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Sitterae: Praxis: Scientia.

Chapter XVII

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It was ^{his} ~~his~~ ^{interest} ~~interest~~ in medical science that first forced him to write. His writings
If the preceding year had been an active one in teaching and writing it
^{might have been and as}
was eclipsed by the one to follow. Indeed, ^{as} the Baltimore years went on, ^{the}
^{Osler}
the accumulative responsibilities ~~he~~ ^{he} assumed brought him almost to the break-
^{ing point for teaching and writing but also}
ing point. The demands on his time for professional advice became increasing-
ly heavy, ^{yet} ~~but~~ this additional burden was assumed with no apparent diminution
in his ^{academic} literary and investigative activities. Litterae: Praxis: Scientia. This was the
He was a modern Linacre, Sydenham and Harvey rolled into one.

^{legend inscribed under}
Apparently the panel of ^{Chief} these, his medical heroes, ^{which by now had} had by this time come
^{from them was something & each of them in his own collection.}
from Acland to adorn his library mantel. ^{ordered a duplicate set} And he had secured another copy of

the original, which was presented to the William Pepper Laboratory of Clinical
Medicine recently opened at the University Hospital in Philadelphia. Pepper
must have written regarding them, for on January 13th Osler replied: "Drummond
has sent me word with reference to the pictures. The portrait of Linacre
was copied from the picture by Holbein; Sydenham from the one painted by Sir
Peter Lely; Harvey from the painting by Cornelius Jansen in ^{the} College of Physi-
cians."

and a future panel could well include Osler himself, with the addition of the
and teaching in its legend. Doctrina

~~Handwritten musical notation and text, including the name "Beattie Crozier", crossed out with a thick blue line.~~

We are joining tonight on a night of Saturday night.
 There is little chance of winning a purse of money
 a student.

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[Faint, mirrored handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

and industry - ^{He had} the ability to combine ^{these} things, and his carefully written up clinics
on subjects suggested by cases he had seen in consultation and ^{carefully} recorded
often found their way into print. This was true for example of a clinical lecture
given, on January 22nd at the Hopkins

^{dropped to him}
Whalen was interesting or novel in the one he had seen in consultation he was
~~But~~ ^{But} what he had it was always the patient and he was quick to ~~what~~ observe
~~was~~ ^{was} interesting or novel, to investigate it, to write about it, to teach
with it. His carefully written up clinics were given on subjects suggested
by cases he had seen in consultation and ~~carefully~~ ^{prepared} recorded they thought
he did not teach from his notes they got from their way into print.
This was true for example of a clinical lecture given at the Hopkins
on January 22nd on "The

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On January 22nd he gave in his Hopkins course a clinical lecture on
"The Ball-valve Gall-stone in the Common Duct"* - a subject ^{on which} he had evidently

[*Published in the Lancet, (London) May 15, 1897, i, 1319-23.

been cogitating ^{during} ~~upon~~ the previous summer. It was one of his more important and original contributions - important both to physician and surgeon - and the combination of symptoms of intermittent jaundice with paroxysmal chills and fever, so often at the time mistaken for malaria but usually due to a single gall-stone imprisoned above the orifice of the duct, fully deserves being known as Osler's syndrome.

~~Even this early in the year it was evident that there was to be a sur-~~
~~feit of medical gatherings.~~ On February 4th he writes Adami regarding the
forthcoming ^{Congress} ~~triennial~~ gathering of the ^Special ^SSocieties in Washington:

~~About the Congress - it would be better to take one organ thoroughly~~
~~I think~~ "What a year of meetings! We shall be used up with them.
Foster writes that he is coming to Toronto - to Montreal too, I hope.
They have asked me to give the address in medicine, deuced good of them!
I shall be delighted. The prospects are A.1 and we shall get many of
the very best men." ~~Even this early in the year it was evident~~

that there was to be a ~~surfeit~~ of medicine ^{meeting} ~~gatherings~~

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It was indeed a year crowded with important meetings, national and international, many of which he attended ^{with the same fidelity he showed toward the gatherings} But he nevertheless remained faithful ^{both} not only to the local ^{Societies of the city and State. And will} Baltimore and Maryland gatherings but accepted with ^{he often accepted} well-concealed groans ^{at finding such a} various irresistible appeals to appear before a number of smaller Societies in other localities. In this same month, for example, he gave an address at the Commencement Exercises of the Training School for Nurses at the old Blockley Hospital, ^{when he gave} an address, ^{this very month,} he it said, which was made to do double duty and which will be subsequently commented upon.

^{He} How Osler in these days ^{he} found time for serious composition has always been a mystery to his friends; Nor did he compose without effort, as the fragments of writing leading up to the successive drafts of his ^{papers and} addresses bear testimony. He had by this time come to give over his Saturday evenings to his fourth-year group of clinical clerks - a custom he continued throughout his entire Baltimore period. From eight to ten ^{o'clock} around his dining-room table at 1 West Franklin Street they gathered; and over crackers, cheese and ginger beer talked of the week's work, their problems, his problems, ~~and~~ of books and men, and ^{of} the profession they were entering. It is perhaps the

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feature of the Baltimore life of his students that they best remember, and naturally he came to know them all individually with some degree of intimacy. Two other evenings in the week, on the average, must have been given over to attendance at medical meetings - every Monday evening at the Hopkins' Societies, certainly every other week at some gathering of the local profession, like the Clinical Society meetings and those of the Book and Journal Club held in the hall of the Maryland 'Faculty'. Then, in the spring and fall came the meetings of the ~~the~~ State Society itself - all this in addition to the occasional addresses and papers given afield, ~~and before national or international Associations.~~ A few only of ^{the few} ~~these~~ meetings, which happen to be of some biographical interest need be mentioned.

Under the auspices of the Maryland 'Faculty' a conference of health officers from various parts of the state was held on February 17th and 18th, for which the new Secretary of the State Board of Health, John S. Fulton, was held largely responsible, though Osler was the prime mover. He had prevailed upon the Governor as well as his neighbour Cardinal Gibbons

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to attend, whereas the Attorney General, ^{Mr. Benafante,} D. C. Gilman and other notables had agreed to preside at the different sessions, thereby calling public attention to the gathering and its purposes. For despite the fact that a bacteriologist, trained in Welch's laboratory, had finally been appointed to the local Board of Health, it was still a dormant body and sorely needed the awakening which could only come from an enlightened public opinion.

Osler was called upon to give the address of welcome at the opening exercises, and he emphasized the five things on which the public needed guidance: a reorganized Board of Health, remodeled lunacy laws, proper milk inspection, proper control of water supplies, and a hospital for infectious diseases. One full session of the conference was given over to vital statistics, another to diphtheria and a third on the last evening to typhoid fever, to which he contributed a brief paper entitled "The Dis-
guises of Typhoid Fever." *

*Maryland Medical Journal, 1897, xxvi, 423.

in which

In this he reiterated in new and telling phrases the difficulties of distinguishing in many cases without proper laboratory methods between typhoid,

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malaria, meningitis and even pneumonia. "Is there a typho-malarial fever?

Yes, in the brains of the doctors but not in the bodies of the patients."

And he goes on to say that hereafter the Board of Health should return his

blank to every physician who sends in such a diagnosis, asking for something

better. Other papers were read, on such topics as "What the Country Doctor

can do to Prevent Typhoid," on the "Sanitary Survey of Towns and Villages,"

and so on, all of which was merely a part of the campaign to stamp out this

disease then so prevalent not only in Maryland but elsewhere. ¶ As an outcome

of the meeting the Maryland Public Health Association was organized, with Dr.

Fulton as its Secretary - an organization which served the purpose of calling

attention to sanitary measures throughout the state and thereby ²/forcing laws

upon a timid and reluctant legislature. Mr. Gilman's ^{Subsequent} comment upon the con-

ference was that it was the most hopeful sign of progress seen in Maryland

in twenty years.

Now on this public health campaign limited to Maryland.

On February 22nd he was the guest of the Medical Society of the County

of New York, and ~~probably~~ ^{and} submitted to a public dinner, ^{his} a reception, ^{and} and,

~~after his lecture which consisted of an excellent review of the malaria ques-~~

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tion,* as custom has it, what is called a 'collation' in all likelihood was

↓ "The Diagnosis of Malarial Fever." Medical News, Mar. 6,
1897, lxx, 289-92.

→ served. His address was given over to an appeal for the accurate recogni-

tion of malaria, for he says: "North of Mason & Dixon's line physicians are

prone to diagnose malaria for other diseases; south of the line they are more

prone to diagnose other diseases for malaria; in both regions it is a source

of greater errors in vital statistics than any other affection."

And he ends with the following paragraph.

It is just eleven years since I began the study of malarial fever in the Blockley Hospital, Philadelphia - a skeptic as to the value of Laveran's work, to which attention was called in this country by Surgeon General Sternberg and Dr. Councilman. I soon became convinced of its truth, and the results of my study of seventy cases was published in 1887. Since that time, at certain seasons, I have had almost daily opportunity to see malarial fever, and I have of late years been fortunate in having as my associate Dr. Thayer, who has made a special study of the disease, and in Baltimore has kept us in touch with the progress of knowledge in this department. A widened experience has only served to strengthen the conviction that in the practical diagnosis of the infectious diseases, the discovery of the hematozoa of malaria by Laveran takes rank with the finding of the tuberculosis bacillus by Koch.

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The annual meeting of the Maryland State Association was held on April 27th, and for his Presidential Address he discussed "The Functions of a State Faculty."* The old Society nearing its centennial anniversary shared,

as he pointed out, the designation 'Faculty' - now given over to a ^{School} ~~body~~ of teachers rather than of practitioners - with but one other similar ^{Society} ~~body~~, ^{body,} namely the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. He emphasized that the Society by its act of incorporation had a dual function - that of a licensing body, now given up, and a means whereby the advances in medical knowledge could be disseminated throughout the State of Maryland. It was in the direction of this last function that Osler's great influence was of ^{Special} ~~chief~~ service to the old 'Faculty.' He knew full well that the chief weakness of the profession lies in its tendency to break 'into cliques and coteries, the interests of which take precedence over others of wider and more public character,' and that a baneful individualism is thereby likely to arise with every man for himself - 'a centrifugalizing influence against which this Faculty is and has been the only enduring protest.' And with expressions remin-

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iscent of those he had used in his Montreal days in regard to the importance of medical meetings, he said:

No class of men needs friction so much as physicians; no class gets less. The daily round of a busy practitioner tends to develop an egoism of a most intense kind, to which there is no antidote. The few setbacks are forgotten, the mistakes are often buried, and ten years of successful work tend to make a man touchy, dogmatic, intolerant of correction, and abominably self-centred. To this mental attitude the medical society is the best corrective, and a man misses a good part of his education who does not get knocked about a bit by his colleagues in discussions and criticisms. . . .

And in regard to the educational function of the 'Faculty's' library to which he had already given, and continued to give, so much time and labour, he said:

Books are tools, doctors are craftsmen, and so truly as one can measure the development of any particular handicraft by the variety and complexity of its tools, so we have no better means of judging the intelligence of a profession than by its general collection of books. A physician who does not use books and journals, who does not need a library, who does not read one or two of the best weeklies and monthlies, soon sinks to the level of the cross-counter prescriber, and not alone in practice, but in those mercenary feelings and habits which characterize a trade.

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All this led up to an earnest appeal to the Society's members for more generous financial support - a mortgage, indeed, still hung over the 'Faculty' as a result of its migration to its new quarters. His own practice of an habitual 'emptiness of purse' fully justified his preaching on the subject.

May I say a word on the art of giving? The essence is contained in the well-known sentence, 'Let every man do according as he is disposed in his heart, not grudgingly or of necessity.' Subscriptions to a cause which is for the benefit of the entire profession should truly be given as a man is disposed in his heart, not in his pocket, and assuredly not of necessity, but as a duty, even as a privilege, and as a pleasure. Some of us, the younger men, cannot give. The days of travail and distress are not yet over, and to give would be wrong. It is sufficient for such to have the wish to give; the elder brothers will bear your share; only be sure to foster those generous impulses, which are apt to be intense in direct proportion to the emptiness of the purse.

At this meeting a subject which had been suggested at the conference of health officers two months before was thoroughly ventilated, namely that relating to the care of the dependent insane in Maryland, then confined in almshouses in a deplorable state. The movement led in time to the appointment of a proper Commission of Lunacy, ^{State} ~~for the state~~, whose reforms revolutionized

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the situation. He of course could not do these things single-handed, nor would he have so desired. There are various ways of getting accomplished in the world the things worth accomplishing. Some succeed, by dint of a strong personality, in pushing things through by their own efforts; this was Pepper's effective way. Osler's was quite different, and perhaps the better. It consisted in inoculating others with the desirability of reforms, and then in getting behind their efforts and effacing himself.

During the first week in May the fourth of the triennial Congresses, ~~at which the special Societies met~~, was held in Washington, under the Presidency of William H. Welch who gave at the time his notable address on ~~the~~ "Adaptation in Pathological Processes." One of the general meetings which brought all the Societies together was given over to the subject of the Internal Secretions, and W. H. Howell, R. H. Chittenden, J. George Adami, James J. Putnam, Francis P. Kinnicutt and Osler were the participants.*

*At the Congress Osler appears to have spent most of his time with the physicians, judging from his participation in the discussions, and before them he read on "The Hepatic Complications of Typhoid Fever," emphasizing the relation of gall-stones to typhoid infections, a subject just then exciting great interest. He also before the Paediatrists gave a paper on "Adherent Pericardium in Children," but as this does not appear in the Transactions and ~~has escaped his bibliographer~~, he probably had been so swamped by the elaborate study of Cretinism that he failed to finish it for publication.

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That such a session as this should have been held is interesting historically in that it marks the beginning of the extraordinary period of professional interest in the ductless glands, ^{an interest} ~~a matter~~ which has grown to such proportions - indeed to such disproportions ~~possibly~~ - as to have a dominating influence, under the comprehensive name of 'endocrinology', on many of the present-day conceptions ^{not only of certain obscure diseases} ~~not only of disease~~ but of human types presumably normal both physically and mentally.

For his part in this symposium Osler reverted once more to the subject of Sporadic Cretinism in America, with which he had formerly dealt in 1893 when he was cognizant of only eleven cases. But ~~on this occasion~~ he was ^{now} able to present abstracts of sixty typical examples of this extraordinary malady, ^{of which} ~~His notes of these sixty cases had grown into a monograph of over 100 pages which were copiously illustrated, and in the sections on the results of thyroid treatment he paints this graphic picture:~~

No type of human transformation is more distressing to look at than an aggravated case of cretinism. It recalls Milton's description of the Shape at the Gates:

"If shape it might be called, that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint or limb."

or those hideous transformations of the fairy prince into some frightful monster. The stunted stature, the semi-bestial aspect, the blubber lips, retroussé nose, sunken at the root, the wide-open mouth, the lolling tongue, the small eyes, half closed with swollen lids, the stolid, expressionless face, the squat figure, the muddy, dry skin, combine to make the picture of what has been well termed the 'pariah of nature.'

Not the magic wand of Prospero or the brave kiss of the daughter of Hippocrates ever effected such a change as that which we are now enabled to make in these unfortunate victims, doomed heretofore to live in hopeless imbecility, an unspeakable affliction to their parents and to their relatives. ~~From a large number of photographs which I have received I have selected a set to illustrate the effect of treatment at different ages, from infancy to the thirtieth year, and illustrating also the influence at periods varying from two months to a year. The series has an educational value, as the pictures tell their own story, enabling the practitioner not only to recognize the victims of this affection, but they emphasize as words cannot the magical transformation which follows treatment.~~

And he goes on to say, later on:

That I am able to show you on these lantern-slides such marvellous transformations, such undreamt-of transfigurations, is a direct triumph of vivisection, and no friend of animals who looks at the 'counterfeit presentments' I here demonstrate will consider the knowledge dearly

burden of its activities. The story, however, touches Osler sufficiently closely, in view of his testimony two years later, to justify a statement here of the essential facts.

Propaganda on the part of those opposed to medical research had been indulged in more or less continuously since the 60's, and frequent bills opposed to the use of animals for experimentation had been introduced into various state legislatures - always without success. As the result of these agitations, resolutions, protesting against any legislative interference with experimental research, had from time to time been passed by various of the leading medical and scientific societies. But a more serious attack, than any before, was made early in 1896 ^{when} what was known as Senate Bill 1552 was introduced in Congress by Senator Gallinger under the misleading title of "A Bill for the Further Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in the District of Columbia. " The real significance of the bill, which had been fostered by a group of antivivisectionists of the District, had been unsuccessfully camouflaged by its innocent-sounding title, and because of protests a hearing was called. The hearing, however, was a hurried one; the natural opponents of the measure like the Surgeon General were given scant notice;

the bill, slightly modified, was presented out of Committee to the Senate and might have passed but for the outcry on the part of most of the medical and scientific societies, ^{as well as} and educational institutions of the country.*

*Cf. Senate Document No. 31, 54th Congress, second session, 1896.

We knew nothing [writes Professor Welch] about the first Gallinger bill until it had been reported favourably, and unanimously so, by the Committee on the District of Columbia, and it would undoubtedly have passed if we had not bestirred ourselves. It was then that Osler and I spent an entire evening in his house in Washington with Senator Gorman, who promised to have himself placed on the Committee and to keep the bill in Committee. He said we would have to prepare a speech for him, if the bill got before the Senate. ~~It never did~~ The next session a somewhat amended bill was introduced and it was then that I gave so much time - the better part of a winter - to organizing the profession in each State in opposition - I was then President of the Congress of Physicians & Surgeons, and acted more or less officially in that capacity. I think this was as critical a time for animal experimentation as had occurred in this country.

The second bill, to which this letter refers, known as Senate bill No. 1063* was little more than the original bill with slight changes in

repetition:
cf. p. 14.

*Cf. "Objections to the Antivivisection Bill now Before the Senate." William H. Welch. Journal of the American Medical Association, Feb. 5, 1898.

It is related in the Introduction to Vol. V of Allbutt's

"System of Medicine" (1898) that the volume had been delayed because one of the chief contributors [Welch] had been unable to prepare his chapter for the reason that he had been spending six months in a campaign against an American antivivisection bill, the more difficult to defeat because the passage of a similar bill in England some years before had been permitted.

form but not in purpose. ~~Enough~~ Promises of ^{votes sufficient} Senators to secure its

defeat were obtained through the family physicians or influential constitu-

ents of ^{a number of} each Senator, and ^{President} Mr. Cleveland, indeed, promised to veto it if it

ever reached him. A third and last attempt by Senator Gallinger to get

action upon this ill-considered legislation was made two years later, as

will be seen.

This Washington Congress was by no means the last of the Spring

meetings. The next month saw still more, some of which Osler attended, and

to others he sent his assistants. Moreover, two important British

Associations were to meet in Canada in the fall, as he indicates in this

note.

To Sir Edward Schäfer from W. O.

1 West Franklin Street,
May 14.

Dear Schäfer The 2nd edition of the Histology which I have received this week was welcomed as an old friend. I have looked it over with great interest, not too without regrets since I now have travelled so far from my first love. Appletons will send you in a week or ten days a little volume of Lectures on Angina Pectoris - a disease which has interested me deeply for several years. I wish that we could visit England this year,

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but I must be in Toronto at the Meeting of the B.A.A.S. and then at Montreal for the B.M.A. I was sorry to hear that you cannot come out, but I suppose it is impossible. You have to be now both father and mother to the children. Mrs Schäfer and Jack's photos in the little case she gave me, are on the mantle-piece.

I have just had a tempting offer from New York - the Dept of Medicine in the United Schools - University and Bellevue - at \$2000 salary, with of course splendid prospects for consultation work. I have however such exceptional facilities here and we are so comfortable that I have declined. My small boy, now 16 mos. is a very fine specimen. Mrs Osler joins me in love to you and the children. Sincerely yours,

Wm Osler

Meanwhile, from the voluminous letters to children and grandchildren that were written from 83 Wellesley Street, Toronto, and which contain all the family news, it is apparent that a succession of his nieces have been at 1 West Franklin Street during May. "We had," his mother writes, "good reports of you all by Annie, and I'm looking forward to see for myself the precious Revere and his beloved parents." ~~R and A on returning home could not say enough in praise of the trio, their visit to Baltimore will not soon be forgotten; they have settled down to home duties with good grace, they are such ca-~~

~~pable girls and I'm sure their busy Mother missed them but was well content to have them so enjoy themselves."~~

The nurses' Graduation Exercises at the Hopkins came on the 3rd of June and Osler read the address on "Nurse and Patient"* which did not entirely

Reprinted as No. IX in
* Cf. "Aequanimitas & Other Addresses."

please the nursing profession as a whole, whom he never took too seriously.

Anyone knowing his own peculiarities on the few occasions when he was sufficiently ill to have a trained nurse forced upon him, can but smile at re-reading these lines:

The trained nurse as a factor in life may be regarded from many points of view - philanthropic, social, personal, professional and domestic. To her virtues we have been exceeding kind - tongues have dropped manna in their description. To her faults - well, let us be blind, since this is neither the place nor the time to expose them. I would rather call your attention to a few problems connected with her of interest to us collectively, - and individually, too, since who can tell the day of her coming.

Is she an added blessing or an added horror in our beginning civilization? Speaking from the point of view of a sick man, I take my stand firmly on the latter view, for several reasons. No man with any self-respect cares to be taken off guard, in mufti, so to speak. Sickness

dims the eye, pales the cheek, roughens the chin, and makes a man a scare-crow, not fit to be seen by his wife, to say nothing of a strange woman all in white or blue or gray. Moreover she will take such unwarrantable liberties with a fellow, particularly if she catches him with fever; then her special virtues could be depicted by King Lemuel alone. So far as she is concerned you are again in swathing bands, and in her hands you are, as of yore, a helpless lump of human clay. She will stop at nothing, and between baths and spongings and feeding and temperature-taking you are ready to cry with Job the cry of every sick man - "Cease then, and let me alone." For generations has not this been his immemorial privilege, a privilege with vested rights as a deep-seated animal instinct - to turn his face toward the wall, to sicken in peace, and, if he so wishes, to die undisturbed? All this the trained nurse has, alas! made impossible.

Certainly there was little dropping of manna or giving out of bouquets in this address, as unlike the perfunctory one usually given on such occasions, as could well be, filled as it is with warnings and counsels to those who have come to take their place beside the physician and priest. And he ends by cautioning trained nurses against the benumbing influence of institutional life which for many dulls the fine edge of sympathy, and advises^c the practice toward patients of the Golden Rule as announced by Confucius: "What you do not

like when done to yourself, do not do to others," - so familiar to us in its positive form as the great Christian counsel of perfection, in which alone are embraced both the law and the prophets.'

Two weeks later, on June 15th, came the Commencement Exercises of the first graduating class from the Medical School, fifteen in all, the majority of whom were to remain another year as house officers or as assistants in one or another of the laboratories. A group of these students had organized what was known as "The Pithotomy Club", a term which indicates the making of a hole in a keg and there had been festive occasions with song and refreshments in which students and teachers had participated, and in which the foibles of the teachers in particular were not spared in burlesque. ^{Now} They were indeed informal days ^{at the Hospital.}

With his first assistant away - for Thayer had gone to Moscow to attend the ^{XIIth} International Medical Congress that summer - and with some addresses to write for meetings to come in the fall, Osler appears to have stayed on in Baltimore for a part of July, while Mrs. Osler, with Revere and the boy's coloured 'Mammy', visited their friends in Wilkesbarre. They subsequently

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and there
went on to Toronto ~~whence~~ at 15 Queens Park, he joined them; but it was a
torrid summer, the boy was teething, and so they proceeded to Montreal whence
Sir William van Horn sent them on comfortably in his private car to St. An-
drews, New Brunswick, where they had made arrangements for a cottage.

Meanwhile, during this July and August, with the aid of a medical dic-
tionary, a copy of Osler's Text-book was being read word for word by a layman
who was summering in the Catskill Highlands - an event of far greater im-
portance to medicine and of greater biographical importance than the mere
incidents of Osler's own summer vacation in New Brunswick. This gentleman
happened to be the member of John D. Rockefeller's philanthropic staff who
was successful in directing his interests toward medical research, and as
Osler's volume was an essential link in this process the story, ~~deserves tel-~~

~~which might be found told in full in the edition of the Rockefeller Institute, as was telling here
ling in full.~~

in his own words

about five years elapsed before Osler knew of the incident.

The Rockefeller Institute.

THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

cf. also Mar 4 1902
purity line this out of ink
23 21

In the early summer of 1897 my interest in medicine was awakened by a student in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, an old friend, a Minneapolis boy, who in his loneliness in New York used often to spend his week ends with us in Montclair. His deceased father had been a homeopathic physician but he himself was studying in the regular school. I determined as a result of my talks with this enthusiastic young student, to make myself more intelligent on the whole subject of medicine, and at his suggestion I bought a copy of Dr. Osler's Principles and Practice of Medicine, with a little medical dictionary - "Twenty Thousand Medical Terms." The books came into my hands at a time of abundant leisure. I spent a considerable part of the months of July and August following, with the family in the Catskill Highlands, at Lake Liberty, in Sullivan County, New York, and I had opportunity to give my undivided attention to Osler's book for a considerable part of every day. Mother's diary of those days shows how my time was divided between kites, water-wheels, and frog hunting with the children and reading Osler's Principles and Practice of Medicine. I read the whole book without skipping any of it. I speak of this not to commemorate my industry or intelligence but to testify to Osler's charm, *for it* Osler's Principles and Practice of Medicine is one of the very few scientific books that are possessed of high literary quality. There was a fascination about the style itself that led me on, and having once started I found a hook in my nose that pulled me from page to page, and chapter to chapter, until the whole

of about a thousand large and closely printed pages brought me to the end.

But there were other things besides its style that attracted and intensified my interest. I had been a sceptic before, not only as to homeopathic medicine but as to allopathic medicine as currently practiced. This book not only confirmed my scepticism but its revelations astounded me, sceptic as I was. Let me name some of the things, which, commonplace as they are to intelligent physicians, were at that time absolutely appalling to me, a layman. I found for illustration, that the best medical practice did not, and did not pretend to cure more than four or five diseases. That is, medicine had, at that time, specifics for about as many diseases as there are fingers on one hand. It was nature, and not the doctor, and in most instances nature practically unassisted, that performed the cures. I had guessed this but I had not realized its truth. I learned that with the exception of two or three, the physician had nothing whatever to prescribe for the infectious diseases. Osler's own attitude toward drugs was interesting and I came at length to approach his curative suggestion with a smile. His chapter on any particular disease would begin with a profound and learned discussion of the definition of the disease, of its extension throughout the world, of the history of discovery about it, of the revelations of innumerable postmortems, of the symptoms, cause and probable results of the disease, and the permanent complications and consequences likely to follow, but when he came to the vital point, namely, the treatment of the aforesaid disease, our

author, who had up to this time been treading on solid grounds with the confidence and satisfaction of sure knowledge, would almost invariably disclose a mental attitude of doubt and scepticism. He would suggest that such and such eminent physicians in this country or Europe had found that this or that treatment was efficacious but this had not been his own experience; perhaps this or that might be found to be useful in some cases. To the layman student, like me, demanding cures, and specifics, he had no word of comfort whatever. In fact, I saw clearly from the work of this thoroughly enlightened able and honest man, perhaps the foremost practitioner in the world that medicine had, with the few exceptions above mentioned, no cures, and that about all that medicine up to 1897 could do was to suggest some measure of relief, how to nurse the sick, and to alleviate in some degree the suffering. Beyond this, medicine as a cure had not progressed. I found further that a large number of the most common diseases, especially of the young and middle aged, were infectious or contagious, caused by infinitesimal germs that are breathed in with the atmosphere, or are imparted by contact or are taken in with the food or drink or communicated by the incision of insects in the skin. I learned that of these germs, only a very few had been identified and isolated. I made a list, and it was a very long one at that time, much longer than it is now, of the germs which we might reasonably hope to discover but which as yet had never been, with certainty, identified, and I made a ~~very much~~ longer list of the infectious or contagious diseases for which there had been as yet no cure at all discovered.

When I laid down this book I had begun to realize how woefully neglected in all civilized countries and perhaps most of all in this country, had been the scientific study of medicine.

And, I saw clearly why this was true. In the first place, the instruments for investigation, the microscope, and the science of chemistry, had not until recently been fully developed. Even Pasteur's germ theory of disease was very recent. Moreover, while other departments of science, such as astronomy, chemistry, physics, geology, etc., had been endowed very generously in colleges and universities throughout the whole civilized world, medicine, owing to the commercial organization of medical colleges, had rarely, if ever, been anywhere endowed, and research and instruction alike had been left to shift for themselves dependent altogether on such chance as the active practitioner might steal from his practice. It became clear to me that medicine could hardly hope to become a science until medicine should be endowed, and qualified men could give themselves to uninterrupted study and investigation, on ample salary, entirely independent of practice. To this end, it seemed to me an Institute of medical research ought to be established and endowed in the United States. Here was an opportunity for Mr. Rockefeller to become a pioneer. This idea took possession of me. The more I thought of it the more interested I became. I knew nothing of the cost of research; I did not realize its enormous difficulty; the only thing I saw was the overwhelming and universal need and the infinite promise, worldwide, universal, eternal. Filled with these thoughts and enthusiasms, I returned from my vacation on July 24th. The

year was, as I have stated, 1897. I brought my Osler into the office at No. 26 Broadway, and there I dictated for Mr. Rockefeller's eye, a memorandum in which I aimed to show to him the actual condition of medicine in the United States and the world as disclosed by Dr. Osler's book. I enumerated the infectious diseases and pointed out how few of the germs had yet been discovered and how great the field of discovery, how few specifics had yet been found and how appalling was the unremedied suffering. I pointed to the Koch Institute in Berlin and at greater length to the Pasteur Institute in Paris. I pointed out the fact, first stated by Huxley, I think, that the results in dollars or francs of Pasteur's discoveries about anthrax and on the diseases of fermentation and of the silk worm had saved for the French nation a sum far in excess of the entire cost of the Franco-German War. I remember insisting in this or some subsequent memoranda that even if the proposed institute should fail to discover anything, the mere fact that he, Mr. Rockefeller, had established such an institute of research, if he were to consent to do so, would result in other institutes of a similar kind, or at least other funds for research being established, until research in this country would be conducted on a great scale and that out of the multitudes of workers, we might be sure in the end of abundant rewards even though those rewards did not come directly from the institute which he might found.

These considerations took root in the mind of Mr. Rockefeller and later of his son. Eminent physicians were consulted as to the feasibility of the project, a competent agent was

THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE

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employed to secure the counsel of specialists on research and out of wide consultation the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research came into being. It had its origin in Dr. Osler's perfectly frank disclosure of the very narrow limitations of ascertained truth in medicine as it existed in 1897.

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Japt book

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Montclair N. J.
66. S. Mountain Ave
May 3rd 1920

Dear Dr. Cushing:

Please pardon unavoidable delay. I am enclosing such letters of Dr. Osler, as we have been able to recover from the files. There is another pasted on the fly leaf of my copy of 'The Principles and Practice,' in some respects more important than any of these, addressed to me, in response to my recognition of the helpfulness of that book. But the book with its letter is in my summer home at Lake George and will not be available until our family goes up to Lake George and opens the house in June.

I assume you do not care to burden your volume with an accurate narration of the mental processes awakened in the mind of a member of Mr. Rockefeller's staff in the summer of 1897 by Dr. Osler's book as vacation light literature! - processes which did not give him or Mr. Rockefeller any rest until the

Roosevelts Institute of Research had come
into being. Such a statement ~~is~~ exists
and could be copied for your private eye if
you should think it of any value to you as an
historian editor, for information.

Very truly yours

Frederick T. Gates

Dr. Harvey Cushing
721 Huntington Avenue
Boston Mass.

Of Original Letter to W. O. Mar 4 1902

Montclair N. J.

May 8th 1920

Dear Dr Cushing

The enclosed is taken from the
manuscript biographical sketch, written for
his children, not printed, and not to be printed,
of that member of Mr Rockefeller's busi-
ness and philanthropic staff, who ^{in 1897} was re-
sponsible for directing Mr Rockefeller's atten-
tion and successfully urging on his philan-
thropy the Institute for Medical Research. A
more detailed manuscript sketch is lodged ^{at Dr Flexner's request} among
the Archives of the ^{for use of its future historian} Insulinity. It is not more
detailed however than this one, ^{though not less so} on the vital point
to you viz. Dr Osler's work as an essential
link in the chain of causation.

You are at liberty to use any part or the
whole of the enclosed.

It happens to be written in the first person
or any part you use
You are at liberty if you wish to put ^{it} in
the Third person and to present it editorially
or as author, setting forth facts you have un-
earthed. Perhaps this would be the most readable

interesting and satisfactory way in which you
can present any facts you may wish to use
is put ^{them} ~~at~~ through your own hand and pen.

Nothing will be gained by using the probably
suspected name of the author.

You shall have Orlin's letter, and if I find
a copy of it my letter to him, so soon
as I reach them.

Very truly

J. J. Gates

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All unconscious of what was taking place at No. 26 Broadway, Osler from St. Andrews was sending scraps of letters to various people to the effect that he had invited Richet to stay with him; that he had arranged for Bowditch and the Fosters; that his nephew would not be back so another small room would be free; that he would reach Toronto 'Tuesday eve' which presumably was August the 17th. All this was in preparation for the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science which, after a thirteen-years' interval, met ^{for a second time} ~~again~~ in Canada that hot summer. Mrs. Osler, possibly mindful of a B. M. A. meeting in Nottingham a few years before, preferred to go with the baby to her mother's in Canton, while her gregarious husband indifferent to crowds and heat entertained a houseful of guests in his brother Britton's abode in Toronto. The meeting (August 18th-21st) was memorable for one thing at least, and ^{this} ~~that~~ was registered in terms of the thermometer ^{so high} ~~that~~ ^{and} frock-coated Englishmen with top-hats were reduced to mopping their brows and appearing ^{on the streets} in their shirt-sleeves. There were many notable guests and many old friends, but of all, Lister just elevated to the peerage, President of the Royal Society, President also of the Association, was the outstanding figure, and Osler must have been gratified to have him pay special attention

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to an exhibit in Ramsay Wright's lecture-room by one of the newly-fledged graduates, W. G. MacCallum, of a discovery he had made while studying the malarial parasite of crows.

There followed a week's intermission before the Montreal meeting which gave the foreign guests an opportunity to enjoy the beauties of Upper Canada, though probably none of them made pilgrimage to Weston or Bond Head, for by now the forests had retreated well north of the Muskoka Lakes, where Lister apparently was taken. Osler meanwhile had rejoined his family, and from Canton on August 28th writes to his absent Resident:

Dear Thayer I hope you have had a jolly & profitable time. We saw in the cable dispatches that you had been presented to the Czar at Petershof. I write to catch you in London. Draw on me the National Union Bank of Baltimore for the \$200. I have arranged it. You will need it I am sure. Everything seems smooth at the J.H.H. Camac is engaged (to Miss Metcalfe) & leaves in Oct. This will put McCrae in his place - lucky we have so good a man MacCallum has a great find in the crows blood - conjugation of organisms - the flagella penetrating definitely certain bodies which undergo changes etc. It seems quite straight & will of course be most important. His paper was very well received. Lister moved the vote of thanks & spoke most appreciatively of the work.

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We have been at St. Andrews, delightful spot. I go to Montreal for the meeting & then on the 4th to Baltimore Mrs Osler & Ike are very well & send love . . .

Apparently he left the same evening for Montreal, for on the following day, Saturday, he sends word to Adami regarding the houseful of friends being gathered by his former colleague, Gardner.

I have not made any arrangement for Welch. Gardner offered me four rooms which I have filled with J. C. Wilson, F. C. Shattuck, Fitz and Musser. I shall also be there. G. may be able to give another room. He is asking Chadwick and one or two others I believe. G. will be here next week, and I can arrange it if you have not seen him meanwhile.

It was the first time in its sixty-four years of existence that the British Medical Association had ventured to hold one of its meetings overseas, but, taken in combination with the meeting in Toronto of the science association of which Lister was President, a ^{large} ~~lay~~ attendance from Great Britain was guaranteed. T. G. Roddick Professor of Surgery at McGill, one of the Dinner-Club members of Osler's Montreal days, was President of the 'B.M.A.' but Lister of course figured largely in the proceedings, and the old Medico-Chirurgical Society gave a special dinner in his honour. Also, from beginning to end, an-

other old friend, the Chancellor of the University, Lord Strathcona and Mr. Royal, - he who had been Sir Donald Smith a few days before - lent his presence to the more important general sessions. At one of these, on Wednesday September 1st, came Osler's address, a feature of the week's ceremonies, in which he dwelt on 'certain of the factors which have moulded the profession in English-speaking lands beyond the narrow seas - of British Medicine in Greater Britain.'*

*Reprinted as No. X in "Aequanimitas and Other Address," 1904.

In this address, which was widely and most favourably commented upon, there began clearly to appear the evidences of the literary style of his later years, and in subject matter certainly nothing could have better suited the occasion. It is apparent, on rereading the address, that he spoke more as a Canadian and Englishman than as an American, and one of his introductory paragraphs may be quoted.

Evolution advances by such slow and imperceptible degrees that to those who are part of it the finger of time scarcely seems to move. Even the great epochs are seldom apparent to the participators. During the last century neither the colonists nor the mother country appreciated the thrilling interest of the long-fought duel for the possession of this continent. The acts and scenes of the drama, to them detached, isolated.

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and independent, now glide like dissolving views into each other, and in the vitascope of history we can see the true sequence of events. That we can meet here today, Britons on British soil, in a French province, is one of the far-off results of that struggle. This was but a prelude to the other great event of the eighteenth century: the revolt of the colonies and the founding of a second great English-speaking nation - in the words of Bishop Berkeley's prophecy, 'Time's noblest offspring.'

Surely a unique spectacle that a century later descendants of the actors of these two great dramas should meet in an English city in New France! Here the American may forget Yorktown in Louisbourg, the Englishman Bunker Hill in Quebec, and the Frenchman both Louisbourg and Quebec in Chateauguay; while we Canadians, English and French, in a forgiving spirit, overlooking your unseemly quarrels, are only too happy to welcome you to our country - this land on which and for which you have so often fought.

When and where the writing was done, ^{far less} ~~and~~ the collateral reading,* is

*He had evidently been reading things as unrelated as ~~John Brown's "Spare Hours"~~, "The Life of Thomas Wakley", Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity", Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter", Parkman's "Jesuits in North America", "The History of Aryan Medical Science", "In the Days of the Canada Company", and The Breakfast Table series.

not apparent, but in all probability it followed the receipt of Acland's panel, for, after drawing a comparison between Hellas and her colonies and England and hers, the address is largely woven about Linacre, the type of literary physician to whom was largely due the revival of Greek learning

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in England in the sixteenth century; Sydenham the model of the practical physician of modern times; and Harvey, practitioner and hospital attendant, as well as experimental scientist. But he goes on to say:

. . . A physician may possess the science of Harvey and the art of Sydenham, and yet there may be lacking in him these finer qualities of heart and head which count for so much in life. Pasture is not everything and that indefinable, though well understood, something which we know as breeding, is not always an accompaniment of great professional skill. Medicine is seen at its best in men whose faculties have had the highest and most harmonious culture. The Lathams, the Watsons, the Pagets, the Jenners, and the Gairdners have influenced the profession less by their special work than by exemplifying those graces of life and refinements of heart which make up character. And the men of this stamp in Greater Britain have left the most enduring mark, - Beaumont, Bovell and Hodder in Toronto; Holmes, Campbell and Howard in this city; the Warrens, the Jacksons, the Bigelows, the Bowditches, and the Shattucks in Boston; Bard, Hosack, Francis, Clark and Flint of New York; Morgan, Shippen, Redman, Rush, Coxe, the elder Wood, the elder Pepper, and the elder Mitchell of Philadelphia - Brahmins all, in the language of the greatest Brahmin among them, Oliver Wendell Holmes, - these and men like unto them have been the leaven which has raised our profession above the dead level of a business.

Nor did he forget to mention Father Johnson in connection with a lament that medicine had become severed from the old-fashioned natural history. And

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there was much more of equal and greater interest, as he traced with a sure historical perspective the development of, and portrayed the conditions of the profession in America and the British colonies.

At the close of his address the vote of thanks was moved by his friend of Vienna days, Stephen Mackenzie, who hoped he was only in the United States 'in bond', and Jacobi on seconding the motion replied to the effect that he was a citizen of the world and England could not claim him. Subsequently the meeting was turned into a McGill Convocation, and degrees were conferred on Lister, Charles Richet, Michael Foster, Sir William Turner and others; and after another day of papers at the various sessions, an evening conversazione given by Strathcona in the University grounds closed the 65th meeting of the B. M. A.

September 4th, according to his programme, found him back in Baltimore. Though he had obligated himself for another formal address which must be written, and though preparations for the coming school year had to be made, nevertheless, he appeared ten days later in Ocean City for the fall meeting of the Maryland 'Faculty' where he read a paper on haemorrhage in typhoid

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fever. A day later he left for Boston, as told in the following note written to Palmer Howard's younger son who was just entering McGill.

To C. P. Howard from W. O.

Maryland Club,
Sept. 16, 1897.

Dear Campbell: Just a line to wish you good luck and God-speed in your Medical work. The hopes of all your father's dear friends are set on you. I know you will work steadily and surely. Let me know of any of your troubles and worries. I should like to stand to you in the same relation your father did to me. I can never repay what he did in the way of example and encouragement. Aunt Grace is not yet back. I am going to Boston tonight to see her. With much love, Yours affectionately,

W^m Osler

As a result of this visit, having been called to see a patient in Nahant, he was exposed ^{while} driving across the Nahant Neck and came down with one of his periodical bronchial attacks ^{occasionally} verging on pneumonia, which subsequently came to cause his friends so much anxiety and of which ere long he began to make some personal observations, jotted down in his account-book.

There were two topics, it may be noted, on which he particularly dwelt, year after year, in his fourth-year instruction - pneumonia and typhoid - for he felt that if these two diseases, one primarily thoracic and the other

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primarily abdominal, were thoroughly understood by the students it would give them a satisfactory foundation on which to build their broadening experience. Accordingly, during the ~~course of the~~ fall and winter semesters, every case entering the hospital was listed under the patient's name on the ample black-board in his clinical amphitheatre, and the subsequent complications and ultimate issue of the disease were added, so that the students came to know these cases ^{almost} as intimately as though they had been private patients of their own. The exercises in connection with these topics, as the course progressed, led Osler frequently into print; as, for example, in his paper "On Certain Features in the Prognosis of Pneumonia," published early in this year, where he analyses the mortality of the first 124 cases of pneumonia which had been admitted to, or had developed in the hospital. He says, "No other disease kills from one-fourth to one-third of all persons attacked," and "so fatal is it that to die of pneumonia in this country is said to be the natural end of elderly people."

No. 1 West Franklin Street saw a succession of guests during the early weeks of the fall term, many of them representatives of the B. M. A. or B. A. A. S. who had drifted down after the Toronto and Montreal meetings.

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"I do wish you would come on here and stay a couple of weeks," he would write,

"You can breakfast at ten, play with Ikey till twelve, spend a couple of

hours in the Laboratory with Fitcher & amuse yourself the rest of the day."

The burden, of course, fell on the willing shoulders of the mistress of the

house who, fortunately amused by the circus which revolved around them,

played her rôle with an imperturbability a match for his own. Somehow, de-

spite school duties, a speech at the opening of the new hospital for the Uni-

versity of Maryland, and other calls, he managed to compose another important

address.

On October 20th he wrote J. G. Adami: "Two of your boys last year wrote an interesting paper on Haemorrhagic Typhoid. I have mislaid it. Will you ask them to send me a copy? I was in New York last night, and heard your praises sung by some of the fellows at the Century Club." He had been the guest of one of the sections of the New York Academy of Medicine and gave an address on "Internal Medicine as a Vocation,"* in which he set out to empha-

^{as No VIII}
*Reprinted in "Aequanimitas & Other Addresses," 1904.

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size the fact that the student of internal medicine cannot be a specialist, and he ~~went on to tell~~ ^{proceeded to explain} what ^{elements} in his estimation went to make the great physician - men of the type of Austin Flint, of James Jackson and Jacob Bigelow. He warned the New Yorkers against the besetting sin of 'Chauvinism, that intolerant attitude of mind which brooks no regard for anything outside his own circle and his own school,' and recommends the breadth of view which only comes from travel, though he was not heedless of the truth of Shakespeare's sharp taunt:

How much the fool that hath been sent to Rome
Exceeds the fool that hath been kept at home.

The address might almost be transcribed as an autobiographical sketch, so closely does it reflect Osler's own modus vivendi. Visualizing a young Lydgate, who does not get entangled in the meshes of specialism, he outlines the proper training of one whose object is to become a pure physician, and takes him through what Sir Andrew Clark had spoken of as the three stages - the dry-bread period, the bread-and-butter period, and the period of cakes-and-ale. 'All things come to him who has learned to labour and wait,' but 'let him not lose the substance of ultimate success in grasping at the shadow of present opportunity.'

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. . . How shall he live meanwhile? On crumbs - on pickings obtained from men in the cakes-and-ale stage (who always can put paying work into the hands of young men), and on fees from classes, journal work, private instruction, and from work in the schools. Any sort of medical practice should be taken, but with caution - too much of it early may prove a good man's ruin. He cannot expect to do more than just eke out a living. He must put his emotions on ice; there must be no 'Amaryllis in the shade,' and he must beware the tangles of 'Neaera's hair.' . . .

And:

. . . at the end of twenty years, when about forty-five, our Lydgate should have a first-class reputation in the profession, and a large circle of friends and students. He will probably have precious little capital in the bank, but a very large accumulation of interest-bearing funds in his brain-pan. He has gathered a stock of special knowledge which his friends in the profession appreciate, and they begin to seek his counsel in doubtful cases, and gradually learn to lean upon him in times of trial. He may awake some day, perhaps, quite suddenly, to find that twenty years of quiet work, done for the love of it, has a very solid value.

In the address he quotes from a letter of advice he has just written to a young Canadian graduate going into practice in a small town, and as so few of his letters of this kind have been preserved it ^{deserves} ~~may be~~ reprinted:

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Your training warrants a high aim. Say to those who ask, that you intend to practise medicine only, and will not take surgical or midwifery cases. X. has promised that you may help in the dispensary, and as you can count blood and percuss a chest you will be useful to him in the wards, which, by the way, he now rarely visits. Be careful with the house physicians, and if you teach them anything do it gently, and never crow when you are right. The crow of the young rooster before his spurs are on always jars and antagonizes. Get your own little clinical laboratory in order. Old Dr. Rolando will be sure to visit you, and bear with him as he tells you how he can tell casts from the ascending limb of the loop of Henle. He was once as you are now, a modern, but he crawled up the bank twenty years ago; the stream has left him there, but he does not know it. He means to impress you; be civil and show him the new Nissl-stain preparations, and you will have him as a warm friend. His good heart has kept him with a large general practice, and he can throw post-mortems in your way, and may send for you to sit up with his rich patients. If Y. asks you to help in the teaching, jump at the chance. The school is not what you might wish, but the men are in earnest, and a clinical microscopy-class or a voluntary ward-class, with Y.'s cases, will put you on the first rung of the ladder. Yes, join both the city and the county society, and never miss a meeting. Keep your mouth shut, too, for a few years, particularly in discussions.

Footes's (Philadelphia) is the catalogue to which I referred. Let the old men read new books; you read the journals and the old books. Study Laennec this winter; Forbes's "Translation" can be cheaply obtained, but it will help to keep up your French to read it in the original. The

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old Sydenham Society editions of the Greek writers and of Sydenham are easily got and are really very helpful. As a teacher you can never get orientirt without a knowledge of the Fathers, ancient and modern. And do not forget, above all things, the famous advice to Backmore, to whom, when he first began the study of physic, and asked what books he should read, Sydenham replied, "Don Quixote," meaning thereby, as I take it, that the only book of physic suitable for permanent reading is the book of Nature.

He went on to consider the cakes-and-ale period - that of the consultant, and divided them as a class into intra- and extra-professional, the latter of whom, caught in the coils of the octopus, is deserving of ~~our~~ sincerest sympathy.

One thing [he says] may save him. It was the wish of Walter Savage Landor always to walk with Epicurus on the right hand and Epictetus on the left, and I would urge the clinical physician, as he travels farther from the East, to look well to his companions - to see that they are not of his own age and generation. He must walk with the 'boys', else he is lost, irrevocably lost; not all at once, but by easy grades, and every one perceives his ruin before he, 'good, easy man,' is aware of it. I would not have him a basil plant, to feed on the brains of the bright young fellows who follow the great wheel uphill, but to keep his mind receptive, plastic, and impressionable he must travel with the men who are doing the work of the world, the men between the ages of twenty-five and forty.

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After warning against 'the temptation to toy with the Delilah of the press,' who, sooner or later 'sure to play the harlot, has left many a man shorn of his strength,' he ends with this paragraph.

. . . In a play of Oscar Wilde's one of the characters remarks, "There are only two great tragedies in life, not getting what you want - and getting it!" and I have known consultants whose treadmill life illustrated the bitterness of this mot, and whose great success at sixty did not bring the comfort they had anticipated at forty. The mournful echo of the words of the preacher rings in their ears, words which I not long ago heard quoted with deep feeling by a distinguished physician, "Better is a handful with quietness than both hands full with travail and vexation of spirit."

The address is one to be read and pondered over by every medical student, and may well be by every doctor young and old - even to its single foot-note to Lydgate which says, "This well-drawn character in George Eliot's "Middlemarch" may be studied with advantage by the physician; one of the most important lessons to be gathered from it is - marry the right woman." Which Lydgate unhappily failed to do, though up to this point in the story Marian Evans had portrayed her young medical friend, Dr. Clifford Allbutt of Leeds, - later Sir Clifford, and Regius Professor of ^{Physic} ~~Medicine~~ at Cambridge.

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Most happily married himself and aware of how often the tragedy of Lydgate was repeated in the profession, Osler used ^{to reiterate the} ~~it as a constant~~ warning ^{to} ~~that~~ his young friends ^{to} keep their hearts on ice. His advice was not always taken. There was found among his various papers this draft in pencil of an unfinished letter to a young graduate, which tells its own story.

Dear ----, Do not worry, you could not offend me, nor did you fool me altogether. Although I did not refer to it, I had a feeling that you had made up your mind. Long experience has taught me that, in these cases, advice is sought to confirm a position already taken. In the affairs of the heart, in which I have had a long and curious experience, I do not remember an instance in which my adverse counsel was taken. From the West, one day, a family group of anxious Hebrews came to consult me on the advisability of the son - an early ^{ply} thisiker - marrying. There could be no two opinions, the old people on both sides were greatly pleased, and the young ones, though sad, seemed contented, and agreed to wait until he was quite well. As they streamed out, the patient said: "Doctor, a word with you, please, alone. I think it only fair to say that, knowing very well what your advice would be, we got married before we left Kansas City."

I was quite touched by your letter. Of course, I know you love her, or you think you do which, at this stage of the game, is the same thing. Only remember that the blind bow-boy plays the devil with us sometimes. I tried to warn you against what I felt was an indiscreet marriage. You have a career ahead of you which the right woman will help, the wrong woman wreck. A level-headed fellow can do anything he wishes

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with a wife if love blossoms into trust, gentleness, and consideration. A doctor needs a woman who will look after his house and rear his children, a Martha whose first care will be for the home. Make her feel that she is your partner, arranging a side of the business in which she should have her sway and her way. Keep the two separate. Consult her and take her advice about the house and the children, but keep to yourself, as far as possible, the outside affairs relating to the practice. ~~Nowadays, with the telephone, this is very hard. . . .~~

A meeting of the newly formed Maryland Public Health Association, the outgrowth of the year before and of which William H. Welch had been made President, was held in the hall of the 'Faculty' on November 18th and 19th, at which the relation of abattoirs to human diseases, water filtration, school sanitation and such subjects were discussed. The deliberations of one whole evening were given over to the old question of Baltimore sewerage, and in this relation Osler again spoke vividly in his description of the existing conditions, and their relation to typhoid mortality.

The penalties of cruel neglect have been paid for 1896; the dole of victims for 1897 is nearly complete, the sacrifices will number again above 200. We cannot save the predestined ones of 1898, but what of the succeeding years? From which families shall the victims be selected? Who can say? This we can predict - they will be of the fairest of our sons and of our daughters; they will not be of the very young, or of the very old, but the youth in its bloom, the man in the early years of his vigor, the girl just wakening into full life, the young woman just joying in the happiness of her home. These will be offered to our Minotaur, these will be made to pass through the fire of the accursed Moloch. This, to our shame, we do with full knowledge, with an easy complacency that only long years of sinning can give.

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By means of
Through its published Report which was widely distributed throughout the state, this meeting served to stimulate even the smaller hamlets to some conception of their public health obligations. And though, as H. B. Jacobs has said,* such writing as Osler's was not only convincing but was intensely

*Henry B. Jacobs: "Osler as a Citizen and his Relation to the Tuberculosis Crusade in Maryland." Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, July, 1919.

moving and played no small part in securing, in the end, a proper sewage disposal for Baltimore, it is not unlikely that the imagination of the Marylander accustomed to frequent on occasion what is known as 'raw-bar' was still more moved by the paper ^{by} W. K. Brooks the zoologist, who hinted that every drop of water entering the Chesapeake Bay has a good chance of ^{being in bacilli} ~~being~~ filtered through the gills of an oyster.

~~Osler~~
~~He~~ took upon himself at this time the distasteful task of collecting funds for the purposes mentioned in the subjoined note ~~which was~~ sent to the doctors throughout the state. There is nothing about it, however, which would suggest the kindness of heart that was his ^{underlying} ~~chief~~ impulse, for his chief object was to supply a scholarly physician in Baltimore who was in needy cir-

Dec.
1897

cumstances, with a literary task he was well fitted to fulfill. The notice read: "The Medical & Chirurgical Faculty at the celebration of its one-hundredth anniversary will issue a volume containing the annals of the profession of Maryland, and an account of the Proceedings of the Centennial Meeting. The price of the volume will be \$2.00, and all names should be sent to Dr. William Osler, 1 West Franklin Street, Baltimore."

And so, with the usual shower of brief notes, such as "Dear Flexner, that is a bully piece of work! I am much obliged for it in such a handsome dress. Do not work too hard this winter. Yours, W.O." which rained from 1 West Franklin Street, the year passed with Revere's second Christmas and birthday.

1898

In January appeared the first number of a new ^{weekly} ~~magazine~~ ~~journal~~, the Philadelphia Medical Journal, which had been organized with the financial backing of Osler, Musser, Keen and many others, and of which George M. Gould was the Editor. To the first number of this journal J. M. DaCosta, Nicholas Senn, W. W. Keen, and Osler made contributions. In Osler's paper on some of the intestinal features of typhoid fever, he made comment in no uncertain terms regarding ^{a medicinal} ~~the drug (?)~~ treatment of the disease advocated by Dr. A. E. Woodbridge. As it was unusual for him to ventilate his opinions so emphatically, the paragraph may be quoted.

I am often asked - Why have you not tried the Woodbridge treatment? As well ask why I do not use Bishop Berkeley's Tar-water. Any intelligent physician who reads Dr. Woodbridge's articles in the journals, or as they have been collected in his book, must be impressed, - first with the crude, unscientific character of his work, and with the ignorance everywhere displayed of the nature of typhoid fever; and secondly, with the persistent vaunting of a specific or cure-all for it. Dr. Woodbridge is a devoted, earnest man, who honestly believes in his plan - so did Bishop Berkeley in his - but until the presentation has been made in a very different way, I can no more accept his statements than those of any other misguided enthusiast who has been fortunate enough to have his wares exploited in the profession by a drug-house of repute. That any firm should have lent their name to this 'treatment,' that they should have spread broadcast in the profession its literature, may have

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1898

been good business policy, but displays a sad lack of judgment. On such a question it is much easier to keep silence than to speak one's mind frankly in what may appear an ungracious, unkindly way; but I am quite ready to express this opinion in public, since I have had so often to do it in private, in response to scores of letters from physicians in different parts of the country. To one who appreciates what those great masters, Nathan Smith, James Jackson, W. W. Gerhard, Elisha Bartlett, and Austin Flint, did in this country for the elucidation of typhoid fever, the book issued by Dr. Woodbridge is a reflection on the memory of men whose works and ways are alike our standard and our pride.*

*Philadelphia Medical Journal, Jan. 1898, i, 30.

Consultations were beginning to call him afield, and his tri-ennial text-book revision was impending, as he indicates in this note to Lafleur on January 27th.

Dear Laffie How are you? Well & strong again I hope. I heard of your return through Mrs Bullitt. If Pepper writes you about some articles for the Am. Text Bk of Med. 2nd Edition - do undertake them. We are all well - rather sad at Weir Mitchell's severe loss. His daughter aet. 23, died on Thursday of Diphtheria & Mrs M is still seriously ill. I have been tramping the country this month - Florida, Richmond & Rochester in rapid succession. Send me memos as to alterations in my text book. Mrs Osler sends love & Tommy would if he could. Yours

W.O.

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*"fifth" or
"first" 9.15.*

'Tramping the country' though he was, his institutional responsibilities were ever in his mind. So, on February 9th one finds that ^{one of the first} the fifth donation ever made to the Johns Hopkins Hospital, at least the fifth recorded donation, as mentioned in the IXth Report of the Superintendent, is a fund for the study of tuberculosis, 'through the liberality of benevolent individuals who desire that their names be not mentioned . . . that tuberculosis be studied in all its aspects, as to causes, means of communication, prophylaxis and treatment.' Subsequently in later Reports this announcement was changed to the following: "Through Dr. William Osler, from himself and other interested friends, as a fund for the study of tuberculosis - \$2,000." This ^{is} apparently the donation he subsequently referred to as having been given by 'two ladies - God bless them', and it is quite probable that he was led to contribute to it himself because just at this time it had become apparent through the ill health of a number of the students that their living conditions as well as the living conditions of the consumptives who came to the dispensary, needed to be thoroughly looked into.*

*Welch and Osler were appointed a committee to supervise these students and their first report which records that Charles D. Parfitt was appointed to take charge of the work appeared in the Xth Report of the Superintendent published a year later. In the course of these investigations Dr. Parfitt himself a year later became victimized by the disease.

See if I have said
This later on: etc.

Originally mentioned in
chapter X, p. 46, but crossed out.

Jan
1898

The many incidents of this busy winter must be briefly passed over.

Fanned by the yellow press and the slogan of "Remember the Maine", the smouldering embers of war threatened frequently to burst into flame, and Osler thought about it what other intelligent people did. Meanwhile a new building was going up in the medical school lot, to house physiology and pharmacology. A leper by mistake got admitted to the hospital; a nurse was discharged who refused to attend to her; and Osler made ^{the patient} her the subject of a clinic.* ~~Welch had reluctantly accepted an official post on the State Board~~

"Leprosy in the United States, with the Report of a Case."
Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, Mar. 1898. *Do not recall name of the*

*as Dean, a job which later took more
and later time over the Dean'ship.*

~~of Health which necessitated his looking for a successor as Dean.~~ An announcement went forth that the Frick Committee of the 'Faculty' had come into possession of \$600 to be spent on books, and the committee would be glad to receive suggestions from physicians of their needs, which 'may be sent to Dr. William Osler, 1 West Franklin Street.' The Book and Journal Club was thriving and had managed since its inception to put \$1200-worth of books on

in the Hospital.

Students of the day [now Professor] C.B. Bardeen that this patient had been studied in detail for some days in the dermatological clinic where one attendant by detailed differential methods had found before the class that the case was one of cutaneous syphilis and another attendant on the following day had found with equal conclusions that it was tuberculous. At this juncture Osler happened to walk through the dispensary one morning with his satellites, caught sight of the woman sitting on a bench and exclaimed "See here boys this is the first case of leprosy I have seen since 1890."

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1898

the shelves of the 'Faculty's' library. Meanwhile, his Wednesday clinics on the winter crop of pneumonia, some of which got into print, serve to give an idea of the personal character of these exercises. On March 1st he wrote to Ogden, making idle promises about playing golf.

Dear Ogden D.V. I leave for England immediately after my exams - early in June. Sorry not to be able to go to Denver [the annual A.M.A. meeting for 1898] but I need a good rest & hope to get off for three months if I can induce Mrs. O to take Ike. I wish you could take ten days or two weeks with us this spring - say May. You would enjoy a good rest & it would be a great pleasure to have you. I will promise to play golf with you three or four times a week. The boy thrives. I have been horribly driven - literally from Dan to Beersheba. I never have been so much away.

Other letters of the time indicate that however 'horribly driven', he was dipping into his Text-book revision preparatory for the third edition.

That



Mar.
1898To Sir John W. Moore, Dublin, from W. O.1 West Franklin Street.
Mar. 7, 1898.

Dear Dr. Moore: I see in a note in Janus in connection with beri-beri, that a Dutch Committee has investigated the outbreak of the disease at the Richmond Asylum, and has stated that there were differences between it and tropical beri-beri. I am interested in the subject, writing up a section for the new edition of my text-book, and I wanted to refer particularly to the endemic neuritis as met with in institutions, since there has been here a very extensive outbreak in an asylum in the State of Alabama. I wrote some time ago to the head of the Richmond Asylum, asking if there had been any official report which I could obtain, and now I am troubling you with the same question. If there has been such a report, would you kindly send a postal-card to the publisher, asking him to send it to me with a memorandum of the cost, and I will remit at once?

Sincerely yours,

W^m Osler.

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1898

That H. V. Ogden paid his visit earlier than May, the following letter indicates, and that the boy was thriving Ogden's kodak of him on his 'Dad's' back verifies. ^{Osler behind the scenes} The letter also ~~relates~~ ^{notes} that Osler had run away during the ~~Spring~~ ^{Spring} recess ~~with~~ [✓] with Barker and his nephew for a trip to the South.

To H. V. Ogden from Mrs. Osler.

1 West Franklin Street,
Tuesday, April 19th.

Dear Dr. Ogden, We are delighted with the pictures - particularly the one standing by the table with the music-box - and the one on Dad's back. I should like to send them to the adoring grandmothers. Thank you so much for all the trouble you have taken. The enclosed is a note Dr. Barker sent me about the trip. Read & destroy, it will amuse you. It was a great success and Dr Osler came back looking much better. Willie Francis had a charming time but left his heart in Richmond. They have both gone back to work quite refreshed. Your visit was a great pleasure & I wish you could arrange to come every year. You know there is always a room - sometimes a wee one, ready for you. We have had a nice visit from my sister and her family - but are without guests now. Dr. Malloch was in town last week - told me of having had a glimpse of you. All the hospital people are well. Do tell Mrs. Ogden how glad I am always to hear from her. I have just written thirty dinner invitations for the 26th for Dr. Osler - which verifies what you say about my constantly being at my desk. Revere is finely & speaks of you. He is so pleased with the picture of Mammy. ~~My love to your mother & sisters.~~

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Maryland 'Faculty'
The ~~Medical & Chirurgical Society of Maryland~~ held its one-hundredth

annual meeting with ^{ca} ~~an extensive~~ four-day programme, beginning April 26th,

which accounts for the 'thirty dinner invitations.' The President for

the year was Dr. Charles M. Ellis of Elkton, a man of unusual attainments, *the*

beau ideal of a
~~who represented the type of country practitioner, whom Osler greatly res-~~

~~pected, and who in turn had become one of Osler's great admirers and fre-~~

~~quently sought his advice.~~ W. T. Councilman came from Boston and gave

the principal address of the occasion, on cerebrospinal meningitis, which

had appeared in epidemic form in Eastern Massachusetts. *and* ~~He~~ Osler as

at the business session
Chairman of the Executive Committee announced that in response to the

circular issued the previous spring, \$4300. had been subscribed toward the

\$7000. debt on the building. "Our present home," he declared, "is an ad-

vance on our old ^{one} ~~quarters~~, but it does not represent suitable quarters for

the profession of a city of 500,000 inhabitants. We need a new building,

and an endowment fund for the library; and what we need, Mr. President, we

can get with the concerted action on the part of the profession and our

friends."

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1898

But the attention of all was far more occupied with other matters, for on the day before the ^{meeting} ~~centennial~~ convened, Congress had declared the existence of a state of war with Spain, and there was talk of an invasion of Cuba, where more to be feared than Spanish guns were typhoid and malaria, smallpox and dysentery. Worse even than these, was yellow fever, and the Surgeon General was already calling for immunes among the profession to accompany the troops as contract surgeons.* They were not difficult to

*Surgeon General Sternberg himself had had yellow fever, was considered an authority on the subject, and had written much on the bacteriology of the disease. A veil had best be drawn, however, over the medical history of the expedition to Cuba. Nor need the British War Office be much more proud of what happened this same year in the Soudan under Kitchener; where medical officers were hardly thought necessary. —

find, for yellow fever had been rampant in the Southern States the preceding year.

The 'American Physicians' held their 13th annual meeting in Washington, ^{the next week} with F. C. Shattuck as their President. ^{On this occasion} ~~May 3rd to 5th, and Osler entered in-~~
~~to the discussion of many of the papers.*~~ ^{Gave another paper} Sternberg had read again on the

^{this meeting,} ^{With Osler's backing, the late}
*The day before, on May 2nd, ~~Osler with~~ George M. Gould, the then editor of the Philadelphia Medical Journal, called a meeting in Philadelphia which resulted in the organization of the Association of Medical Librarians, whose purpose was the fostering of medical li-

Newly established

Apr.
1898

braries and the maintenance of an exchange of medical literature. Of this society Gould was made the first President, and subsequently under Osler's ~~backing~~ ^{influence} the organization was held together in ways that will be seen.

subject of yellow fever, quoting with disapproval Sanarelli's experimental inoculations and discrediting his claim that the Bacillus Sanarelli was the causal agency of the disease, for it proved to be identical with his own previously-described 'Bacillus X', on which Walter Reed and James Carroll had been working. V. C. Vaughan in the discussion had mentioned as ridiculous Sanarelli's experimental inoculations ^{on man,} and Osler is reported to have followed with an emphatic denunciation of Sanarelli's experiments ~~on man~~ which his predecessor had termed ridiculous. Even granting, he said, that every dose of medicine we give is an experiment, to deliberately utilize a human being for the purpose without the sanction of the individual 'is not ridiculous, it is criminal.' It was a condemnation, the publicity of which stood Osler in good stead two years later.

Thus were the pieces fitting together. The invasion of Cuba; yellow fever; Reed and Carroll; a God-sent Governor General who had been a doctor; experiments on man - for U. S. soldiers did give their sanction; the discovery of

May
1898

the transmitting agent; Havanna freed from the disease and yellow fever driven into its last ditch - all of which might not have happened - so soon, at least, - if the battleship "Maine" had not been blown up in Havana harbour on January 24, 1898.

May
1898

Sometime during the month it became noised about that ^{Cler} ~~he~~ had been elected
Fellow of the Royal Society of London,* of which Lister was then President.

He was recommended for election by the Council May 5, 1898 and formally elected
*The formal recorded election was June 6, 1898.

It was an honour that had been accorded to few Canadians up to this time,

though before the revolt of the Colonies ^{Father South} there had been several, like Benjamin
Franklin, entitled to write "F.R.S." after their names, ~~even in the century before~~.

His mother wrote on May 19th:

My dear Willie, A line to congratulate you on the step up the Ladder of
Fame. I do not think it will exalt your pride or vainglory but it is
certainly most gratifying to us all and must be especially so to you and
Grace. Nellie was going to send a Tel. but I did not see her going
over late in the evening and said I would write but could not manage it
somehow yesterday. . . . W. F. generally sends all sorts of
scraps to his Mother about your precious little lad and I get them through
Jennette, most amusing some of them are. I am longing to see you all,
and counting off the days as they pass till the 5th or 6th of June. Do
come as soon after that as you can, but you must be very much rushed here
and there- and sorely need a sea voyage to rest you. I know you have to
go to England and nothing will be better for you - there were disappoint-
ments when you did not come on from Buffalo and I know that as usual you
will not get much rest in Toronto. . . . My heart goes out
towards you all; dear Grace I'm sure feels low about this horrid war. .

May-June
1898

He was subjected to a complimentary dinner on May 24th and toasted as a 'First-Rate Specimen ^{and} of a Famous Royal Subject', but from all this he escaped the next day to New York for a meeting of the American Neurological Association, held in the Academy of Medicine. He was on the programme and read a paper, though it may be assumed that he spent a good deal of his time browsing among the old books in the rich collection of the Academy, enviously comparing it with the library of the 'Faculty'. He probably stayed at the University Club, for he abhorred hotels and hotel lobbies where he was apt to be waylaid by reporters and by bores whom he never suffered gladly. "This is Dr. Osler, I believe?" To which he would ^{be likely to} reply, "No - sorry - often mistaken for him. My name is Davis - E. Y. Davis of Caughnawauga."

On June 8th, according to the postmark, he sends from 1 West Franklin Street an undated scrap to his old friend Shepherd of Montreal.

Dear F. J. Sorry to hear you were knocked out. I wish you had come on here for repairs. The F R S was a great surprise. I suppose Foster set it up. I had no idea that my name had been proposed. We have changed our plans. We had berths for the 13th but ^[Reveries coloured] 'Mammy' struck & would ^{fearing the dangers of the sea.} not go. Then Mrs O's heart failed & she decided to go to Bar Harbour for the summer, & has given me six weeks leave for a trip to England. I sail on the 9th of July. Wish we were going together I shall see you in London 40 Clarges St. will be my address. Mrs O & Ike

June
1898

left for Toronto on Monday I go on the 18th. I am over head & ears
in my 3rd Edition - infernal nuisance Yours -

W Osler

Early in the preceding month the Maryland Public Health Association, which in its short year of existence had accomplished such unlooked-for results under Welch's presidency, held its second meeting at the 'Faculty' hall. The affairs of the organization were coming to take more and more of Welch's time. He had acted as Dean of the Medical School since its opening, and after presenting to Mr. Gilman on June 14th at the Commencement Exercises the second group of candidates for graduation, twenty-six in all, he resigned his deanship in favour of Osler - another 'infernal nuisance' which, however, he assumed with his customary impeturbability, though it is not certain that he was a very energetic Dean. He took the responsibility lightly; ~~and~~ ^{indeed} there was little machinery at any time, about the school organization, to require anything but occasional oiling, and he was good at this.

With the close of the undergraduate-session postgraduate courses began, and though ~~the conduct of~~ ^{were largely} these ~~was~~ given over to the junior members of the hospital staff, who thereby eked out their meagre university salaries, Osler

June
1898

always participated, as he did this year by giving for them a clinical lecture on June 18th using cerebrospinal fever as his text; for the epidemic had in mild form reached Baltimore, and there were seven cases in his wards.

He probably, too, as was his custom, gave a reception for them, though with

Mrs. Osler away and ^{floor tables and chairs at} 1 West Franklin Street doubtless strewn with ^{barrels of} manuscript of his Text-book revision, it must this year have been held elsewhere.

Before leaving Baltimore some two weeks later, he scribbled this note to W. S. Thayer:

Miss H. will tell the postman to leave all my mail at the Hospital ^{until} after Aug. 1st. Will you open the letters (unless marked personal) and answer those to patients - nabbing any you can. The Trustees, under a misapprehension (W. tells me) did not pass your salary increase. It is all right W. says & can be arranged without question. So if you hear of it do not be worried in the slightest. Hope you will have a good summer. My address is 15 Queens Park till July 1st. I sail 9th on Etruria.

~~Their plans to sail as a family were upset, as he had written Shepherd, because Revere's coloured 'Mammy' had balked at the dangers of the sea. A letter from Mrs. Osler to H. V. Ogden, written in Toronto on June 28th from B. B. Osler's house at 15 Queens Park, tells what is going on.~~

So to 15 Queens Park, his brother 'B.B.'s house in Toronto he repaired, ^{"tramping"} ~~tramping~~ with his party of ~~women~~ ^{men} as his sons in an ~~other letter~~ ^{other letter}, and from there in

June
1898

. . . I came here with Revere on the 6th of June. It has been an unusually pleasant visit. It has been very cool and Mr. B. B. O. having married Miss Ramsay of Hamilton his house is bright and cheerful. We are alone now as Mr. & Mrs. Osler are at Rat Portage. Dr. Osler came last week, bringing with him plenty of work - a section of the new edition of his Text-book - It is coming on well now - Dr. Smith is reading proof. We hope to leave here next Monday, and go to Bar Harbour, Maine, when Dr. Osler will leave us and go to England for a short time. He sails July 9th on the Etruria with Dr. Roddick - and will return August 6th. We hope to stay at Bar Harbour until early September. We passed last Sunday in Dundas. These items will probably interest your mother. We saw Mr. & Mrs. Begg, and the Locke girls and Charlie came out to tea - all looking very well. The boy is to study medicine. . . .

He invariably asked the children of his old Barrie school-day friend, Charlie Locke, to pay him a visit when he was in Toronto, and it may be added that he supplied the wherewithal that permitted the boy to study medicine.

✓
In anticipation of the coming Edinburgh meeting of the B. M. A. he writes to J. G. Adami on July 1st:

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1898
Aet. 49

15 Queens Park, Toronto.
Friday.

Dear Adami, Yours of the 28th reached me here, where I have been for a week on the way to Bar Harbour with Mrs. Osler and Egerton Y. (Jr.). I am delighted to hear of the cirrhosis work. Do send the material etc. with Stewart. I shall be only too glad to read the paper ^{for you} and show the specimens. Have you notified the secretary of the Med. Section? The discussion on cirrhosis is in it - I think. It will be quite startling - but what a comfort to the thirsty Scotsmen!

Thanks for the congratulations upon the F. R. S. It was very unexpected, and very much appreciated. I have been in the depths - a revision of my text-book. I have knocked it to pieces. Sins of omission begin to haunt me - as the sections are printed off. I had a note about your interesting lipomata - and forgot it! I shall look out for the paper and specimens by Stewart. Love to 'little Mary Cantlie.'

And again the next day he sends word to President Gilman that he is leaving for Bar Harbour Monday the 4th and sails on Saturday, 'to be absent only five weeks.*' He also has something to add to the effect that he sees no reason why Mr. Gilman should be called upon in any way to help a certain Miss J. finish her biological studies because he had promised to do this himself.

^{Such ways}
In ~~this fashion~~ Osler managed to keep his pocket-book empty - 'to sanctify his professional fees.' The Locke children; Miss J.'s biological studies. He was not a good business-man, if that means the accumulation of capital.

July
1898

A Canadian physician recalls that during his student days he was once caught penniless in Washington, and recognizing Osler with whom he was unacquainted, asked with embarrassment if he could borrow \$25 to get home. Osler said, "That's not enough; here's fifty." He was the bane of the Baltimore charity organizations. In an attempt to stop house-to-house begging they had issued tickets which householders could give to beggars, referring them to a central agency where they would be given a night's lodging and a breakfast in return for wood-chopping. In spite of this he had an agreement with ^{Oliver} ~~old~~ Morris ~~who~~ ~~attended his front door~~, that no one asking aid should be turned away without money, and there was a box at the door with ready coins for the purpose. Better a thousand mistakes in charitableness than one chance missed really to help some poor devil in actual want. "There was no discrimination" he once said, "in the charity of the good Samaritan, who stopped not to ask the stripped and wounded man by the wayside whether it was by his own fault the ill had come; nor of his religion, nor had he the wherewithal to pay his board."

But in larger affairs he also was an irregular. He had circularized the profession, as will be recalled, late in December of the previous year,

July
1898

asking for two-dollar subscriptions to enable the Maryland 'Faculty' to publish a centennial volume which old Dr. Cordell was to edit. The subscriptions were few. It grew to be a large volume. The cost of printing was heavy, and in the end Osler made up the entire deficit of two or three thousand, though there is no written record of this. Moreover, his name headed the list of contributors to the University of Maryland Endowment Fund being raised at this time, though under Cordell's solicitation only the friends and alumni of the old school were asked 'to rally to its support.' Such a chance he never missed - and usually gave doubly in that he gave first.

The Text-book he had indeed 'knocked to pieces.'* In the preface,

*The unprecedented success of the volume is shown by a note from his publishers stating that 'the whole number of the second edition printed was 17,500; total of the two editions 41,000! Naturally it was the source of imitations, but by his revisions Osler kept well ahead of them. James M. Anders of Philadelphia had issued through a rival publishing-house in 1897, a "Text-book of the Practice of Medicine" arranged on very similar lines. Some wag wrote a review of it, under the title "Osler mit etwas Anders."

evidently written in New York at the Waldorf Hotel the evening before sailing,

he says ^{that} a text-book six years old needs a very thorough revision, ~~and that the~~

the present ^{one} revision has been wholly recast ^{though} without being materially increased

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1898

in size. He enumerates the sections which have been rewritten or are new;

mentions those who have given help, especially Flexner, Thomas and Barker

in addition to those of his own staff; and at the end speaks of his obli-

a victim of the Burgoyne disaster who was on his way for a year study abroad and
gations to Livingood, by whose untimely death the Johns Hopkins Medical

School has suffered a grievous loss.' From this he turns to send ~~this~~ word

to Flexner.

What an awful calamity this is! Poor Livingood! I cannot realize it. Write a nice obituary notice of the poor fellow for the Philadelphia Jour. next week. You know the details. Gould will be very glad to have it. I left Mrs. Osler and Tommy at Bar Harbour. What have you done about Cornell?

The revision had been a great labour. He wrote Mrs. Osler from the steamer July 9th: "It's a great relief to have the book off my hands - I slept so happily - it has been a little too much on my mind." Roddick and Stewart are here and one of the Brocks so we shall have a pleasant time. My cabin looks very well. My companion has not turned up - a Mr. White I think. I enclose a list of the passengers. Look out for a cable from Liverpool."

July
1898*Sister from*From 12-a Curzon Street in London, where he is giving the ^{younger} Francis ^{Census} ~~Census~~ ^{niece} ~~niece~~

a good time, he sends to Mrs. Osler under the postmark of July 22nd a quasi-journal.

mother of this family - 2 new letters

Two LL.D.'s, a D.C.L. and the F.R.S. make 1898 a pretty full year in the life of your old man - But keep humble - lest we forget! I got the notice this a m of the Edinboro' Degree, which is to be conferred on the Saturday after the meeting. Roddick is to have it also, I am glad to say. I took Gwen in a Hansom to get my ticket - i.e. pay for it. Then we spent an hour in the National Gallery - and at 12 met May and a very sweet faced woman, Mrs Clayton, at the Academy. Pictures are very good this year. Two of Harry Tukes are A.1. May took us to the Empress Club in Dover Street - where she is a member - to luncheon, and at three we took Hansoms for Lords where the great match of the season - Gentlemen vs Players - is on. We saw some first class cricket - but not W. Grace who had been put out a few minutes before we came. Went to Mrs Claytons to tea - near Regents Park. I left the girls at Peter Robinsons and came home. We have tickets for the Little Minister - at the Haymarket - this eve. You see we are doing the town. Gwen is enchanted. This is a very nice place, attendance perfect. Mrs Russell is a very nice woman. I have asked Margery to come in for Thursday and Friday.

Wednesday a m. Waiting for the girls for bkfast. The play was charming. Winifred Emery so sweet and a much better actress than when we saw her a few years ago. Splendid weather - not too hot

July
1898

5.30 Have just left the girls at the American Shoe Store in Regent St. while I came in to order tea. George Francis came to Lunch. Looks so well. Hal and I took the girls to the Tavern - we went down the river by boat. It was great fun. Gwen was enchanted. Tonight we dine at the Criterion and go to the "Liars" - Wyndham - It is just too bad that you are not here.

Thursday, 2.30. Such fun at the Liars. Wyndham is splendid and Miss Moore very good - a little off from what you remember. This morning I went to Clovell's and to the shirt-maker. I am getting 1 1/2 doz. good white shirts. Then to Euston to meet Margery Howard who is to be with us until Friday eve (she sends her love). Got a leather portmanteau and a hat-box at the Stores. We have just had luncheon and are off to Earls Court to see the Naval Show. Such weather! no rain and bright sunshine and crisp east wind - Bostonian - fresh air. I am just disgusted that you are not here.)

Your letter has just come - so glad to have good news. I will cable on Saturday, I am delighted that you like everything. Do take drives and spend all the money you wish.

Friday 10 a m. We went to Earls Court in the afternoon - saw the sham naval battle - wonderful performance Margery enjoyed it so much. The girls went to tea at 5 with Pa at the Jr Constitutional Club. M. came home with me. At 7.15 we all dined with Hal at ~~Drew (?) Dorné~~ a very swell restaurant and then went to Daly's to see the Greek Slave. Marie Tempest was so good. We enjoyed ourselves greatly. With the exception of Ewart I have not seen a Doctor. My clothes are progressing. I am going this a m about your cloak, and the reefer for Tommy. I shall be very careful

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about the former. We go tonight to the - I forget - at Ealing to dine,
and this afternoon to the Imp. Institute. It seems very long since I
left you, but Aug. 6th will soon be here. . . . Yours

Egerton

If for the sake of his nieces he had eluded doctors ^{and formal dinners} in London, it was
to be otherwise in the North; for after being given an LL.D. at Aberdeen ^{on July 22} ~~he~~
^{and reaching} landed in Edinburgh for the British Medical Association meeting, and his
vest-pocket note-book records: 25th dinner Stewart 7.30; 26th Gibson 7.15;
27th Chiene - Turner 7.45; 28th Fraser; 29th Thompson - Greenfield 7.15.

Thomas Grainger Stewart who held the Chair of Medicine at Edinburgh (a posi-
tion offered to Osler a few years later, it may be added) was the President-
Elect of the B. M. A. to succeed Ross of Montreal; and the others just
mentioned were all likewise Edinburgh men certain to dispense Scottish hospi-
tality at its best - to ~~haggis~~ and pipers.

From the opening service at St. Giles' Cathedral to the university
ceremonial of the last afternoon given in the beautiful M'Ewan Hall, there
was probably little missed by Osler in the way of excursions, receptions and
scientific sessions, and at the annual dinner a good deal of banter seems

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to have passed between him and Grainger Stewart on the occasion of Osler's proposing the health of "The President." Certainly he was at St. Giles's, for the Rev. Alexander White, D.D., Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland, under the text "The Greatest of all of these is Charity" gave a discourse on none other than the man Osler knew by heart, and of whom ^{the minister} ~~he~~ said, "The properly prepared and absolutely ingenuous reader of the Religio Medici must be a second Sir Thomas Browne himself. If ever any man were a truly Catholic Christian it was surely he." Certainly, also, he was at M'Ewan Hall, for there before an audience of 3000 he, with H. P. Bowditch of Boston, Jonathon Hutchinson, Lauder Brunton, Broadbent, Kocher, ^{Miculicz} ~~Miluticz~~, Roddick and others (including two Dutchmen whom he was to visit the next summer, ~~Rosenstein of Leyden and Snellen of Utrecht~~) made up the nineteen to whom an LL.D. ^{had been accorded} ~~was given~~ by the Senatus Academicus of the University.

Apparently Osler took no part in the ^{Scientific sessions} ~~programme~~ except to make the ^{promised} ~~presentation~~ of the ^{paper} ~~paper for~~ Adams to whom he scribbled this note:

"On the Bacteriology of Progressive Portal Cirrhosis."

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Your paper went off very well - good audience. No discussion. I think it rather paralysed them. The demonstration was well attended and N. had two microscopes in the Museum every day, so that the subject was thoroughly brought before the men.

He must have returned to London, and soon after went on one of the quests in which he so delighted - this time in search of field records of Thomas Sydenham - he of Acland's panel - for he had exhausted the British Museum ^{Sources} in the summer of 1894 and on this visit as well. ~~What, however, was unusual, he appears to have gone alone, if one may judge from the opening paragraph of the following quotation.~~ His pocket note-book contains a list of Sydenham's works and their translations, made from the European Magazine, Vol. XI, containing letters relating to Sydenham and his contemporary John Locke, to the Countess of Shaftsbury, and so on. Among ^{his} ~~Osler's~~ ^{too} papers has been found a fragmentary sketch, partly in pen, partly pencil, entitled "A Visit to Winford Eagle", dated August 2, 1898, and which must have been written from his notes on the steamer. It begins thus:

I took the 11.45 from Paddington, and reached Maiden Newton, Dorset, in about three hours. I wished to see the birthplace of the great Sydenham and also to verify the entries in the parish register. Winford Church is only a chapel of ease connected with Little Toller and as all convey-

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ances of the villages were engaged at a picnic I walked to the latter place about 1 1/2 miles distant. . .

The earliest register at Toller Fratum* begins in the 17th century,

Footnote
of W.O's

*Toller Fratum belonged to the order of St. John of Jerusalem the Knights Templars to whom it belonged until the dissolution)

but particularly on pp. 5-8 there is a transcript possibly of the older Winford Eagle register, which is headed Nomina conjugatee. The first is that of the marriage of Thomas Sydenham and Jane Reeves, 1560. Then follows a long list of marriages chiefly of Sydenhams, and the entry of Dr. Sydenham's marriage as follows: Thomas Sydenham, son unto William Sydenham senior was married unto Mary Gee in the year of 1655. Payne has pointed out that we had not known heretofore the name of Sydenham's wife or the date of their marriage. The date is given wrong in Hutchin's Dorset, 1685, and this was of course supposed to be another Sydenham. On p. 7 of the register is a long list of baptisms at Winford Eagle, almost all of Sydenhams, beginning with Elizabeth, 1561, daughter of the aforementioned Thomas Sydenham. On p. 8 occurs the entry Thomas ye Sonne of Witt Sydenham Esq. was baptized 10 Sept. 1624. Jan. 22.*

Footnote
of W.O's

*To have photos of outside of register. p. 5, 6, 7, & 8, part 6 & 8 (Rev. Mr. James has given his consent. Pouncez? Dorchester could do it).

The Hospitalers of St. John chose a pleasant site for the monastery of Toller Fratum. In one of the extensive valleys of Frome on the brow of a small hill which rises abruptly from the banks of a small stream, a farm house and barn embody all that remains of the once spacious establishment. The church is new and uninteresting save for a remarkable front and the old Register from which I have given you extracts.

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Far from the madding crowd at Wynford Eagle a hamlet or chapelry belonging to Little Toller, in the garden of England, as Dorset has been called, Thos. Sydenham was born. The place belonged to the great honour or barony of Aquila or Eagle in Sussex, which name it received from a Norman family named Aquila. The estate passed from the Zouch's to Thos. Sydenham, the physician, and a grandfather in the 26th year of Henry VIII. The Sydenhams were an ancient family divided into many branches. They were originally seated at Sydenham near Bridgewater and Kilsford (Somerset) in the reigns of King John and Henry III. Hence issued the various Sydenham families of Somerset and the Wynford Eagle Sydenhams of Dorset. ~~(Hutchins)~~.

And from here at ^{same} other times he has gone on in pencil, very illegibly it may be said, to describe the manor house at Wynford Eagle where 'without a suspicion of the three centuries of world change' Sydenham might return with no sense of that estrangement which is given by the alteration of places familiar to our childhood. He may have been thinking of Bond Head and his own boyhood as he wrote these lines:

Of the childhood and youth of Sydenham we know nothing, or to speak more correctly we have no records. In reality we know everything; childhood and youth are among the immutable things. On the occasion of my visit I saw ~~the little~~ ^{the little} Sydenham running into a lane near Toller Fratrum; a group of children rushing helter-skelter down the hill were followed at a distance by a bright-faced little lad who at the sight of a stranger

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looked and screamed to his mother. At the gate by the church at Wynford Eagle a chubby boy of five was shouting to the shepherd dogs as they turned the flock from the road into the field. Into the same field the little Sydenham had doubtless often helped to drive the flock and I saw him in my mind's eye in the boy who with mimic stride went down the road with the shepherd. And again as I sat on a stile a lad of twelve came through the hedge with a rabbit in his hand and a snare. Joyous, happy days, full of those joys of country life which for children are so much heightened in a large family of boys and girls.

And pressed in the book is a flower, under which reads: "Rose from the vine over the door of the birthplace of Sydenham Winford Eagle July 26 1899," so the reader may expect to find him back in another twelve months,

From the steamer came this undated message to ^{me} his ~~niece~~ Miss Francis *consin*.

Cunard R.M.S. "Campania".

Dearest Gwen We got off at 5. this afternoon - so many passengers, but everything was most comfortably arranged. The train left London at 12 & in Liverpool came alongside of the steamer. Dr Roddick is with me & we hope for a pleasant voyage It has cleared up nicely We are skipping along the coast of N.Wales I wish it were S. Wales & Swansea Bay. We have had a happy time together & I love you very much & am delighted to see you growing up. Keep your little heart on ice! I was delighted with the children That girl is a darling, dear little soul. I shall write to Bea on the steamer & tell her how happy we have been. Much love. Your affec little

Doctor

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On landing August 8th he received word of Pepper's death in California on the 28th of July, and of his burial two days before in Philadelphia, and being too late to pay by his presence the tribute he would ^{unquestionably have paid,} ~~have been glad to~~ pay, he went on immediately, as planned, to join his family at Bar Harbour, and where ~~for a few days~~ ^{periodical} he was laid low by one of his bad colds caught on the train. Four days later he ~~wrote: to Mrs. Thayer~~ ^{wrote: to Mrs. Thayer} ~~apparently sent these three notes.~~

Bar Harbour,
Wednesday

Dear Mrs. Pepper On reaching New York from England, on Friday, I was terribly shocked to have a telegram from Mrs. Osler telling of Dr. Pepper's sudden death. What a blow for you and the boys! The loss to us all is irreparable. To whom now can we turn for strong help in the worries and perplexities that so constantly arise in our national associations? But what a record he has left in Philadelphia! I am so glad that I always when in Phila. and since appreciated his friendship and was loyal to him in all things. Mrs. Osler joins me in heartfelt sympathy with you & the boys. I will write to Will in a few days.

Wednesday

Dear Thayer I should have written at once but I am deep in a horrid cold which I caught in an upper berth on the N.Y. N.H. & H. R.R. I am delighted with everything here - the links are A.1. tho I have only been out once. Campbell & Muriel Howard are here. Mrs Osler asked them as a surprise for me. What about the Smith house? Would it not be better than the Carrolls. I suppose it would not be furnished. Perhaps, Van Ness may be going to live

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there. I am so glad that Flexner has decided to stay. Welch could not well have spared him. It would be hardly worth while to go to Santiago now- the troops would all be away in a few weeks. I believe we would see quite as much in some of the northern hospitals to which the troops are being sent. But you need fresh air & rest - not any more Hospital work.

I see they have me secured for Peppers chair - even my photo in the Ledger. Poor Pepper! - they will never have his equal again in Phila. They did not half-appreciate him or what he did for them. The U. P. would have been still on 9th Street, a three year school & the other depts undeveloped had it not been for his amazing energy & push. There is likely to be heart-burning over the appointment. Mitchell insists that I shall not say nay until after the Faculty have met but I should only be worried to death by practice in Phila. I see your sister every day. She is doing a miniature of Tommy. Your father is away. Very glad to hear that Barker is off & free - He must buckle down at one or two good bits of original work now. Mrs. Osler & Tommy send love.

Wednesday

Dear Mr. Gilman Pepper's death was a great shock to me. I was very much attached to him. Philadelphia has nothing to offer - nor any other city in this country - in comparison with what I have in Baltimore. I am very glad to hear that Flexner is to remain with us. Welch could not spare him. I hope to see you within a few days, I have caught a heavy cold which will keep me quiet for a while. With kind remembrances to Mrs Gilman & your daughters, . . .

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And so Philadelphia, not large enough to hold at one time both these men, was to have neither of them. Always ^{deeply} ~~profoundly~~ moved by the death of one of his friends, Osler immediately sent a long obituary notice of Pepper to the British Medical Journal, and also set to work to prepare a more formal memorial sketch.* This he had intended to read at the opening session

*"In Memoriam - William Pepper." Reprinted in "An Alabama Student & Other Biographical Essays." Oxford, 1908. The gist of this more finished sketch he sent later in the fall to the Mahogany Tree Club of Philadelphia, for a memorial meeting.

of the Medical School, but was prevented from doing so by an attack more serious than usual of his periodical bronchitis, contracted under circumstances to be related.

After an introductory comment upon leadership in general, he wrote, in this memoir:

William Pepper began life under conditions which are very often unfavourable to success. His father, a distinguished physician, the professor of medicine in the school in which his son was educated, belonged to a family of position and influence. For the young man there were none of those tempering 'blows of circumstance', no evil star with which to grapple and grow strong. Quite as much grit and a much harder climb are

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needed to reach distinction from the top as from the bottom of the social scale, and to rise superior to the res abundans domi has taxed to the uttermost many young men in this country. We have heard enough of the self-made men, who are always on top; it is time now to encourage in America the young fellow who is unhappily born 'with a silver spoon in his mouth.' Like the young man in the Gospels, he is too apt to turn away sorrowfully from the battle of life, and to fritter his energies in Europe, or to go to the devil in a very ungentlemanly manner, or to become the victim of neurasthenia. To such the career I am about to sketch should prove a stimulus and an encouragement.

And after speaking in a reminiscent way of their first acquaintance, in a

paragraph heretofore quoted, he says:

** chap. XII, p 70.*

. . . In Athens he would have been called a sophist, and I do not deny that he could, when the occasion demanded, play old Belial, and make the worse appear the better cause, to perplex and darken maturest counsel - but how artistically he could do it!

His faults? I am not here either to portray or to defend them.

They say, best men are moulded out of faults;
And, for the most, become much and more the better
For being a little bad.

He was human, and to those of a man he added the failings of a college president. To some sedate Philadelphians he seemed a modern Machiavelli, but a man engaged in vast schemes with many clashing interests is sure to be misunderstood, and to arouse sharp hostility in many quarters. The average citizen, if he does not understand, is very apt to dread or to dislike a new Ulysses.

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had shaken off
He ~~got over~~ his cold, and ~~a week after his letter regarding Pepper he~~

had written:
~~again writes Thayer:~~ "I am lowering my record at golf which is the only matter of interest to me just now." Appleton writes that the Edition is ready or nearly so: I will send copies to the hospital this week. Your sister has done a very good miniature of Ike."

(But the remainder of his summer was to be badly broken up and ^{spent} for the most part spent on trains. On August 22nd ^{had been} he was summoned to Buffalo, and from there ^{had gone on to see a patient} to somewhere in Iowa. Soon after his return he was called over

one day late in August to Winter Harbour to see Captain Arthur Lee (~~Lord Lee~~ of Farcham), and while there received ^{an urgent} a message begging him to come to Minneapolis ^{became of the person who was from the recent Hopkins production. Davis,} to see Walter S. Davis, one of the most promising of the first class

^{overman of his class,} of Hopkins graduates, who, with that fatalistic tendency whereby physicians ^{become} die ^{victims} in which specialized of the malady they have been most interested in, curiously enough had been doing

some research work on pigments in Abel's laboratory: ^{and} during the year Davis

had begun to show ^{such a degree of} considerable pigmentation of ^{his own} the skin ^{that} and it ^{was} had become evident that he had Addison's disease, ^{though up to this time} but ~~as yet~~ there had been no serious symp-

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toms. From Minneapolis Osler returned to Canton to join Mrs. Osler at her
mother's, and immediately had to leave for Toronto to see ^{his brother Edmund's son} ~~a nephew~~ who was
critically ill. During this entire week ^{many} the country was prostrated by an
unseasonable and excessive heat wave. All this he tells in the following
letter to W. S. Thayer. →

Sept.
1898Canton,
Wednesday [Sept. 7?]

Dear Thayer I found Davis very much better. He returned from the yacht (Abels) feeling badly having had attacks of giddiness and nausea - once or twice vomiting as well. On Tuesday & Wednesday he had three or four fainting spells, one very prolonged & with a good deal of collapse. They then telegraphed me. I was away in Winter Harbour & did not get back until the eve. I left on Thursday & got to Minneapolis Monday a.m. He was very much better - quite bright & it was simply impossible to realize, as we sat & talked with the poor fellow, that his condition was serious. The face is much pigmented & the margin of the M.M of the lower lip - none inside mouth. No pigmentation of areola. He has gained in weight since June - Blood + by count -> I have told him that we would arrange leave for six mos. which will relieve his mind very much... Talk with Brown for a substitute. We could make it pleasant for him & I think Fatcher would like him. Unfortunately I have to leave for Toronto tomorrow morning, a nephew is seriously ill. I shall not return here but go down to Balt direct - reaching there on the 15th. What a deuce of a summer you must have had! ~~I had a touch of stert on the train on Friday & Saturday.~~ I saw many in St. P. & M who asked after you. It is delightful to see the condition of the school. Their laboratory equipment is A.1. Mrs. Osler came this a.m. I got in at 6 p.m. She says you have sent on letters but I shall have to defer the reading until the train.

On the next Saturday, from his brother Edmund's home, Craigleigh, Toronto,

he again writes Thayer.

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I found my nephew with (I hope) a sharp attack of peripheral neuritis. The suddenness of onset looked alarming, as tho it might be an anterior poliomyelitis, but the distribution & the condition now are reassuring. I shall stay, to see that all goes well, until Wednesday [14th]. Back Thursday a m [i.e. September 15th] early

All this need hardly be mentioned except that it indicates how a physician in his position may be called upon to pass his vacation if he is within reach *and for a heart.*

Three hectic days - September 16-18 - were spent in Baltimore over professional consultations, for patients and their physicians were waiting to waylay him on his very doorstep. On the 19th came an appeal from James G. Mumford a young Boston surgeon of literary tastes to whom he was greatly attached, that he see a critical case with him in consultation in Nahant. He acceded and, after a glimpse of his wife and boy still at Canton, from there went on to Toronto for another *look at* ~~glimpse~~ of his nephew. The appointments noted in his account-book for the year abruptly ended September 24th, and were not resumed till *the end of* October, ~~28th~~. The reason is as follows:

On his way from Toronto in the middle of the night he was called out of his berth by the porter, to see a woman, the wife of a Baptist minister in

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Baltimore, who had recognized him. She, poor thing, was in labour. Osler in little more than his pajamas, with the porter's aid got her to the buffet, had a fire lighted, gave her some chlorodine which he happened to have, telegraphed ahead to her husband and her doctor, but stuck by the distasteful job himself till, reaching Baltimore, he ^{brought} ~~delivered~~ the woman ~~to~~ her own doorstep in the nick of time, for 'plump' the baby was born in the vestibule. He must have dictated a few letters that morning as the following indicates.

To J. G. Adami from W. O.

Sept. 23, 1898.

Dear Adami: Your former letter reached me just as I was leaving for Minneapolis, and I have since then been off to Toronto and back to Boston, and have only just returned. I was very much interested in it, and will give it to Flexner to read when he returns. The other paper of which you speak in the letter received today I will look for with interest. Thanks for the reprints. I was reading on the cars this morning the hepatitis paper. The subject is one in which I am very greatly interested. You will see in the Text-book that I have rewritten the sections on diseases of the liver, and I hope have made them a little more practical.

And perhaps he saw a few patients, but later in the day he took to his bed with fever and a bad cough. He was evidently very ill, so much so that either Fletcher or McCrae for several days hardly left his bedside, and Mrs. Osler 'smelling a

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rat' hurried home. As a patient he behaved very badly, would not have his windows open, would not have a nurse, twisted his coverlets up, and disliking to be fussed over refused to have his bed made - behaving, in short, much as he said in his "Nurse and Patient" address a man would behave, wishing to turn his face to the wall and sicken in peace. ^(tr) Int note p. 86^a

Subsequently to M. S. Thayer, who had been away on his vacation, he writes from his bed an undated note.

Dear Thayer The Trustees passed on your salary all right - there had been a misunderstanding. My bronchitis turned out to be quite an acute attack, with probably some low infiltration at the extreme left base. No rusty sputa. A most markedly intermittent fever with profuse night sweats. T. left on the 8th day & I have been getting rapidly well tho much used up, no cough now & no expectoration Jacobs is taking the 3rd year McCrae the noon class & Fitcher the 4th & clinic Brown has decided not to come to us ^[to take Davis' place] This leaves us stranded for the Clin. Labor. I do not see what we are to do. Some one may turn up The weather has been infernal 87-88 & saturated with moisture. I shall go off for two weeks after a while - probably not before your return. Do not hurry - All is going well

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This illness had interfered with many plans - an expected visit, which happily could be deferred, from the Allbutts who were in the country,*and

*T. Clifford Allbutt had been invited to give the Lane Lectures in San Francisco. On October 17th he gave an address on "Medicine in the Nineteenth Century" before the Johns Hopkins University.

the giving of two promised addresses. One was the memoir of Pepper; the other was to have been given on October 4th before the Medical School branch of the Y.M.C.A. at the opening of the school. A rough draft of this has been preserved, on which is pencilled this note: "Written chiefly on the train from Minneapolis to Boston, copied Sept. 24th and 25th." Evidently, therefore, he had it on his mind the first days of his illness. In a later hand he had written: "Just as well perhaps that I could not go." He starts out by saying:

In such a gathering I have a feeling of embarrassment such as that which overtook the son of Kish in the memorable incident after the finding of his fathers asses. It has been my practice for years not to talk on religious questions holding with Mr. Rogers who when asked of what religion he was replied, "The religion of all sensible men," and pray, Mr. Rogers, what is that? "Why all sensible men keep that to themselves," in many ways a very poor answer since it comes within the scathing denunciation of ----- . . .

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And ^{he} goes on to divide people into Theresians, Laodaceans, Rimmonites and Galeoans, into one or the other of which 'categories we are all ranged, not all of us knowing in which.' But he emphatically advises the students to dissociate their faith from their science for they cannot grow together like the wheat and tares till the harvest. "They have nothing whatever to do with each other, and the mental worries of young men are largely due to wretched attempts to mix the oil of faith with the waters of science." And, after speaking of faith, and hope, and especially of charity which means the everyday practice of medicine, he adds:

. . . Take away Faith from poor humanity and it is left poor indeed. And even those whose consolations are in old philosophy and who believe that all is over when the empty glass is turned down, could not wish to deprive, in their most callous moments, even Laodaeans of the comfort, the very genuine comfort, the rites of the church afford. Feeble helpless creatures we arrive, feeble helpless creatures we depart; whither? Science cannot say; Faith does; your function as physicians is clear to make death like birth a sleep and a forgetting.

By October 7th he must have been well enough to be up and about, for he writes J. G. Adami:

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I was on the point of writing to you this morning, asking if you had heard anything from Allbutt, when I received a letter from Chicago. He has fixed the 17th as the date of his visit here. I am sorry to say I shall be away, as I am going to the mountains for a couple of weeks to recuperate. We hope, however, that the Allbutts will use our house. My nephew and Welch will look after them, and they can be very comfortable and feel quite at home. I am feeling all right again, though rather used up by the attack.

And not long after on a Sunday from Trucksville, Pennsylvania, where on the Conyngham's farm he had gone to convalesce he sent the following undated note.

Dear Thayer & Barker Greetings! You would not know me - hardly - after three days in this earthly paradise I have gained 5 1/2 lbs & a few cc additional Today I have been out for several hours walking over this beautiful farm, inspecting stock & mangels & instructing the farmer on new points about clover as a fertilizer. They have first class links here - greens in fine condition & my nurse suggests that I telegraph for permission to do a little putting. I take whiskey twice & milk thrice daily & I have gathered yarrow enough for a good tonic and appetizer. I am reading Dr. Lockes life & works and altogether leading a dietetic philosophical & bucolic life. Mrs Osler & Tommy send kind regards mingled with love. Yours sincerely

W^m Osler

Later in the month, ~~on a Friday~~, ^{to Osler} he sent a letter postmarked "Wilkebarre Pa.

^{25th} Oct. 22nd ^{to} ~~Lafleur~~ ^{giving a} ~~giving this~~ résumé of the summer happenings.

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Dear Lafleur How are you? What are you at, u.s.w. We have not heard from you for an age. Mrs Osler was speaking of you last eve. I had a very roving summer - Toronto, Bar Harbour, London Edinboro then to Bar Harbour again. I had scarcely six weeks away. The Edinboro meeting was delightful. I went afterwards to Dorset, to look up Sydenhams birthplace. I have a 17th century fit - Sydenham, Boyle, Locke &c. I am preparing a lecture on S. and looked up his letters &c in the British Museum & got photos of the birthplace &c.

After returning, to B. H. where I was delighted to find the Howards, I spent three weeks, & then much to my disgust, went on the road. One of my assistants Dr. W Davis was very ill in Minneapolis & they telegraphed me to come out. I could not refuse of course. It was in the midst of that hot spell in Sept and I was rather knocked out. Poor chap died - Addisons disease. I got back to Mrs O. & found a telegram from my bro Edmund saying that his son Jack was very ill (acute polyneuritis) so I had to retrace my steps to Toronto. I got back to Balt. Sept 15th rather used up. Then I had a call to Mass. Returning in the train Sept 15th I sat up all night with a labour case & caught cold, which hung about me for a week, got better & then on the 20th I was knocked out completely with an acute Bronchitis & some broncho-pneumonia of left base - defective resonance but no tubular breathing or rusty sputa - Fever for 7 days - for no days continuous - dropping every morning to normal cough disappeared with the fever, but I was very much used up. I am up in the mountains of Pa. with the Conyng-hams near Wilkesbarre. A delightful spot. I feel quite well again & strong as ever. I go back to work next week. I hope they sent you my

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3rd edition; you, Stewart & Finley were in the teachers list. Let me know if it came Thayer has left the Hospital Futchner has come on. How lucky I have been to have had only two 1st assistants in nearly 10 years. T. goes into practice in B. & takes the bulk of the 3rd y. teaching. Mrs Osler & Revere send love.

To H. V. Ogden from W. O.

[no date]
[Postmarked Wilkesbarre, Pa.
Oct. 25, 1898]

Dear Ogden I had a bit of a knockout - ten days in bed with bronchitis & a patch of flatness at the left base but no rusty sputa or tubular breathing. Fever for 7 days & cough for ten - sudden stoppage of both & rapid convalescence I am at Hillside near Wilkesbarre with the Conynghams, a delightful country place in the mountains. I have gained 10 lbs & am feeling very fit. I go back at the end of this week. . . Mrs O. & the boy are with me. The latter is getting quite companionable. Do come on for another visit before long. Mrs. O. thinks no one who stays with us is quite so nice. I had a delightful time abroad. May Bath & Gwen Francis who is staying with her came up from Swansea & stayed 10 days with me in London. We had a royal time. Edinboro was a great treat. Two Scotch LL.D's warrant the addition of a Mac to my name. The F.R.S was a great surprise & a very pleasant one. The number of M.D's of late years has been diminishing. All the boys are well. Thayer has gone from the Hospital - is to practise in cons. Still helps with the teaching Futchner succeeds him.

He probably spent ^{the} his first Sunday morning of his return, catching up on the journals - one of them the bulky October number of the Johns Hopkins Bulle-

His boy & Helen back in harness

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tin which had been given over largely to a series of studies from the laboratory of Franklin P. Mall, to whom he writes:

Dear Mall Congratulations on the Anatomical Bulletin! I spent 'Church-time' yesterday morning reading it & ^{got} ~~gta~~ 'hauled over the coals' for not joining my family at St Pauls! Do you not think that with Vol. X the Bulletin might be made the organ of the School? We should not throw all the work on Hurd - an Editorial Committee - one from each Department, with a salaried man to collect material & read proofs could manage it very well.

Sincerely yours,

Wm Osler

Just note pg 81

Apparently it was
 It was not at all unlikely that during this illness - for he always wrote a good deal propped up in bed - ^{that} he had gone over the notes of his pneumonia cases of the past winter's session in preparation for ^{a leading} ~~an~~ article solicited by one of his friends, Burnside Foster, who was about to launch a new medical journal. The article* ^{is} ~~was~~ largely devoted to the analysis of the winter's series

↓ ("On the Study of Pneumonia." St. Paul Medical Journal, Jan. 1899, 1, 5-9.)

of cases made by a fourth-year student, Mr. L. W. Ladd, ^{one} ~~but~~ ^{it} contains a paragraph which explains why he laid such stress on the disease ^{before his students} and ^{ends with his favorite} ~~ends with his~~ ^{lines} ~~favorable~~ ^{from Cooper's} ~~knowledge and wisdom~~ ^{so clearly distinguished between}

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A teacher of medicine should have ever two objects in view: first, to give to the student, in the Art and in the Science, good methods; and secondly, to enable him to follow closely and accurately as many cases of disease as possible.

Among disease there is not one which requires to be more fully and carefully presented than pneumonia - the most common as well as the most serious acute affection of this country, with a mortality exceeding that of all the other acute fevers put together, measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping-cough, typhoid fever and dysentery. In presenting this disease to my class I have in the past three years adopted a plan which has been very useful. So soon as the pneumonia cases begin to come into the wards I appoint a committee, usually of third-year students, whose duty it is to collect all the data concerning the disease during the session. The cases are seen sometimes on application at the dispensary by the third-year class, more frequently in the wards by the fourth-year students, and at my Wednesday Clinic I demonstrate, as far as possible, every case. The

*This is about the
same as the
pneumonia of the
year before.*

recorder of the Committee places the cases in order on one of the black-boards in parallel columns; name, age, date of admission, mode of onset, whether with chill, etc., the height of the fever, the duration, the termination, whether by crises or not, leucocytes and complications. This record remains throughout the session. Should death occur and a post-mortem be made, the specimens are demonstrated to the class.

After enumerating the sources to which he referred for his reading, he ends with this characteristic statement, to which he puts the well known lines from Cowper in a foot-note:

Experience in any disease is not a measure of the number of cases seen; it is not a matter of mere accretion, of the adding of fact to fact, - this is knowledge. True experience brings more than knowledge; it brings wisdom, and this is a question of personal mental development. A knowledge of pneumonia may be gained from books and from the dead-house; the physician must gain clinical wisdom, - the fruit of intelligent study and observation of the patient himself.

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

Knowledge before?
when?

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*As the last letter to Osler indicates
that
Arthur Osler indicates
the letter of Oct. 25 to Osler
As this letter indicates*

that Thayer had left the hospital to enter consultation practice. He and H. B. Jacobs had rented No. 3 West Franklin Street adjoining the Oslers' - the one-time fashionable abode of a branch of the Carroll family, still full of their beautiful old furniture and bric-a-brac. Here for the remainder of Osler's Baltimore period a succession of "latch-keyers", who were as much at home in No. 1 as in No. 3, had their abode, until one by one they were picked off by marriage. A hole was cut in the fence and the denizens of one household or the other were continually in or out, and

freely house
guests flowed from one to the other. No. 3 had the only telephone, an abomi-

nation always to 'the Chief' though occasionally he was dragged reluctantly to it *cut*
through the hole in the fence to facilitate the circulation of the denizens of the two households
to it.
to the office

Dr. Thayer recalls a typical incident of the first day they had set up

housekeeping. Osler had said to him that morning, "What's the name of that

old codger from Boston with a white beard down to his middle I met at the

Maryland Club last night? He wanted to know your address." *Thayer did not identify the old codger but on returning home*

interesting
Thayer found that a large box of provender, cigars, bottles, cheeses and the like

had been sent from the club, and though nothing was acknowledged he knew that

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the ^{Bostonian} ~~old codger~~ with the white beard was ^{an autumnal} Santa Claus — & Osler did not brook being thanked for his ~~innumerable~~ kindnesses. → to p 91

Amst 3

To have been a neighbour of the Oslers' means something to those who have had the privilege, which words cannot convey, though they were likely to be subjected to mischief when E. Y. D. was uppermost. Not long after Thayer and Jacobs had put out their brass shingles ^{to be} burnished daily by their particular 'waiter-man' at the time he soap-sudsed the steps, Thayer, much to Osler's delight had gone to Petersburg to consult with a doctor who had ^{in vain to get Osler for} tried ~~to bid~~ ^{a sum below} Osler ~~on~~ his established fee. On his return, so it is related, ^{Thayer} ~~he~~ found under his door-plate the sign, "Patients treated here at half price."

He was 'back in harness' by November, to the ^{jubilation} rejoicings of all at the hospital — staff, ~~servants~~, students and patients ^{and attendants, servants, one who} at the reappearance of the ~~particular rejoiced at the reappearance of this man~~ man with a drooping moustache, an olive complexion, and who wore a top hat — a man unlike any other. ~~Among them was~~ Miss Elizabeth Thies, the librarian,

whom he insisted on calling by a variety of names, notably 'Miss Thesis.'

"I do not think," she writes, "that Dr. Osler ever missed coming into the library when he came to the hospital. He had a whistle which I grew to know and when I heard it I knew I would see him; and like the little children in the ward

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when they heard his whistle, they would look to the door, never too sick to sit up and take notice and feel happier for having seen the man we all learned to love and worship." "Many a scrap of a note he left on my table," and she sends many of them, *of which there are samples.*

8.55 1/2 It seems a very shocking hour for you to arrive or not to arrive. I want the Revue de Chirurgie of last year. Badly W^m Osler.

Would the kind Fraülein look in the Am. Jr. of the Med. Scien. for years 1887-1893 for references to Endocarditis? W^m Osler. P.S. Will be in at 11⁰⁵:3 secs.

Um Gottes Willen pasten sie not these labels over the title in the contents. W^m Osler.

Suppl. 87 to the letter to G. de R.

~~On the 23rd his mother begins her weekly chronicle of family events, thus:~~

~~Your letter yesterday was very acceptable as it told of your being well and at your usual work - a busy life is yours for mind and body and ditto is the everyday life of dear Grace, things press on one as the days pass and we have need to take a quiet half hour now and then and ponder in our hearts the things of the World to come - our hearts' best affections should be on things above, then the strain of daily duties is lightened when all we do is for God's glory and the good of our fellows. "You know these things; happy are ye if ye do them." I am so glad to hear of Norman~~

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doing well and of W. F. taking such an interest in his work. I daresay the Spirit of his Grandfather has descended on him as the Spirit of Dr. Bovell rests on you, and as Norman has imbibed from you his love of the Craft.

And on December 9th in the course of her usual long epistle she says: "My letter-writing days are over so do not look for anything more than a note in return." In similar strain to Mrs. Osler a week later she writes:

My old eyes are getting very dim and every letter I write I think, this perhaps will be my last. I have written a scrap to Willie - how glad we shall be to see him in Xmas week only it would be trebly joyous could you and Revere come with him. I fear that is too good to expect - Winter seems to have set in in earnest, such a storm of snow a week ago or more. Here the Car Service was demoralized for a day but in Hamilton they are not yet over the effects of the storm. We had a lovely day yesterday and the greetings to the old lady were many and the show of flowers was sweet to see and the rose perfume delicious. Your roses and Revere's fern were much admired and though a very cold day they were beautifully packed and perfect; thanks for the kind messages from the family by Tel. I wish all old G Mothers had sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and G Children of as good stamp as mine are; they would have much to be thankful for, nothing to complain of.

The last days of the Christmas recess were spent in Toronto and Hamilton,

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and in sending his New Year greetings to Ogden he writes, "I am very fat and well - 152 lbs, my maximum weight . . . Mrs Osler says 'your room is ready.' Do come this spring, or indeed when you can." Though fat and well, he nevertheless ended the year with another of his recurrent attacks to which he came to be subject on the lightest exposure, and of which he, as stated, had begun to make personal clinical notes.

The year had begun in January of this year when there appeared the first number of a new 'weekly' - the Philadelphia Medical Journal - which had been organized with the financial backing of Musser, Allen & many others and of which George W. Gould was the editor. In the journal

~~The following letter at the end of the year refers to the journal with which the year began and which had an all-too-short though successful career. The following letter of December 31st refers:~~

~~To John H. Musser from W. O.~~

~~[Dec. 31st]~~

Dear Musser The Devil! I suspected that the trustees would be after Gould. The P.M.J. has been an eye opener to them. As a matter of public (i.e. professional) policy I should say let him go. The J.A.M.A. needs him now more than we do & he could put the Journal on a first class basis which would be a good thing for the rank & file. Phila is surely not so reduced that a good successor to G. could not be found. DaCosta would be the man of my choice. He has both brains & energy & could hold the younger men who have to do the work. With our sub. list & start, there should be no risk of failure - not the slightest. The essential point is to have a strong editor who commands the respect of his juniors & who can get work out of them.

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I have been laid up for three days with the grippe - not a bad attack fever for only one day. Kelly was in last night - he had just returned from Phila very much disgusted with the outlook at U. P. He says that there is a strong feeling against White among the younger men, who feel that with him in charge alone, the able men among them would have very little chance. I did not know the feeling was so strong. In medicine the fusion of the two departments would be a good thing. Save only that it cuts you out of a full chair. Tyson who is a clear minded soul feels thus, & spoke of it while here a few weeks ago. Happy New Year. Yours,

W Osler

Mrs Osler sends love & wants to know where you are at as they say here.