

Public Health Propaganda
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Chapter XXX.

"We have had a very strenuous New Year - seven in the house over Sunday
the next day: the party
- such a jolly party" he writes ~~on Monday the 3rd. to H. B. Jacobs who has evi-~~
~~dentely sent him an electric lamp, for he adds: "Thank you so much for the lit-~~
~~tle light to lighten my darkness, I shall often find it useful."~~ The 'jolly
party' of which he was ^{obviously} certainly not the least ^{gay} jolly had gone to his head,
for in a letter to H. A. Kelly the same ^{morning} ~~day~~ he says: "I dreamt of you last
night - a very curious circumstance, you were plenipotentiary of England and
America, dealing with two Chinese who were arranging terms after a successful
overflow of the Chinese into Europe. How does the Biography progress?!"*

*Howard A. Kelly was engaged in writing his two-volume Cyclopaedia of American Medical Biography, 1610-1910, published in 1912 and dedicated to Sir William Osler, ~~who Osler had contributed short biographical sketches of John Y. Bassett, Alfred Stillé and Elisha Bartlett.~~ On ~~their~~ ^{my} appearance, Osler write a review of these volumes for his "Men and Books" series (Canadian Medical Association Journal, Oct., 1912, ii, 938) ~~in which he says that,~~ when Kelly spoke of the scheme for this great work he envied his capacity and initiative, saying that few men of his generation had known the profession of his own country so well and he was sure the plan would be successful. "I remember that I urged him to take as a model the Dictionary of National Biography and to choose the subjects of the first rank only, and to have their lives written by various authors.

And also to H. V. Ogden: "It was nice to get your letter and to hear that you are having disturbed nights with the children, which is a good deal better than having peaceful nights without them. How many chicks are there? Do you

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not think you could steal a week or ten days from work and come here? There is so much that would interest you. Give my greetings to our ochronotic friend." The same day to the 'mother of Rosalie:

Dear Susan It was so sweet and kind of you to send that nice photograph, I have got it in my room next the great big one which shows you feeding the pigeons; only I do feel a bit sad that you have not on your lap my darling Rosalie, instead of that stuck-up, overdressed, disagreeable, plain Marguerite! I do hope you have washed Rosalie's face ~~this~~ ^{for} the year, and given her a clean petticoat and some new gloves! I am sending you a photo. Revere is at home, but is just going back to school. Give my love to your Mother and Father and the boys. I hope to see you in the summer, and then I shall bring back Rosalie to live with me. Please tell her and give her a kiss. Yours affectionately, W^m OSLER. ○○○○ for you ○○○ for Rosalie • for Marguerite.

With the beginning of the year he came a new stenographer to whom he tried dictation: no
He finally takes recourse to his new secretary in writing H. M. Thomas,

but after dictating ^{a style} one paragraph switches to his pen. No wonder ^{her} his hair

Stands
stands on end:

From the Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford.
Jan. 4th, 1901.

[Dictated] *To H.M. Thomas for W.O.*

Dear Harry T., I will have the 'Petit' title-page and plate photographed for you; the book could be sent here. I have asked also about Mistichelli, and if his Trattato is in London I will have it also photographed.

[W.O.'s script] What a very superior secretary you have - such beautiful typography! I have a fluffy-haired daughter of Heth who can read Middle

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English and Monkish cartularies, but is an awful dufferine as yet, but she is green and will I trust dry into something helpful. We have had a fine Christmas and New Year. You should see Ike dancing! He is off to Winchester on the 19th - to a very good house - Mrs. Little's. He has grown so much - up to my ear top. I am glad to hear good news of the boys. My love to them. Tell Hal there are some angels here which I will try to keep at about his age till he comes as a Rhodesian. I am so glad you have got through your section. ^{cut} ~~I have not got it yet.~~ I have no doubt Mrs. Harry T's touches are the best part of it. . . . Yours ever, W. O.

Evidently H. M. Thomas's section for the 'System' ^{(a long task,} now reaching its last and seventh volume) is on its way, ~~— a long task reaching its end.~~ But there are new tasks in sight, as he indicates in a letter to J. H. Pratt of Boston. "I could not possibly come next spring," he says. "I did not think the Congress was so near. We hope to come in the late summer. We have had a very busy Christmas. I have ~~(to)~~ get to work up my Angina Pectoris material for the Lumleian lectures at the Royal College of Physicians in the spring."

One of Osler's excuses on going to Oxford, as may be recalled, was that he might have opportunity in quiet to work over the immense mass of

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clinical observations of which he had notes - an idle dream for a man who was still in the current and was not ^{likely} ~~built~~ to pull up and sit on the bank. To be sure, he published occasional clinical papers, a number of them the reports of his Tuesday afternoon exercises at the Radcliffe Infirmary, and he is found constantly writing to T. R. Boggs or T. B. Fitcher or someone else to get information ~~for him~~ on some point or other out of his old case records at the Hopkins. His Lumleian Lectures were to be just such a ^{review of the material} ~~revision~~ garnered from his wide experience with a malady which had always interested him. The triennial revision of his Text-book perhaps more than anything else - arduous a task as it was - had been an agency to keep him informed in regard to progress in all branches of clinical medicine. There were, however, many other things to occupy him, and despite his youthful appearance - and behaviour, at times - he had reached the philosophical age which inclined him in his writings toward the broader aspects of medicine rather than the elucidation of specific disorders. This idea has been expressed in an appreciation by the Rt. Hon H. A. L. Fisher

who says:

How well his friends remember the alert carriage and elastic tread, the soft, grave, playful manner, the ready quip, the fine deep-set eyes, so dark, subtle and tender, the lofty well-moulded brow, and the air of decision and command which marked his bearing. He never appeared to be busy or fussed, or to find a situation intractable. He did not, to all appearance, allow small things to worry him, but moved smoothly forward, enjoying all the blessings of life, always resolute to take human nature at its best and to seize every occasion for kindness which the day might offer.

How far he was able in later years to keep abreast of the march of science in the sphere of medicine is a matter on which I am incompetent to speak; but his activities were so many and various and his exercise of hospitality so lavish and unceasing (for he and Lady Osler kept open house in Norham Gardens) that it is difficult to imagine that he can have found as much time for study as he would have desired. I have always, however, imagined that he had come to the conclusion that after the creative period of early manhood had been passed, the most valuable employment for his energies lay in the direction of giving elevation and breadth to medical studies, of illustrating the unity and interdependence of fields of experience and enquiry which are too often cultivated apart from one another, and of infusing a spirit of fresh and vital interest into every region of the great domain which was committed to his charge. If this were indeed his aim he succeeded in achieving it; if it were not, then like many other great men 'he builded better than he knew.'

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*and from which I got
the stone he
left me
in 1882*

The week of January 17th found him laid up with ^{the recurrence of an} acute and painful ~~malady~~ ^{malady} ~~from which he had suffered once before~~ ^{from which he had suffered once before} ~~malady~~ such as he had had ^{days:} in Baltimore in ~~and~~ ^{and} his account-book ~~contains~~ ^{contains}

there is a daily entry regarding his paroxysms. But as on the previous occasion when he sent a pebble from ^{his} the garden for the Professor of Chem-

istry to ^{analyze} ~~examine~~, pretending it was ^{the stone he} ~~what~~ he had passed, so now he ^{assumes} ~~takes~~

a playful attitude ^{toward his illness -} a complaining one would have been foreign to him. ~~So~~ ^{so} ~~then~~ ^{then}
on a postcard to H. M. Thomas, after four days of it:

Your section is AA.1. and no mistake! It is one of the best things I have read and you have taken the whole subject so sensibly and ^{on?} quite new lines. I do not know of any system in which the question is considered so thoroughly and so clearly. Congratulate Mrs. H. T. and your secretary. You really have a very happy way of putting things. Very few mistakes. I sent a few galley back to T. McCrae.

I am in bed with another attack of renal calculus - rt. side. You remember the one 8 years ago in which I passed the unique quartz stone. This has lasted longer and I have enjoyed the luxury of two hypodermics. I am writing flat on my back which improves my hand-writing! Love to Z., M. and the boys. Yours, W. O.

With Osler laid up and unable to attend the committee meeting of this week, of which otherwise there would be no record, it becomes possible to get

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a glimpse at one of ^{these sessions} ~~them~~ through the following exchange of notes.

From Professor Arthur Thomson.

Department of Human Anatomy,
University Museum, Oxford.
Jan. 21, 1910.

Dear Osler, The Standing Medical Committees of Council meets Tuesday Jan. 25th at 3:30 to consider the question of Pharmacology. Enclosed is a copy of the memorandum I propose to submit to them. I hope you approve. Will you support this appeal by a strong letter which I could read. Hudson Bays are up again I see; isn't Strathcona now in a position to help towards the endowment of a Chair? Yours ever, ARTHUR THOMSON.

Osler undated reply follows; it was probably sent immediately.

Dear Thomson I approve most heartily of your memorandum. The four lines of progress for our School are Pharmacology, Hygiene, the History of Medicine, and a clinico-pathological laboratory in connection with the Infirmary. Of them, the first is a pressing need. Everywhere, I am sorry to say except in this country the science of Pharmacology is making rapid strides, and the subject is universally recognized as of the first importance in University work. Moreover, it is one of the hopeful progressive departments of medicine, with great possibilities for public service. I can testify in the strongest possible way to the work of Prof. Abel and his department in connection with the Johns Hopkins Medical School. There are no classes more popular and the researches that have been carried on have been very valuable.

We should ask for ^{the revivance of} a full professorship - if done, let us do it thoroughly. ~~endowment.~~ Lord Strathcona promised a bequest for the purpose but when the financial crisis came withdrew. Since then he has given a large bequest

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to the Medical School at Montreal and I have hesitated to go to him again.
I will do so, however, within the next few weeks, with success I hope. Yours,

W. O.

Four days later, ~~on the 25th~~, he says on a postcard to H. B. Jacobs:

T. B. F. will have told you of my rocky experience. Got rid of it yesterday (Uric acid). It took a week of squirming. Gout, I suppose. I shall live on a.q. destil. and hominy grits. I am feeling a bit shaken, but very well. Very good haul of old books at Hodgsons last week. Do you get their catalogues? Tommy writes very content from Winchester. He has had a good winter so far. I do hope we may arrange to meet on the Continent. I am going to the Congress of Internat. Med., Wiesbaden, end of April. Love to Mrs. Jacobs. W. O.

During this sharp illness, which looked for a time as though recourse

~~would have to be taken~~
~~must be had~~ to a surgical operation, he must have been cogitating over the ul-

timate disposition of his Practice of Medicine, ^{so} and in a long letter to L. F.

Barker on the 25th in which he speaks of himself as "no longer in active

work, ~~rather than~~ in the rear guard than in the van," and with the intent

of having the volume kept up in some way in connection with the medical de-

partment of the Hopkins, he proposes that his successor reconstitute and

rearrange the Text-book on new lines so that the 1912 edition would be a

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really new work, the publishers to issue a circular to the teachers saying that 'the business heretofore conducted by Osler, (Humpton)* & Co. would

*Miss B. O. Humpton, Dr. Osler's secretary during his entire Baltimore period had become Dr. Barker's secretary in turn.

be for the future conducted by Barker, (Humpton) & Co. at the old stand.'

"Naturally," he continued, "I have a strong sentiment about the book, but I know quite well that the life and success of a work depends upon the life of the man, and it is quite to the interests of the publishers as well as my own, to make provision for a gradual or immediate transfer of editorial control."*

*For various reasons this proposal was withdrawn in a letter of April 25th.

As there were in his actions so there are constant reminders in his letters of Osler's unforgetting memory of his old boyhood companions, his teachers, his colleagues, his friends, ^{his pupils} and of the children of all of them - across the sea. His successive migrations - Toronto, Montreal, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Oxford - might have been expected to lessen his

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hold, but this he never permitted. So it is not surprising to find that just now he is engaged in erecting a memorial window to Dr. Wright, one-time Professor of Materia Medica at McGill over whom the students had had such a rumpus in 1883, and who subsequently became ordained and joined the staff of clergy in 'the little church around the corner', St. John the Evangelist, ^{and,} though Osler hints that the suggestion came from 'Father' Wood, the Rev. Arthur French has already (Chapter IV, p. 12) explained it otherwise.

13, Norham Gardens,
Jan. 26. 10.

Dear Shepherd: When in Montreal in June Father Wood spoke to me of a memorial window to Dr. Wright, and I told him that I would be very glad indeed to subscribe to it. I forget whether I mentioned the matter to you; I did to Roddick and Gardner. French has written saying that the window has come! Of course there are not many left in the Faculty who remember the old man. Let me know if there is anybody left to whom I could write.

I hope the Mills pension scheme will go through, it would be a great matter to have a new man starting the Laboratory, and Mills is evidently not fit for much. He deserves recognition as he has worked hard at a very low salary. Love to Dorothy and Cecil. Sincerely yours, W^m OSLER.

P.S. I am sending to the Library a very interesting photograph, which Payne has just given me, of Banisters anatomical lecture, from the painting in the William Hunter Library.

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Dear Shepherd I am glad to hear that the Carnegie Trustees have agreed to pension Mills. It will be a great help to have a young and energetic fellow in charge of that important department. I hope that the Governors may see their way to supplementing the Carnegie pension. Mills has not been able to save anything, and he ought to have at least 2000 dollars a year, poor chap, I do not believe it will be for very long either, as in spite of his general appearance, I think there is still ^{some} infection of the bladder. It was a relief to hear this week of Arthur Browne's death: poor fellow! what a terrible tragedy it has been for him, and especially hard lines for a man who has been so devoted to the welfare of others. . . .

Meanwhile he is working on his Lumleian Lectures, and Mrs. Osler in a letter to H. V. Ogden ^{urging} ~~urges~~ him to come for a visit, ^{adds:}

Dr. Osler came home this afternoon from a business meeting at Christ Church & said "This is a delightful life & place - so many nice men," ^{and she adds}
'Isn't it wonderful how he adapts himself to these changes?' This life combines town & country which is such a comfort to me - for I love the garden & the birds. Revere has gone to Winchester and we are desolated. Fancy that mite whose photo' you did so well - 'a Winchester man.' He is very happy and has fallen into the life very easily. He is as tall as his father and 14. He doesn't care for his books but loves fishing - butterflies & cricket & is a good bowler - We hope this will keep him at Winchester.

Adaptability, in unquestionably his long suit and was what made him so acceptable a companion.

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And a few days later Osler says: "We motored to Winchester on Sunday to see R. who is so happy there. Splendid school and such nice boys in his house." On the 25th he sends a 'bread-and-butter' note to G. F. H. Nuttall of Cambridge which says briefly: "Many thanks for a delightful visit. I enjoyed the dinner so much. It was a great treat. My regards to Mrs. Nuttall and love to those dear children" - in explanation of which Professor Nuttall writes:

[writes Professor Nuttall]

~~Sir William~~^{He} stayed with us at 3, Cranmer Road, Cambridge, coming as my guest to attend our annual dinner in memory of Samuel Pepys, ~~on July 23~~
~~25. 11. 1910.~~ The chief speaker who was to respond to the ^{copy} ~~memory~~ of S. P. failed us at the last moment, and I appealed to Osler to come to the rescue about one hour before the dinner. He consented willingly, asked for my copy of the famous diary on the last blank page of which he jotted down some data hastily in pencil - I have the diary today. He made an admirable speech, one of the best, showing a deep knowledge of Samuel and his times, and touching on matters mostly not in the diary.

Osler's own version of this is in a letter of the 25th in which he says:

~~I am pegging away at my Lumsden lectures, - Angina Pectoris, trying to put together my private experiences.~~ Allbutt will send you in a few days the Pepys menu, Magdalen College, Cambridge. I was there on the 23rd -

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P's birthday, when they have an annual gathering. In the absence of Lord Grenfell I had to respond to P's memory - & fortunately had enough to say something. Such a delightful occasion. If A. does not send it - let me know. I will send mine. Are you coming with the Surgical Club? I have written to Crile asking them to give me a day - a lunch in Hall at Ch. Ch. & a prowl about the Colleges would be a pleasant diversion. Grace is well. Ike comes tomorrow for a 'leave out' day. He is very happy at school. *I am getting away at my Summer lecture - Argon's lecture, trying to put together my personal experience.*

~~He had received in May of 1909 from the Censor's Board of the Royal~~

~~College of Physicians the invitation to give the Lumleian Lectures. The~~

Lumleian Lectures of the Royal College of Physicians ^{was on an ancient} ~~was on an old founda-~~

tion - ^{indeed} ~~when~~ 'in 1581 in the twenty-fourth year of Elizabeth, Dr. Richard

Caldwell a former President of the College in conjunction with the Lord

Lumley' founded what was 'commonly called in the annals The Chirurgical

Lecture, and endowed it with a rent charge of forty pounds a year on their

lands and on those of their heirs forever.' Whereupon 'the college did

immediately decree that 100 pounds should be forthwith taken out of their

public stock to build the college rooms more ample and spacious, for the

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better celebration of this most solemn lecture.' ^{Formerly an elaborate} The lectureship started
 with an elaborate yearly course of surgical lectures, ^{had been given,} but these had long
 since been done away with and ^{replaced by a series} the course is one of three lectures ^{on some subject in} from the
 domain of clinical medicine, ~~and carries~~ with it an honorarium of £30,

The lectures were given March 10th, 15th and 17th; and Osler, ~~as stated,~~
~~chose as his subject "Angina Pectoris."~~ It was not his first appearance
 before the College in the rôle of one of its appointed lecturers, and he
 had chosen to speak for a second time ^{on a cardiac disorder,} ~~on the same subject,~~ as his introduc-
 tory paragraph explains. ~~and he~~

Twenty-five years have passed since I stood here, a much embarrassed junior, as Goulstonian Lecturer. I have always had a keen sense of gratitude to the College for according recognition to a colonial worker at the time of life when such an action counts for so much, and I recall the intense pleasure of my colleagues at Montreal that one of their number had been selected for the honour. The subject of those lectures came within the ken of the younger Fellows, whose work is, ^{should be,} largely in the post-mortem room and laboratory. And now kindly time has moved me among the seniors, and I have to thank you, Sir, ^[addressing the President Sir R. Douglas Powell] for the opportunity to deliver the course distinguished among all others in the College, since in these Lumleian Lectures the incomparable Harvey laid the sure foundations of modern experimental medicine.

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I make no apology for the subject I have chosen - Angina Pectoris. In a very special way it is our disease, having been first fully described at this College by the English Celsus, William Heberden, and in a manner so graphic and complete as to compel the admiration and envy of all subsequent writers. Like books, diseases have their destiny. Could Heberden return for a month's busy practice his surprise would be not less at the new cohorts of disease than at the disappearance of familiar enemies. How staggered he would be at the Nomenclature of the College! And he would be keen to write new commentaries upon old diseases with new names. How the word appendicitis would jar his critical ear, but how rejoiced he would be to see light on that dark malady, 'inflammation of the bowels.' Living through a century of theory, he died at the outset of the great awakening in clinical medicine, bequeathing a precious legacy of experience greatly appreciated by several generations of students, and leaving in this College a precious memory which it is our delight to cherish.

Looking through the famous Commentaries, one is impressed with the value, with the rarity too, of the old-fashioned, plain, objective description of disease; and one is impressed also with the great gulf which separates the clinical medicine of today from that of our great-grandfathers. Page after page of the Commentaries are as arid as those of Cullen or of Boerhaave, and then we light upon an imperishable gem in the brilliant setting of a master workman, whose kinship we recognize with the great of old - with Hippocrates, with Aretaeus, and Sydenham. Such a clinical gem is the account which Heberden read at the College, July 21st, 1768, 'of a Disorder of the Breast,' to which he gave the name "Angina Pectoris", based on the study of twenty cases. When he incorporated the description in his

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Commentaries (written in 1782) his experience had extended to 100 cases.

. . . For more than a century the chief contributions to the pathology of the disease have been made by members of this society, and today our Fellows number many of its best known students, among whom, Sir, you rank primus inter pares. And yet so far as I can ascertain, angina pectoris has never been formally considered in one of the College courses. It is, too, a disease for a senior to discuss, since juniors see it but rarely; indeed I had reached the Fellowship before I saw a case in hospital or in private practice. And then I take it that in this course the College wishes an expression of opinion on some affection to which the lecturer has paid special attention. . . Circumstances have given me a somewhat unusual experience. The lectures published in 1897* were based on a study

[*His monograph on the subject.

of the literature and sixty cases; since then I have seen 208 additional cases, and I propose to present very largely my own impression of the disease. Let me ask at the outset, what is angina pectoris? Who will give an answer to satisfy all of us? The subject is full of knotty problems, which lend themselves to speculation. I could wish for a more active scientific imagination that amid webs of fancy I might entangle and darken the maturer counsels of some of my distinguished auditors. But with neither the brains nor the inclination for such a task, in a more modest flight I shall consider it as - A disease, characterized by paroxysmal attacks of pain, pectoral or extrapectoral, associated with changes in the vascular walls, organic or functional.

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Primarily an affection of the arterial system - of the pump and the pipes, of the system in which are literally the issues of life and death - its protean features cannot be understood unless we remember that between the chief parts of this system, the heart and the arteries, there is no essential difference, since the arteries are only a long-drawn-out heart and the heart but a bulbous expansion of an artery. A physical unit, and worked as such, it is controlled at every moment by an outside mechanism, an elaborate system of nerves which penetrate every part, and even lose themselves in its structures.

The problem before us is the anginal paroxysm in all its grades, from the trifling sense of substernal distress to the vascular ictus by which a man is felled as with a club. After a few etiological details I shall discuss briefly the clinical types and certain extra-cardiac features of the disease. In the second lecture I shall consider the pathology, and in the concluding one speak of prognosis and treatment.

This was typically an Oslerian method of introducing his ^{subject} ~~text~~, and the three lectures are coloured throughout with the discussion of this remarkable disease of which in its tragic form he had had an experience perhaps as great as that of any living physician. "It is the quickest death we see," he said, "and is that which may have been in John Henry Newman's mind when he penned the lines describing the death of his mother:

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One moment here, the next she trod
The viewless mansions of her God."

And so on, to the end, when he ~~closed the last lecture~~ ^{with} an allusion to

the de rerum natura of Lucretius - the book he had chosen from T. J. Prout's

he closed the last lecture

library the previous December - in the following way:

If, Mr. President, I have dealt with this important subject in a somewhat sketchy manner my apology must be that before such an audience I could not discuss trite and everyday features of so familiar a disease, so I thought it would be ~~most~~ ^{more} interesting to give my personal experience. It adds salt to life when men react differently to the same impressions. It is always with a shade of regret to find a colleague of the same way of thinking with myself on every question, so that I hope you have not all agreed with all of my conclusions. At any rate, Sir, mindful of the wise counsel of Lucretius, I have tried not to base wide opinions on small signs, and so involve myself in the snare of self-deceit.*

*One section of the address, which deals with "Angina in Doctors", at least deserves a foot-note. "A point [he said] that stands out prominently in my experience is the frequency of the disease in our profession. For the same reason doubtless that Sydenham gives for the incidence of gout 'more wise men than fools are afflicted', angina may almost be called 'morbus medicorum.'" Thirty-three of my cases were in physicians, a larger number than all the other professions put together. Curtin in his study of sixty fatal cases notes that a fourth were in physicians. The large percentage in my list may in part be attributed to the circumstance of the publication of lectures on the subject in 1897. But the frequency with which doctors die from the disease has become the subject of common remark. From Nohn Hunter onwards a long list of most distinguished men have been its victims. Not to mention the older physicians, among our contemporaries was Nothnagel, himself one of the ablest students of the disease, whose last act in life was to describe his own fatal attack... A tragic interest relates to this incident in the career of the great Vienna cli-

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nician. I do not know that that the note has ever been transcribed in English; it reads as follows: "Anginal attacks with very severe pains. Pulse in the attack very variable, at one time slow, 56 to 60, quite regular, high tension, and then again rapid, 80 to 90, tolerably even and regular; then again quite unrhythmic, unequal at one time, rapid another, slow with changed tension. The first sensation of this attack dates three or four years back, at first slight, gradually becoming more pronounced. Very severe attacks with great pain have only come on within the last five or six days. Written on July 6th late in the evening, after three very severe attacks." Within a few hours after this note the end came. Charcot, the founder of modern neurology, died in an attack in the arms of his friend Straus, who himself succumbed to the same disease not long after. The distinguished neurologist Joffroy died from it in Paris last winter. Our much-beloved friend and Fellow, Cullingworth, was its victim, and the list could be much extended. The most brilliant and devoted physician of his generation in the United States, the late William Pepper, died with coronary arteries like pipe-stems. The Provost, indeed the maker, of a great University, the very head and front of every important public movement in a city of a million inhabitants, a universally sought consultant, an enthusiastic teacher, a prolific author, in him was incarnate the restless American spirit, which drove him into a premature grave at the height of his career at the comparatively early age of fifty-five.

I have looked over carefully the notes of the thirty-three cases to see if any factors could be said to favour. Only seven were above sixty years of age, one a man of eighty with aortic valve disease. The only comparatively young man in the list, thirty-five, was seen nearly twenty years ago in an attack of the greatest severity. Worry and tobacco seem to have been the cause. He has had no attack now for years. Two cases were in the fourth decade, thirteen were in the fifth, and eleven in the sixth.

For the purpose of this analysis we may exclude the cases above the age of sixty, after which age no man, much less a doctor, need apologize for an attack of angina pectoris. Neither alcohol nor syphilis was a factor in any case; of the twenty-six cases under sixty, eighteen had pronounced arteriosclerosis and five had valvular disease. In a group of twenty men, every one of whom I knew personally, the outstanding feature was the incessant treadmill of practice; and yet if hard work - that 'badge of all our tribe' - was alone responsible would there not be a great many more cases? Every one of these men had an added factor - worry; not in a single case under fifty years of age was this feature absent, except in Dr. G., who had aortic insufficiency, and who had had severe attacks of angina years before, probably in connection with his aortitis. Listen to some of the comments I jotted down, of the circumstances connected with the onset of attacks: 'A man of great mental and bodily energy, working early and late in a practice, involved in speculations in land'; 'domestic infelicities'; 'worries in the Faculty of Medicine'; 'troubles with the trustees of his institution'; 'lawsuits'; 'domestic worries'; and so through the list. At least six or seven men of the sixth decade were carrying loads light enough for the fifth but too much for a machine with an ever-lessening reserve.

It is a significant fact that in Ogle's well-known study, "Statistics of Mortality in the Medical Profession," among 3865 deaths, 444 were undefined diseases of the heart and circulatory system, though only thirty-four deaths were specified as due to angina pectoris. The same dominance of cardio-vascular disease is indicated in the Registrar-General's Report."

See
Smiley's case
p. 100

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A few days after the burden of delivering these lectures was lifted,

he wrote to H. B. Jacobs:

26th [March]

Dear Jacobs; You will perhaps see Mrs. Osler before you get this as she sailed by the Lusitania on Saturday (20th). Harry Chapin's ~~her~~ ~~brother-in-law~~ illness is a sad tragedy for the family as he is the pivot member. If she waits I may not be able to get to Wiesbaden, as I should not care to leave Revere alone.

The autograph copy of Browne went for \$17. Stupidly, I sent a bid for 252 instead of 482, at least they say so, & missed it, but they wired that the man would sell with an advance of \$1, so I have it. I have never seen an autograph copy of the R. They must be very rare. I got the Lock book - of which I had not known & the London edition of the cenci for 10s. We have had the most wonderful weather - nearly three weeks of sunshine. I have been in town a great deal, meetings and my Lumleian lectures. I had the record audiences of the College. Love to Mrs. Jacobs. Yours ever, W^m OSLER. I knew you would like the catalogues - some gems among them.

No wonder he had the record audiences.

Nothing could have been better than a series of lectures, ~~of just this~~

~~sort~~ 'out of his own experience' - with only enough allusion to the history

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of the subject to serve as a background. But they must have given his new secretary a deal of trouble. In subsequent letters he apologizes for the fact that his 'Fräulein' has forgotten to forward a certain package of books, saying: "She must have overlooked it - poor girl - bedevilled as she has been - and still is - with my angina lectures." This sounds a little more sympathetic than the episode related in the following letter to his little friend Muriel Brock for whose sake he interrupts for a few moments the further typing of Lumleian Lectures.

13, Norham Gardens,
March 31st, 1910.

Dear Muriel-Marjorie-Maude! Your mother told me in Rome last winter that you were first baptized Marjorie, and only on account of some objection on the part of your Grandmother your name was changed to Muriel. And then because of your other Grandmother not liking either of these names so well as the one with which she was baptized for the first time in 1806, when in Scotland, having been accidentally born there, much to her disgust, she wished you to be called Maude: so now I am going to call you whichever I wish. What I liked about your letter particularly was the spelling. It shows the advantage of having nice parents and good teachers, and hard work at school. I cannot come to Rome this spring; on the even-alternate years my wife is very cross in the spring, and only allows me out every other day, and I could not possibly get away as far as Rome. Let me know when you come

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to England. The picture on the back of your letter was exceedingly rude. Hermanda Jane's left leg should have been straight out from her side, not as you have got it with a rectangular obliqueness.

Give my love to your father and mother, for whom I am always awfully sorry, and you know the reason why! I am awfully sorry to hear that you have had oldmonia [~~epneumonia~~], how horrid of you. I suppose that Dante-esque old rival of mine, Professor Stuart, has quite stolen your heart; he is a thoroughly bad man, given over to all sorts of wickednesses in philosophy. I have not had a decent cup of tea since last winter with you and those angelic friends of yours. Give them my love. [The letter is typewritten up to this point, and he continues in script]

My boy is so horrid - has turned into a Winchester man! He has just come home. I had to go on in ink with this, as my fluffy-headed stenographer struck ~~me,~~ and her fist on the table, and said she did not come here to take down nonsense - not she, not from any man! What do you think I said? Nothing - but I gave her a basilisk look, and she fainted dead away and is now groaning with her fluffy head in the waste-paper basket and there she can stay until I finish this. Mrs. Osler has gone to America leaving me in charge of a black-eyed Canadian girl, my granddaughter once removed, who is leading me a pretty dance. Your affec. friend,

W^m Osler.

P.S. 1. My love and sympathy (to and with) your poor parents.

P.S. 2. The fluffy-headed vestal still groans. An envelope & two sheets of paper protrude from her mouth - the basket just fits her head.

P.S. 3. I have just had a photograph taken of her.

P.S. 4. She has recovered and I am leaving quick - Good-bye.

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The seven-volume System of Medicine has finally appeared on March 31st, and he writes McCrae:

Dear Mac: Congratulations on the final victory over the proofs, what a long-drawn-out job it has been for you! I had a nice letter from the Leas the other day, saying how much they appreciated your work in the matter. I hope you think on the whole that it has been worth while. It has of course given you a unique sort of insight into the literary vagaries of the profession. To have got out the seven volumes within three years is really a great feat.

Meanwhile, preparations were in ^{train} ~~line~~ for the May meetings which crowded themselves into the late spring and early summer months: one of them he mentions in the following letter.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF CONSUMPTION
AND OTHER FORMS OF TUBERCULOSIS

Annual Meeting and Conference in Edinburgh, July 2nd-5th 1910.

President of Conference, Prof. Osler, M.D., F.R.S.

13, Norham Gardens,
April 15, 1910.

Dear Jacobs: . . . I wish you could see how beautiful the country is beginning to look. I shall not go to Wiesbaden, Mrs. Osler does not return until the 19th, and the meeting begins on the 18th, so that I would have to leave tomorrow. I shall probably join you in Paris later for a week. It was delightful to get the account of the Welch dinner. What a splendid occasion! There is nowhere in the world where such things are

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managed so well.* Mrs. Osler writes me that she was delighted with the

*The Welch dinner was held at the Belvidere Hotel, Baltimore, April 22nd, his election to the presidency of the American Medical Association being the excuse made for it. As Osler says, nowhere in the world do they manage these things better than in Baltimore, and in no place are they so apt to pay tributes other than posthumous ones. There were five hundred guests: Thayer presided, Councilman, Halsted, Flexner and others of the 'old guard' spoke - most amusingly, be it said, and with many reminiscences of the early Hopkins days; Weir Mitchell read a poem, Leonard Wood spoke; and it was the small hours of the morning when it came the turn of Welch to reply and to acknowledge the gold medallion which had been presented to him, replicas of which all the guests received. Osler lamented greatly his absence, sent a cable of congratulations, and at about this time wrote an appreciation of Welch which was published in the American Magazine, August 1910, vol. lxx, p. 456.

bronze [for Osler Hall]. I have not half thanked you and Mrs. Jacobs for your kindness in the matter. Revere has been off in Wales for a week, and had some very good fishing. Your rod has been a great delight to him. He went with one of the crack salmon fishers in England so that he is getting some good lessons. You will see by this paper heading that we have an annual meeting in Edinburgh, of which I am the President. We had an interesting conference yesterday, young Waldorf Astor has undertaken to finance an active antituberculosis campaign. . . .

On the day this letter was written, Isabel Hampton Robb who had started the Training School for Nurses at the Johns Hopkins, died in Cleveland, Ohio, and on hearing the news Osler writes to her bereaved husband, in whose rooms as may be recalled he had laboured over the first edition of the Text-book.

Dear Robb It was a terrible shock yesterday to hear of the death of Sister Isabel. What a tragedy for you and the boys! You know how deeply we feel for you in this great loss. It is hard to realize that she has

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left us - with all her energies and fine spirit. What a splendid career she had! I often think of those happy days at the Hospital. Could anything have been more delightful. And now all is changed but the memory remains - & to you too only the precious memory will be left of the splendid woman, who was my good friend & your wife. Your old & affectionate friend W^m OSLER.

Indeed just at this time there occurred many gaps ^{from} among those who at

one time or another had more or less intimately crossed Osler's path, ^(There were several persons) Mark Twain

at about this time - Daniel Huntington Tobin had known her splendidly, a ^{cover} April ^{15th} 1882: on the 22nd of March 1882 he had died

had died April 21st of the disease the subject of the Lumleian Lectures; his

old Montreal friend and colleague Arthur Browne had gone not long before; on

the 20th Mrs. Osler's brother-in-law; ^{died} King Edward on May the 6th; Robert Koch

the last of the month; and J. F. Payne was nearing his end. The scholarly

Payne, of whom Osler probably had seen more than of any other member of the

Royal College of Physicians, had shortly before retired from the librarianship

because of ill health and gone to his country home at New Barnet, whence there

issued many letters to Osler relating to their common historical and biblio-

graphic researches.

You asked me [Payne writes on April 19th] whether I knew of any good sketch of the evolution of medicine in Great Britain. I must confess I know no such work either good or bad. Aiken and others tried to do something of the kind, but never got further than Biography, which is not the same thing. There are really not the materials. I find in my A. S. lectures that we had neglected the History of English Medicine even more than the Hist. of Med. in

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general. But when we get Power's John Arderne, and Cholmeley's Gaddesden, with my F.P. [Fitz-Patrick] Lectures on some more people, there will be some materials for such a history, if any one will take the trouble to write it.

And again on April 27th he writes:

Although some slight hints about a portrait had reached me, I was quite taken aback by the flattering proposal in your letter that I should sit for Sargent; and that this very great honour was intended for me by the Library Committee, including yourself, whom I strongly suspect of having originated and advocated the scheme. ~~Certainly it is a very great honour,~~ . . . a special honour to be portrayed by such an artist as Sargent.

Now as to the time and place. It would be much better I think to go up to him, where he could do the work in his own studio: and he is such a busy man, that it would seem unreasonable to bring him down here. But just at present I am not feeling so well as I was. I had to go up to the College twice; but the second time I got very tired, and felt it the next day. There are ups and downs; so I hope next week I may be feeling stronger, and then or soon, I could give Sargent a sitting. I suppose there is no immediate hurry. It is you whom I thank especially for this very graceful and pleasing compliment and also the Library Committee generally, who have always been very good to me. It has given great pleasure to my wife, I need not say.

This business of getting portraits painted of his friends was no

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he was met one of those who wait till people die before venturing to say a tribute
 new thing for Osler; ^{So} ~~and~~ he now dragged in Mr. John Sargent when he could;

and ~~Sargent~~ despite his endeavour to escape from ^{the} painting ^{of more} ~~any more~~ por-

traits ^{the artist} ~~no longer~~ appears to have stencilled ^{the Regina Professor's} ~~Osler's~~ letters as he did on

a former occasion.* Thus Osler writes him three months later:

*Cf. Chapter XXV, p. 8.

Dear Sargent Could you arrange to do a Black and White of my friend Dr. Musser of the University of Pennsylvania: he is at the Piccadilly Hotel for two days and could call at any time. Send him a wire. Do you think it would be possible for you to give us a sketch for our tuberculosis campaign that could be reproduced on a postcard? Anything would do from a caricature of J. Wm White to the bacillus attacking a modern Mona Lisa.

The general verdict at the College is that you have hit off our good friend Payne to the life.

In the waste-paper-basket letter to Muriel-Marjorie-Maude he had mentioned being in charge of 'a black-eyed Canadian girl, his granddaughter once removed' - in reality the daughter of his old McGill schoolmate H. H. Wright. She and an actual niece had been staying all the spring at 13, Norham Gardens to the not inconsiderable distraction of the Rhodes scholars. These young ladies were to have been presented at Court - Canada could not

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possibly have produced better representatives - but ^{this} they had been prevented
by the King's ~~sudden~~ ^{sudden} ^{on May 6th} death and to atone for their disappointment Osler
took them later on to the Continent for a week's frolic. All this is
made clear in a letter on a 'Monday' to H. B. Jacobs.

Harry Chapin died on Saturday - poor fellow; 'tis awfully hard on
them all. He was a trump and such a helpful man to so many people.
In such a disease it is better to have it over quickly. We had thought
of going to Holland first, but now our plan is to go direct to Paris
about the 1st. We shall take over two girls - Nona ^G--- and Otilie ^W.-
- both plain, but very sweet; our style! It is awfully sad about the
King, but at 69 a short, sharp illness is a mercy. King George will be
all right; he seems a very sensible fellow. It will be so nice to see you
again and to have you with us in Edinboro.

He had been expecting a visit from Professor Wenckebach of Grönigen,
to whom he writes:

I understood exactly your feeling that you wished to have a quiet visit
with your wife. I have now sent out the invitations for Saturday the 14th
to about 30 of the men in the country interested in diseases of the heart.
It is not a very good time to catch the London men as it is the Whitsuntide
holiday. If the King is not buried there might be some difficulty in having
the dinner at the ^{Alhenaenum} club, but I will let you know. The reprints of my Angina

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lectures have not come yet, you will have one at once. Mrs. Wenckebach will hear from Mrs. Osler about your visit to us. You will find Oxford at its best.

On May the 16th he writes to J. William White, who is ^{Spending} opening his

summer energetically at St. Moritz:

Dear White. I was under the impression that I had written to you from the Athenaeum Club after seeing Henry James. It may have been only one of my many good intentions. He has been in a very bad way, profoundly depressed about himself, with no positive delusion, but awfully blue and unhappy. His nephew, Henry James Junior, came over and stayed with him for a time, and now William James has been here, and has temporarily left Mrs. James in charge. W. J. does not write very hopefully. . . Here is an extract from a letter received about 10 days ago: - "The case as it develops becomes more and more plainly one of melancholia, 'simple' in that there are no fixed or false ideas, - apart from the remains of his belief that the 'cause' of the whole thing is diet - and no functional bodily complications. The type tends to agitation rather than to taciturnity, and he fluctuates a good deal from day to day, but until yesterday had had no complete remission of anguish for ten or 12 days. Suddenly the night before last he grew bright, woke without the usual trepidation etc. and had a first rate day yesterday, and is all right this morning again. . . ."

It is a very sad business, more so as he has greatly improved physically. He wrote to me about 18 months ago describing certain unpleasant anginoid symptoms; these have disappeared entirely. I do hope you are coming over; the influence of your personality on him might be very salutary. For

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two or three days after my visit to him in town he seemed a different man, was able to get about, and he promised to come down and stay with us, then he suddenly lapsed, and decided to go home [to Rye].*

"Henry James' at this time was in a bad way with his digestion and his nerves. His nephew writes of this visit: "Osler frisked round him, jollied him, poked fun at him, told him (in Greek) that his only trouble was that he was revolving round his belly-button, &c. He prescribed a reasonable regimen and imported a nurse who was to give massage. But that involved the sort of mistake I don't believe Osler made often. It would have required constant and authoritative supervision to make my uncle stick to my regimen. Still, it was a reassuring and refreshing episode."

Do let me know when you arrive. My boy is at Winchester working hard at cricket and entomology, but I am afraid like his father he is going to be a frivolous loiterer through life. Love to Mrs. White. . . .

It was a strange friendship, that of White and Henry James. Two men

could hardly have been more unlike in their characteristics and tastes - no three men indeed could hardly have been more unlike than James, White and Osler. But another man whom White greatly admired and who possessed an equally volcanic type of physical energy had emerged from the wilds of Africa not long before and was now enjoying himself big-game hunting in ^{Europe} England. Roosevelt, between his visits to crowned heads, for whose jobs he expressed great sympathy, had already lectured at the Sorbonne on "The Duties of the Citizen in a Republic"; the day before King Edward's death he had given at

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Christiania his Nobel Lecture in which he suggested a 'World Court,'
the checking of armaments and a League of Peace; at Berlin on the 11th on
"The World Movement"; was now due in Oxford for the Romanes Lecture, as
the following indicates.

Rudyard Kipling to W. O.

Burwash, Etchingham,
May 18, 1910.

Dear Osler, It is extremely kind of you to think about us for the
Romanes lecture (I thought you were in Canada or I'd written you). The
Vice Chancellor has just wired me that the date is changed to June 7th
and says he is writing. He asked us to stay with him, and hear the lec-
ture which we greatly want to do. No (talking of lectures) I did not
get the lectures on Servetus or the Nation and the Tropics. Please send 'em
along. I've just finished my new book of childrens tales and shall be curi-
ous to see whether the profession will spot Dr. Nicholas Culpeper and Rene
Hyacinth Laennec as I have drawn them. With the best regards to you both,
Ever yours sincerely,

Rudyard Kipling.

The Romanes Lecture was postponed until June because of the national
mourning for the King, whose funeral did not take place until the 20th. Mean-
while, what is more pertinent to this memoir Osler had a lecture of his own to
deliver. This was given at the request of Professor Gilbert Murray, who writes:

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"Every year I organize a course of lectures on Greek subjects outside the general course - Greek Medicine, Greek Astronomy, Greek Mathematics and the like, in which I invite specialists to come and lecture. Osler was always interested in this course and helped me more than once." ¶ Accordingly, on the 29th of this May Osler spoke on "The Lessons of Greek Medicine," using doubtless the same material which had served him ^{soberly} at York the preceding October. ~~where, as was indicated, he encountered an audience perhaps less appreciative of his subject.~~

"The tap-root of western civilization sinks deep in Greek soil, the astounding fertility of which is one of the outstanding facts of history." So begins the lecture, the MS. of which is among Osler's many unpublished papers.*

[#] ~~He drew upon it extracted some of the passages for subsequent papers or for his Edinburgh 'Lay-sermon'~~
*Cf. "Man's Redemption of Man" - the Edinburgh address of July 2nd. 3 July 2nd.

Philosophy, as Plato tells us, begins with wonder; and, staring open-eyed at the starry heavens on the plains of Mesopotamia, man took his first step in the careful observation of Nature, which carried him a long way in his career. But he was very slow to learn the second step - how to interrogate Nature, to search out her secrets, as Harvey puts it, by way of experiment. The Chaldeans who invented the gnomon, and predicted eclipses, made a good beginning. The Greeks did not get much beyond trained observation, though Pythagoras made one fundamental experiment when he determined the dependence of the pitch of sound on the length of the vibrating cord. So →

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far did unaided observation and brilliant generalization carry Greek thinkers, that there is scarcely a modern discovery which by anticipation cannot be found in their writings. Indeed one is staggered at their grasp of great principles. Could Democritus give the opening address at the new electrical Laboratory he would maintain that his well-known exposition of the physical world had received renewed support by all the recent studies. Man can do a great deal by observation and thinking, but ^{think them alone} he cannot ~~measure the mysteries of~~ ~~find out Nature, and her ways.~~ Had he been able, the Greeks would have done it; and could Plato and Aristotle have grasped the value of experiment in the progress of human knowledge the course of European history might have been very different.

~~And from this he proceeded to deal with,~~
~~So he continues, and there are many quotations from Sir Henry Maine,~~

~~from Comperz, from Neuberger, Withington, Finlayson and others, dealing with~~

what he considered ^{to be} the ~~three~~ great lessons to be learned from Greek Medicine, ^{stressing}
~~that~~ ^{that} what Socrates did for philosophy, Hippocrates did for medicine, and ^{that}
and which apparently he has not, to his content, whipped into final form.

Now if we ask ^{wrote} ~~he said~~ what was ^{the} the special merit of Hippocrates and his school it may be said to lie in the development in the powers of observation, and on the strong, clear common sense, which refused to be entangled either in theological or philosophical speculations. It has been well said that what Socrates did for philosophy Hippocrates did for medicine; as Socrates devoted himself to ethics, and the application of right thinking to good conduct, so Hippocrates insisted upon the practical nature of the art and in placing its highest good in the benefit of the patient. Empiricism,

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~~experience, the collection of facts, the evidence of the senses, the avoidance of philosophical speculations, these were the distinguishing features of Hippocrates^{Ti?} medicine. One of the most striking contributions of Hippocrates is the recognition that diseases are only part of the processes of nature, that there is nothing divine or sacred about them. . .~~

He recalls an incident of his early Montreal days in referring to the 'oath', saying:

[he said]

But the high-water mark is reached in that remarkable document, the Hippocratic Oath, which has well been called a monument of the highest rank in the history of civilization (Gomperz). For twenty five centuries our 'credo', it is in many universities still the formula with which men are admitted to the Doctorate. At McGill we used the old Latin modification, and when Registrar of the Medical Faculty I had to swear into the Guild with it the members of the graduating class with uplifted hands.

And he closed as follows:

~~We physicians may justly claim part in 'the glory that was Greece.' No other profession can boast of the same unbroken continuity of methods and of ideals. We are justly proud of our apostolic succession. Schools and systems have flourished and gone, schools which have swayed for generations the thought of our guild and systems that have died before their founders; medical philosophy of one age has become the wisdom of tomorrow - through long ages which were slowly learning what we are hurrying to forget - amid all the changes and chances of twenty-five centuries the profession has~~

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never lacked men who have lived up to the Greek ideals - the ideals of Hippocrates, of Galen, of the men of the Renaissance - and they are ours today.

It is probable that the ^{finishing touches} ~~completion~~ of this ^{address was never made because of} ~~may have been interrupted~~

by other things, one of which had to do with a form of therapeutics which

perhaps has never been so successfully practised as in the temples of

Epidaurus - a subject which he necessarily had thoroughly ventilated in

the ^{before} ~~address for~~ ^{class.} Professor Murray's "When one looks through the list of

the recorded cures at Epidaurus," he had written, "it must indeed have

been a house of Rimmon to such a man as Hippocrates or to Eryximachus;" for

the first lesson and one of the most important (to be learned from the

Greeks) was the emancipation of medicine from religion, mysticism, and super-

stition.

The British Medical Journal for June 18, 1910 was given over to a series

of articles on ^{So-} ~~what may generally be~~ called faith healing. Since the days

of Huxley, Tindall and Herbert Spencer, a great change had come over the pro-

fession in regard to this matter - a change perhaps due in large extent to

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the extraordinary growth of Christian Science - something which is neither
 Christian nor science, yet it ^{has} supplied for certain people ^{a prob-} ~~something~~ which seemed to
^{give them a measure of} ~~they needed~~ for the mental poise in regard to ^{Sickness and disease -} ~~maladies~~ at least so far as
~~their~~ ^{the} functional (as opposed to ^{the} organic) ^{aspects of ill health and} ~~symptoms~~ were concerned. What
 Osler had to say ^{on the subject} ~~has~~ been given in the ^{work} ~~quotation~~ from the recent edition of
 his Text-book; and this or something else ^{stirred} ~~led~~ the editor of the Journal
 to gather together some authoritative expressions of opinion in regard to
 those bodily ills ^{that} which yield to ^{these} methods of treatment, ~~which for lack of a~~
~~better~~ ^{term} ~~may be called~~ 'mental'. The definition of a metaphysician has
 been given as one who gropes in a dark room for a black ^{hat} ~~bat~~ which is not
 there. But the question may legitimately be asked, if the ^{hat} ~~bat~~ isn't there,
 where is it?

Sir Clifford Allbutt ^{furnished} ~~gave~~ some ^{reflections on the subject:} ~~"Reflections on Faith Healing"~~ in the
 course of which he referred to St. Theresa (around whom Osler made a
 grouping in the Ingersoll Lecture, and whom Macaulay described as 'the mad

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man of Avila') as the incarnation of good sense. Sir Henry Morris in a paper on "Suggestion in the Treatment of Disease" discussed the 'miracles' of Lourdes and the 'cures' of Christian Science: in a philosophic spirit. Mr. H. T. Butlin then President of the Royal College of Surgeons ^{was another contributor:} also contributed some "Remarks on Spiritual Healing", and Osler's paper on "The Faith that Heals" was the last of the series.

Nothing in life is more wonderful than faith [he began] - the one great moving force which we can neither weigh in the balance nor test in the crucible. Intangible as the ether, ineluctable as gravitation, the radium of the moral and mental spheres, mysterious, indefinable, known only by its effects, faith pours out an unfailling stream of energy while abating nor jot nor tittle of its potency. Well indeed did St. Paul break out into the well-known glorious panegyric, but even this scarcely does justice to the Hertha of the psychical world, distributing force as from a great storage battery, without money and without price to the children of men.

Three of its relations concern us here. The most active manifestations are in the countless affiliations which man in his evolution has worked out with the unseen, with the invisible powers, whether of light or of darkness, to which from time immemorial he has erected altars and shrines. To each one of the religions, past or present, faith has been the Jacob's ladder. Creeds pass; an inexhaustible supply of faith remains, with which man proceeds to rebuild temples, churches, chapels and shrines. As Swinburne,

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says in that wonderful poem, "The Altar of Righteousness":

God by God flits past in thunder, till his glories turn to shades:
God to God bears wondering witness how his gospel flames and
fades.
More was each of these, while yet they were, than man their servant
seemed:
Dead are all of these, and man survives who made them while he
dreamed.

And all this has been done by faith, and faith alone. Christendom lives on
it, and countless thousands are happy in the possession of that most touch-
ing of all confessions, "Lord! I believe; help Thou my unbelief." But,
with its Greek infection, the Western mind is a poor transmitter of faith,
the apotheosis of which must be sought in the religions of the East. The
Nemesis of faith is that neither in its intensity nor in its effects does
man find any warrant of the worthiness of the object on which it is lav-
ished - the followers of Joe Smith, the Mormon, are as earnest and believ-
ing as are those of Confucius!

But there were generalities and one must feel deeper in the essay something of the author's personal view on the faith that rests on the healing qualities of faith. 3p2

to learn
personal view on the faith
~~An idea of the paper may be gained from the following quotation:
and Osler, as may be added, was through his personality one of the most
successful of psychotheraputists, The jocular saying of someone that
the treatment in his medical wards consisted of a mixture of hope and
nux vomica had some basis of truth.~~

2 clear

"Apart [he said] from the more specific methods to be dealt with,
faith has always been an essential factor in the practice of medicine,
as illustrated by the quotations just given from Burton. Literature
is full of examples of remarkable cures through the influence of the im-
agination, which is only an active phase of faith. The late Daniel
Hack Tuke's book, The Influence of the Mind on the Body, is a storehouse
if facts dealing with the subject. While in general use for centuries,
one good result of the recent development of mental healing has been
to call attention to its great value as a measure to be carefully and
scientifically applied in suitable cases. My experience has been that
of the unconscious rather than the deliberate faith healer. Phenomenal,
even what could be called miraculous cures are not very uncommon. Like
others, I have had cases any one of which, under suitable conditions,
could have been worthy of a shrine or made the germ of a pilgrimage. For
more than ten years a girl lay paralyzed in a New Jersey town. A de-

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voted mother and loving sisters had worn out lives in her service. She had never been out of bed unless when lifted by one of her physicians, Dr. Longstreth and Dr. Shippen. The new surroundings of a hospital, the positive assurance that she could get well with a few simple measures sufficed, and within a fortnight she walked round the hospital square. This is a type of modern miracle that makes one appreciate how readily well-meaning people may be deceived as to the true nature of the cure effected at the shrine of a saint. Who could deny the miracle? And miracle it was, but not brought about by any supernatural means. I had the good fortune to be associated for five years with Weir Mitchell, and saw much of the workings of that master mind on the sisters of Sir Galahad and the brothers of Sir Percivale, who flocked to his clinics. His extraordinary success, partly due to the rest treatment, was more largely the result of a personal factor - the deep faith the people had in his power to cure. And it is in this group particularly that the strong man armed with good sense, and with faith in himself, may be a power for good. And the associations count for much. Without any special skill in these cases or special methods, our results at the Johns Hopkins Hospital were most gratifying. Faith in St. Johns Hopkins, as we used to call him, an atmosphere of optimism, and cheerful nurses, worked just the same sort of cures as did Aesculapius at Epidaurus; and I really believe that had we had in hand that arch-neurasthenic of ancient history Aelius Aristides, we could have made a more rapid cure than did Apollo and his son, who took seventeen years at the job!"

"Once again," he said, "old beliefs are in the melting-pot." "A great

gulf has opened between pastor and flock, and the shepherdless sheep at large upon the mountains have been at the mercy of anyone who could pipe new tunes."

And after a sympathetic and understanding portrayal of the Christian Science cult and of the 'Emmanuel Church Movement' ^{which had also originated in Boston which he described as} ~~also centring in Boston~~ "an

honest attempt to bring back that angelical conjunction, as Cotton Mather calls it, of physic and divinity" he concludes by stating that "not a psychologist but an ordinary clinical physician concerned in making strong the

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weak in mind and body," the whole subject was of intense interest to him; and that "our attitude as a profession should not be hostile, and we must scan gently our brother man and sister woman who may be carried away on the winds of new doctrine."

The week of May 29th saw them in Paris - a week entirely given over to the 'plain but very sweet' niece and 'granddaughter once removed.' They joined Dr. and Mrs. Jacobs there, and Osler saw to it that some ^{potential alter ego} ~~adopted grand-~~

^{people was attached} ~~sons joined them,~~ but it is apparent from all accounts that he was the life of the party. There was a trip to Fontainebleau with Cecil Harmsworth;

^{heard Scott's in Falstaff: attended} they saw Rostand's "Chanticleer" just produced; the races at Auteuil ^{at the famous restaurants: they shopped to their hearts content; saw the sights from the Seine to Montreuil} ~~and there was probably little Paris afforded that~~ ^{on one of the party recalls} ~~some time~~ ^{was dropped at some corner in the boy named "Proper" father in Puygale, "saying" he had} ~~was left undone and unseen.~~

^{in Oxford} They were back in time to hear Mr. Roosevelt's Romanes Lecture on June

^{Analogue} 7th - "The Biological ~~Analysis~~ in History" - a rather stiff subject - and to see him receive his D.C.L. on which occasion he was ^{not} ~~twitted~~ a little in very excellent Latin at the hands of the V. C. whose guest he was. Subsequently

*of the middle class
1885-1890*


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^{Mr. Roosevelt}
 at the American Club ~~he atoned somewhat~~ ^{Statements} for his ~~speech of a few days~~ ^{Somewhat in his great speech in London the week} before
 by stating that the relations of American and British peoples were now so
 cordial as to permit of frankness of speech and that what he had said in
 his Guildhall speech could only have been said by a sincere friend and
 well-wisher. But, all told, he had, as Mrs. Osler wrote, a very wonder-
 ful reception and she added: "Our chauffeur drove him from 10:15 a.m. to
 6:30 p.m. and was very proud." Oxford was said to have been in festive
 mood, and ~~to have~~ ^{to have} thoroughly enjoyed its day of hero-worship.

^{was added to Osler}
 A few days later ~~Osler added one more to his~~ many honorary degrees,
 namely a D.Sc. from the University of Leeds. ~~The occasion was at a Congre-~~
~~gation~~ for the purpose of installing the new Chancellor the Duke of Devon-
 shire, which brought together a large gathering from various parts of the
 country. The new Chancellor was given an LL.D., as well as Lord Crewe,
 Lord Lansdowne, the Prime Minister, and others; Lord Rayleigh and Sir Cle-
 ments Markham, as well as Dr. Osler having at the same time been recipients
 of a D.Sc.

Toward the end of the month ~~of~~ a letter to H. B. Jacobs, ~~father~~ says:

"We have been having a very busy time, so many people coming and going,
and an invasion of the Examiners this week. If you reach London by the
first do come and meet the American clinical surgeons: 30 of them will
be here and they dine with us on the terrace this evening." *what*



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But despite 'the people coming and going' at the "Open Arms", Osler *is found doing the sort of thing which so greatly endeared him to his friends. He was not one to wait for their demise* finds time to pay a deserved tribute to ^{three} ~~a man~~ he greatly admired. The

June number of the little struggling journal published in Saranac, The Outdoor Life, is given over to a series of testimonials to Edward Livingston Trudeau. Like as not, the idea had arisen during the recent week of play in Paris, for Lawrason Brown the editor of the journal had been a member of the festive party. Osler's contribution to ~~the journal~~ reads

in part as follows:

How true sometimes is the paradox of the Gospel that to save his life a man must lose it! Out of the depths, - 'from our desolation only may the better life begin.' In that best of all medical autobiographies, Jugend-erinnerungen eines alten Aertztes, Professor Kussmaul tells the story of his student days and of the happy beginning of a busy life as district physician in the Black Forest - plenty of work, good health, and a happy home with wife and children. Then the overwhelming disaster - sudden paraplegia, a long struggle in adverse circumstances, and a final victory wrought out of the very elements of defeat. Would that the story were more common! And yet how often does ill health, the bridle of Theages, as Plato calls it, concentrate a man's resources and bring out qualities of work, the fruits of the spirit, which may be missed in the hurly-burly of the work-a-day world.

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The issue is not as a rule a man of affairs, but rather the fiery soul of the artist or poet 'fretting the pigmy body to decay.' Of all the blows of circumstance that may help to temper a man's metal, chronic illness is the most uncertain in its effects. Those fortunate ones win out who early learn to work in limitations which seem intolerable to the robust, who wish to take the kingdom of heaven by violence. The late W. K. Brooks told me that he attributed any success he may have had to the recognition of a permanent (congenital) weakness of the heart: and surely of his Chelonian race any swiftfooted son of Thetis might be proud! Now and then men are fortunate enough to overcome the worst foes encountered in the battle of life - chronic ill health, and an enforced residence in a paralyzing environment. The attitude of mind so splendidly expressed in Henley's verse, "Out of the Night that Covers me," scoffs at the menace of the years, and unafraid, with unbowed head, the happy possessor of the unconquerable soul of this sort feels that

It matters not how strait the gate
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate;
I am the captain of my soul.

And this is the lesson of Edward Trudeau's life - the lesson of a long and successfully fought campaign. An implacable foe, entrenched within his own citadel, has been often brought to terms of truce, never wholly conquered. . . . ¶ I like ^{now} to admit to the select company on my shelves only the literature that has a personal interest to me, or epoch-making works of the masters of medicine. When the 25th Annual Report of the Sanitarium appeared I had it bound, and it reposes in my library between a work of Laennec, and the story of the early days of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. I wrote on the fly-leaf, "A triumph of optimism! This shows what a badly

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crippled man may do single-handed, once let him gain the confidence of his brethren, medical and lay. Trudeau had the good fortune to be made of the stuff that attracts to himself only the best, as a magnet picks out iron. Of an unselfish, sympathetic disposition, he secured the devotion of his patients, to whom he was at once a tower of strength and a splendid example..."

The Sanitarium has become a model, and the methods of work and results have reached a degree of excellence which must be very gratifying to its founder. The strong-fibred nature of Trudeau is best illustrated by the fact that amid the worries of patients, and the perennial financial struggle to make both ends meet he stuck close to the scientific side of his profession and from the laboratory of the Sanitarium have come many important contributions, which have enriched the literature, and reflected the greatest credit upon American medicine."

in a grateful letter to
And ~~this was Trudeau's acknowledgment,~~ ^{June 24th} ~~which joined the other two letters,~~ ^{Trudeau wrote saying:} ~~say~~

In bed. Saranac Lake,
June 24th

Dear Dr. Osler, I have just read your graceful and beautiful tribute to me and to my work in the "Journal of the Out of Door Life." That you kept two of my letters written long ago, that you placed my 25th Annual Report in that temple of Fame which I would prize above others, your favourite book shelf, and that you have written such words of me! "I have been in the Grip of the Tiger and in bed now for five weeks, but if my body is harrassed and shrivelled by disease my Soul is full of joy and after reading these wonderful tributes in the Out-of-Door-Life I feel I must get on my feet once more for life with such friends cannot but be worth living under most any conditions!" Most sincerely your friend,

E. L. Trudeau.

cf XXXV p. 84

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Getting timely portraits painted, writing tributes of the sort just given, distributing books to libraries and friends who would appreciate them - these were oft-recurring ^{episodes.} ~~acts of Osler's.~~ There were so many repetitions of them, indeed, that it is hardly possible - or necessary - to mention them all even if all were known. But another kindly thing he did so often as to make the repetition tiresome was to attend medical meetings in outlying districts, when the presence of the Oxford Regius was certain to act as a great stimulus. So, on June 28th, when ^{busy preparing} ~~busiest getting ready~~ for the Edinburgh meeting of the next week, he was the guest of the Nottingham profession, invited to open by proper words their new club and library.* There

*In this address entitled "Organization in the Profession" (British Medical Journal, Feb. 4, 1911, p. 237) Osler used the figure of speech of 'poking the fire' - a comparison so apt and so descriptive of one of his own great functions in life that it may be regarded as unconsciously autobiographical. "Of the value [he said] to the local practitioners of a medical society and of a library we are all agreed. How common the experience to enter a cold cheerless room in which the fire in the grate has died down, not from lack of coal, not because the coal was not alight, but the bits, large and small, falling away from each other, have gradually become dark and cold. Break them with a poker, get them together, and what a change in a few minutes! There is light and heat and good cheer. What happens in the grate illustrates very often the condition of the profession in a town or county; singly or in cliques the men have fallen apart, and, as in the dead or dying embers, there is neither light nor warmth; or the coals may be there alive and bright, but covered with the ashes of discord, jealousy, and faction. Like the poker bringing the elements together, the medical society may do three things. It is the most important single factor in the promotion of that unity and good fellowship which adds so much to the dignity of the profession. I have no idea of the state of the atmosphere in Nottingham -

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 Wash. D.C.
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whether you are united and harmonious, or whether you fight amongst yourselves like cats and dogs - but the large 'turn out' this evening suggests that the former condition prevails. In this matter, so far as my observation goes, everything depends upon the influence of the seniors, whose attitude of mind determines whether the young men grow up in a state of wretched discord or in one of pleasant comradeship. I have known a clever old Shimei, of a quarrelsome disposition, ruin the profession of a city for a generation; on the other hand, a strong old man with a good heart and a smooth tongue may keep the peace, even among Ishmaelites.

Dining in a company of doctors one day in a well-known town in the United States, I was very much impressed both by the good looks and the cordiality of three of the seniors, who had practised in the town for nearly half a century, and had always been on the best of terms; I asked them to go the next morning and have a photograph taken together for me. For a good many years that photograph has hung just above the sofa of my examining room, and is shown with special pleasure. Underneath it is written, "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren to dwell together in unity." Immunity from strife is not difficult to acquire. There are those in whom it is natural - the happy souls, born under Mercury, the Abou Ben Adhems - 'may his tribe increase!' - who love their fellow men spontaneously; but in a great many this immunity has to be acquired, and we catch the infection of good fellowship amid just such surroundings as we enjoy tonight."

after presenting to the Librarian, Mr. Smithurst, a piece of silver in recognition of his long and faithful service of fifty-seven years as Librarian of the Society, he from all accounts said the old things with which we are now familiar, about library, laboratory and nursery - things directed particularly to the seniors about their relations to one another and to their juniors - that the hospital should be made into a post-graduate school - that 'without post-graduate work a doctor was stale in five years, in the rut by ten, and by twenty in so deep he could never get out.'

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Aet. 61.

Two days later, the afternoon of Friday, July 1st, an avalanche of American surgeons who were making a tour of the British clinics descended upon Oxford and partook of Osler's hospitality, little realizing that he had come back from Nottingham for the purpose, instead of going on to Edinburgh where he was booked to preside at the tuberculosis conference - where indeed he was to give an address to the students in McEwan Hall on the Sunday. No hint of this conflict of engagements shows in his brief letters written after the crowded week was over. One of them to Dr. White follows:

13, Norham Gardens,
Saturday [July 9th]

Dear J. William Shall you be in town on Monday p m? I have been in Edinboro for a week trying to stir up Tuberculosis work at our National Association. Send me a wire & I will call - Love to Mrs White. Yours sincerely
W^m Osler.

This laconic reference ^{does scant} hardly does justice to the Edinburgh meeting, the preparations for which, as he was President of the Association, had occupied much of his time during the spring. It is not surprising to find ^{introduced} ~~that this~~ ~~year's meeting was~~ a departure from the established custom of holding the ^{annual}

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meetings in London, by no means the best way to propagandize the crusade, as he fully appreciated. Edinburgh, moreover, had long been engaged in a local combat against tuberculosis; but there were other reasons for the choice, one of them the desire to call public attention to the Victoria Farm Colony, a project with which Dr. [now Sir] Robert Philip of Edinburgh had promoted. He indeed as far back as 1887 had established a tuberculosis dispensary - the first in Great Britain - and for years had been prominently identified with the movement in Scotland to provide proper care for consumptives.

Though the actual sessions of the conference did not begin until Monday July 4th, a tuberculosis 'exhibition' was formally opened on the preceding Friday, in Osler's absence, by the Countess of Aberdeen whose successful campaign in Ireland during the three years since the Dublin 'exhibition' had been started on its travels, entitled her to this honour. A 'tuberculosis morning' was held Saturday in all the Edinburgh schools, unquestionably the best place to start the work of popular education; and in the afternoon a visit was paid to the new Farm Colony.

On the Sunday ^{afternoon} there was ^{an afternoon service} a ~~semi-religious~~ meeting for the University

^{It is in part a memorial service in memory of Robert Coak}
^{of the Osler address, that was given Hermann Bggs & the first, Professor}
^{in Dr. Robert Phillip, Coak had, all other brief addresses.}
 concerning whom
 one follows
 word by word
 constant

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students, who crowded McEwan Hall to the doors to hear the man, who just missed being Lord Rector, deliver what was termed a lay sermon - "Man's Redemption of Man." Osler chose as his text the two verses from Isaiah beginning, "And a man shall be an hiding place from the wind"; ^{"And the} ~~And the~~ voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her."

To man [he said] there has been published a triple gospel - of his soul, of his goods, of his body. Growing, with his growth, preached and professed in a hundred different ways in various ages of the world, these gospels represent the unceasing purpose of his widening thoughts.

The gospel of his relation to the powers unseen has brought sometimes hope, too often despair. In a wide outlook on the immediate and remote effects of the attempts to establish this relation, one event discredits the great counsel of Confucius (who realized what a heavy yoke religion might be) to keep aloof from spiritual beings. Surviving the accretions of twenty centuries, the life and immortality brought to light by the gospel of Christ, remain the earnest desire of the best portion of the race.

The gospel of his goods - of man's relation to his fellow men, is written in blood on every page of history. Quietly and slowly the righteousness that exalteth a nation, the principles of eternal justice, have won acquiescence, at any rate in theory, though as nations and individuals we are still far from carrying them into practice.

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And the third gospel, the gospel of his body, which brings man into relation with nature, a true evangelion, the glad tidings of a conquest beside which all others sink into significance - is the final conquest of nature, out of which has come man's redemption of man, the subject to which I am desirous of directing your attention.

He worked into the sermon a good many paragraphs about the triumph of Greek thought which he borrowed from the lecture from Gilbert Murray's course and which may account in part for the fact that this was never completed for publication. But he then went on to say - (one wonders what Father Johnson would have thought):

My generation was brought up in the belief that 'Man was in his original state a very noble and exalted creature, being placed as the head and lord of this world, having all the creatures in subjection to him. The powers and operations of his mind were extensive, capacious and perfect' - to quote the words of one of my old Sunday-school lessons. It is not too much to say that Charles Darwin has so turned man right-about-face that, no longer looking back with regret upon a Paradise Lost, he feels already within the gates of a Paradise Regained. . . . Within the life-time of some of us a strange and wonderful thing happened on the earth - something of which no prophet foretold, of which no seer dreamt, nor is it among the beatitudes of Christ Himself; only St. John seems to have had an inkling of it in that splendid chapter in which he describes the new heaven and the new earth, when the former things should pass away, when all tears should be wiped away, and there should be no more crying nor sorrow.

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There followed the fascinating story of the growth of modern sanitary science, and finally he referred to the memorable phrase of the Greek philosopher Prodicus: 'That which benefits human life is God,' suggesting that it may come to be a new gospel of the glorious days of which Shelley sings.*

*Osler's rendering of the phrase from Prodicus led evidently to a good deal of discussion among his philological friends. Gildersleeve most have written him about it, and Osler evidently sent ~~his~~ ^{the} letter to Herbert W. Blunt who writes that, "Prodicus states as a fact of anthropology that our ancestors held as gods those things which were beneficial to men," and quotes from Cicero's 'De Natura Deorum' in favour of Osler's rendering of the passage.

The Librarian at Ch. Ch.

On Monday the conference commenced in earnest with a succession of papers from Sims Woodhead of Cambridge, J.G. Adami of Montreal, James Ritchie, Professor Tendeloo of Leyden and others. A luncheon at the College of Physicians followed, and the afternoon sessions were devoted to a consideration of the administrative control of the disease. Hermann M. Biggs of New York recounted their experiences with the control of tuberculosis in that great city, and papers followed by the medical health officers of Glasgow, of Edinburgh, of Liverpool, of Sheffield and so on. The well attended sessions continued for another day, when tuberculosis in children was dealt with and the afternoon was devoted to the working-man's relation to the disease. Finally a resolution was drawn up, 'to represent to his Majesty's Ministers the advisability of considering a scheme of national insurance

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against tuberculosis,' after which with a few words of congratulation Osler adjourned the meeting. This becomes an old story but it is one which will be again and again repeated - ^{and he will soon be engaged} ~~the next time~~ with the Oxfordshire Association. A review of this busy ten days is given in the following characteristic letter from Oxford on Sunday the 10th.

We had a great day with the Surgeons. We met them at 3 with motors - saw Ch Ch Magdalen & New then to the Radcliffe for tea - then to the Museums & laboratories & here for dinner at 7. We had 52 at round tables in the drawing room. . . . Pig! to get a Ketham before me. I have been looking for a good one for a long time. I am bankrupt, having bot. all the Leonardo Anatomical volumes, the aviation and the generation. These are getting scarce and some of the vols. are limited (100). See 19th Century Magazine for July - good article on his aviation. Just back from Edinboro, great T.B. meeting. I had a 2500 audience in the Hall on Sunday & preached to the students on "Mans redemption of Man." We sail on the 29th. . . . Open arms full - 6 over Sunday.

One cannot escape the feeling that Osler's greatest professional service was that of a propagandist of public-health measures. His beginnings in that direction seen even in his youthful days in Montreal were actively continued

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in Baltimore where he was constantly ^{Crusading against} fighting malaria and typhoid, not only in his wards but on public platforms, and he left there just as the anti-tuberculosis crusade was getting under way. With the ^{this same} movement, as can be seen, he energetically allied himself while in England - nor was his a voice in the wilderness in this rôle he chose for himself - a rôle as important as that of the laboratory scientist whose cloistered studies supplied the knowledge on which our whole public-health movement is based. ~~But~~ Certainly no man of his time came in closer contact than he with workers in all fields of medicine. No wonder that a group of American surgeons make a pilgrimage to Oxford; and when his addresses before the Army Medical School in Washington are recalled it is not surprising to find that he is requested on July 18th at the London Army Medical College to make a presentation speech to accompany a subscription gift ^{for} ~~from~~ Sir Alfred Keogh on his retirement from the position of Director General of the Army Medical Department. In the course of his well-chosen remarks concerning the reorganization of the Army Medical College which had taken place during Keogh's administration, he goes

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on to speak of the medical and nursing departments of the Territorial Army in which he himself had been enrolled.

Here [he said] I had personal experience of your admirable tact, your unflinching optimism and your sane judgment. To you we owe it that the medical side of Mr. Haldane's scheme is now working so smoothly and efficiently. Your term of office as Director General came too swiftly to a close, and one cannot but regret that the services of a man of your youth and energy should be lost to the country; but you have the satisfaction of feeling that you have inaugurated a work which others can carry to completion. We are glad that the responsibilities of the new post^{* [Post of the Imperial College of Science & Technology]} which you have accepted are beset with the difficulties likely to bring out your special capacities, and that there will be work enough to keep you idly active. . .

Little did he realize that four years later the man whom he was addressing would in a great emergency be recalled to his old post as D.G.M.S. Thus he had met with provincial practitioners, surgeons, public-health officers and army medical officers - all in the course of a few weeks; and on ^{July} ~~the~~ 22nd at Oxford he is called on to address a group of specialists at the opening of the Ophthalmological Congress. The MS. of the address entitled "Specialists and Specialism" found among his unpublished papers, shows that he had given

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time and thought to the situation in which the ophthalmological surgeons, among the first to specialize, find themselves. "To two great groups of minds," he said, "the world has been indebted for its progress - the hypermetropic, the wide-visioned men of the type of Aristotle, Darwin and Spencer; and the myopic - the men of concentrated penetrating vision of the type of Pythagoras, Vesalius, Harvey and Pasteur. Who shall say which is the more important?" And, ~~he went on to say~~, perhaps with memories of his own quondam intent to become an ophthalmologist, *he continued as follows:*

Those who think that at the present day specialism has run riot are purblind critics who cannot see that we are safe so long as each generation in each department produces a few men with hypermetropia enough to synthesize the work of their colleagues, and so far these have never been wanting. The medical profession has become a mere congerie of specialists and upon you is the blame! In the forest of general practice you first blazed the way, and a good one too, which others have been ready enough to follow. Not that ophthalmic specialists are new - contrariwise they flourished in Egypt and Greece, and indeed in every age of the profession, but you took the lead in showing how a special branch of medicine should be studied, practised and made successful. It is a far cry from the days of the genial Pepys, in the 17th century, who tells how the eye doctor, whom we all execrate as the man who made him stop writing the immortal Diary, had never seen an eye dissected

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until he visited Lower at Oxford, ~~in 18~~. For one great work we are thankful to you - breaking down the barriers of prejudice which existed in the profession, against any one man knowing any one thing better than his fellows. It was a hard fight, and you may think it not yet a fight to the finish, as there remain a few who diffuse an atmosphere of the glacial period in the presence of a specialist. Shades of Tobit! Think of the contrast even within my memory between the general surgeons who practised ophthalmology, and the specialists who today practise ophthalmic surgery. I still shudder at the remembrance of those 'good old days' at the Montreal General Hospital, when cases of pneumonia, fractured legs and cataract were jumbled in the same ward, under the care of the same man; and it was not without qualms of conscience that the staff consented to the appointment of an ophthalmic surgeon, my friend the late Dr. Buller. When I studied at Moorfields in 1872 Bowman and Critchett were the only men who did not hold surgical positions in other hospitals. We all recognize how much the science is indebted to general surgeons who have made ophthalmology a study, and to all of us at once will occur the name of that veteran - the greatest generalized specialist of his generation - Jonathon Hutchinson, the last of the polymaths, the man at home in all spheres of medical science. Few will be found now to lament the change, and fewer perhaps who do not feel that it would have been better to recognize earlier the pressing demands of specialism in a subject of such complexity.

And his closing paragraph is ^{this:} ~~as follows:~~

In the cultivation of a specialty as an art there is a tendency to develop a narrow and pedantic spirit and the man who year in and year out cor-

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rects errors in refraction, removes prostates or takes blood pressures without regard to the wider basis upon which his art rests is apt insensibly, but none the less surely, to reach the attitude of mind of the old Scotch shoemaker who, in response to the Dominie's suggestion about the weightier matters of life, asked "D'ye ken leather?" But every special branch carries with it the correction^{va} of this most fatal tendency. Problems in physiology and pathology touch at every point the commonest affections and exercised in these, if only in the earlier years of professional life, a man is chastened, so to speak, and can escape the deadening effect of routine. The other radical defect of specialism is a failure to recognize that it deals as a rule with partial truths which must be correlated with facts obtained by wider study. The various organs, the diseases of which are subdivided for convenience of treatment, are not isolated but complex parts of a complex whole, and every day's experience brings home the truth of the saying, "when one member suffers all the members suffer with it." Plato must have discussed this very problem with his bright friends in the profession, or he could never have put these wise words into the mouth of Socrates - "I dare say you have heard eminent physicians say to a patient who comes to them with bad eyes that they cannot cure the eyes by themselves, but that if his eyes are to be cured his head must be treated; and then again they say that to think of curing the head alone and not the rest of the body is the height of folly. And arguing in this way they apply their methods to the whole body and treat and heal the whole, and the part together. Did you ever observe that this is what they say?" It has always seemed to me that these words of Plato embody the law and the gospel for specialists.

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~~All this was very serious and worth thinking about, though curiously enough it is not what those in attendance seem^{ed} to remember. ^{after the intervening years} What they do chiefly recall is that the Regius Professor was present and spoke at their annual dinner that evening, making some very amusing remarks, admirably fitted, as intended, to put everyone in a cheerful mood to hear any subsequent harangue with aequanimity. And it was hardly noticed that his chair was soon empty, after the ball had thus been set rolling, for he was due the next morning in London to attend an important conference ^{in connection with the annual M.A. meeting which had opened there the same day.} ~~The following day~~ he writes to Thayer: "We sail on the 29th. I may have ^(on the evening of the 23rd) to return with Mrs. Osler on the 6th of September: Winchester school opens on the 10th and I have a few lithogenous twinges again in my stone quarry and it might be wise to go to Contrexeville; this will cut off my proposed early week in October with you all, much to my grief. Send a line to Pointe-à-Pic Murray Bay." But Osler wastes no time in planning for this annual visit to America and has still much to do in this remaining week, ^{apart from the sessions of the B.S.M.A.} The following letter probably of this date, was shortly to be read before the Henley Rural Council.*~~

*Cf. "Tuberculosis in Oxford." British Medical Journal, Sept. 3, 1910, ii, 646.

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Prevention of Tuberculosis.

May I ask you on behalf of the above association, to lay this letter before your Council at its next meeting? In view of the prevalence of consumption, and the absence of any adequate means for its relief or prevention, the Radcliffe Infirmary has determined to devote certain hours of its out-patient department each week to the treatment of consumptives only, coming from all parts of the district. It will mean a large increase of its work, and this association is undertaking to make good to the Radcliffe Infirmary any loss it may thereby incur. A doctor will be in charge who will devote himself solely to this department and to preventive work in consumption, in close coöperation with the Infirmary, and the sanitary authorities. The Oxford City Council has granted £100 a year towards his salary. The association would ask the district councils throughout Oxfordshire to coöperate in this work by making yearly grants of perhaps £10 to £15 according to the population they represent - suggesting that councils representing over 5,000 persons should contribute £15 a year - and by this means to provide a fund of £150 a year, which will be needed to raise the doctor's salary and allowances to £250. Will your council give the matter its serious consideration? An early answer, if it be favourable, will make the immediate appointment of a doctor possible, and he can enter without delay on the special training which this work will need either at Edinburgh or in some centre where preventive work in consumption is already in full activity.)

I am, yours very truly,

W^m Osler.

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On the 25th he sends this note to Miss Mabel F. M. Price:

Dear Miss Price: Lady Wantage, whom I saw yesterday, is very sympathetic, and I am writing today to ask her for a specific subscription. I enclose you a note from Mason and one from Fleming. Could you not come in this evening about 9 o'clock: Dr. Mallam and I are to meet Stobie here. Yesterday at the staff meeting I nailed them down specifically to open the dispensary on Friday, October 7th. The Executive Committee were to be asked to arrange preliminaries with Stobie, and to guarantee to pay him his salary until we can get arrangements completed. I enclose you my cheque.

Sincerely yours,

W^m Osler.

What Osler's moral support meant to the '~~County~~ ~~Osler~~' Committee of the Oxfordshire Branch of the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis' of which for many years he was President, may be told in Miss Price's own words.

We (my family) left Oxford in 1900 to live for some years at Headington on the North outside the town where there is a population of nearly 2000 people, mainly Oxford working people. We started a small Charity Organization Society Committee there and very soon came on the underlying cause of most of the sickness and distress there was. About 60-70 cases of consumption came to our notice, and we realized what a difficult and almost insoluble problem it presented. No means existed of getting the special forms

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of treatment and help they needed; no measures of prevention were in force. It was a burning question, and soon after Sir William Osler came to Oxford I went down and laid the whole matter before him, only to find that he already knew all about it. He knew the question in all its aspects - social and medical - its difficulties, the prolonged nature of the illness, the patient living the ordinary life of the people, half disabled himself and a danger to others for many months of the year - to end at last, hidden away, to die slowly, often forgotten by the outside world. There was nothing sensational about it - the people had come to accept it as fate and took no precaution against it. Sir William instantly took the matter up. As a member of the Council of the National Association in London, he arranged that their exhibition should be held in Oxford within the next few months. I saw him in June 1909; the exhibition was opened in the University Examination Schools in November. He organized lectures, medical conferences, and two big general meetings in connection with it. Many thousands of people came to it and the Association was formed. As an immediate result, early in 1910, the first dispensary was opened in Oxford, a medical officer ^[Dr. William Stobie] specially trained in the School of Sir Robert Philip, and two nurses trained in tuberculosis were attached to it.

Within the next two years seven other dispensaries were opened in the county. Sir William went himself all over the county to raise interest and get financial help. We went in this way to Lady Wantage, Sir Charles Rose, ^{Mr. J. J. Mason} Mr. Fleming, Mr. Brassey and many others. During its early years patients came from Berkshire and Buckinghamshire to the Oxfordshire Dispensaries. The Reports I am sending you show how rapidly the work grew, and Sir William scarcely ever missed the fortnightly committee meetings.

He probably faced no little opposition in some quarters. On January 15th 1911 he was in Witney with the proposal that one of the central dispensaries should be established there. He faced the usual criticism that Witney could care for its own consumption but did not wish to endanger its people by importing others.

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We made many efforts to get a small Sanatorium-hospital for ourselves, and Mr. Phipps made a gift of £500 to Sir William for this purpose. Mr. Mason gave another £500. A property was bought on Shotover where the hospital was so badly needed and could have been built, but rival interests have always prevented it, and we are still without any hospital for consumption in the county.

Up to the last months of his life Sir William Osler has been steadily at our back in the work of the association: giving advice, help, encouragement, and generously of his time. His unflinching support has helped us in what was often uphill work.

As long as the Dispensaries were in the hands of the association (in 1916 they were taken over by the County Council) he came regularly to the Oxford Dispensary - generally one morning in the week at 10 - and saw patients there in consultation with the Tuberculosis Officer - taking the clinic himself if the latter was away for any reason.

If a particularly difficult or sad case occurred in the county he would go himself and see it. Early in 1916 before the Government scheme for the care of consumptives was as complete as it became later, a discharged soldier was dying in a lodging in a very poor house in Banbury. I told Sir William of this and he at once went off to see him - the man had been turned out of one lodging after another - finally a woman had given him an attic in her house and was doing what she could for him - but the conditions were impossible. Within a few days the man was removed to a War Office Hospital in London.

This is a bare outline of all he did for us. An expression of the Committee's appreciation is in the beginning of the Report for last year.

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I am sending you one letter - written in the early days - to show you the amount of thought and interest he gave to the work, and the first report he drafted himself to increase the membership of the association.

On July 28th he writes his old and invalided friend, H. P. Bowditch

of Boston:

Dear Bowditch: So kind of you to remember my birthday. I have had a very busy summer, a great many things on hand, and scores of people coming and going. I hope to see you before long; we [Mrs. Osler, the niece, and the 'granddaughter once removed'] are sailing for Canada tomorrow and shall be in Boston towards the latter part of August. As soon as I reach Boston I will telephone to find out if you are at home. I saw Lauder Brunton the other day; he asked after you. He seemed quite himself again. With love to the family, &c.

Except for the allusion to Lauder Brunton one would hardly gather from this

that he had been engaged in London ^{(almost every day since the 23rd and more particularly} on the 27th and 28th. A month before, the

following notice, which has an echo of Saratoga, New York, June 1902, had ap-

peared in the journals regarding the Medical Library Association (over the

names of the joint Secretaries, I. Walker Hall of Bristol and Dr. C. E. A.

Clayton of Manchester.)

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Sir, - By the kind permission of the British Medical Association the second annual meeting of the Medical Library Association, under the presidency of Professor Osler, will be held at London University during the last week of July. Two short sessions will be held on the mornings of July 27th and 28th, at which papers will be read dealing with matters likely to be of practical interest and assistance to medical librarians, members of library committees, and readers.

It is also intended to hold a bibliographical exhibition in connection with the meeting, as this proved such a successful feature of the meeting held in Belfast last year, and we shall be glad to receive offers of loans to illustrate the following sections of the exhibition:

1. Incunabula.
2. Books by London medical men up to 1600.
3. Photographs of and papers relating to medical libraries.
4. Special collections, etc.

The meetings were held in the old School of Science, South Kensington, in connection with the ^{Bma.} ~~London~~ meeting of the B. M. A. (~~July 22nd-30th~~), and at the first of them Osler spoke in familiar phrases, 'on the different types of medical libraries to be found in the British Isles, ^{on} the value of coöperation between them, and the way in which ^{which this might be promoted. In the subsequent} it might be assisted by the B. M. A.;' and in ^{the meetings} this later programme) the librarians of the Royal College of Surgeons,

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of the Royal Society of Medicine, Mr. Barlow of the Royal College of Physicians and others, ~~all~~ contributed. It is to be hoped they had an audience worthy of their subjects but this is doubtful. ^(#) In 1902 at Saratoga he Professed ^{of} Medicine at ~~Osler had not so~~
~~many young men~~ ^{the John Hodgkins had} at his beck and call, ^{more young men} to make up an audience as he had in 1902, ^{which when to face infir benches, which had the ^{Oxford} ~~the~~ ^{require} in 1910.}

Osler has noted in his account-book for the year: July 29 "Sailed for Quebec 'Empress of Ireland' with Grace, E.R.O., Otilie Wright and Nona Gwyn." August 4th "Arrived Quebec 5 days 21 hours." Sept. 6 "Sailed 'Kaiser Wilhelm II'". Sept. 12 "Arrived Plymouth 6 a.m." Sept. 13 "Oxford 2.30." His peregrinations in the intervening six weeks may be gathered from a few of his many brief notes: it was little more than a series of calls ^{upon his old friends} but the impression he made on someone who met him for the first time at Murray Bay is this: "he was like a happy boy out of school, full of life energy and good fellowship; and fairly radiated with the joy of living."

(12) The Association (with the older States) did not gain the support of the German Librarians as it seemed to them unnecessary. For a time it stimulated library work in the provinces and an attempt was made in 1910 to catalogue of the Medical and Scientific Periodicals in British Islands. Considerable progress was made and though the project was temporarily dropped it is satisfactory to note that a catalogue has at length been completed (1923) by Professor ^{of} Leipzig and his associates. The interest in the association flagged gradually and ^{finally} ~~it~~ ^{disappeared} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~entire~~ ^{entire} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~war.~~

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And also to his old boyhood friend Edward Milburn:

Dear Ned Could you come to Toronto Wednesday the 17th? My time is so short that I cannot stop over in Belleville on my way from Montreal. You must let me send you the railway ticket. Let me know by which train you arrive & I will meet you. My brother E. B. will give you a bed & we can have a nice evening together I am awfully sorry ^{not} to be able to see Mrs. Milburn & the girls.

On August 16th from Craigeigh, his brother's home in Toronto* to Mrs. Brewster:

*Reference has been made in previous chapters to the characteristic reticence of the Oslers regarding one another, and family matters in general. It is ^{unusual} natural, therefore, to find, ~~that~~ in a letter written a month later by W. O. to a Toronto physician whom Sir Edward seems to have befriended, ~~there occurs~~ ^{fraternal tribute:} this ~~unusual~~ statement: "Thank you so much for sending the picture of E. B. O. with the children: he never lets his family know what he does; he has got the best heart and the freest hand of any man I ever met."

~~Mrs. Brewster:~~

Dear Mabel Welcome in your new home - may you have much happiness in it. Could I come on Friday (pm) Sept 2nd or on Saturday & spend Sunday? We sail the following Tuesday. Mrs. Osler will be in Baltimore that Sunday & Revere off fishing with his Uncles. I wish you could see him; perhaps they could motor out on Monday afternoon. I have had a very happy visit seeing old friends in Murray Bay & Montreal. Now I am trying to see the new generation ^{of} babies everywhere and such darlings. Give my love

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to Sylvia. It will be delightful to see you all again. Mrs. Revere, Canton, will always find me. I shall be at the 'Glades' for a few days next week & I must go to Bar Harbour to see Weir Mitchell.

To H. B. Jacobs again on the 19th from Staplehurst, Dundas, the home of the

Gwyns:

I go to Baltimore on Saturday eve. T. B. F., Mac and Thayer are all at home. I hope the Fatcher twins will arrive when I am there. I shall come to Newport the week after next - Wednesday or Thursday - So sorry I could not join the dinner.

Baltimore was no less torrid than usual in mid-August and Washington

likewise, but he nevertheless made a special trip there to ~~see~~ the Surgeon

General's library to see Dr. Felcher the Librarian, now eighty-seven years

of age. ^{Then to} ~~"It was nice to see him so bright and well," he says later on in~~

~~a letter to F. H. Garrison. On August 25th from~~ "The Glades" on Massachu-

setts Bay ^{Wm} he writes ^{a longish} "I have had a lovely time - seeing the families - three

days in Baltimore - how the town is booming. Hot as Hades here - S.W. blow-

ing, flies & mosquitoes galore." ^{The right funds him at} ~~From there to Waquoit for a day to see (?)~~ ;

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ing, flies & mosquitoes galore." ^{The right find him at} ~~From there to Waquoit for a day to see~~ (?) ;

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to Little Bear's Head, New Hampshire, ^{Spending the day with his grandam plogmate of home -} on the 29th to visit Susan B., and

^{Susan Baller, they,}
when he found 'Rosalie' was no longer to be produced he threatened to leave.
^{his procedure}

Then Canton for a day with Mrs. Revere; Newport to see ^{Dr. and Mrs.} the Jacobs; Mt.

Kisco for a day ^{visit} or two with the Brewsters in their new home; and on the 6th

from New York they sailed, as he writes, 'in a swelter!' From the steamer

went letters like the following to H. M. Thomas; to those he had failed to

see,

Dampfer "Kaiser Wilhelm II"
Sept. 8th.

Dear Harry T It was too bad to miss you in Baltimore. We have had a very hurried trip but it was delightful to see old friends again. I had intended to write to say how pleased we were with Hal's visit. What a fine ^{lad} fellow he is! You must be glad to see him developing into a big manly fellow. The trip [of the Haverford School cricket team to England] was an education in itself and the team did very well. I was sorry not to see Trudeau and Weir Mitchell. I had to be a bit careful as I feel a few loose rocks in my right kidney, and at the end of a racketing day they rattle. I have had no sharp attack since Jan. and I hope the Contrexeville waters may wash them out.

How is our friend Petit? Let me have a reprint if you write him up. How is that diagnosis? A small manual like that of ---- the young London man, Ferrier's assistant - would help you and you could write it in a single innings with Z.T. bowling! Love to her, the boys & Margaret. Yours,

W.O.

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He pestered his former assistant a good deal on the subject of his writing a student's Manual of Diagnosis (Neurology) but with less success than he had had with de Schweinitz and many another. It was perhaps difficult for him to appreciate how momentous appeared the writing of a book to others, so inured was he himself to the labour of literary work - so forgetful of its burdens. The following letter has reference to one literary task now completed and toward which H. M. Thomas had done his full share.

Jx
To J. Herbert Darey ^{3 Iowa City} from W. O.

Dampfer "Kaiser Wilhelm II"
[no date] ~~Sept 6~~

Dear Darey So glad to hear from you. Campbell H told me he had seen you I am so glad he is going out as he is an A.I. man very thoroughly trained. ~~He was with me for 4 years & had charge for 2 years of our private wards. Müller of Munich with whom he studied said he regarded him as the best young man of his age in America.~~ He is sure to do well. So glad you are starting a Library. I cannot send my System - I am sorry to say. I have sent 10 sets to Libraries & at least 10 sets to private friends, all of which I have paid for - full price, so I feel I have done enough. I will send you some books from Oxford which may be useful. I am glad to hear you are doing well. Yours ever, W^m OSLER.

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What for them was a comparatively quiet month, followed upon their return. A few incidents only need be noted. Among their early visitors were Dr. and Mrs. J. W. White who had just returned from St. Moritz with the Abbess; and White particularly wished to consult with Osler regarding the resignation of his university position which was being pressed upon him and which he was loth to relinquish. On his departure, Osler wrote: "What I feel about you is just what I felt about Tyson, that it would be a thousand pities there should be any rumpus after such a long and devoted service. You are popular with the class, yet for the Professor of Surgery not to operate, and not, so to speak, be in the arena with the younger men is an anomaly - and that no doubt is what some of them feel." Dr. White evidently acted upon this advice and handed in his resignation. ~~Osler wrote him again the next day on another matter which tells its own story.~~

Oxford,
Sept. 16th.

Dear J. William There was one matter that I had intended to speak to you about but forgot. On the steamer ^{steamed past} ~~coming over~~ ^{to my surprise from} with us was Mrs. Montgomery Sears of Boston, an old friend of Henry James, and to my surprise she told me that it was rumoured that he was financially embarrassed. Do you happen to know anything about it? The nephew Henry James (junior)

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whom I saw four or five times did not refer to it; and when I saw them in London they were in very comfortable rooms at Garland's Hotel, and he had his valet with him. I feel a little sore about it, as when they sent for me to see him in London I charged the ordinary English mileage fee, supposing as I had always thought that his circumstances were quite prosperous!

On September 17th he writes an encouraging note to the son of his old master, who is just starting in at the University of Iowa:

Dear Campbell: We got back safely after a very good trip. . . . You will have a hard time I know to get settled. I have written today to Billings, Herrick, Edwards, Favill and Hektoen of Chicago so that you can write or call upon any one of them, they will know about you. Grace has written to the Perkins of Burlington who are delightful people. Your experience with the tuberculosis work in Montreal will be most helpful, you could spend a little time stumping the country in the cause. I will have the lantern slides copied and will send the books; they will have to go by freight, I am afraid the parcel will be too big for the Smithsonian.

~~It was at about this time that the following exchange of letters took~~ *on another*
place: matter lets their own story

Henry Phipps to W. O.

September 9th, 1910.

My dear Professor Osler: Sorry to have missed you in Oxford and America. I have been trying to get a number of copies of the Life of Pasteur, by Vallery Radot, in two volumes, but though the bookseller has ad-

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advertised extensively he has not been able to get a copy. Now it occurs to me that it might be a good idea to print two hundred and fifty copies for distribution, some through you and some through the Johns Hopkins University, and other institutions. The price quoted is 14/- per copy inquires, and I would have the work done through a bookseller with whom I deal in London. If you could spare the time, and were inclined, I would be glad if you would write an introduction to the reprint, ~~and I would be pleased if you would accept two hundred and fifty dollars as an honorarium.~~ At your leisure please give me your views on the subject. Yours sincerely . . .

From W. O. to Henry Phipps.

Sept. 21, 1910.

Dear Mr. Phipps: We must have passed each other on the Atlantic. When your letter came I was on the point of writing to Mrs. Guest to find out if you were still in England. Your idea of reprinting the Life of Pasteur commends itself to me very warmly, and I should be only too glad to write an introduction. The consent of Longmans & Co., who own the copyright of the translation, and published the book, would have to be obtained; I have written to them and will let you know their answer. I spent a morning at the tuberculosis dispensary at the Johns Hopkins, and was delighted to see the work progressing so rapidly; it has really become a very important centre. I was glad to find several post-graduates there from other towns. We are making a renewed effort to stir up public opinion here, and have started an influential Appeal Committee to enable us to put three more exhibitions on the road. My kindest regards to Mrs. Phipps. . . Sincerely yours,

W^m Osler.

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Osler was mistaken as to the publishers, for it was Constable & Co.

rather than Longmans who had this particular copyright, but the matter was

finally settled; a special edition ^{was} printed for Mr. Phipps and distributed

the next year in ways to be told. So his name became coupled with the first story
of Postan's life just as it became ^{coupled} first one part with other volumes under circumstances less well

~~There are many other books in Osler's library other than these purely
Koran. ~~These~~ Many books were dedicated to him, others inscribed by him: and in his library
medical - 'association' books many of them - and among them is a copy of~~

"Rewards and Fairies" inscribed to him with the quotation: "Excellent herbs

had our fathers of old," and in it is this note of October 3rd from Bate-

man's, Burwash, Sussex:

Dear Osler Herewith my book of Tales. I wouldn't bother you with
it except for Nick Culpepper and Laennec for whom I feel you are in a de-
gree responsible. Yours very sincerely,

Rudyard Kipling.

Evidently there had been a movement on foot ^{at the time for} to get him to succeed Dr. J.W.

^{as a member of} Pavy ~~is~~ the Central Committee of the International Medical Association. The

~~next meeting was to be in London in 1913, which would naturally have resulted~~

Plans were already being laid at this time for the International Medicine Association
meeting to be held in London three years later, and it would appear that Pavy was being
made to feel some backwardness as the Central Committee which would naturally
have resulted

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in his being made President, but he ~~emphatically~~^{ed} turns aside this crown, *and writes a*

follows in
~~in a letter of~~ October 4th to Professor Wenckebach; ~~in which he says:~~
to write or follow:

Pavy has recently resigned his place on the International Committee. The College of Physicians, having been asked to nominate someone in his place have appointed me, so that I shall go to the meeting in Berlin on the 13th. I have not yet had any word as to the hour and place of meeting. I shall of course be glad to do anything I can to help on the work, but on no consideration would I accept the Chairmanship, as you have suggested; someone should be appointed who knows French perfectly, and my languages are hopeless, so please do not think of me as I could not accept under any circumstances.

Much more to his taste was a meeting, such as those which came two days later -

On the 6th came the Caius quater-centenary celebration at Cambridge. — John

John Caius was
 Caius, As Norman Moore reminded those present, the first of three great

founders of homes of learning who were members of the medical profession, John

Radcliffe being another, and the third,
 the other two being John Radcliffe and Sir Hans Sloane, whose collections

formed the nucleus of the British Museum. But the princely benefactor of

the 'new college of Caius' was more than physician, having been a Professor

of Greek as well, and those who gathered to do his memory honour were dis-

tinguished in many walks outside of medicine.*

*In connection with this quater-centenary of Caius's birth, the Cambridge University Press published an edition of his works which

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appeared the following year, and which Osler reviewed in his "Men and Books" series (Canadian Medical Association Journal, Nov. 1912, ii, 1034-6).

Meanwhile, at 13 Norham Gardens the usual procession of people ^{were} ~~are~~ coming and going, and ~~no two people ever went more out of their way to offer~~ ~~hospitality than did the Regius and his wife.~~ A note scribbled October 10th at the Hotel Metropole, London, and left for his old assistant, Charles D. Parfitt who has been well enough to pay a visit to England, tells the usual story.

Dear Parfitt Desolated not to meet you. Could you not come and spend the night with us at Ewelme? I go back by the 5.05 train from Paddington. I will join you at the 1st class ticket office at 5 minutes to five. If you are not there I will take it for granted that you are detained by other engagements. Come tomorrow. Address Ewelme Oxon. Wallingford is the station. Telegraph and we will have you met. Yours,
W^{illiam} OSLER. Would call again but I am busy at Committee all day.

Parfitt happily was making a winning fight against his infection, but alas! another to whom Osler had been more outspokenly devoted than to any of his assistants before or after, ^{just now} ~~at this time~~ reached his end, and with ^{his eyes} ~~his eyes~~ 'all his mother in his eyes' Osler most have written the following letter to Thayer on October 14th.

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Dear Thayer We had word this week of dear old Jack Hewetson's death. Of course it was not a surprise as in his last letter to Mrs. Osler he complained of growing weakness. It brings back memories of those happy days when we learned to love him so dearly. What a tragedy that he should have had the blighted life! Would it not be nice if a few of us put up - or arranged - some memorial of him at the Hospital? Put me down for \$100. Talk to Barker and Smith about it. Anything that you suggest will I am sure be acceptable to all his friends.

We have had a quiet month since our return. Since Sept. 1st I have had no twinges on my right side so I hope the bit of gravel may have slipped away. I did not go to Contrexeville as I had intended. Ike is off at school again, very happy, but loathing Latin and Greek. . . . Yours ever,

W. O.*

*His tribute to Hewetson with an account of the early days at the Johns Hopkins Hospital, published in the Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin for December of this year, has been quoted in Chapter XIII. *(in fact)*

During his recent American Rundreise, ^{including} his old stamping-grounds and the summer homes of his friends, he must have paid a visit to H. P. Bowditch while going through Boston, for he writes him October 15th that he is sending the promised book - Kussmanl's autobiography. "I do not know any other to put on the same shelf with it;" and he adds: "We have had a glorious

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autumn so far - term just beginning and the Rhodes scholars from different parts of the U. S. and Canada are turning up with letters of introduction."

An entry in his account-book now records: Oct. 16, Sunday "In bed with cold;" and this continues 22nd, Saturday: "Not well all week, cold hanging about, in bed today and Sunday." Nov. 3rd "Newcastle," Nov. 14th "Return of cold." Nov. 17th "Cambridge lecture," Nov. 25th "Cold room Examiners' meeting," 26th, Saturday "Return of cold," Nov. 27 - Dec. 3rd "In bed all week with mild bronchitis, very little fever, moderate cough, have never got quite over cold of six weeks ago."

*These brief annotations like enough
This autobiography of*

They perhaps need
~~W. O. needs~~ a little amplification. There is no trace in his letters of his being under the weather; *rather he is thanking God.*

To the Hon. Whitelaw Reid.

Oct. 19, 1910

Dear Ambassador: When in Newport a few weeks ago I had a talk with Ogden Mills about the hospital which I understand he and Mrs. Mills contemplate building in San Francisco. I sent him a brief memorandum the other day about a hospital constructed on modern lines in connection with a university. I did not gather from him whether the idea was to found a

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new hospital or to build special wards in connection with one of the present institutions. I gather from my medical friends on the coast that what are needed more than anything else are three or four hospital 'units' on modern German lines. Should Mrs. Reid agree with it I should be very glad indeed to talk the matter over with her, at any time. Sincerely yours, W^m OSLER. I was delighted to find Mrs. Livingston so well.

To C. P. Howard in Iowa City.

Oct. 20, 1910.

Dear Campbell: It is very nice to have your letter and to hear such good accounts of the work. I knew you would be busy as a bee from the start; you will have difficulty in finding time for your work. I am getting the slides ready; they will go next week by the American Express. Some of them I am afraid have faded a bit. The set showing the rashes in infectious diseases will be most useful; I have forgotten who sent them from Cleveland to me, but they make a stunning set for demonstration of the rashes. The abdominal tumours will do for outside lectures. I am sending first the box with the thirty-eight or thirty-nine slides of infectious diseases this week, as you may need them at once. They really give a splendid picture of the rashes; I wish I could remember the kind fellow who sent them to me. The students I know will appreciate them. So glad you have seen the Perkinses. I have had letters from the Chicago men about you, from whom I am sure you will get a good welcome. Ike was back yesterday for his leave-out day, looking very well. . . .

And a few days later he writes

~~The usual invitations for him to attend meetings meanwhile pour in.~~

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to Dr. J. A. Nixon of Bristol ^{a medico-} who plans to start ^{for} a historical club were being laid
 Stimulated by his example they are starting at this time an Historical Club

in Bristol, and on the 24th he writes to Dr. J. A. Nixon there: "I would
 rather meet ten or twelve modest fellows like you at home than a hundred or-
 dinary citizens. Of course I will come. Early in December would suit me

best. Why not call yourselves the Linacre Club?" ^{So he loaned himself unhesitatingly:}

^{and the chance} The "Newcastle" entry in ^{just} his account-book refers to ^{the notes taken from} the annual meeting of ^{a similar occasion - a meeting of}

the Northumberland and Durham Medical Society ^{an occasion during which he}
^{before whom he gave an} performed had to meet publically the 'hundred (and more) ordinary citizens.'

His address dealt with ("The Hospital Unit in University Work."*) He had doubt-

*The Lancet, London, 1911, i, 211-13.

less chosen this subject for the reason that the Royal Commission on University

Education had, ^{investigation} at this time under Lord Haldane's ^{just} influence begun to hold its

first sessions, ^{under Lord Haldane's leadership. Or else} He had been notified that he would in due course (July 21, 1911)

be called upon for evidence before this Commission, and as a précis would be

expected he probably was already assembling his views on the matter. Though

the Commission was to consider the subject from a national standpoint, Lord

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Haldane's programme was largely concerned with ^{an effort to put} ~~getting~~ the University of London on more practical and effective basis and, in this, the improvement and standardization of medical education was no small part. Naturally, therefore, what had transpired at the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School during their first two decades was to be thoroughly ventilated. The subject of medical education at this time was at the boiling point in the United States, ~~and it has been kept near that point ever since.~~ Abraham Flexner's report ~~to the Carnegie Foundation*~~, upon the conditions he had found in Ameri-

*"Medical Education in the United States and Canada." Bulletin No. 4 of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

ca in the course of a comprehensive survey, had just been issued and been received with a howl of protest from the many schools of low grade, whose organization, equipment, and standards he had severely castigated - effectively so, be it said, for the report was influential in the rapid elimination of the poorer schools and in leveling up the character of the work done in the others.

In this report the Johns Hopkins had been held up as a model, but even models may be found to have defects and these, ere long, were pointed out in a priv-

vately printed letter to the Johns Hopkins authorities; but it was not until the next year that the air, already electrified by the question of full-time positions for clinical teachers, became surcharged. It was a matter on which Osler, as will be seen, had very definite opinions.*

*It was on March 3rd, 1910, that John D. Rockefeller announced his intention to endow a body of trustees with the balance of his fortune, 'for the promotion and dissemination of knowledge; the prevention and relief of suffering;' ~~and for the~~ *and for the in time has* ~~other worthy objects which in time have~~ become restricted largely to preventive medicine, sanitation, and medical education on a world-wide scale - a far-reaching effect of Osler's Practice of Medicine, 2nd edition. Mr. Flexner, meanwhile, as the expert of the Carnegie Foundation, had made and published a survey of the conditions of medical education in Europe, and in 1912 became an Assistant Secretary of the General Education Board of the new Rockefeller Foundation which financed the full-time academic programmes at the Johns Hopkins ~~and the~~ *and the* ~~University~~ *clinic*.

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In his Newcastle address Osler endeavoured to answer the questions,

"What is university work? What is a hospital unit? What connection have they with each other? And what interest have they for us and for the community at large?"

All are agreed [he said] that a university has a dual function - to learn and to advance learning. I use the word 'learn' in the old sense - met with in the Bible and still used colloquially - as it expresses the mental attitude of the student towards his alma mater, 'totius litteratorii studii altrix prima.' In mind, manners and morals the young man seeks life's equipment when he says to his alma mater in the words of the Psalmist, "O learn me true understanding and knowledge." To learn the use of his mind, to learn good manners, and to learn to drive Plato's horses, form the marrow of an education within the reach of every citizen, but to which universities minister in a very special way; and it should be comprehensive, fitting a man in Milton's words 'to perform all the offices, private and public, of peace or war.' The other great function of a university is to advance learning, to increase man's knowledge of man and of nature. Looking over the lecture list of any modern university one is impressed with the bewildering complexity of subjects taught, from Homer to Victor Hugo, from Tamil to internal secretions; but they may be roughly grouped into those dealing with man and those dealing with the cosmos about him. At any time these 800 years this division has been recognized, and though we have travelled a long way from the seven liberal arts which once

comprised the whole range of study, it is not so much the nature of the subjects or their division that characterizes modern education as a new spirit, a new attitude of mind towards them. No real progress was made until we returned to the Greek method - the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Out of the laboratories, as the result of work done by men absorbed in study and usually without the slightest bearing upon practical problems, came the three great revolutions of the nineteenth century - the annihilation of time, the substitution of the machine for the hand, and the conquest of disease. Physics, chemistry, and biology have given us control of the forces of nature. Faraday has harnessed Niagara, the power of which is now transmitted hundreds of miles away; the Curies have found the magic vril of Bulwer Lytton's "Coming Race," and Pasteur has revealed one of the greatest secrets of life. It is characteristic of modern conditions that, hovering on the borders of the charmed circle of pure science, are those keen to turn every discovery to practical use. What good is knowledge unless it can be utilized in the service of man, asks a utilitarian age? The university of today, while ministering to the advancement of learning, is ready to teach how to make the learning profitable, so that everything in practical science, from household economy to aviation, finds its place. Schools specially adapted to special needs stand out as dominant features in the new programme, and Oxford and Cambridge, as well as Newcastle, Leeds and Bristol, have felt the strong impulsion to develop the science which deals with human well-being. Of the old faculties which made up the studium generale, medicine has been the one most profoundly affected by growth of modern science. What a revelation in our generation! Ana-

tomy, physiology and pathology with their subdivisions of histology, embryology, physiological chemistry, and pharmacology, are now in laboratories controlled by specialists, whose ideals and work differ in no respect from those of their colleagues in the departments of physics, chemistry and biology; and in many places large separate institutes are devoted to these subjects. The urgent need today is to extend this type of university work into our medical schools so that all branches of the curriculum are included - medicine as well as pathology, surgery as well as anatomy, midwifery and gynaecology as well as chemistry. But here comes a difficulty - the practical schools which deal with these important subjects and their subdivisions are not under the control of the university, or at best have a very feeble affiliation. . . .

From the account the next day in the Newcastle Chronicle the address, of which these are the opening paragraphs, must have been largely given without following his manuscript. He put his finger clearly, in the last sentence quoted, on the weak spot in the British system of medical education - indeed, of medical education as yet in most countries, when he spoke of the loose ^{affiliation} ~~application~~ of the clinic with the university. They were either independent corporations, as he believed was the case in Newcastle, or the hospital had evolved the medical school as in London, or there was a mutual

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arrangement between university and hospital such as existed in Edinburgh.

Good work was done under these systems but there were bad features about each of them, particularly as they affected the small hospitals where too many physicians and surgeons for the number of beds bred discontent in the outside men who claimed hospital privileges. The 'hospital unit' he was to describe met the needs of the situation he believed. "As for the medical students," he is quoted as saying, "he would make them serve two and a half years in the hospital and two and a half years in the medical school. He would make them understand that a hospital was an organization that went on perennially. The beds had no holidays: neither should the medical students [laughter and cries of "Shame"]. Well, he would give them a few days at Christmas and a few days at Easter, and he was sure they would not want more than a couple of weeks in the summer. Continuous work was really a necessity to keep a student in good mental condition. A three-months' holiday was a very bad thing for him, etc., etc."

But to return to the written address. It contained much wisdom in regard to the duties of the professor who is to be head of the ideal unit; in regard

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to his workshop, the clinic and laboratories; in regard to his staff, to teaching and to research work.

Upon one thing [he said] I would insist - that every assistant connected with the clinic taught. A few exceptional men, like the distinguished physicist, the late Professor Rowland, are really too good to teach; but for the majority, daily contact with students, and a little of the routine of teaching, keep us in touch with the common clay and are the best preservatives against that staleness so apt to come as a blight upon the pure researcher.

In the evening there followed of course a large banquet in the King's Hall of the Armstrong College, and Osler after indulging in some banter with his friend Principal [now Sir Henry] Hadow late of Worcester College, Oxford, who had become head of Armstrong College the year before, went on to say some wise and serious things about the general practitioner, the man who does the most important work of the profession and comes in contact with the people; and told how his status could be benefited by opening free courses for him at the Royal Victoria Infirmary in Newcastle - which would benefit staff and patients as well.

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Meanwhile they were having trouble at the Johns Hopkins over the very problems which ^{apparently had} ~~appear to have~~ been so well solved in Osler's day, and he was being appealed to by ^{pushes-on} both sides of the controversy for his views. But medical education was not the only thing on which his opinion was sought, as is evident in the following note from the Curator of the Hunterian Museum.

From Prof. Arthur Keith to W. O. Royal College of Surgeons of England,
15th Nov., 1910.

Dear Osler, Please help me: I am puzzling over the relationship of the "Evelyn" to the "Harvey" Anat. Plates. Evelyn never heard of, nor saw, such preparations until he went to Padua in 1646 and seems firmly of opinion that his were the first made in Padua. Did Vestling's assistant (Leoncena) hum-bug him? There were no such plates at the College of Physicians in 1650 and Cowper (1687) seems to think Evelyn's were the only plates in England. Did you see such tables in any of the Museums of Italy? Was there a real trade in those things or are the Harvey-Evelyn Plates the only examples known? Forgive me my inopportunities and Believe me Yours sincerely,

A. Keith.

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In those days one could hardly speak of medical history and of book-
Payne turn before Osler would
 collecting without the name of James Frank Payne coming to his mind. ~~That~~
possibly have been the one immediately able to answer Arthur Keith's question; but that
 Payne was ill and had retired to New Barnet has already been told, ^{and} ~~and~~ Osler
 shortly before this had been down to see him and realized that the end,
 which came on November 16th was near at hand. He was in Cambridge giving
 a lecture at the time, and on his return on the 18th writes to Mrs. Payne
 as follows:

I found your letter on my return from Cambridge. The sad news was not unexpected, as Sharkey told me this week how ill he was. I am so thankful now that I went a few weeks ago, and shall always carry the most happy recollections of that visit. Do you know that he was one of my oldest friends? I met him in 1873, and in 1874 we attended together several meetings of the Medical Microscopical Society. He was always so kind in writing about my papers. He had a happy and useful life in the profession, and for years, since Dr. Greenhill's death, he has been recognized as the English Scholar in Medicine. We shall miss him sadly at the Club and at the College. But our loss is nothing compared with the sad gap it will make in the lives of his loved ones at home. My deepest sympathies are with you. To my deep regret I shall not be able to pay my last respects tomorrow. I have been fighting a heavy cold for nearly a week and yesterday I had to go to Cambridge to lecture. Today I am much worse, and Mrs. Osler forbids me to think of going out of the house, and I feel she is right. *

* Osler describes his last visit to Payne in an obituary notice (British Medical Journal Nov. 26) which

^{s obituary notice sketch of Payne}
 * Osler wrote the following obituary notice which was published in the British Medical Journal for November 26th, ^(copy with this paragraph)

PROFESSOR OSLER WRITES: "The dominant feeling in the minds of many of us is not so much regret at the death of our dear friend Dr. Payne - for had he not reached the Psalmist's limit? - but a deep sense of the tragedy of the extinction in the grace of so much sound learning. For Payne belonged to that small group of men in the profession of this country who not only possess an interest in the history of medicine, but the scholarship necessary for fruitful work at the records. In our generation he was the worthy successor of Adams, Greenhill, and Ogle - the last named happily still with us. Practical men who, like myself, dabble in these subjects as a pastime, owe an immense debt to these experts who maintain in the profession the fine traditions of the scholarship of Linacre, Caius and Freund."

"Dr. Payne's ambition was to see the story of the evolution of British medicine worthily presented. In his first Fitzpatrick Lectures, 1903, he dealt, as no one else could have done, with the Anglo-Saxon period, and in the second series, 1904, with the Anglo-Norman period. It is to be hoped that he has left the MS. of the last series in a state fit for publication, as a companion volume to the first, as he had spent an extraordinary amount of labour in working out the history of Ricardus Anglicus and Gilbertus Anglicus. Dr. Cholmeley has in hand John of Gaddesden and his times. D'Arcy Power has recently given us the results of his valuable studies on John Arderne. Dr. Norman Moore has dealt with several aspects of medical education in the Middle Ages, and in numerous monographs and lectures, many by Dr. Payne himself, we have had presented the story of British medicine in Tudor and Stuart periods. Dr. Payne had made a special study of Sydenham, and his volume in the Masters of Medicine series is a model of careful biographical study. One of the great pleasures of his last illness was the Grangerizing of a copy of this work, extended into two large quarto volumes; and a pleasant memory of my last visit, after the Caius dinner at Cambridge, was the delight with which he showed me these beautiful volumes. A keen collector, his splendid private library bears testimony to a judgment ripened by long experience, while his generous gifts to the college showed that his mind kept pace with his riches.

"My first acquaintance with Dr. Payne takes me back to 1873, when he was interested in the Medical Microscopical Society, to a meeting of which, after a pleasant dinner, he took me one evening, and where I read (with many vasomotor accompaniments) my first scientific paper on the action of atropine on the white blood corpuscles. From that time, by correspondence at first, and then during my frequent visits to London, I came to know him intimately as a friend, and to appreciate his great work as a man and as a ripe and accurate scholar."

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He was entitled to be a little depressed - as much as he ever was -
housed with a persistent cold, grieved by Payne's death, disturbed over
the rumours of disquiet in Baltimore. At the end of a letter dictated
to one of his old assistants on the 19th he adds in script this after-word
- often the most interesting portion of his meagre letters;

All well here - very busy - academically. I'm happy - except
classically. Often wish I were back, but - Did you ever by the way
read Voltaire's famous But letter. I have just been reading his life.
I suppose had I remained it would have been out at the cemetery, and this
is better! Still I had a splendid innings - nothing to regret and no
blur on the picture as I look back.

Little has been said during the account of this and the preceding year
of the routine university business and the machinery whereby it is conducted,
all of which interested Osler greatly. An opportunity to call this to mind
is given in the following note written in Osler's copy of Macray's Annals of
the Bodleian Library, describing the annual perustration which always fell
on November 8th:

Before the visitation today, and after the Latin speech in honour of
Sir Thomas Bodley, the Curators and the V. C. met the President and Fellows

the officers of the library
④ This volume, free of imitations made by Osler's Secretary
was presented to the Bodleian

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of Magdalen College in the Picture Gallery where a portrait of Dr. Macray was presented to the Bodleian. Dr. Macray was present, a fine, hale-looking old man of 86 years. Warren, the President of Magdalen (Macray's College) made the presentation and referred to the long services of Dr. Macray who entered the Library in 1840 and retired in 1905. Dr. M. responded and ~~referred to the~~ ^{spoke of his} life-long affection for the place and the happiness he had had in doing so much for its archives. W. OSLER.

"There is really a great deal to do here," Osler writes apologetically

to 'one of his friends who ^{apparently he pictured him as} ~~thinks he is~~ leading a life of academic ease. ^{Some of the} ~~And~~
^{When he was finding books are hinted at in the}
the following two letters ~~describe some of the things that are going on--~~

the first of them ^{written} on November 18th to Weir Mitchell:

I am sorry you did not see my boy this summer. I wish he could have had a few lessons in fishing from you. He got some good trout with Frank Ross, about 80 miles back of Quebec. He is taller than I am and very well and strong. He likes Winchester, but he has no aptitude for study & loathes classics. He is interested in Butterflies & may take to science in some form, not medicine. We are very happy still & very busy, - so many people coming & going. Last Sunday there were 32 visitors not counting three week-enders. A parson from Baltimore, two young men from Toronto, Mrs. Admiral Belnap with the wife of a Capt. Kranter (?) U. S. N. two Cotton Spinners from the North, the Hon Gorrell Barnes, Sec. of the Divorce Commission, a Doctor from Indianapolis with an English-Literature Professor from one of the Western Colleges - and a group of

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undergraduates, chiefly Rhodes scholars. Sunday eve. I always dine in Hall, at Christ Church & have a couple of guests. We have a very pleasant company, 33 last Sunday. Monday I went to Midhurst in Surrey to pay an official visit to the Sanatorium. Tuesday I have my clinic at the Infirmary from 2-4 - chiefly for the Doctors in the neighbourhood. Wednesday, meeting of the governing body of Christ Church, & in the afternoon the Endowment Fund Trustees at the House of Lords. Thursday, at Cambridge, when I lectured on French Medical Education at the Medical School. Today, I got back in time for the Standing Committee of the Bodleian at 12, a weekly meeting at which we discuss all matters relating to the Library; and at 2 pm the weekly meeting of the Managers of the Clarendon Press. This eve, the Junior Scientific Society. Tomorrow a very busy morning, and two week-enders, Dr. Leonard Guthrie (whose book by the way J. K. should know, Nervous Disorders of Childhood) and McMonagle (& Mrs M) from San Francisco, old friends. There is really a great deal here to interest one. I see a fair number of patients - chiefly stranded Americans & colonials.

You will be sorry to hear of Paynes death - much sound learning goes to the grave with him. He had a fine library which will probably be sold by auction. I will let you know if there is anything very special which you or the College might like. I had a nice talk with de Schweinitz about the College this summer. I have agreed to come out for the S W Mitchell lecture in 1912. What a comfort it must be to you to feel that your work has been so successful there - and so appreciated. I have just had a letter from Keen saying that he fears a growth in the colon & has gone to Rochester for operation. I do hope all may go well.

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And the other letter he writes on November 23rd to The Nation*, giving

[*Published in the issue of Dec. 8, 1910, 5. 544.

a description of an Oxford Congregation of the preceding day in which was

debated the burning question of 'compulsory Greek.' As it records his

own feelings in the matter it ~~may be given in full:~~ ^{deserve reprinting in Case file:} _____>

*Don't copy next
from file; use a stand
case to write to go*

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cal element of an American university with the principle that gives a share in the government to the graduates. It is like the two mother forms of states of which Plato speaks, the one monarchy, the other democracy. 'Now if you are to have liberty and the combination of friendship with wisdom, you must have both these forms of government in a measure'; and this holds good for a university as well as for a city.

Perhaps nowhere was Osler likely to miss Payne more than at the monthly dinner of the College Club to which, as told, he had been elected in December of 1904.

My real intimacy with Osler began [writes Sir George Savage] when he was appointed Regius Professor of Physic at Oxford. From that time we constantly met at the Athenaeum and at various medical meetings. I also visited him at Oxford. We both belonged to a very restricted inner dining circle of the Royal College of Physicians, called the College Club, which dined once a month for seven or eight months of the year. Osler was frequently there, but his official duties at Oxford not infrequently kept him away. When present he used to spend the night with me. At those dinners he generally sat near one or other of the Fellows most interested in the history of medicine, such as Norman Moore, or Frank Payne. He was overflowing with antiquarian interest, and nothing on these lines was alien to him.

In Osler's library among the books on clubs and societies is a copy of Payne's privately printed "History of the College Club of the Royal College

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of Physicians of London." In the volume Osler has inserted a number of interesting clippings on the ^{general} subject of 'blackballing,' ^{for a} ~~as~~ ^{true} is the case of many old clubs - and the College Club goes back to the days of Anthony Askew, William Cadogan and Richard Warren - it had become increasingly difficult to elect new members. Except in the case of the Oslers of the world, ^{Someone is likely} ~~some Polonius is certain~~ to harbour a grudge, ^{and it} ~~it~~ has been cynically said of most old clubs that if the members should all resign and come up for re-election no one would ^{fail to receive a black ball.} ~~be re-elected~~. There are twenty-two members of the College Club, and at the October meeting each year three Fellows are nominated for each ^{existing} vacancy, to be acted upon the following month. In the end of Payne's volume Osler has made a number of entries, thus:

Oct. 31, 1910. We have not been able to elect anyone for the past two years. At the preliminary selection of names, A--, F--, H--, R-- and - I for get who - headed the list, but at the ballot in November no one could be chosen. Someone has 'pilled' each one and as it requires a full vote, two black balls excluding, it is hard to get unanimity. I was very mad last year and felt like resigning when three such good men as A. F. & R. were black-balled. I doubt if we can elect next month. I suspect Polonius and Hibernicus do the pilling.

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Nov. 30th. I could not go to the Nov. dinner as I was laid up with a cold. Savage writes that R-- and D-- were elected.

Payne died this week - a great loss to the club.

November 25th ^{had been} was the day of 'the cold room at the Examiners' meeting which put him to bed for a week and it may possibly have been the occasion to which Sir Seymour Sharkey, another member of the College Dinner Club, refers in the last sentence of the following reminiscence.

It was not for want of invitations [he writes] that I did not often spend a week-end with Osler at Oxford. But on one occasion when I did so he asked, as I believe he often did, eight or ten undergraduates to dinner and I was greatly impressed by his genial hospitality both to me and to them, as well as by the intellectual entertainment he gave us over coffee and cigars. A servant appeared with an armful of books which were placed on the table beside him, and at intervals he took them up, one by one, and handed them round for inspection. They were all celebrated works, for the most part old medical classics, many beautifully illustrated, and he introduced each in its turn to us, with a short account of the life of the author and his work, hoping no doubt to implant in the minds of the young guests an early interest in the history of medicine.

On one occasion when he was suddenly struck down by influenza on the eve of the medical examination at Oxford I had a telephone message from him asking me to come down the next day and preside at the examination in his place. Unfortunately work already arranged for me in London prevented my doing so.

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But even when laid up with bronchitis pleasant things may happen to pass the time, and Bodley's ^{Sub-} ^[at the time] librarian sees fit to inoculate him with a desire for some ancient manuscripts which finally found their way into his library and served to introduce him to a Dr. Sa'eed of Teheran, Persia. Bibliomania has well-recognized stages - from books, to incunabula, to manuscripts.

Bodleian Library,
Dec. 1, 1910.

Dear Dr. Osler, The MS is a very good specimen of Arabic writing - especially vol. I, but the pictures make it specially valuable. The Arabs did not run to such things much. The portrait of Dioscorides himself has been partly erased by a pious owner (as being idolatrous) and then restored, with the halo turned into a turban - so typical of modern progress! The volumes belong to a Persian. They have been brought to England by a man (New College) who was Brit. Consul in Shîrâz. He has offered them, on behalf of the Persian, to the British Museum who have named a price. He has not told me what it is. I think £20 would be cheap - and it is what I should offer if I could - but I should hardly expect to get it for that. I am very sorry to hear that you are laid up - but I don't wonder. I hope the sight of your ancient predecessor will really do you good. Will you let me have him back in the morning? Yours sincerely,

A. Cowley.

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It is not unlikely that his inability to shake off his cold may have sent him the next month to Egypt to recuperate and get the chill of examination rooms out of his bones. Of this possibility ^{which would tell him through some he hints} ~~he speaks~~ on a Christmas-card sent to his little friend Muriel-Marjorie-Maude in Rome.

My wish for you is: that I may see you next spring. The British Ambassador has asked the Chancellor of Oxford University to send someone to Rome to lecture on Table Manners to the English and American children, as the Mayor of Rome, the Pope and the King of Italy have been very much worried about the subject, having heard of the conduct of certain little girls whom I shall not mention. I have consented to give a course of six lectures and demonstrations! Yours affectionately,

W^m Osler.

Some things important to medicine which had been happening - also an impression of English politics which does not appear in Osler's letters may be gleaned from the December letter of his frequent correspondent, Weir Mitchell.

. . . , Nothing is new here in science that I can tell you, except the very amazing story, that Rockefeller having given Ehrlich for three years Ten Thousand Dollars a year, someone left the German a million of marks, upon which he wrote to Mr. Rockefeller that he had no longer need of his pension

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and did not know how best he could reward such generosity, but finally concluded to send him one thousand doses of "606." This comes from Flexner, and I have no doubt it is true: or, I rather think, however, it comes from Welch. I may add that Noguchi, it is said has found means of cultivating with some preparation of liver the specific organism of syphilis. This would be the final triumph in this chain of wonderful discovery. I think this is calculated to produce enormous influence upon the civilization of the world, on the efficiency of armies and navies, and on the hygiene of the next generation or two.

I went to Baltimore the other day to repeat my lecture on William Harvey, ^{and} had had a crowded audience in McCoy Hall, people unable to get in. . . . they did not seem to be so exultantly and alarmingly prosperous as they used to be. But all the medical schools of high order have suffered on account of the rise in the entrance examinations and the competition of the commercial factories of doctors; and we too are suffering especially in consequence of changes in the faculty a not very happy life at present. . . .

We are all well at home, very busy, College prosperous, etc. I have finished a novel which has been lying on my summer desk for three years, and which like all my books has one medical portrayal - a paranoiac. It is not a book which will be popular or widely read. I do not think I shall reprint it in England. It is really not worth while. For some reason our books have in England so small a sale that it is not worth while to bother with additions to the literature of a declining nation!!! Upon my word, what the deuce is happening to you in England. I quoted to my friends the Misses Larence, in irony, Tennyson's lines:

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A land of fair and long renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.

Surely you are far away from this and are taking a header into bewildering revolution. I don't like it. I want the House of Lords preserved, I want the big old houses preserved, and I want some of the old things guarded for the enjoyment of the American of this later day. As for your Mr. Asquith, it seems to me he has the characteristic political morals of a ward politician. It is a little dangerous, I know, to talk of the politics of another land, even a land so near as England, as one may make mistakes. . . .

Evidently this troubles Dr. Mitchell more than it did his friend on the brink of 'this bewildering revolution,' for in a few days he writes again:

Alas, Great Britain! I think we do not sufficiently value the fact that we live in a country with a constitution which cannot be upset by a single act of the Lower House of Congress. Now, you are really on the brink of what seems to be a political revolution. All who love England feel sorry the shillelagh has become so potent in the politics of Great Britain.

Certainly life in Oxford sounds peaceful enough, to judge from the following Christmas letter.

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1910*To H.B. Jacobs Junior*

Dear Jacobus I wish I could look in at No. 11 this eve. Could you return the call you would find a festive scene, a dance! - R. and his young friends. We have a niece and her children with us & Palmer Wright from Ottawa. R. has grown so much - just my height. He is an awful duffer at his books, but he is a dear good fellow & not the slightest trouble.

I suppose Welch has told you that W. A. Marburg will make an offer for Payne's library. I went to New Barnet the other day to look over the collection. I am afraid we cannot get all for the sum M. names, but it will cover, I hope, the medical books without the 15th century herbals, which nowadays bring fancy prices on account of the old wood-cuts. They could be sold separately and after all have only a typographical interest. 'Tis a choice assortment - many books of the greatest variety and many not in the College of Phy. or in the S. G. Library. He has also a splendid Milton collection - the best in England after the British Museum. He has been buying with great care for 45 years.

Many thanks for ^{the} book - I like C. so much - also for the Shelley, when it comes. I may go to Egypt for six weeks. My brother, E. B., starts for Cairo with a boat party, to be on the river a month. 'Tis too good an opportunity to miss. He wants Mrs. Osler also but she does not care to go so far from the boy. Miss Woolley may come over while I am away. By the way Payne left me the Restitutio Christianismi of Servetus, the 1791 reprint, now almost impossible to get. I have the Calvin - a lovely copy. It, too, is scarce - my copy sold in Paris about ten years ago for frs. 1500. I shall be glad of the Harvard Journal. Jim Putnam's article on James in the Atlantic Monthly is most interesting. So glad to hear Mrs. Jacobs keeps well. Happy New Year to you both. Ever yours,

Wm Osler.