, he found it hard to refuse an appeal. There were ^{four} ~~three~~ of these addresses during the following twelve months. ~~The~~ first, on the appeal of Sternberg the Surgeon General, ^{being} ~~was~~ given on February 24th ~~at the close of their four months' session~~ before the students of the Army Medical School, in whose laboratories, as has been told, Walter Reed was at work. This may have ~~helped to~~ influence^d him, ~~though~~ ~~in accepting the invitation, but~~ he was always ready to lend himself in when his spoken word was likely to be of help; and the ~~struggling~~ Medical Corps of the Army, then as now, needed the moral support of the profession at large, of which Osler was coming to be the most sought-after spokesman.

He chose as his title "The Army Surgeon"* and spoke ~~in well-chosen words~~

*Reprinted as No. IV in "Aequanimitas and Other Addresses."

Spring
1894

of the meaning and methods of work - 'the value of experience is not in seeing much but in seeing wisely' - and he pointed out wherein existed the opportunities of research for members of the medical corps even though stationed in remote army posts, provided one followed the maxim of the Sage of Chelsea. He pointed out ^{also} that 'permanence of residence, good undoubtedly for the pocket, is not always best for wide mental vision in the physician,' and quoted Sir Thomas Browne's words regarding the nimble and conceited heads that never look beyond their nests and plume themselves on light attainments.

Fortunate it is for you that the service in one place is never long enough to let the roots strike so deeply as to make the process of transplantation too painful. Myself a peripatetic, I know what it is to bear the scars of parting from comrades and friends, scars which sometimes ache as the memories recur of the days which have flown and of the old familiar faces which have gone.

And after much good and stimulating advice he ^{closed} ~~ended~~ with the story of Beaumont, and Alexis St. Martin, (so often told to ^{his} students) even in his Montreal days - ^{the} ~~a~~ story he is to use likewise on another occasion [Cf. Chapter XXI, p. 47, 1902], 'of a man who amid circumstances the most unfavourable saw his opportunity and was quick to grasp the skirts of happy chance.' In all

Spring
1894

this he had in mind the army surgeon in times of peace, unconscious that the young men before him were destined twenty years later to be divisional surgeons serving in France, and he himself an honorary Colonel and Consultant in a war undreamed of, in which bullets were to be more numerous than bacilli.

Early in the spring ^{in a letter} ~~he sent word~~ to Ogden; ^{on which mentions their summer plans} ~~"We sail on May 24th on the Columbia for Paris where I shall be four or five weeks and then go on to England."~~ ^{of a trip abroad, he says}

"I have already made a number of corrections for a new edition of my text-book ~~as~~ ^{for} my contract calls for a triennial revision. I shall be very glad indeed to have your list of corrections. I send you some typhoid material (printed) which may be of interest. When is that paper of yours to come out?" But his own work was in arrears, as he indicates in ^{the following} ~~a letter~~ of May 17th to Lafleur:

Dear Lafleur:- To tell you the truth I quite overlooked that list. I will write to Billings, but I have an idea that they are not allowed to send books outside of the country.

We have postponed our sailing to July 12th, on the Fürst Bismark. We had taken passage for next week, but I have three or four things unfinished that would have spoiled my holiday, so that I decided it would be better to postpone it, and then stay a little later in the autumn.

May
1894

With the exception of a week in June, which I shall spend in Boston, I shall be at home now until we sail, and I wish you would come down and spend a week here. You could run over to Washington every day. Why shouldn't you come ~~down~~ to the meeting of the Congress? You will see see a number of old friends, and it will be very pleasant.

Among the things unfinished were possibly ~~an important~~^{the} address entitled

"The Leaven of Science" delivered four days later, on May 21st, at the open-

ing of the Wistar Institute of Anatomy in Philadelphia. This institution,

since so well known, was founded by General Isaac J. Wistar a member of the

Biological Club, in memory of his grand-uncle Caspar Wistar, one of the

most notable of the famous succession of anatomists at the University of

Pennsylvania School - Physick, Shippen, Wistar, Dorsey, Horner, Gibson and

Leidy. *After a paper eulogium of these men the ~~subject~~ ^{agent on}* It was an admirable address, ~~over which he must have taken great~~

reprinted as No V
*Subsequently republished in his collected addresses: "Aequanimitas &c", 1904.

pains, and he turns from a eulogium of these men to a discussion of anatomy

and its place in medical science, weaving his account around a story ^{ascribed} told of

Barclay the English anatomist, of the reapers, the gleaners, and finally of

the geese who still continue to pick up a few scattered grains among the

May
1894

stubble. ^{Then} turning to Pepper, ~~the Provost~~ who was to lay down his duties a
and who had done so much for the material progress of the University, he continued:
month later, he closed with these lines.

One of the many fertile fancies of the 'laughing philosopher,' a happy anticipation again of an idea peculiarly modern, was that of the influence upon us for weal or woe of Externals, of the idola, images, and effluences which encompass us - of Externals upon which so much of our happiness, yes, so much of our every character depends. The trend of scientific thought in this, as in the atomic theory, has reverted to the Sage of Abdera; and if environment really means so much, how all-important a feature in education must be the nature of these encompassing effluences. This magnificent structure, so admirably adapted to the prosecution of that science from which modern thought has drawn its most fruitful inspirations, gives completeness to the already exhilarating milieu of this University. Here at last, and largely owing to your indomitable energy, Mr. Provost, are gathered all the externals which make up a Schola major worthy of this great Commonwealth. What, after all, is education but a subtle, slowly-affected change, due to the action upon us of the Externals; of the written record of the great minds of all ages, of the beautiful and harmonious surroundings of nature and of art, and of the lives, good or ill, of our fellows - these alone educate us, these alone mould the developing minds. Within the bounds of this campus these influences will lead successive generations of youth from matriculation in the college to graduation in the special school, the complex, varied influences of Art, of Science, and of Charity; of Art, the highest development of which can

May
1894

only come with that sustaining love for ideals which 'burn bright or dim as each are mirrors of the fire for which all thirst'; of Science, the cold logic of which keeps the mind independent and free from the toils of self-deception and half-knowledge; of Charity, in which we of the medical profession, to walk worthily, must live and move and have our being.

That the address was far from the perfunctory ^{sort} ~~kind~~ with which audiences are often afflicted on such occasions, is evident from a letter written to him by Alfred Stillé, then in his eighty-second year, in which he says:

In looking back over my professional life I think that the best teachers were these who were most successful in raising students out of the pit of short-sighted utilitarianism, and helping them to stand upon hill-tops that commanded a survey not only of the present but of the past and the probable future. For such teaching to be profitable, students must enter upon their professional studies with a clear understanding that the medicine of today is the child of the past and the father of that which shall be hereafter; and it seems to me that such is the spirit of your own thoughts.

And L. C. Lane of San Francisco, ^{the founder of the Lane Lectureship} wrote:

Pliny in Panegyricus Trojano dictus says: Arcus enim et statuas aras etiam templaque demolitur et obscurat oblivio, negligit carpitque posteritas: your eulogy of Shippen, Wistar and Leidy is an exception to what prevails as much in our times as in the days of Pliny Junior. The young hasten to bury and forget the dead. Fortunately one occasionally hears

May - June
1894

words such as yours which are a rebuke to such a spirit; and in such words still to quote from Pliny - sunt honores in quos nihil flammis, nihil senectuti nihil successeribus licet: vera gloria sempiterna est.

The ~~third~~ Triennial Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons, to which he referred in the ^{last} letter to Lafleur, met in Washington a few days later - May 29th to June 1st. It was not unlike other gatherings of the sort, with addresses and papers before the various special societies, with dinners and receptions, one of them at the White House - it was during Grover Cleveland's term. Washington, like other places indeed, is at its very best the last week in May, and so it was this year ¹⁸⁹⁴ even though its legislative halls were wrangling over the 'trusts' and Coxey's army was threatening to descend upon them. Moreover, there was a doctor in the Senate - at least he had had a course in a homeopathic medical school - who was on the eve of making trouble for the profession, ^{by the introduction of} ~~and ere long~~ a succession of antivivisection bills, ~~were introduced or at least fathered by Senator~~ Callinger, ^{which would be seen} ~~and one of them~~ was only defeated by a narrow margin.

Alfred L. Loomis of New York who was President of the Congress made 'animal experimentation' the subject of his presidential address*, and a resolu-

*"The Influence of Animal Experimentation on Medical Science."

June
1894

tion was introduced before the Congress by William H. Welch protesting against any legislation tending to interfere with the advancement of medicine by means of experimentation conducted by properly qualified persons. Welch, indeed, introduced resolutions of this kind before a great number of medical and scientific societies, and when the most serious test came four years later, he bore, as will be told, the chief burden of so organizing public opinion that ^{Senator} Gallinger's bill was defeated.

June
1894

There was one strong argument in favour of animal experimentation
~~One argument~~ that could not be advanced at this time for it was a year
Months before Behring's
too early for returns, ~~was that regarding the successful elaboration of~~
had been announced and received with
antitoxins against diphtheria and tetanus, ~~for there was~~ great enthusiasm
Behring's
at this time over ~~Billings's~~ discovery; for diphtheria was prevalent and
hopes were raised that a boundless field for serum therapy was about to
opened up.
be ~~laid open~~ for many diseases. It was thought to be the beginning *only* of
a new era in treatment of infectious diseases and in the curing of epi-
demics one of which, bubonic plague, was raging at this *very* time in Southern
China.*

*It was in connection with this epidemic, to investigate which Kitasato had been sent by the Japanese Government, that the discovery of the specific organism ~~was made~~ of plague.
was made

Close
This June saw the ~~end~~ of the first year of the Hopkins Medical School,
and though another twelve months elapsed before the students come directly
under Osler's tutelage he was prevailed upon by his friend Chadwick of
Boston to attend a meeting of the Harvard Medical Alumni Association held
toward the end of June, shortly before his sailing, and *to* say something regard-

June
1894

ing their Baltimore programme. His informal remarks were taken down and appeared unedited in print.* Apparently after making some apologies for

*Bulletin Harvard Medical Alumni Association, 1894, No. 7, pp. 39-43.

the length of the course their requirements demanded, and suggesting that an arrangement might come to pass similar to that in existence in Cambridge, England, whereby the preclinical studies would come to be regarded as proper subjects counting for an academic degree, Osler continued in lighter vein to consider another way in which the Johns Hopkins School differed from others. This, his second point, was:

.. . . an extremely delicate one, - namely, coeducation. It has wrung your withers here to some slight extent. When I parted from my preceptor, he gave me a copy of the Apocrypha, on the title-page of which he wrote, "When a woman woos, what woman's son will sourly leave her till she hath prevailed?" Now, while on principle I am opposed to coeducation, guided as I have always been by the Apocrypha and my preceptor, I was warmly in favour of it particularly when the ladies came forward with half a million dollars. You know,

of course, that this was offered to Harvard Medical School, and that President Eliot and the late Dean struggled over the offer a good deal. We had but one serious opponent in Johns Hopkins, - Dr. Councilman, who, brought up in theological schools, and with a strong theological bias, was opposed most thoroughly to coeducation, and would have nothing to do with it. Accordingly, we made a bargain with President Eliot and Dr. Bowditch. We took the money, and you took the man. ~~(Applause.)~~ We have coeducation without Councilman, and you get Councilman without coeducation. All our plans succeeded, and everything went smoothly and nicely and quietly. The Board of Lady Supervisors arranged with President Gilman and Dr. Welch, the Dean, that Minerva Medica should not be the presiding goddess, - she was not good enough, - but that the elder Aphrodite, the motherless daughter of Uranus, should be installed as the presiding genius of the School. Under her there would be loyal devotion to truth, to science, and to work. The younger Aphrodite, the daughter of Dione and Jupiter, was banished, and ordered not to be seen within the halls. ~~(laughter.)~~

When you go against nature, you fail utterly. I come here to-day with tears in my eyes and sorrow at my heart to tell you that coeducation has proved an absolute failure, from the elder Aphrodite's standpoint. When I tell you that thirty-three and a third per cent. of the lady students admitted to the first year of the Medical Faculty of the Johns Hopkins University are, at the end of one short session, to be married ~~(great laughter)~~, then you will understand why I say that coeducation is a failure. If we lose thirty-three and a third per cent. at the

June-July
1894
Aet. 45.

end of the first session where will the class of lady students be at the end of the fourth?* In all other respects coeducation is a great success.

*It is only just to remark (in view of the very large percentage) that there were only three ladies in the first year. *[One of them married the Professor & another]*

They sailed for England July 12th, and from London, where rooms were taken at 40 Clarges Street, he writes his assistant, W. S. Thayer.

To W. S. Thayer from W. O.

24th [July]

Dear Thayer I see the Sydenham Soc. has issued the monographs of Marchiafava & Bignani & Mannaberg, with the plates. I will ask about the cost of reproduction We are comfortably settled at above address & are enjoying London immensely. After all it is the world. We had a delightful voyage, not a moments uneasiness. The Robin Robbs dined with us on Sunday. They have been honeymooning at Cliveden forsooth! with the Astors. Robin now takes a 7.75 Lincoln & Bennett, has double soles on his shoes & wears an eye glass. They left on Monday for Paris ^[Paris] Mitchell is here, & a great success. In the profession I have only seen a few of my friends as we do not wish to begin a round of dinners I go to Bristol next Tuesday & on to Falmouth. I send you a St Pauls, the frontispiece please show Krafft-Ebing - 'twill interest him. I hope you are not burdened with work. Love to all the boys. Tell Billings I have not yet seen the Ords. I shall go there tomorrow. Send me word now & again how everything is progressing. Mrs Osler sends love to all. Yours ever,
W. O.

Summer
1894To W. S. Thayer from W. O.

Monday

Dear Thayer Yours & the book came this am. Thanks I will ask for estimates on the plates. We have been enjoying London so much - theatres dinners etc. I have not seen many Drs. except at the Comitia of the R C P and at the dinner in the eve. They put me next to the president who pumped me dry about our work. Dear old Wilks too has a great idea of the future of the Hopkins. I have been at Gowers' for several evenings. He is much better tho still a little excitable. I went with Horsley to a private operation on Friday. He took out a dural sarcoma about the size of his fist which had been growing for 15 years & had caused fits supposed by a long series of neurologists to be truly Epileptic. . . .

I am so distressed to hear of Harry Thomas. The apices seemed clear when I examined him six weeks ago. There was a pleural friction on the left side. I remember in his former attack of pleurisy with effusion that he had some suspicious crackles at the left mammary region but I thought them pleuritic. I am going tomorrow with Blackader, Roddick, Stewart & De Schweinitz to the B.M.A. at Bristol & then on to Falmouth. We go on the 8th to Oxford & after that to the sea for a fortnight. Then to Paris for a week & back here again. Let me know if I can get you anything. I will write H.T. at the Adirondacks. Poor fellow it seems very cruel, just as he is getting on so nicely & developing so well. Love to Barker & all the boys Yours
W. O.

Aug.
1894

The British Medical Association met in Bristol the first week in August and there Osler with Hale-White and others participated in a symposium on the general subject of pyrexia (fever) and its treatment.* This meeting

*Unpublished. Probably formed the basis of his paper "Hyperpyrexia in Typhoid Fever" before the Johns Hopkins Medical Society a year later.

was immediately followed by another and far more distinguished gathering in Oxford of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. It was a memorable occasion, chiefly because Huxley who only the year before had given the ~~Rowan~~ Lecture on "Evolution and Ethics" from the same platform, was again in the Sheldonian Theatre. But the circumstances were very different from those when in 1860 at the last meeting in Oxford of the same Association he had rebuked Wilberforce. The Marquis of Salisbury, the Chancellor of the University, presided and in his opening address dwelt somewhat sarcastically on the revolt against Aristotle by the growing sciences of observation, and in regard to evolution stated that "the laity may be excused for returning a verdict of 'not proven' upon the wider issues the Darwinian School had raised." Huxley, who had been

Aug.
1894

engaged to second the customary vote of thanks for the address, sat through it, it is said, tapping his foot but, as he subsequently wrote, resisted temptation and 'conveyed criticism in the form of thanks.' ¶ As interested spectators the Oslers sat in a little pulpit-like place in the Sheldonian and listened to these exchanges, little dreaming how familiar the scene was to become some day when instead of being guests in rooms at the Clarendon Hotel they were to become most abundant hosts on similar occasions to many wayfarers, ^{in what came to be known} as "The Open Arms." Nor could anything have been ^{by} farther from Osler's imaginings than that just twenty-five years later he would be addressing an audience in the home of Roger Bacon in a conciliatory vein on "The Old Humanities and the New Science."

The usual scientific sessions followed, sessions interspersed by the gastronomic festivities customary to such gatherings - a formal public dinner of course, at which Burdon-Sanderson, to the amusement of his pupils of former University College days, appeared unconscious that he wore no tie. More informally they lunched with Sir Henry Ackland who, owing to

Aug.
1894

the infirmities of age, was soon to resign the Regius Professorship, and thereby hangs ^{a tale,} ~~an incident~~ worth relating.

On first entering his library, Osler exclaimed with delight at the panel of three portraits, ^f Linacre, Harvey and Sydenham, which ^{stood} ~~was~~ over *Acland's* ~~the~~ mantel. He made such an ado about them that Mrs. Osler subsequently asked Sir Henry if they might not be copied for him as a birthday present. This was done, and in turn the triumvirate came to adorn the mantel of his own library and office at 1 West Franklin Street, a familiar sight to countless students, friends and patients. In time this same panel was to dominate Osler's library in Oxford, for though his teacher Burdon-Sanderson came between, it would almost seem as though *Acland* had knowingly handed on an emblem of the Regius Professorship to the man destined in the whirligig of time and place to be his successor.

On the last day of the meeting, a bust of Thomas Sydenham was unveiled by Salisbury in the Oxford Museum - a science hall which *Acland* and Ruskin had succeeded in erecting in the very centre of classical Oxford. The address on Sydenham ~~was~~ given by *Acland* on this occasion is

Aug.
1894

mentioned in the next letter, written from Swansea.

To W. S. Thayer from W.O.

The Langland Bay Hotel,
Langland, Sunday 19th.

Dear Thayer We have been here, in a sort of Welsh paradise, since Tuesday. Delightful Hotel - managed in a way that would warm Mr Emorys heart - and as you see a fine beach. But the thermometer has not gone above 65 since since Aug 1st so that for my cold marrow bathing is impossible. The walks are good & we spend the mornings on the rocks. Swansea is only six miles away & my niece May Francis, Mrs. Chas. Bath, lives just outside the town, & my Father has a whole tribe of cousins here many of whom I have never seen. You would have been astonished to see me at cricket yesterday I am stiff today from the exercise. The Oxford meeting was a great success - socially at any rate & we enjoyed it very much. I dare say Barker showed you the letter I wrote him while there. We go on to St Davids, on Tuesday & Tenby & shall return to London about Sept 1st Then shall have a week in Paris. Write if I can get you anything. Send your Typhoid paper to Professor Sherrington Brown Institution Wandsworth Rd. London S.E. We saw so much of Hans Virchow, who is wildly enthusiastic about America. Hale White, Pye Smith, Broadbent & others were at the meeting. I have received some interesting photos from Sir Henry Acland, whose address on Sydenham I have sent to the News. Poor Gould has been laid up - was ill in London - also at Bristol, where I had to take his place at the dinner. Fortunately Dawson Williams edited my remarks about Hart & his missionary work, which was evidently taken au serieux, judging from the report in the Journal. I am reading proofs of my little monograph on chorea - How is the Malaria?

Aug.
1894

I suppose you are melted & worked to death. Thank Smith for his letter. I am sure the locum tenens is a great success. Miss H. returns Sept 1st and will be at your disposal. I want her tho. to go over all the old cases & add the anatom. Diagnoses. I will send you a memo of what I want her to do so that you may know how much there is.

Love to all the boys - Billings, Norton, Oppenheim, Carter, Barker, Flexner & others - not forgetting Mr Emory & Mrs Bonner. Yours ever

W. O.

The 'little monograph on chorea' whose English edition was dedicated to Gowers and the American one to Weir Mitchell, and which he had been compiling during the summer, had entailed a large amount of work. Among other traces of it which are preserved, is an extensive correspondence with George Huntington who was the first to describe the hereditary form of chorea, and it is ^{evident} ~~apparent~~ that Osler had planned to go to Long Island for the purpose of studying the cases at first hand, though it does not appear that this plan was consummated.

Monmouth
24th [August 1894]

Dear Thayer I was very glad to have your nice long letter which reached me at Tenby. We were nearly frozen in South Wales - so cold & damp & we came on here yesterday for the Yoze valley which is divine. Today we were rowed 12 miles down to Tintern Abbey We go up the river to Hereford & then to London.

Aug.-Oct.
1894

I am delighted to hear good accounts of the malaria. I am sure it will be a very telling piece of work. Did you do anything about the sub-cut. fibroid case? Dictate a lecture to Miss H. on it. I am sorry to say we shall not be back until Oct 1st and as I must see you for a couple of days you & Smith might postpone the sailing until the 5th. You need not hurry back you will have earned a good six weeks. We shall go directly from N.Y. to Toronto. I have not had very good accounts of my father - the heat has tried him very much.

Set Miss H. at the Histories filling in the no of the autopsy & the anatom. diagnoses in all the fatal cases. She has also the lectures on abd. Tumours to send off, but there is no hurry as I have told her to be primarily at your disposal.

I am sorry to hear about B. - sorry for his fathers sake more than anything. I hope he will pull up a bit. Delighted to hear that Parsons will come over to us. We shall have to look for one or two others.

Love to all the boys. Yours

Wm Osler

On his return to Baltimore October 1st, in time for the opening of the school session, he evidently found awaiting him an invitation from R. H. Ruttan the Professor of Chemistry and the University Registrar at McGill, asking him to participate in the ceremonies planned for the opening of the new medical building whose erection had been warranted by a bequest left by J. H. R. Molson.

Oct.
1894To Francis J. Shepherd from W. O.

Wednesday

Dear Shepherd Ruttan's note was sent from England and I found it here on Sunday [~~i.e. Oct. 1st, the day of return~~]. I sent word at once, that as the time was so short it was quite out of the question. I thought of course the opening was for Oct. 1st. Your letter this a.m made me refer again to his & I find it is for Nov. 1st.

I am extremely disappointed not to be able to consent but I really could not prepare another lecture this year & in so short a time. I have, as you know, written two within the past six months (the Army Surgeon, & the Leaven of Science) and I do not feel that I could face a third with the amount of necessary work I have on hand. I am very sorry indeed as it would have been a great pleasure to be with you all again.

[Stephen]

I heard of you from the Mackenzies.* You won the heart of the

*The Stephen Mackenzies who lived in Cavendish Square. W.O. had known him well since they were students in Vienna, and never failed to visit him in London. Later on Mackenzie paid a visit to the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

children. I had a letter from Cunningham this week in which he says they enjoyed your visit very much. We were kept pretty busy in England.

I was preparing a little monograph on chorea and doing some reading about Sydenham in the British Museum. I hope we shall see you here before long.

~~Mrs Osler sends kind regards. Love to the children~~ Yours sincerely

~~Wm Osler~~

1894

Within the space of twelve months medicine lost at this time three great figures - distinguished as they were in very different fields - Helmholtz, Holmes and Huxley. Oliver Wendell Holmes died on October 7th and at the next meeting, on October 15th, of the hospital Medical Society Osler read with deep feeling his much-quoted abituary address,* wherein he used the

*The Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, Oct. 1894, v, 85.

letter already given concerning the "Chambered Nautilus" versus the "Contagiousness of Puerpural Fever." He termed Holmes 'the most successful combination the world has ever seen, of physician and man of letters.'

While it is true that since Rabelais and Linacre no generation has lacked a physician to stand unabashed in the temple at Delos, a worshipper of worth and merit amid the votaries of Apollo, I can recall no name in the past three centuries eminent in literature - eminent, I mean, in the sense in which we regard Goldsmith - which is associated in any enduring way with work done in the science and art of medicine. Many physicians, active practitioners - Sir Thomas Browne, for example - have been and are known for the richness and variety of their literary work; but, as a rule, those who have remained in professional life have courted the 'draggled-tailed Muses' as a gentle pastime, 'to interpose a little ease' amid the worries

1894

of practice. Few such have risen above mediocrity; fewer still have reached it. We know the names of Garth, of Arbuthnot and of Akenside, but we neither know them nor their works. The list is a long one, for the rites of Apollo have always had a keen attraction for the men of our ranks, but the names fill at best a place in the story of the literature of the country, not a place in the hearts and lives of the people. Far otherwise is it with a select group of men, Goldsmith, Crabbe and Keats, at the outset members of our profession, but who early broke away from its drudgery. In pride we claim them, though in reality no influence of their special studies is to be found in their writings. Two of these, at least, reached the pure empyrean, and to use Shelley's words, robed in dazzling immortality, sit on thrones

'built beyond mortal thought,
Far in the Unapparent.'

Something more of the character of this address may be gathered from quotations from letters sent to him by those who subsequently read it in print. Thus, Morrill Wyman of Cambridge wrote to him as follows:

I thank you for your tribute to the memory of Dr. Holmes. . . . What you say of those who came home from Paris 'in the thirties' is especially pleasing to me. I was then a new student in the Medical School and remember well their coming. Dr. James Jackson, Jr., died almost immediately, and his death drew still more attention to the others. They gave life and vigour to the young men, with the stethoscope and its revolutions and the new pathology of typhoid. It was only equalled by that

Dec.
1894

brilliant constellation in the University: of Gray, Agassiz, Jeffries Wyman and Pierce, Longfellow and Lerrele a few years later.

William H. Gerhard I shall never forget. I never saw him but I shall never forget when I was writing my thesis for graduation his kindness in answering my enquiries as to traumatic erysipelas in the Blockley Hospital of which he was physician. It came from the goodness of his heart.

Where did you find that expression of Dr. Franklin's? It came home to me with a personal interest. I went immediately for his Autobiography and another biography but could not find it.

To H. A. Lafleur from W. O.

Baltimore, Oct. 18, 1894.

Dear L.:— It has been on my soul to write to you ever since my return," *he says in a letter to Lafleur in Baltimore 1894*
"but I have been very busy and have rather more than the usual arrears of work. It is a great disappointment to me not to be able to go up at the opening of the new building, but I have work for Dercum and for Wilson"

*This allusion is to a chapter in F. X. Dercum's "Text-book of Nervous Diseases by American Authors," Philadelphia, 1905, and to another for James Wilson. *see the 1st*

to finish by November 1st, and it will be simply an impossibility to prepare an address with what I have on hand. Moreover I am pumped out and *another* a third address this year would finish me." *and he went on to say that Hewetson & Thayer*

Hewetson came back on his way to Europe (his sister is much better).

Thayer and Smith went with him for a six weeks' trip. The hospital keeps

67
65

Oct.
1894

we have one
much as usual, only we miss a good many of the old boys. We have an entry of about thirty-two in the first year, which makes fifty undergraduates." The new anatomical building is about complete.

I sent you the other day my lectures on abdominal tumours, and you will have a littel monograph on chorea in a week or so when the sheets have come from England. When are you coming down? I hope at Christmas. I shall return early from Toronto, as the Physiological Society meets here. Mrs. Osler is off in Boston. You have heard of course of Councilman's engagement to a Miss Coolidge. Thayer & Hewetson have a big Fasciculus ready (in the press) on Malaria. Sincerely yours,

W^m Osler

from among the Junior House Staff,
There was always a group of house officers perhaps more intimate than others at 1 West Franklin Street, who were known as the 'latch-keyers' inasmuch as *each was* ~~they were~~ given a key and had free access to the house at any time - an evidence of the readiness with which Osler, no matter how busy, brooked interruptions by his friends. It was another custom of the household to give a plain gold ring to each of these 'latch-keyers' *to wear* as a form of protection against any *designing and* *fratel* ~~female~~ ^{matrimonially-minded} they might encounter while sojourning on the Continent; and it may be presumed that Thayer and Jack Hewetson were so protected on this their first trip of observation abroad.

Oct.
1894

to insure to his dispair
The projected Montreal ceremonies must have been postponed for his sake, *until the first of the year and*
~~judging from the letter which goes to Lafleur a few days later.~~

Sunday [postmarked Oct. 28, 1894]

Dear Lafleur Craik has just written that the opening has been postponed to Jan. 8th, at which date I could readily be with you - tho. I do not know whether the Faculty wishes an address from me. I suppose Craik will give me instructions. Very glad of your letter. We have had a very similar Abd aneurysm, only it filled one half of the abdomen & was admitted to the Surg. side. By the way could you not come down for the meeting of the Phy. Soc. on Dec. 27th & 28th. We could put you up Let me know within a few weeks as I want to ask Bowditch. Mrs. Osler has just returned from Boston & sends her sincere regards. Love to all the old friends.

Yours sincerely

Wm Osler

And again a month later, on November 24th, shortly after returning from a meeting of the Medical & Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland held in Cumberland, ~~Mary-~~
~~land~~, he writes to Lafleur again: *saying*:

~~Dear Lafleur~~ We shall be delighted to see you here after Xmas. We shall probably be in Phila. for the 25th & 26th but I will let you know accurately so that you can arrange when to leave.

Miss Humpton (who is still with me) has mailed a copy of the Abd. Tumour Lectures to Dr. Campbell. We have our Malaria fasciculus nearly

69
57

Nov.
1894

see for index page 66

ready. Thayer & Hewetson have an elaborate paper I am busy with stuff for Wilson & Dercum - infernal hack work. I hate it Remember to take back your Vol ii of Peppers Text-book - I send this eve a copy of my remarks on O W Holmes. What the deuce am I to talk about in January at the opening? I am rather exsiccated at present. Remind me also to give you some duplicate works of Charcot. I treated myself to a complete set lately.

Yours ever,

Wm Osler

Exsiccated though he might have thought himself, and busy with the effort to clear his desk of the 'hack work', he had been beguiled into doing for others, he evidently, without effective protest, had taken on ^{*something*} ~~more things~~ of the same kind. He writes Ogden on November 29th:

Dear O Very glad of your letter this morning. You really must come on in the spring. Why not to the Am. Med. Ass? or better to the Ass. of Am. Phy. towards the end of May. Mrs. O says that my friends do not like her - they never come now to stay with me - so mend your ways soon. I shall get Fitzgerald's letters - I peeped into them at the Athenaeum Club this summer. I am very busy on some of the confounded composite text-books & systems. J. C. Wilson's Handbook of Treatment. Dercum's Nervous Diseases. Clifford Allbutt's New System & Loomis' New System - Deuce take them all.* I shall look out for your art? Where?

Dec.
1894*Foot note*

of this particular time
*The 'confounded text-books and systems,' with the number of pages he contributed to each of them, are as follows: In J. C. Wilson's "American Text-book of Applied Therapeutics," W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia, 1896, pp. 902-7, he discussed the diseases of the blood and ductless glands.

For F. X. Dercum's "Text-book on Nervous Diseases, by American Authors," Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 203-26, he wrote the chapter on infectious diseases.

For Vol. I of "A System of Practical Medicine" by A. L. Loomis and W. A. Thompson, Lea Bros., Philadelphia, 1897, he wrote (pp. 731-848) on the subject of "Tuberculosis", a concise but masterly presentation of the entire field, with abundant allusions to his own experience, to medical writings and to general literature, where even Sir Thomas Browne is brought in.

For the great English "System of Medicine, by Many Writers," edited by T. Clifford Allbutt, MacMillan Co., Vol. III, 1897, pp. 721-42, he wrote the chapter on malarial fever, in which he says that 'the introduction of cinchona into Europe two hundred and fifty years ago ranks not only as one of the greatest events in the history of medicine but as one of the great factors in the civilization of the world.'

70
68

Dec.
1894

To H. A. Lafleur from W. O.

I West Franklin Street,
10th [December]

Dear Lafleur We shall be ready for you on the morning of the 27th.
I do hope you will be able to come. We shall have a dinner that eve for
the members of the Physiological Society so that you will see some con-
genial spirits. Mitchell, Bowditch, et al will be here. Do you know
whether Adami and Shepherd are coming? I only heard the other day that
the anatomists meet at the same time. Yours sincerely
W^m Osler

For reasons which affected injuriously the finances of the University,
Baltimore at this time possessed one modernized but little-used railway
station. The chief portal of entry, however, from north and south lay through
sulphurous tunnels into a rickety station which belied the prosperity ~~and~~ ^{of this}
the rival railway, which indeed, according to rumour, entertained serious
thoughts of side-tracking Baltimore in order to shorten the transit from
Washington to Philadelphia. Such Baltimoreans as traveled beyond the suburbs
were mostly known by name to cordial and well-mannered coloured cabbies and
station porters; but there had come to be an increasing influx of strange
faces, so many of whom asked to be taken to a certain residence that ~~it~~ ^{the following phrase} came
to be a by-word among them, "Fur caps and square hats to Dr. Osler's." Ac-

Dec.
1894

cordingly, anyone wearing the peculiar flat-brimmed derby ^{of the day} ~~hat~~ of a Bostonian or the cap suited to a Montreal winter was promptly and cordially greeted by a smiling darkey with "A'll take yo' right to 1 Wes' Franklin Street, sah."

"March, April, May, June or any month will be convenient for us to put you up, and I hope you will be able to pay a nice long visit - you can potter around and be just as independent as you please" is a familiar paragraph in ^{Osler's} ~~his~~ letters, and his brief notes always contain in a postscript or elsewhere something to the effect that 'the kettle boils daily at 4.50' or 'there's always an extra place at the table at seven.'

Though being drawn away from the laboratory into wider fields, he was still a member of the Physiological Society, then, as now, a small and select body of pure scientists who met somewhere each year for the last few days of the Christmas recess. On this occasion Osler played the rôle of host rather ^{than} participant in the sessions, and ^{he fully} enjoyed as much as they his ^{The dinner the spring of in this last note to Osler was a memorable one} ~~A memorable dinner was~~ houseful of guests. ~~A memorable dinner was~~ held at the Maryland Club, famous for its table - oysters, terrapin, duck and madeira // to make the mouth water, and the menu, introduced by ^{the following} a literary jibe at Weir Mitchell, was

Dec.
1894

graced by imaginary quotations concocted by Osler and ascribed to the writings of a number of the Society's members. Occasions of this sort with Osler present were invariably enlivened ^{in some such fashion by his jollity} ~~by his jollity~~ and fanciful imagination.

In that land the wise men, known as Siphograuntes, meet in 'sweet societies,' and earnestly bestowe their vacuante and spare hours in seeking a knowledg of the perfecte liffe, the which they say is to be atchieved in these gatherings, and more hyghelye in certain evening conclaves known as smokers and dynners. For thoughe in these festivities no man be prohibited to dyne at home yet no man doth it willingly, because it is counted a point of smal honestie to be absent. It were a follye, say they, to take the payne to dresse a badde dynner at home when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so nighe hande at the club. For herein they suppose the felicitie of liffe to consiste.*

*"The Yle Utopia Revisited," by Weir Mitchell, 1895.

Evidently he had been reading Thomas More's "The New Yle Utopia" and in a subsequent address at Albany in 1900 he gives the long quotation from it in which More describes the care of the sick in the Commonwealth.