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The Allin Papers

Chapter XXXIII.

We have had a very busy Christmas - the house full to overflowing,"

he writes H. M. Thomas early in ^{January} ~~the year~~. "Revere is very happy. He is going to spend the next year with a tutor as he has to make up enough Latin & Greek to pass his [Oxford] entrance examination." And to another of his old Baltimore friends:

Our new section in the History of Medicine is going to be a great success. We have secured more than 150 men and the opening meeting was very enthusiastic. I was very anxious to have Allbutt or Norman Moore as President but the younger men would have neither of them, and insisted that I should be elected. I am sorry in a way, as I am afraid Moore was rather hurt: but I have had a nice talk with him about it. [And now he adds] They have elected me President of the Bibliographical Society which is a very embarrassing honour, as I feel so horribly amateurish with all these professional fellows like Pollard - but it is a very nice group of men and I have been on the Council for three years as Vice-President.

The feeling of 'these professional fellows' themselves is well enough expressed by the ^{announcement} ~~note~~ of January 6th from A. W. Pollard of the British Museum [Osler] stating that 'after he had left the meeting that day he had been unanimously nominated for the post to succeed H. B. Wheatley, that it would be his duty

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and pleasure as Secretary of the Society to save him all possible trouble; that Wheatley had asked H. R. Tedder [librarian of the Athenaeum] to dine with the Colophon Club on the 20th with the usual intimation of a resigning President that someone else would be his host.* Osler, however, was

*In regard to Osler's 'work' as President of the Bibliographical Society - a post he held for the remainder of his life, twice as long as that of any other President - Mr. Pollard writes that "work' is not quite the right word, for he brought us life and high spirits and would give us no less even to the end."

not the kind of presiding officer to shoulder his secretary with the entire burden of programmes and other arrangements, and a presidential job of still greater responsibility, namely of the Medical Section of the coming International Congress, was on his hands. The Section was fortunate in having as a Secretary, Dr. William Pasteur, but even he, perhaps, was hardly aware of the mass of correspondence in soliciting contributions for the lean Historical Section and in pacifying would-be contributors to the over-filled programme of his own, which passed over his desk at 13 Norham Gardens. But if this was arduous for the officers of a single section, what Wilmot Herring-

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ham the Secretary-General of the Congress as a whole, had to face can be imagined, and it must have been a relief, at least on the score of providing entertainment for the 7,000 prospective congressists, when at Osler's instigation the Astors gladly promised to give an afternoon reception at Cliveden for a thousand or so, and Strathcona an evening entertainment for the entire Congress.

'It is this, it is this, that oppresses my soul; it is this, it is this that I dread,' was one of Osler's familiar interjections) - ^{borrowed from 'the Hunting of the Snare'} an interjection, ~~from 'the Hunting of the Snare'~~ be it said, more often called forth by the loss of a book than anything else. "I am very unhappy today," he writes, "having just lost an MS. of Chrysippus and one of Constantin Africanus - but these are the hazards of the mart." Though the preparation of the Yale lectures chiefly engrossed him from January to April, he nevertheless held the threads of countless other things which called for time and correspondence - the Roger Bacon celebration, for example, planned for the following year; the new edition of Liddell & Scott's Greek Dictionary for which the Press is making arrangements;

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even such trifles as the Thomas Dover tablet concerning which on January 27th he writes to A. J. Nixon of Bristol the following characteristic and possibly over-interpolated note:

Dear Nixon: I was very much obliged for the extra copy of the Fletcher memorial [his own in the Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal for December]. I wrote to the Editor thanking him for the first one. Will you dine with me at the Automobile Club on Wednesday evening after the meeting? [Of the Historical ^{Section} Society, March 5th]. You could get away in time for a late train. Do you know anything about Mr. Robert Dover's [Thomas Dover's grandfather] "Olimpick Games upon the Cotswold Hills"? I see on sale at Sotheby's on February 4th "Annalia du Dubrensia" written by Drayton, Johnson, etc., 1st Ed. Colyer-Fergusson [Prof. Max-Müller's son-in-law and a descendant of Dover] was dining with me last night [doubtless at Christ Church] and was much interested in it and hopes to buy it. What about the tabloid to T. D.? Sincerely yours,

Wm Osler.

"We are having a peaceful time with the house cleared out - we have had an extraordinary winter - the almond trees have been in bloom for a week. / I am struggling with my Silliman Lectures which I find very interesting - trying to trace the evolution of scientific medicine." So he writes early in February, and three weeks later: "Deuce of a

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job getting these lectures ready. Have heard from Harvard about the Clarendon Press lecture. ~~Horace~~ Hart is doing fine slides for me." Evidently he had taken on other things besides the Yale series, yet on February 26th he writes to the Yale University Press: "I shall have everything ready for you after the lectures and we should be able to have the book out by October." ^{a vain} ~~It was an anticipation unrealized,~~ as will be seen. It was inevitable that a man with so many contacts and interests should be interrupted, even with 'the house cleared out.' On the 22nd

*It is interesting to see how Osler's many ties led him to switch off from what would appear to be his major task of the moment, though in all probability these side-excursions were recreational. He must have written at this time ~~Note~~ No. XXII, on "Dr. Slop" for the "Men and Books" series which he continued to send to Macphail for the Canadian Medical Association Journal. He was spurred to write the note in view of an article he had just seen in the current number of the British Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology by Alban Doran who had come to the defence of Dr. John Burton in a way which appealed to Osler in view of the 'libellous portrait' in "Tristram Shandy."

Left by Lawrence Sterne

he writes F. J. Shepherd of Montreal:

I have written to Lafleur today on the question of re-organizing the medical clinics at the M.G.H. Blackader's resignation affords an opportunity. In the new hospital in Toronto the University will have control of the medical and surgical cliniques, which are to be arranged on modern

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lines, and it is simply a necessity that some arrangement should be made between McGill and the [Montreal] General whereby certain of the wards would be assigned to the professors in the medical school. The University would, of course, have to subsidise the hospital, paying all teaching expenses, and the hospital would have to be represented on the Appointments Committee. Would it be possible, do you think, to get Macdonald interested, for if he could offer a lump sum for organization it would smoothe the way.

On March 1st, in acknowledging a hospital report received from G. Alder Blumer of Providence, he writes: "Very good reading - you seem to be prosperous. That 'cash overinvested' sounds fascinating. We never have anything like it here. I've just had two hours over the Bodleian accounts - such a contrast!" And he ^{tells} writes President Hadley, regretting an invitation, ~~and saying~~ that he would feel more free at the Graduates' Club, because "from what I hear there will be a good many of my old students turning up for one or other of the lectures," and they must be looked out for.

During these months the meetings of the Clinical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine had of course continued, for one of which, indeed - the meeting of February 14th - devoted to the subject of cervical rib, Osler

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had advertised in the journals, asking members of the profession to bring their cases for exhibition; ^{again} ~~Then~~ on March 3rd, ~~he also sends to the journals,~~ in support of the German commission which was getting out a general catalogue of incunabula, ^{he sends to the journals} a public letter requesting that lists of the medical incunabula which might be in private collections be sent to him. Then came the news of the death of John Shaw Billings which occurred on March 11th, causing a pang, the greater in that it had come so shortly after ^{that} ~~the death~~ of Robert Fletcher.

13, Norham Gardens,
21st [March]

To S. Weir Mitchell from W. O.

Dear Dr Mitchell It is very sad to hear of John Billings death. You will miss him very much. What a fine life! so full of accomplishment. I have just written an obituary notice for the British Medical Journal. You will be glad to hear that Power has got the Harvey portraits collected, and a study of them will form the first fasciculus of studies from our new section of the History of Medicine of the Royal Society of Medicine. I hope to see you very soon. May I dine with you on Monday eve, April 14th, on my way to Baltimore? I shall stop the night with Mrs McCrae. I have to be at the opening of the new Phipps Institute on the 16th. I begin my Yale Lectures - Evolution of Modern Medicine - on the 20th, and will be back in Philadelphia early in May. It is so nice to hear that you are keeping well. We heard of you in Chicago and of your successful lecture.

I wish you could come over to the Medical Congress this summer. I am chairman of the Medical Section & we are getting together a nice group of men for the discussions. You will be sorry to hear that Gowers is very ill - his own disease, ataxic paraplegia, it looks like, and ascending, so that now there are bulbar symptoms. Barlow the other day presented the Harvey letters to the College of Physicians - it is the proper place for them. It was most kind of the Library Committee to send me a copy of Stockton-Hughes Incunabula. It seems very rare. I know of only one copy in this country. You are getting rich in 15th century books. I was delighted that you got that Celsus 1478 as it is the most beautiful copy I have seen. With love to Mrs Mitchell & Jack, Affectionately yours,

W^m Osler.

"I am sailing next week," he writes to President Hadley on the 28th, "and shall go to Baltimore for a couple of days to the opening of the new Phipps Institute as Mr. Phipps is one of my oldest friends; but I shall be in New Haven Saturday eve the 19th." At noon the following day, March 29th, there was a noteworthy ceremony in Merton College chapel, which, three-hundred years before, to the day, had witnessed the public funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley. *illustrates how Osler's ferment continued to work in the* This commemorative service ~~was the development of a suggestion that had been made by Osler,~~ *Oxford dough;* though to a large extent the programme had been drawn up by the Rev. H. A. Wilson of Magdalen, and the Rev. R. H.

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Charles of Merton. Its chief feature was an English translation of the Latin oration by the 'ever-memorable John Hales, Fellow of Merton,' delivered at the time of Bodley's interment in Merton chapel. On the same day the Clarendon Press published a small volume, 'Trecentale Bodleianum', containing Bodley's autobiography, the early Statutes of the Library, extracts from his will, and other pieces. In Osler's copy of this volume he has made the following note.

March 29th, 1913. The service at Merton was attended by about 150 people. The pro-V.C. Shadwell, Provost of Oriel was present. Nearly everyone was away. I was the only Curator present and only Hogarth and Bywater representing the Press. Dr Charles a Fellow of M. read the service. Madan, Bodley's Librarian, read the lesson from a MS. of Bodley's, a special translation of the chapter. Skrine read an English translation of Hale's Oration. Did it well - good voice - took just half an hour. Full of quaint, golden phrases worthy of the ever-memorable John. Dr ^{Macray} ~~McCrae~~ the historian of Bodley was present, the sub-librarian, the assistants and many of the boys. Altogether it was a memorable and delightful service, and I am very glad to have suggested it to the standing committee and helped Madan get over some of the difficulties.

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In company with his colleague William M'Dougall, and with F. W. Mott, who were to give addresses at the opening of the Phipps Clinic, he sailed April 5th on the "Campania" and during the voyage must have written ^{to judge from the context,} not only a large part of his Baltimore address which was to be delivered on the 16th ~~(?)~~, ~~to judge from its context,~~ but also the first portion of the lay sermon to the Yale students he had promised to give on Sunday the 20th, and ^{landed} on the Friday before ~~sailing~~ ^{write} he writes to Anson Phelps Stokes:

Dear Stokes I get to New Haven Saturday eve, 19th. I am sending ^[case] on a dress suit to the club with my photographs &c. My address on Sunday will be "A Way of Life" - about 1/2 - 3/4 of an hour. I have six lectures on the Evolution of Modern Medicine. I will send a synopsis. The material will much more than cover six but it is a heavy tax on an audience to ask a longer series. I think they will make an interesting book. I have many illustrations. I am writing to Blumer to say I am at the disposal of the Medical School for clinics and demonstrations every day. I have a lecture on Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy for the English Literature Students. I hope to see as much as possible of the students & professors. . . .

His visit, indeed, had developed into what was to be almost a lecture tour, interspersed with many visits - on Sunday the 13th the day of his arrival, with the Brewsters, on the next day in Philadelphia for a visit with ^{Wm} Dr. Mitchell

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and a dinner with a large gathering of his old friends. On Tuesday in Baltimore at the Futchers', and the next day came his address which began the three-days' programme of exercises in connection with the opening of the Phipps Clinic. This he entitled "Specialism in the General Hospital", and in the course of his introductory remarks, before entering upon his main theme, he said:

Only a few impressions of life endure. We use the same cylinders over and over again, the dots and markings become confused, and when we call for a record, a jumbled medley is poured out, a confused message from the past. But certain records are time-fast, and bite in such a way that no subsequent impressions can blur the clearness, and the story comes out fresh and sharp. So it is when I call up those early years so full of happiness, so full of hope. And to have seen in so many ways the fulfillment of our heart's desire is more than we could have expected, more indeed than we deserved.

I am sorry for you young men of this generation. You will do great things, you will have great victories, and, standing on our shoulders you will see far, but you can never have our sensations. To have lived through a revolution, to have seen a new birth of science, a new dispensation of health, re-organized medical schools, remodeled hospitals, a new outlook for humanity, is not given to every generation.

By temperament a dreamer, wherever I have worked, visions of the future have beset me, sometimes to my comfort, more often to my despair. In deso-

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late days I have wandered with Don Quixote, tilting at windmills; in happier ones I have had the rare good fortune to dream dreams through the gate of horn, and to see their realization, to have both the vision from Pisgah and the crossing the Jordan. I have seen the school in which I began in Toronto, in an old building, dirty beyond belief, transformed into one of the most flourishing on the continent, a staff of seven teachers increased sevenfold; my alma mater, McGill, prosperous even then in men of mettle, but housed in wretched quarters, now in palatial buildings, and in affiliation with two of the best equipped of modern hospitals. How paltry were my aspirations of those days! How insignificant do they seem. My feelings when Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, gave us the first endowment of \$50,000, could not be stirred to the same intensity today by less than a million! Nearly 30 years have passed since I joined the University of Pennsylvania, the premier school of the country.. There were new buildings, and a new hospital grouped about a single arts building. But what a transformation since! Whole squares of West Philadelphia annexed and covered with laboratories, dormitories and lecture halls and largely due to the magic energy of a prince of dreamers, William Pepper.

It has been my lot to see others do what I should have liked to do myself, and to feel that it has been better done! Looking back over a somewhat vagrant career, my fission from an academic body has always been a stimulus, and has invariably quickened the pace of progress. And this thought was a consolation when I left this comfortable billet, a few years ago. Among the scanty needs scattered in my peaceful valedictory only those in which I ventured into the dangerous region of prophecy appear to have fallen on good grounds.

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I spoke of the needs of special departments - hoping that within 25 years we should have a psychiatric institute, a children's hospital, a genito-urinary clinic and a special building for diseases of the eye, ear and throat. Two of these are already accomplished facts - the Harriet Lane Johnston Children's Department has been opened; today we open the Phipps Psychiatric Institute, and for the new genito-urinary clinic, that money has been furnished. . . . Others will follow rapidly, and it is safe to say that within a dozen years there will be as many special departments, semi-independent units in a great organization. The occasion seems fitted for the expression of a few thoughts on specialism in the general hospital.

He expressed his confidence that the psychiatric institute would play its part in the national campaign of prevention of mental ill-health through ~~educa-~~
~~tion~~ - a campaign as important to the public as the great struggles against tuberculosis and infant mortality; adding that 'it would be helpful also to study in a sane, sober and sympathetic way epidemics of mental, moral and even economic folly as they swept over the country.' And he concluded with the following ^{innocent enough} ~~innocent enough~~ paragraphs:

The present out-break has not been equalled since the capture of the Roman world by Oriental cults. The same old-fashioned credulity exists that enabled Mithras and Isis, Apolonius and Alexander to flourish then as the new cults do today, and for the same good reason. There is still potency in

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the protoplasm out of which arose in primitive man, magic, religion and medicine. Circe and AEscupalius were probably twins! Historically our fringe of civilization is of yesterday, if we compare the six or seven thousand years of its record with the millions which must have passed since man assumed his present form on the earth. In this vast perspective Aristotle and Darwin are fellow-students; Hippocrates and Virchow are contemporaries.

Primitive views still prevail everywhere of man's relation to the world and to the uncharted region about him. So recent is the control of the forces of nature that even in the most civilized countries man has not yet adjusted himself to the new conditions, and stands, only half awake, rubbing his eyes, outside of Eden. Still in the Thaumaturgic state of mental development, ninety-nine percent of our fellow creatures, when in trouble, sorrow or sickness, trust to charms, incantations and to the saints. Many a shrine has more followers than Pasteur; many a saint more believers than Lister. Less than 20 years have passed since the last witch was burned in the British Isles!

Mentally the race is still in leading strings, and it has only been in the last brief epoch of its history that AEsop and Lewis Carroll have spun yarns for its delight, and Lucian and Voltaire have chastised its follies. In the childhood of the world we cannot expect people yet to put away childish things. These, Mr. President, are some of the hopes which fill our hearts as we think of the future of this new department...

It was an admirable address in Osler's best vein, just what was needed as an introduction to the ^{Subsequent} series of papers by eminent psychiatrists who did not

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necessarily 'see eye to eye ^{with him} in the matter'. In the words of the local news sheets, 'Baltimore was glad and proud to claim some share in this man;' and ^{in one of the local papers} a long editorial ^{stated} in part:

One sees now, if he never realized it before, that Dr. Osler would have been great in any field - in the pulpit, in politics, in literature, in journalism, in law - because God gave him a great and exceptional and many-sided mind and a spirit which such minds often lack - the inspiration, the courage and the honesty of the prophet who has walked on the mountain-top and swept the whole world with his eyes, and who can deliver a message that is as unbounded as his vision.

^{During} ~~Throughout~~ the three days given over to these inaugural exercises with the usual receptions and gastronomic festivities that ^{accompany such functions,} ~~go with such things,~~ ^{notably} Osler ^{but} was the central figure ^{and,} as is recorded, supplied the life and spirit which made the occasion memorable. He was naturally drawn into other things - an evening meeting at 'Osler Hall' of the old Faculty, for example - and the following note to F. H. Garrison shows how he ^{willingly} ~~loaned~~ ^{loans} himself ^{at} ~~such~~ ^{such large gatherings} ~~a variety of~~ ^{an anticipated} ~~part~~ ^{in his itinerary;}

They have asked me [he wrote] to speak on Dr. Billings Bibliographical work at the N. Y. Memorial meeting on the 25th. Could you send me (Care of Graduates Club, New Haven) a few details: (1) date of origin of the library

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and mode of it. (2) Any early printed record reference -- I could probably get it at Yale; (3) No of volumes of the Index ^[Catalogue] which Dr. Billings edited; (4) Is there not a pamphlet about the plan of the Index? (5) How many volumes of the Index Medicus did Dr. B. edit? (6) Any other points of interest about the early days of the Library. Yours gratefully, &c. I shall be at the Library Association meeting May 5th.

Osler must have been an enigma to many people who could have little understanding of the adoration felt by those who were fortunate enough to know him and to come under his spell - to none more than the tribe of cheap journalists. And one of these, remembering how space-filling had been the Osler 'copy' of eight years before, distorted from his "Fixed Period" address, had a column in the Baltimore Sun of Saturday morning ^{detailing} a fictitious interview, which went broadcast from Baltimore to San Francisco, from Winnipeg to New Orleans, headlined "Osler Shocks the Cardinal"; "Newest Oslerism arouses Prelate's Indignation"; "Cardinal Gibbons Scores Osler", etc., etc. It was all based on that innocent paragraph containing the statement that 'ninety-nine per cent of our fellow creatures when in trouble, sorrow or sickness trust to charms, incantations and to the saints.' It was altogether too bad, and though his

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old friend and neighbour repudiated the interview, tried in vain to get in touch with the victim of newspaperdom and, failing to do so, wrote him a note of deep regret, it was not a pleasant public introduction to the Yale lectures.

~~Osler~~ ^{he} Meanwhile on the Saturday had left for New Haven and buried himself in the library of the Graduates Club, where he managed to complete his address - "A Way of Life" - which was to be given before the undergraduates in Woolsey Hall(?) the following evening. It was not his first 'lay sermon' to students in a university other than his own. Nor does the published address show evidence of the pressure under which it was written. This, however, the manuscript, still preserved, fully betrays, for on the back of it Osler has noted: "I wrote this on the steamer going to America, from notes that I had been jotting down for a month, but I only finished it on the Sunday of its delivery." * Naturally enough, from these circumstances one can

{ *The last seven of the nineteen pages of the MS. from which he read, and from which the address was printed, are hand-written on paper of the Graduates' Club of New Haven.

appreciate the source of his comparison when he says:

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I stood on the bridge of one of the great liners, ploughing the ocean at 25 knots. "She is alive," said my companion, "in every plate; a huge monster with brain and nerves, an immense stomach, a wonderful heart and lungs, and a splendid system of locomotion." Just at that moment a signal sounded, and all over the ship the water-tight compartments were closed. "Our chief factor of safety," said the Captain. "In spite of the 'Titanic'" I said. "Yes," he replied, "in spite of the 'Titanic'". Now each one of you is a much more marvellous organization than the great liner, and bound on a longer voyage. What I urge is that you so learn to control the machinery as to live with 'day-tight compartments' as the most certain way to ensure safety on the voyage. Get on the bridge, and see that at least the great bulkheads are in working order. Touch a button and hear, at every level of your life, the iron doors shutting out the Past - the dead yesterdays. Touch another and shut off, with a metal curtain, the Future - the unborn tomorrows. Then you are safe, - safe for today! Read the old story in 'The Chambered Nautilus,' so beautifully sung by Oliver Wendell Holmes, only change one line to "Day after day beheld the silent toil." Shut off the past! Let the dead past bury its dead. So easy to say, so hard to realize! The truth is, the past haunts us like a shadow. To disregard it is not easy. Those blue eyes of your grandmother, that weak chin of your grandfather, have mental and moral counterparts in your make-up. Generations of ancestors, brooding over 'Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate - Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge, absolute,' may have bred a New England conscience, morbidly sensitive, to heal which some of you had rather sing the 51st Psalm than follow Christ into the slums.

take this?

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"The load of tomorrow, added to that of yesterday, carried today, makes the strongest falter;" "Change that hard saying, 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof' into 'the goodness thereof', since the chief worries of life arise from the foolish habit of looking before and after." "The day of a man's salvation is now - the life of the present, of today, lived earnestly, intently, without a forward-looking thought, is the only insurance for the future." "Begin the day with Christ and this prayer - you need no other. Creedless, with it you have religion; creed-stuffed, it will leaven any theological dough in which you stick" - these were a few of his expressions to explain 'a philosophy of life that he had found helpful in his work, useful in his play,' for:

The quiet life in day-tight compartments will help you to bear your own and others' burdens with a light heart. Pay no heed to the Batrachians who sit croaking idly by the stream. Life is a straight, plain business, and the way is clear, blazed for you by generations of strong men, into whose labours you enter and whose ideals must be your inspiration.

This was his own philosophy of life which he ascribed to ^{its} ~~the~~ two most influen-

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tial episodes ~~of his life~~ - the trifling circumstance that took him to Weston where he had come under the influence of 'Father' Johnson, and the chance encounter in 1871 during a period of unnecessary worry with Carlyle's admonition 'not to see what lies dimly at a distance, but to do what lies clearly at hand.'

There was nothing new in this, but is there anything new in any sermon? From childhood we are told 'never to put off till tomorrow.' Over the portal of the house where Sir Spencer Wells used to live at Golder's Green is the motto, "Do today's work today." Still, few sermons have created an equal interest, and it was said that 'the medical profession might well be proud of a leader who could, without affectation, preach a lay sermon, which an archbishop might not be ashamed to have written. In the copy of the address in Osler's library is inserted the following poem, "The Salutation of the Dawn" with his note upon it:

Listen to the Exhortation of the Dawn!
Look to this Day!
For it is Life, the very Life of Life.
In its brief course lie all the
Varieties and Realities of your Existence:
The Bliss of Growth,
The Glory of Action,
The Splendour of Beauty.
For yesterday is but a Dream

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And Tomorrow is only a vision;
But ~~to~~ today well served makes
Every Yesterday a Dream of Happiness
And every Tomorrow a Vision of Hope:
Look well therefore to this Day!
Such is the Salutation of the Dawn!

(by whom? sent me 26. VI. 18 ^{de} by Havilland Hall to whom they were given by a remarkable woman, Mrs. Jacoby about whom see a clipping in Maeterlinck's little book on death. If another reprint is called for put this on title-page. W^m Osler).

On Monday afternoon, April 21st, his lectures on the Silliman Foundation began, and continued through the week with the exception of Friday when he attended the memorial meeting for John S. Billings at the New York Public Library at which Bishop Greer, Weir Mitchell, Welch, Andrew Carnegie, Richard R. Bowker, John L. Cadwalader the President of the Board of Trustees and others spoke. It was in his address on this occasion that Osler after referring to the Index Catalogue and the Index Medicus, made this interesting statement:

There is no better float through posterity than to be the author of a good bibliography. Scores know Conrad Gesner by the "Bibliotheca" who never saw the "Historia Animalium." A hundred consult Haller's bibliographies for one that looks at his other works, and years after the iniquity

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of oblivion has covered Dr. Billings' work in the army, as an organizer in connection with hospitals, and even his relation to the great Library, the great Index will remain an enduring monument to his fame.

Though over-dined and over-entertained, he entered into the life at Yale with enthusiasm and soon captivated the students. Professor Nettleton who had known the Oslers in Oxford recalls that in reply to an invitation to meet some of the faculty members at his house the Sunday of his arrival, Osler had replied: "If you don't mind I would prefer meeting undergraduates. I see dons every day at Oxford but not enough undergraduates from America." Thereupon they asked some members of the Dramatic Association and of the Elizabethan Club for tea, and he stood at the door to receive them, took each man in turn by the shoulders as he entered and proceeded to give a mock diagnosis of his character. "The whole thing was carried off with a spirit and humour which cannot be described. At first some of them hardly knew how to take everything that he said, but soon the contagion of his boyish and whimsical spirit captivated them completely and when he left he invited them to attend his lecture the next day, saying that it was only to be preliminary and would not be much over two hours, and not be wholly obscure even to those of limited medical or other intelligence."

The Silliman Lecture series which ^{as already stated} began Monday afternoon were abundantly illustrated with lantern-slides, and, being semi-popular were delivered with great informality. They represented, as he once said, 'a sort of aeroplane flight over the history of medicine' from the time of Imhotep 'the first figure of a physician to stand out clearly from the mists of antiquity,' to the days of modern sanitation with its organized crusade against tuberculosis. There have been many histories of medicine written and there will be many more, but perhaps none by an author who loved his subject more deeply and could understand better the human side of its chief actors. A single quotation from the lectures rescued for publication nearly ten years later* must suffice to give an idea of his matter, and

*In accepting his honorarium from the University Treasurer, Mr. George P. Day, Osler had written: "Call me a prophet of Baal

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have a paper on the Botanical Society. Could you not give it to us at the Ashmolean of which I happen this year to be President." He had ~~also~~ been drawn into a project to erect what was to be known as "the American Hospital in Great Britain", ~~as~~ a quasi-memorial to the service rendered to the British Army by the American medical officers who had been attached, and he writes at length to Lord Reading who had accepted the ~~Chairmanship~~ ^{Chairmanship} position of President, giving in detail what he thought should be the policies of such an institution.

May and June also saw the usual succession of meetings; of the Oxford and Reading branch of the B.M.A. over which he had presided ~~ever~~ ^{for the past six years;} since coming to Oxford; of the Editorial Board of the Medical History of the War at Adastral House when he with Sir Wilmot Herringham and Colonel Elliott were appointed a sub-committee to deal with 'medicine'; the 'Commemorative Annua Fr. Rogeri Bacon' on June 11th; meetings in regard to the restoration of the Louvain Library; a meeting in the Oxford Town Hall on ~~June~~ ^{The} 13th to raise funds for starving Europe at which he presided and said that 'as human beings they were

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if you do not get most of it back in the next three years." But he had taken on more than he realized - was living, possibly, too much in a 'day-tight compartment'. The American trip with its successive engagements and addresses taken at the pace of a man of forty was exhausting. The London Congress followed and, though he set himself later in the year to the task of correcting the galley proofs, checking up his quotations, completing his illustrations, the urge was gone. The war came: he returned his honorarium and the galley lay untouched for five years on the window-sill of his library till it became foxed and sun-baked. ~~On~~ ^{the} rescue, and final publication by the Yale Press in 1921 of the lectures in their present imperfect form the prefatory note to the volume by Fielding H. Garrison explains.

in explanation

sympathetic manner:

The publication of the "Fabrica" [of Vesalius] shook the medical world to its foundations. Galen ruled supreme in the schools; to doubt him in the least particular roused the same kind of feeling as did doubts on the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures fifty years ago! His old teachers in Paris were up in arms: Sylvius, nostrae aetatis medicorum decus, as Vesalius calls him, wrote furious letters, and later spoke of him as a madman (vae-sanus). The younger men were with him and he had many friends, but he had aroused a roaring tide of detraction against which he protested a few years later in his work on the "China-root," which is full of details about the "Fabrica." In a fit of temper he threw his notes on Galen and other ~~works~~ ^{MSS. papers} in the fire. No sadder page exists in medical writings than the one in which Vesalius tells of the burning of his books and MSS. . . . There is no such pathetic tragedy in the history of our profession. Before the age of thirty Vesalius had effected a revolution in anatomy; he became the valued physician of the greatest court of Europe; but call no man happy till he is dead! A mystery surrounds his last days. The story is that he had obtained permission to perform a post-mortem examination on the body of a

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young Spanish nobleman, whom he had attended. When the body was opened, the spectators to their horror saw the heart beating, and there were signs of life! Accused, so it is said, by the Inquisition of murder and also of general impiety, he only escaped through the intervention of the King, with the condition that he make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In carrying this out in 1564 he was wrecked on the island of Zante, where he died of a fever or of exhaustion, in the fiftieth year of his age.

To the North American Review, November 1902, Edith Wharton contributed a poem on "Vesalius in Zante," in which she pictures his life, so full of accomplishment, so full of regrets - regrets accentuated by the receipt of an anatomical treatise by Fallopius, ^{his} ~~the~~ successor to the chair in Padua!

She makes him say:

There are two ways of spreading light: to be
The candle or the mirror that reflects it.
I let my wick burn out - there yet remains
To spread an answering surface to the flame
That others kindle.

But between Mundinus and Vesalius, anatomy had been studied by a group of men to whom I must, in passing, pay a tribute. The great artists Raphael, Michael Angelo and Albrecht Dürer were keen students of the human form. . . . But greater than any of these, and antedating them, is Leonardo da Vinci, the one universal genius in whom the new spirit was incarnate - the Moses who alone among his contemporaries saw the promised land. How far Leonardo was indebted to his friend and fellow student, della Torre, at Pavia, we do not know, nor does it matter in face of the indubitable fact that in ^{the} many anatomical sketches from his hand we have the first accurate

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representation of the structure of the body. Glance at the three figures of the spine which I have had photographed side by side, one from Leonardo, one from Vesalius, and the other from Vandyke Carter, who did the drawings in Gray's "Anatomy". They are all of the same type, scientific, anatomical drawings, and that of Leonardo was done fifty years before Vesalius! Compare, too, this figure of the bones of the foot with a similar one from Vesalius. Insatiate in experiment, intellectually as greedy as Aristotle, painter, poet, sculptor, engineer, architect, mathematician, chemist, botanist, aeronaut, musician, and withal a dreamer and mystic, full accomplishment in any one department was not for him! A passionate desire for a mastery of nature's secrets made him a fierce thing, replete with too much rage! But for us a record remains - Leonardo was the first of modern anatomists, and fifty years later, into the breach he made, Vesalius entered.

~~And ^{of his days} on the last day at New Haven he gave before the English literature~~

~~students an address on "The Anatomy of Melancholy" which he had evidently in-~~

~~tended to be one of a series on Burton, and from which also an illustrative~~

paragraph may be taken.*

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intelligence.' Perhaps the Elizabethan Club, which incidentally houses a rare collection of early English volumes, interested him as much as any of the undergraduate activities, and on the Tuesday evening, he was the special guest of the club at one of their informal dinners, and left behind him as a memento of the visit, the original edition of Napier's "Mirifici Logarith-

*"We gave him a dinner" writes Wm. Lyon Phelps "at the ~~Society Club~~ and afterward at the Elizabethan Club. He spoke most brilliantly on Burton's Anatomy of Anatomy. After he had talked nearly an hour he asked how long he should go on and I replied that we could sit as long as he could stand which amused him. It was really a wonderful occasion." From this address, ~~as~~ subsequently published * an illustration Janyphs myph later.* Stat also

*Cf. The Yale Review, January 1914. On first coming to Oxford Osler had evidently conceived the plan of having the Clarendon Press publish a new and carefully collated edition of the Anatomy. The idea must have come to him when in 1905 he possibly began going through the books in the Christ Church library and first came upon Burton's own scattered volumes. Some correspondence brought the fact to light that both W. Aldis Wright of Cambridge and Edward Bensley of Aberystwyth were working on the project, which he, ~~there~~ consequently appears to have ~~been~~ abandoned. This address of 'The Anatomy' he intended to be one of a series on Burton.

Something about the work in the club

Memo Janyphs
of meeting
long

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No book of any language [he said] presents such a stage of moving pictures= kings and queens in their greatness and in their glory, in their madness and in their despair; generals and conquerors with their ambitions and their activities; the princes of the church in their pride and their shame; philosophers of all ages, now rejoicing in the power of intellect, and again grovelling before the idols of the tribe; the heroes of the race who have fought the battle of the oppressed in all lands; criminals, small and great, from the petty thief to Nero with his unspeakable atrocities; the great navigators and explorers with whom Burton travelled so much in map and card, and whose stories were his delight; the martyrs and the virgins of all religions, the deluded and fanatics of all theologies; the possessed of devils and the possessed of God; the beauties, frail and faithful, the Lucretias and the Helens, all are there. The lovers, old and young; the fools who were accounted wise, and the wise who were really fools; the madmen of all history, to anatomize whom is the special object of the book; the world itself, against which he brings a railing accusation - the motley procession of humanity sweeps before us on his stage, a fantastic but fascinated medley at which he does not know whether to weep or to laugh.

with his lectures, these addresses, clinics at the hospital and other things, the thing were passed and on

In this way, the work passed

at meetings

~~On~~ the morning of ~~this~~ his last day, he had written a characteristic *write a farewell*

~~note~~ to his host at the next stop:

All right, Am leaving by the 10.15 due Back Bay 1.59. Will lunch in train. Have accepted Lane invitation for Tuesday eve [Syndics of Harvard Press]. Great time here. Never had a better week in my life - great place! Splendid fellows. Love to the darlings. Yours, W. O.

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Christ Church has inherited for the daily worship of its members
 a ^{Chapel} ~~building~~ whose hallowed associations connect the present with Saxon
 times ~~of Ethelred~~, long antedating the earliest Oxford colleges, when
 St. Frideswide ^{erected} placed her priory ^{and last resting place} on the gravel bank above the meadows
 intersected by the streams of the Isis. Of the many historic scenes ^{services}
 that this ancient cathedral has ^{heard few could have} ~~beheld, and services it has heard, few~~
^{simple or more} had been more moving than that of the afternoon of January 1st, 1920,
 over the body of the most greatly beloved physician possibly of all time.
~~It~~ ^{Through Woolsey's quadrangle} ~~it~~ ^{came silent-tear stained mourners and filled the church}
~~it was filled to the doors with mourners.~~ Two hymns were sung: "O God,
 our Help in Ages Past," and Peter Abelard's "O Quanta Qualia," of which
 the man and his son had both been so fond. The Dean with deep feeling
 pronounced his brief benediction, ^{and} ~~and~~ the rays of the low winter's sun,
~~striking across~~ ^{Woolsey's quadrangle} ~~fourquad~~ and filtering through the ancient glass of
 the cathedral, rested on the bier of Osler, while the procession of the
 living filed out leaving him there - the University Marshall, the choir,
 the chaplins, canons, the Dean, the chief mourners, the Vice-Chancellor,

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Possibly enough has been said in detail of this, which proved to be his last visit to America, for, after all, the opening of the Phipps Clinic and the Silliman Lectures were its chief objects. It was in other respects not unlike his previous brief sojourns and consisted of a round of visits, and the laconic entries in his account-book for the rest of the time must suffice. Read between the lines, it is a perfectly good autobiography of four weeks, and *Paraly* needs the bracketed notes

Mon.	April 28.	Last lect. Dinner Hadley. [Journal Graphon in Art Museum]
Tues.	April 29.	Boston Lect. at Harvard. [On the Clarendon Press]
Wed.	April 30.	Lect. Opening Brigham Hospital. K's dinner. [In his honor]
Thu.	May 1.	N.Y. Bibliog. Soc. and Grolier Club. [Funcher & Dennis for lunch]
Fri.	May 2.	Brewsters. [at Rutkiss co]
Sat.	May 3.	
Sun.	May 4.	Phila. [with Mitchell]
Mon.	May 5.	Washington dinner & m't'g Lib. Med. Ass. (cf. <i>Footnote</i> 1966 Dec. 1912)
Tue.	May 6.	ditto.
Wed.	May 7.	Balt. Address to nurses.
Thu.	May 8.	Buffalo.
Fri.	May 9.	Hamilton and Dundas. [to visit friends & relatives]
Sat.	May 10.	Toronto. [ditto]
Sun.	May 11.	
Mon.	May 12.	Belleville to see Ned Milburn.
Tue.	May 13.	Montreal. Dinner of Med Chi Soc.
Wed.	May 14.	Montreal.
Thu.	May 15.	Sailed "Empress Britain".
Fri.	May 23.	Oxford 3.45. Good trip - clear & cold.

Two ^{these entries} things out of all ~~this~~ may perhaps be singled out for special mention - one has to do with a nursery, the other with a nurse. Of course he

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did not forget Rosalie and her 'mother' to whom he sends this note:

Wednesday [April 30th]

Dear Susan ~~[Baker, Mrs. Robert Winsor, Jr.]~~ I am so sorry not to be able to see you - and your mother - and your father - and the boys - and the dolls, particularly my beloved one! I have only today here and leave tomorrow morning early. The Revere girls come back to us next month. We have great fun together. With love to you all, Your affec. friend

Wm Osler.

And the other was the commencement address to the Johns Hopkins nurses on

Q. J. H. Nurses' Alumnae Mag., July, 1913, XII, 72-81

May 7th for which he had been persuaded to return. ^{*It was an extemporaneous talk in which he*} ~~He~~ told of his experiences

with nurses in the old days in the small-pox wards of the Montreal General;

at Blockley, for which Miss Alice Fisher of cherished memory did so much;

at the Johns Hopkins which Isabel Hampton had entered 'like an animated

Greek statue.' And he went on to say:

~~It was an extemporaneous talk in which he~~ ^{*apparently*} ~~but never published.~~

Some years ago I had the following letter from a member of the graduating class of a Western hospital: "Dear Dr. Osler: We have had a discussion whether special virtues, other than those of an ordinary woman are needed for a nurse. What is your opinion. Please send a list of those you think to be the most important." To this I replied: "Dear Westerna: No special virtues are needed, but the circumstances demand the exercise of them in a special way. There are seven, the mystic seven, your lamps to lighten and . . . tact, tidiness, taciturnity, sympathy, gentleness, cheerfulness, all linked together by charity."

To this among the most important things in medicine list.

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And now for a brief résumé of these seven virtues and their exercise. Tact is the saving virtue without which no woman can be a success in any way, as a nurse or not. She may have all the others, but without tact she is a failure. With most women it is an instinct, her protective mechanism in life. It enables her always to do the right thing at the right moment. It is one of the greatest of human blessings that so many women are so full of tact. The calamity happens when a woman who has all the other riches of life just lacks that one thing. I remember one such woman in a hospital with which I was connected, who had had the greatest difficulty with the Board of Trustees to obtain a revolution in the matter of training. They were antique, they were obstinate and self-opinionated, and they regarded their hospital as ideal, which it was not. We had appointed a woman who, to all intents and purposes, had all the necessary qualifications for the place. She was well trained, she had a splendid presence and she had a good record in her school, but in six months she had all the trustees by the ears, she had all the doctors against her and all her head nurses up in arms. All due to a congenital deficiency in tact. She simply could not do any one thing right at the right time.

Now as to tidiness it is not necessary to speak to the modern nurse. Neatness is the very essence of her work. It is the prime duty of a woman of this terrestrial world to look well. Neatness is the asepsis of clothes, not the carelessly tied shoe-string or the dorsal infirmity of a waist and skirt too illy joined.

The third virtue of taciturnity. There is an evil significance connected with the word and rightly, because there are two forms of it. I took a position for a few weeks at a hospital in the Province of Ontario a week after I graduated. There I met, for the first and only time, the in-

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carnation of the spirit of taciturnity. It was in one of the ward nurses. She was taciturn to such a degree that she never in the six weeks I was in that hospital smiled at me. This is the only real instance of taciturnity with which I have ever come in contact. Indeed she was never known to smile at a patient, or at anybody. This is a type of taciturnity that I need not speak of. But there is also what Sir Thomas Browne calls 'the gift of taciturnity'; as he wisely says: "Think not silence the wisdom of fools, but the honour of wise men, who have not the infirmity, but the gift of taciturnity." It is this gift of taciturnity that I should like you all to cultivate. It is so much needed. There are no people in the community who need to cultivate this gift of taciturnity more than our trained nurses. Think of the opportunities they have and how they are tempted by their patients, who talk to them, who gossip and who expect to be told by the nurse all sorts of things. And very many patients are so attractive, it is hard not to speak to them nicely about things you should never open your lips to them about. Never under any circumstances tell moving stories of cases, never for a moment divulge what has passed within the house of another patient, utter no word about your past record as a nurse in connection with cases, - nothing on any of these subjects should ever pass your lips. I speak rather frankly on this point, because I know it is needed. I know it is sometimes a necessity that one should speak strongly and firmly to members of the nursing profession on this point, for patients are very often greedy of the very sort of news that nurses are sometimes apt to give them. As I said here once before, if you have heard anything, let it die with you.

Now of the fourth nursing virtue, sympathy, you must have that in full measure, but it must be poured out on your patients with a good deal of discretion. Learn to withhold it. There are many cases that seek sympathy

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just as a drunkard seeks his dram and as the morphia-eater looks for his morphia. There are patients who eat the heart out of nurses by asking for too much sympathy and by getting it when they do not deserve it.

Gentleness is your birthright as a nurse. It is expressed by words, by hand, or in motion.

Cheerfulness is to preach happiness by example. And this is one of the chief functions of all cultivated women. In a nurse it is an essential virtue. It is expressed in the face and in the way in which you go about your work. There is no such blessing in the world as cheerfulness. It is not always easy to obtain. You cannot always have a bright face amid sad surroundings and particularly the sad surroundings in which you will often be placed. But your face must not show what you feel. Look for the brightest and you will see the brightest, or as Ruskin well says, "Look for the shadows and you will see them." There is so much sorrow and so much suffering that only the bright and cheerful fulfill the law of bearing the burden of others.

Of the last and of the greatest of the nursely virtues, charity, I need hardly speak. Gently to scan your brother man, still more gently your sister woman, to judge no one harshly, to live as closely as possible to the counsels of the Sermon on the Mount, may enable you to live in the true spirit of nursing. These riches shall not fade away in life, nor any death decrease.

Then, too, his 'Phila' entry ^{on May 4th} must have been occasioned in response to

this appealing note; ~~of April 30th:~~

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My dear Osler, I hope to learn that you will be here again before you go home. My friends are fast falling, by the way, and this last loss was a far more serious calamity to me than would seem likely to hardened old age. The sentence is bad but will be clear to you. I grow not less but more sensitive as time runs on. The stated engagements of the Carnegie Trust once a month brought Billings and me together so often that we were not separated as busy men are apt to be. I have always dreaded the Arctic loneliness of age, and now alas! Yours sincerely, S. WEIR MITCHELL.

And ^{Osler} ~~he~~ hastens to write ^{him} from the steamer: "It was good to see you again and in such fine form. I never heard you speak more clearly and to the point than at the Billings meeting. How I wish I could see you on the river tackling a salmon! So long as you can do this do not talk of old age. You have done more in the past twenty years than many an active-minded man in a lifetime."

During his sojourn he must have had ample opportunity to get first-hand information regarding the status of the 'full-time' programmes for clinical teachers, one of them about to be inaugurated in Baltimore, another already in operation in the hospital at whose baptismal exercises he had officiated

in Boston. Before leaving England he must have promised to write, ~~some-~~
~~thing~~ for the Quarterly Review, ^{Something} on the medical aspects of the recently is-
sued report of Haldane's commission, together with a ^{conspectus} ~~conspectus~~ review of Abraham
Flexner's volume dealing with "Medical Education in Europe" which he had
not ^{as} yet had time thoroughly to peruse. To this task he apparently set him-
self during the voyage.*

*"London University Reform. (1) Final Report of the Royal Com-
mission on University Education in London." Lond., Wyman, 1913.
(2) Medical Education in Europe. A Report to the Carnegie Founda-
tion for the Advancement of Teaching. New York, 1912." These
were two separate articles neither of them signed, but the second,
which deals solely with university problems of medical education
was written by Osler. #The Quarterly Review, July 1913, ccxix, 204-30.

It is a remarkable fact [he wrote] ^{that} in the history of medicine in England ~~that~~ a complete medical faculty of a University did not exist until well into the last century. Neither Oxford nor Cambridge has ever had one, nor has London, for the University of the greatest city of the world's greatest empire is a compound educational polyzoön, the units of which, like the poly-pides, though highly organized and with admirable vegetative and reproductive organs, are without heart or central nervous system. This higher organization the Commission proposes to supply in the remodelled university; but, in the case of medicine, problems of extraordinary difficulty have to be met.

And these extraordinary difficulties he proceeded to discuss and to show how they could be met in ways the Commissioners, ^{largely} undoubtedly influenced considerably by Mr. Flexner's testimony, had proposed. And he concluded by saying:

There is a new outlook in Medicine, and a new science is moulding both thought and practice. Vested interests are powerful, old associations and ways are strong, but stronger still, we hope, will be the public and professional opinion in favour of the changes suggested by the Commissioners. London should be the most important medical centre in the world. That it is not this, is due to lack of organization and cohesion. To unite into a great Faculty its scattered forces is one aim of this able and far-reaching report, which will have the active support of all but those whom fear of change not only perplexes but appals.

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"I have had a wonderful trip in America," he writes ^{from Oxford} ~~on his return, to~~
~~a friend on the Continent,~~ "and enjoyed it immensely - everybody was so
kind - too kind in fact! But I kept in pretty good condition and got
through my lectures safely. Yale is a wonderful place. The men are
charming." He had returned to find distracted Secretaries of the XVIIth
International Congress of Medicine, and ^{he must pass on judgement on} ~~countless letters pass on~~ mat-
ters like the following:

It will evidently not be easy to alter the foreign titles of our dis-
cussions. The heart one is the only one that is not satisfactory. The
revised German is "Die Pathologie der Hertzschwäche" - the revised French,
"La pathologie de l'asystolie." Do you think these may stand or shall we
try to get them altered to: "Der Wesen der Hertzschwäche" and "Les formes
différentes de l'asystolie"? etc., etc.

The enclosed from Herringham is the reply of headquarters to my query
whether our Council would be in order in inviting selected members of the
Section to dinner. This was confirmed by Barlow at the R.C.P. this after-
noon. They appear to be very anxious that all public entertainment should
be on a simple scale so as not to set a pace which it might be difficult for
some foreign countries to keep level with. It appears that many men only
accepted office on the assurance that it would not involve them in much ex-
penditure.

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Halliburton writes to say that Friday Aug. 8th would suit the Physiologists for the discussion on Internal Secretions. On receipt of your approval I will write him our acceptance. Have you had anything further from von Müller and Widal? Do you propose holding another meeting of our executive before the holidays? The only matters outstanding are to complete the list of openers and to appoint the two sub-committees and agree on the letter to be sent by the council to the various medical departments of universities and hospitals.

As you propose sending a personal letter to each member of the Clin. Museum Com. I will not send out a notice as well. But I will convene my co-secretaries for 4.30 at the R.S.M. on Monday 30th June. I will call at 1 Wimpole St. tomorrow to book a room. Should there be any difficulty about it I will send you a wire. I conclude that you propose to get through all the business at one meeting. It may have to be rather a long one.

There is a growing feeling amongst us that we are not doing enough as a Section in the way of entertainment. Other Sections are making rather elaborate preparations. It is suggested that we should have a Council Meeting early in July to consider the question, and incidentally it will give the executive an opportunity of telling the Council what is being done. I shall be glad to know one or two dates convenient to you for this meeting.

I communicated your reply about F---'s [a German contributor] paper to Herringham. He writes to say that he thinks we do not quite appreciate the position, which is this: 1. the matter is urgent. 2. conciliatory let-

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ters have already passed. 3. F--- says that he will not give an independent communication to any one section, and will only give it to a combination of the three sections - Neurology, Psychiatry & Medicine. Herringham is anxious to know as soon as possible if we agree to a joint meeting of the three sections, one of the afternoons, as F--- would like an answer by the end of the month. I do not know the man or his work sufficiently to express an opinion whether it would pay us to sacrifice one fifth of our independent communications to hear him. . . .

That Osler did not ~~however~~ waste much ink in his replies is evident from the answer to this last inquiry:

Dear Pasteur: I think such a thing is out of the question - to have a joint session of three sections for one man! He must be a megaloccephalic crank! Sincerely yours, . . .

Naturally there were many questions which needed prompt and definite decisions: ^{and that} ~~Meanwhile~~ ^{he was having} ~~there were~~ other responsibilities. ~~The preceding Oct~~

~~tober~~ The Prince of Wales who appeared to be a delicately built boy, over

whose physical condition his parents were greatly worried, had taken up

residence at Magdalen ^{(the preceding October,} with directions that he should be put under ^{the} Osler's

^{of the Regius Professor of Medicine} care. He had had an attack of influenza in April and soon after Osler's

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return he was called in to see ^{left} him; and leaves in his account-book notes of this and all subsequent visits. They appear to have understood each other from the first. The Regius evidently felt that 'the lad was being too much fussed over,' and the silver inkstand from a grateful patient some ^{time} ~~with other indications~~ years later ^{probably, taken with other indications,} makes it seem possible that this was the correct diagnosis.

On the last day of May he writes L. L. Mackall:

There is a big Librarians dinner to Carnegie on Monday eve to which I have subscribed for us both. I thought you would be interested & I was allowed to bring a guest. Will you call for me at the Royal Automobile Club Pall Mall, at 7.30 Wire me Monday a m if you can come. I think we shall meet some pleasant people.

On June 16th he ^{Sends word} writes to the Yale Press: "I am delighted with the paper and page which will make a splendid book. Send me the proof please in galley form as there will be a good many things to add here & there." And the same day, evidently in reply to some queries about the medical school, he writes Anson Phelps Stokes:

Dear Stokes: You could do at Yale what is done at Jena, Heidelberg, and other German universities - have a medical school as good as there is! There is no difficulty on the laboratory side. Put your anatomy, physio-

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logy, pathology and pharmacology on a level with your physics and biology. There is a difficulty in America and in England with medicine, surgery, midwifery, etc., as only in a few places as at the J. H. U. does the medical school control the clinical material; but it would be an immense stimulus to medical education throughout the country if Yale could organize, to begin with, a department of medicine and surgery on the modern scale. Of course, to do that you must have control of a hospital, and this is by no means an easy matter to arrange; still, it is not impossible. . .

He writes on June 24th: "I have been much tied up with the exams - only just free, & half dead;" but he has revived sufficiently to engage himself to write one of the essays for the memorial volume to be published as a feature of the Roger Bacon Commemoration projected for July 1914. A large international committee had been organized, with an executive committee of twelve of which Osler and Mr. A. G. Little to whom he writes, were both members:

Dear Little: Yes, I could have the article ready by next February. I have got your MSS. and could send them whenever you wished. When I have a little leisure I would like to go over them carefully. Allbutt would write a good article, but I do not know that it would be necessary to have more than one person dealing with the medical side. He could do it well - probably better than I can. I understood that mine was to be in the form of a lecture, for which Bacon's position in the history of medicine would

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be very suitable. Later I would like to see the prologue of the d.R.S.

It might be well to have a meeting of the Committee.

At the instigation of Sir Henry Burdett Osler had been
~~He had permitted himself to be elected President of the British Hos-~~

pitals Association, an organization of hospital administrators ^{who held} ~~which had~~

their annual conference for this year, ~~at which he presided,~~ in Oxford on

June 27th ^{At this meeting he} ~~"an interesting group of men,"~~ he subsequently wrote Sir Henry

Burdett. ~~"The Association will do a great deal of good."~~ Before the As-

sociation Osler gave a very sensible address in which, after stating that

the country at large might congratulate itself on having an admirable hos-

pital system, he went on to say: "Do not be over-anxious that you have

fallen upon troublesome days [The National Health Insurance Act], that you

are full of worries as managers - it is good for you, and I hope that your

worries may be increased by what I am going to tell you this morning. It

is well to be thoroughly chastened when the rod is upon you!" He went on

^{enumerate the}
to ~~the~~ four points he wished particularly to dwell upon - that they must

give up the voluntary system; that they must provide laboratories; that

there should be a physician in charge who is not engaged in general prac-

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← tice; that the county hospitals should be used for post-graduate instruction. It was the sort of sermon Osler could drive home fearlessly and effectively, and his telling and picturesque phrases which evidently were spoken impromptu and subsequently published* from stenographer's

[*Cf. The Hospital, London, July 5, 1913, liv, 411.

notes remind one of his manner of address before Lady Aberdeen's people

It savours of the pale day agitation for hospital standardization: for example,
in Dublin. ~~For example, he said~~ in regard to his second point, *he said:*

Excellent as are the general hospitals of this country in regard to the care of the patient, the nursing and the general arrangements - always clean, always tidy, always looking well - when I go to a general hospital I am usually asked to see the wards and the kitchens. I say "No, I do not want to see them, they could not look better here than they did in the last place I visited; show me your clinical laboratory, show me your pathological laboratory." And then the manager has an engagement. He says, "Will you kindly show him that room in the basement?" - and he goes away with a blush that leaves a radiance. And that is what I would emphasize before this Association. You may just as well know the truth, and it is ^{this -} that so far as your clinical and pathological laboratories in the county hospitals are concerned, I will not say that they are out of date, because they never were in date, but I say they are shockingly behind the times. You may as well know the truth, and you have got to reform it; you have got to change it. You have got to rearrange your ideas because many of you are ignorant on this question.

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Act. 64.

There was much more of this, and in an enthusiastic editorial, Sir Henry Burdett agreed with all he had said and spoke as hopefully as he could in regard to the deep-rooted conservatism which embraces the English hospital system. But it is of interest that ^{in the reports of the meeting} the Association was said to have been especially interested "in the new wing of the Radcliffe Infirmary which will give the institution the most complete clinical and pathological laboratories [~~thanks to Mr. Henry Phipps' so specified contribution to the Oxford Endowment Fund, and to the windfall from the will of Mr. John Briscoe~~] yet attached to a county hospital in this country - a development to be traced no doubt to the influence of the Regius Professor of Medicine:" *- all due to a certain specific contribution to the Oxford Endowment Fund it might be added.*

On July 7th he writes to A. C. Klebs: "I have been swamped with work for the past two weeks - so many meetings, & the Congress details. Are you coming on for it? If so do save the evening of August 6th for my dinner to the foreign members of my Section at the Royal Automobile Club. I will get you

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to help me with the seating as you know a good many of the men, &c";
and to Jacobs two weeks later: "We have taken rooms at Brown's and hope
to have the Müllers, Sudhoff and others with us. I wish I could join
you at a game of golf. I have had no time for months."

Though the rumble of that vast undertaking ^{The Congress} had by this time come to
obliterate most other sounds, one may, while awaiting its arrival, stop
to mention two comparatively small happenings - a sad and a pleasant one.
There is a bound essay in Osler's library by Francis Gotch entitled "Two
Oxford Physiologists" in which on July 19th ^{Osler} ~~he~~ has written: "We buried
poor Gotch today - a good colleague & a good friend;" and there follows
an account of his long illness, during which Osler had cared for him. And
in relief the pleasant happening may be recorded - the arrival from Persia
of a rare MS. on which ~~Dr. Sa'eed had~~ ^{was} written, "Copied in the year A. H.
761 (1360) by one who carries back his ancestors to the one who studied di-
rectly under Avicenna himself in Hamadan the last home of the great Philo-
sopher. Presented to Sir W. Osler to whose sound teachings the profession

all the world over owes so much, by M. Sa'eed, July 1913." ~~And in the~~
~~letter accompanying the MS. ^{was} he~~ added: "I hope you will graciously accept
~~it from me as a token of my indebtedness to your teachings in your Prac-~~
~~tice of Medicine which has been my companion and help since 1895." To~~
~~this Osler replied on August 1st.~~

To Mr. Sa'eed from W.O.

13 Newton Garden
August 1913

Dear Dr. Sa'eed: It is exceedingly kind in you to send me that beautiful Avicenna manuscript. I have just shown it to Mr. Cowley at the Bodleian who is delighted with it, and says it is in an unusually good state of preservation. Let me know please, at any time, of others that may be offered for sale, and I would particularly like a manuscript of Avicenna's poems. Mr. Cowley tells me that he thinks modern volumes of his poems have been issued. I would like very much if you could have someone take a good photograph of the tomb of Avicenna, and send me a memorandum of the cost. I am interested also in Rhazes. How long shall you be staying in Hamadan? I should like to send you a copy of the new edition of my Text-book (1912). Sincerely yours, W^m OSLER.

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The XVIIth International Congress, likely to be the last of the unwieldy, pre-war, periodical gatherings of medical men from all over the world, was held in London from Wednesday August 6th to Tuesday the 12th, under the presidency of Sir Thomas Barlow. Thirty-two years before, in 1881, another of these great congresses had been held in London, which Palmer Howard of McGill and his protégé William Osler had attended and which was also 'graced by the presence of the Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince of Prussia.' But though the Kaiser was now on his throne, the then Prince of Wales was in his grave and so also were all the great figures that made notable a congress at which Pasteur and Bastian had tilted over spontaneous generation and at which Huxley, Lister, Virchow, and Koch had all spoken. ^{to these, there were no} There were ~~no~~ comparable outstanding figures ^{was actions} at this second London Congress whose work, comprising a staggering list

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~~sections~~
of subjects in ~~its innumerable lectures~~, may be said to have been based almost entirely on the further development of the researches of those giants. There was one exception perhaps, the most picturesque figure of the Congress, a German from Frankfurt, Paul Ehrlich the discoverer of salvarsan, whose brilliant career was to end just two years later and after only twelve months of war, believing to the end that his Kaiser was an upholder of peace.

Into the whirlpool of ^{huge assemblies} great congresses of this sort are always drawn other gatherings which ^{have} no official connection with the main body; and it may be recalled that in 1881 Osler was a delegate from Montreal to the National Veterinary Congress. So at the present time, there met at the Royal College of Surgeons on ~~August 5th~~, the day before the ^{great} International Congress opened, the International Association of Medical Museums, an organization which had received his warm support and whose existence was largely due to the enthusiasm of Dr. Maude Abbott of McGill. Professor A. S. Warthin of Ann Arbor, Michigan, presided, and Osler prefacing his

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remarks by a warm tribute to the late Sir Jonathon Hutchinson 'at whose wonderfully popular museum at Hazlemere the results produced by the classification of well-chosen material along any line might be seen,' went on to speak in favour of the international association of workers along *similar lines.* ~~this~~ line. He took the trouble, moreover, to write to Strathcona, telling him about the work at the McGill Museum and of the proposed Association, and as a result ere long sent Dr. Abbott a cheque for £1,000 ⁱⁿ to support ~~the~~ ^{of his most} worthy movement ^{project.}

It was a brilliant and memorable scene when on ^{the morning of August 11th} ~~Wednesday~~ morning in Albert Hall, packed to the doors and ceiling, Prince Arthur of Connaught speaking for the King formally opened the Congress, ^{to be} followed by Sir Edward Grey for the Government, and by the addresses from twenty-five or more official delegates from other countries in uniform or academic gown - if nothing more, it showed what a vast labour of organization in providing for 7,000 congressists had been put on the shoulders of practically one man, Dr. Wilmot P. Herringham. The whole Congress, indeed, was on

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such a scale as to make any subsequent attempt to rival it appear hopeless, and Prof. von Müller who, with his wife and daughter, was among

Osler's special guests at Brown's and who was chosen President of the *Succeeding*
Copenhagen which would be for a catalogue conference would have been held,
 Congress to follow in Munich in 1917, ~~(H)~~ expressed himself, in regard to the
despairingly
 possibility of competing with it, ~~in hopeless terms.~~ That things were

going well is evident from a card scribbled in the course of the week to

H. B. Jacobs:

I send you the Congress medal - not Gallic! but the Lister is good.
 Such a time as we are having. Great success. I had 196 men of my section
 at dinner at the R. A. C. [Royal Automobile Club] on Wednesday [i.e. Aug-
 ust 6th] & we are seeing a host of your old friends here. Section work
 A.1. Yours in haste, W. O.

The British can hardly be outdone in bountiful hospitality, and what
 went on at Brown's Hotel was probably being reduplicated in countless
 other places. *where* There ~~at least~~ ^{at least} during the ten days ^{94/5} 396 people sat down
 to luncheon or dinner in ^a the large sitting-room where were two round
 tables seating eighteen people and they were ^{was full} always full to overflowing ^{twice a day -}
for both luncheon & dinner.
 Nor was this all, for at tea people came uncounted. Among them one after-

noon was the 'Uncle Ned' of the Brewster letters, who in one of the most

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charming of journals of a first trip to Europe* describes his few con-

[*E. S. Martin's "Abroad with Jane." Charles Scribner, 1914.

tacts with the person he therein calls Sir Richard Halter, - the first
as follows:

I found Sir Richard, and his wife too, and his niece from North America as well, all at the end of a week full of a prodigious discourse on matters medical and a vast entertainment of the visiting doctors, but with life and hospitality still left in them. They gave me tea, and as much assurance of interest at my coming as though they had not had innumerable doctors to dinner the night before, and they invited Jane and me to dine with them on Sunday night when they would be back from the country.

And on the Sunday night at Brown's:

We dined with the Holters, in luxury and pride as it turned out, at the commodious, domesticated, London tavern where they had established themselves in apartments suitable for the entertainment of all the doctors. They gave us meat and drink and friendship and hospitable discourse. Sir Richard questioned us about our intentions and revolved them in his helpful mind. They included a progress through Holland and Belgium. "Do you like legs?" he asked me. I told him "Yes, of course." "Then you should take a look at Ostend. Don't forget it." So I fixed Ostend in my mind as an improving place, recommended by a physician, not to be overlooked, but all this, of course, is confidential.

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And in order to introduce the successor of Mr. Whitelaw Reid this journal for a moment may be continued to Monday:

At the American Embassy at half-past one I found the Ambassador, and discussed with him the state and prospects of our country at the time I parted from it, the state, prospects, inhabitants, habits, and climate of Great Britain, and the expediency of having the Rockefeller hook-worm movement brought to the attention of the doctors at their closing session that evening. Then the ambassador, who is not yet a proud man (except perhaps in the season), walked along with me, expounding his satisfaction in getting back since the first of August to informal clothes and hats, remarking as we passed Buckingham Palace on the politeness of the sentries in saluting his automobile (which bears the arms of the United States) when he rode by in it, and their consideration in letting him pass unobserved when he went afoot. But after all I suppose their consideration is due to his neglect to wear our national cockade on his hat.

But this is getting away from an occasion in which Mr. Page does not properly figure - the Congress. In the course of its procedures, Ehrlich gave a memorable address on Chemotherapy, and another was given on the last day by the Rt. Hon. John Burns of the Local Government Board who spoke on the national health and incidentally, as a labouring man, on the waste-

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fulness of armaments; but this is not the reason he meanwhile was being heckled by a scattering of suffragettes who one by one were bodily extracted from the assembly by some stalwart 'bobbies'. But like all other gatherings of the sort, the Congress was chiefly interesting on its social side. There were magnificent dinners - one of 500 guests at the Hotel Cecil given by the Government and at which John Morley Lord President of the Council, presided and another at the Savoy given by the President of the Congress. There were conversaziones at the South Kensington Museum ^{and} by the Corporation of London at the Guild Hall. There were receptions at Windsor Castle, at Lambeth Palace, at Strawberry Hill and at all the London hospitals. On Sunday there were excursions to Oxford, to Cambridge, and on the river, and for the more pious who remained, a special service at St. Paul's and another at the Abbey. But perhaps the most picturesque of all the entertainments was the evening fete on August 11th given by Lord and Lady Strathcona in the Botanical Gardens at Regent's Park, which were decorated like a fairyland by Japanese lanterns pendant

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from long bamboo poles and where there was music from the Royal Artillery band, ^{and} where the pipers of the Scots Guard played, and a folk-song quartette provided entertainment. There a wonderful old man just approaching his ninety-third year stood under a marquee at the head of the receiving line, prepared to shake hands with approximately 5,000 people who approached in a sinuous queue ^{without apparent end} until Osler in desperation, after this had gone on for more than an hour, entered into a conspiracy with his wife, who sent word ^{to their host that} she wished to speak with ^{him.} ~~Lord~~ Stratheona. So chairs were brought, and during the process of his extracting from her a promise that they would visit him at Glencoe later in the summer, the endless queue was broken and diverted to the supper tent.

The ^{transactions} ~~session~~ of no other medical congress had been so thoroughly reported in the lay press, and as an aftermath not only the papers but the ^{news-} Government ^{in the consequence of Ehrlich's address, faced} ~~faced~~ for the first time the open discussion of venereal diseases, with the result that a Royal Commission was appointed to consider this great national menace. Another aftermath was a letter in The Times of August 13th in which Sir Henry Morris expostulated against some statements

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expressed by readers at the Congress concerning the development leading toward whole-time professional services in hospitals and medical schools.

Osler promptly took up the gauntlet and from the Athenaeum Club that night

sent the following letter to the Editor in reply:

Sir: - Sir Henry Morris's opinion carries the weight of his distinguished position and long experience as a teacher, but I am afraid he does not realize the changed and changing conditions - certainly in medicine - or he would not speak of the head of a modern clinic as a "Jack-of-all-trades," and let him visit Krehl at Heidelberg, Kraus or His at Berlin, von Müller at Munich, or, should he prefer a surgical clinic, that of the Mayo Brothers at Rochester, Minn., and he will understand what organization under a "Jack-of-all-trades" means. In the rearrangements of London University it is very important to have the active coöperation of such men as Sir Henry Morris; and of this I am sure - that a visit of a week or two to any one of the clinics I have mentioned would make of him a strong convert to the scheme suggested by the Royal Commission, so far as the hospital work is concerned. Yours, &c.,

W^m Osler.

That night the Oslers left for North Britain with some friends to escape for a few weeks from 'the world and his wife.' They went first to the Culag Hotel, Lochinver, ^{MB.} and old shooting-lodge of the Sutherlands where

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with a delightful company was found peace for themselves and abundant fishing for Revere. From there a week later he writes to L. L. Mackall:

We have had a deuce of a business with this congress & only just escaped alive. This is a delightful spot - sea & moor & loch. We loaf & read while Revere fishes all day. He will be charmed with the Walton facsimile. I cannot say yet about my German trip. I am doubtful on account of the death of our professor of Physiology & I am chairman of the Board of Electors. It may be impossible to leave.

(There was no escaping from the June 1st given in the 'delightful spot')

Charles S. Sherrington was appointed to the Wayne Lecture Professorship to succeed (Chair) Professor Lotze Nov. 7. 1913

But The Times follows English people wherever they may be, and that Osler

(H) The issues of August 14th, 15th and 16th contained a series of two-column articles by Sir Henry Morris entitled "The Training of Doctors," and the articles probably voiced what others felt. The last one of them ends with this question: "Why should an attempt be made to thrust on the University of London such a series of recommendations as those concerning its Faculty of Medicine - a set of ornamental cast-iron professors in a miniature faculty, figuratively feeding a few students in a sort of doll's-house 'Constituent College' with fertilizing ideas, forming a section of an ideally perfect University with German foundations and a Maryland crest, and flying the Banner of the Great Ideal? Why should it?" A succession of letters by others in similar vein appeared in subsequent issues, one of which in the issue of August 23rd upheld the training of the co-called 'practical' doctor. This so aroused Osler that he wrote a rather scathing letter in reply which he curiously enough preserved but evidently slept over and never forwarded, but

was
was still in a combative mood regarding the 'training of doctors' is evident

the following
from a letter on Culag Hotel paper which he preserved but evidently thought

forwarding, he said:
better of sending, stating:

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I have waited for a teacher more familiar with London students to protest against the Philistinism of Mr. ^{C-G.} ~~Clayton-Greene~~ whose letter appeared in your issue of August 23rd. As the London hospitals train our students, Oxford and Cambridge teachers have a direct interest in the problem of medical education in the metropolis. From my point of view there is only one intellectual infection of any permanent value to the medical student - the scientific spirit, and outlook, and attitude of mind, which he gets, often unconsciously, from his teachers and fellows. If good, it leavens his life's work. That he may be steeped in it and be at the same time thoroughly practical is the experience of scores of teachers and of scores of pupils, of men of the type of Bowman & Paget. The practical ^[when Mr. C-G had landed] man was well defined by a general practitioner in my company a few moments ago as one who never learns anything after leaving his hospital. I should be precious sorry to have any student in whom I was interested come under the influence of a man who in these days could say that 'scientific education may be excellent as an ideal but I doubt if it materially assists the average practitioner in the treatment of disease.' Mr. ~~Greene~~ represents a type - the man who jeered at Harvey, scoffed at Pasteur and scorned Lister - the carpenters in surgery and the pill-mongers in medicine, without vision beyond the bench or the counter. The tragedy is that the type persists.

When writes his entry

His ~~rest~~ was evidently doing him good, and on August 25th he writes

to Weir Mitchell:

We are having a delightful rest in this lovely spot. I loaf & walk & we usually join Revere for lunch or tea in one of the lochs. The season

has been so dry that both the salmon rivers are too low for fishing but the trout are fairly numerous. We go to Glencoe next week with the Strathconas and then home, in time I hope to see Welch. I wrote last week about the Congress. My section was excellent, a great many good papers, and the foreigners were well represented. Chauffard, & Vaquez of Paris, Kraus & His of Berlin & Müller of Munich were the stars. I had a dinner for all the participators in my section & the council & officers, 197, at the Royal Automobile Club - a delightful evening. Brunton kept up well, but he looks aged. You know he has a serious heart trouble, which limits his activities. Bridges lives near Oxford but a letter to Yattendon should reach him as his mother-in-law lives there. His appointment has given great satisfaction. We have just published at the Press a collected edition of his poems. I will have a copy sent to you. . .

I have been studying the earliest printed medical books to 1480 to get a picture of the professional mind of the period. I have traced about 140 & have photographs of the more important. All are 13th century, Arabic, ⁿSalerian or contemporary. The Greeks had not come to their own - only the aphorisms of Hippocrates & one small tractate of Galen! I shall make it my presidential address at the Bibliographical Society. Our historical section of the Royal Society of Medicine is doing well. Jastrow is coming over to lecture on Babylonian Medicine.

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So from Lochinver to Inverness, down the Caledonian Canal to Ballachulish,
 and from there by motor into the awe-inspiring solemnity of Glencoe - 'the
 glen of weeping,' where once Ian Macdonald lorded it over the country and
 where as Macaulay tells us was the scene of the atrocious massacre by royal
 troops of the unsuspecting and hospitable Macdonalds; ~~February 14, 1692;~~
 and where from Mount Royal, Strathcona's residence, ^{today as then in 1692,} is said to be the most
 gorgeous view from any human habitation. But though they found a house-
 party, and though Revere had fishing to his heart's content, the present
 Laird, their host, was away; for being at the same time High Commissioner
 to Canada, Strathcona learning that Lord Haldane was going to ^{Montreal?} Toronto^(?) to
 address the ^{American} Bar Association, and feeling that the High Commissioner of
 Canada in spite of his ninety-three years of age should be there to greet
 a Lord Chancellor of England, had decided over night to accompany him and
 had taken passage on the "Lusitania" August 3rd, accompanied by his daugh-
 ter, ^{He} spent three sweltering days in Montreal ^{and} having done his duty returned

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on the same ship, reaching Glencoe too late to see this particular group of guests at least.

There followed a peaceful few weeks in Oxford before term began - the only really peaceful time they could look forward to when Oxford was empty and when every afternoon he and Revere could jump the fence and go down for a swim and frolic in the pool at 'Parson's Pleasure.' But even during September there were visitors. Among them was Mrs. Brewster's 'Uncle Ned' who gives this account of a pilgrimage to 13 Norham Gardens.*

["Abroad with Jane." p. 111.

. . . But, as I said, people are apt to have erroneous ideas about what they are really doing and to lose sight of the end in the ardour of their attention to the process. There was Sir Richard Holter, whom Jane and I visited over Sunday at Oxford. I would not dare assume that Sir Richard has delusions about anything, but whatever he thinks, he gives out that he is a professor in Oxford University. Well, he is; but his great line is the direction of human life. I went about with him for a day and a half, and wherever he went he was always directing human life, and wherever he touched it it seemed to go lighter and more blithely.

It was not term time when we were in Oxford and the studious youths were not there, but a dirigible war balloon dropped in about the time we did, and camped on a college common over Sunday, and that filled up the place a little.

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I was glad to see a dirigible, though it seemed a mighty modern bird to be resting in the grounds of Oxford University. Sir Richard showed me the Bodleian, and its new and admirable device for storing books. It had too many - all the great libraries have too many - and instead of crowding in an enormous library to contain them, it dug out a large hole under a venerable building nearby, put stacks in it, connected it by a suitable passage, and there they can have a million books or so, available, harmless, and inoffensive to the landscape.

Next day he took us to church in Christ Church Cathedral, a duodecimo cathedral but very worshipful, and afterward showed us many things - rooms, halls, chapels, windows, more libraries, and the like, venerable and edifying. And after lunch, with one of the kind ladies of his family he motored us twelve or fourteen miles over to Ewelme, where about five hundred years ago, when our forebears were still inhabitants and part owners of England, the Earl and Countess of Suffolk founded a 'hospital' for the care of a dozen or two old people, and built a church beside it. There it all is as they left it, and the Countess's effigy, very handsome and perfect, on her tomb in the church. Sir Richard directs the life of the hospital ex officio as one of the details of his Oxford occupation. The Earl of Suffolk is not buried there. He got into politics and his body was not recovered.

And among other pilgrims to 13 Norham Gardens who appeared at this time was a foreign-looking physician, Dr. M. Sa'eed who bore under his arm a superb MS.

of Avicenna's Canon written in 1190, wrapped in a Persian ^{cloth} shawl almost as old ^{together} ~~as~~ ^{with} two other books, without which as he said he never moved - his Bible & Othman's Practice of Medicine: and it is certain that all the Arabic MSS. in the Bodleian were gotten out for

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inspection and there was much talk about Avicenna and the plan to get his dilapidated tomb repaired.*

the best of the American mission?

would make a long story, use that preserved

*no verb in this sentence
just a clause*

1244?

~~*This is merely the introduction to the long story of Osler's efforts to get Governmental authorization to repair Avicenna's tomb in Hamadan, A sheaf of letters on the subject, with Dr. Sa'eed, Mr. J. Arthur Funk, the British Consul, Mr. A. R. Neligan of the British legation, Prof. E. G. Browne the Persian scholar, and others. Osler attempted to arouse the interest of the profession by letters to the journals, by getting Dr. Sa'eed on ^{another} visit to England to speak at the Historical Section on the subject, by arousing the interest of the Persian Society; and even the war and its aftermath did not cause him to leave off. Meanwhile Avicenna's tomb continues to disintegrate. Of it Dr. Sa'eed wrote at this time: "The date of 1294 A. H. at the top is the date of renewing the place by the daughter of the Shah. The dome also was built by the Princess but is decaying and needs attention. Inside is black with the smoke of wood opium and Hashish used by the Dervishes who take shelter there."~~ *Singapore Bindwood*

He had found on his return, the galley proof of his first Silliman Lecture, and writes the Yale Press to send the others, saying: "Please yourself about the bindings. Send me a dummy. We shall be able to have the book out by Christmas. You can arrange the page proof alright." ~~[Not a colloquialism - cf. Murray's dictionary].~~ And

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On September 30th to Anson Phelps Stokes: "I will get on with the lectures at once. There have been shocking delays but I do not think it will do the

book any harm. Tell Day I am in dust and ashes for my delinquencies." *But warn us this*

State of mind

Yet he does not hesitate to ~~take on something else, for he writes Dr.~~ *promise himself for another tasking and accordingly*

J. C. Comrie, the lecturer on the History of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh who was proposing to edit a series of medical biographies:

I think I could take the Sydenham & the Boerhaave. Streeter might be willing to do the sixteenth-century Anatomists as he knows Vesal so well. W. G. MacCallum of Columbia could do Malpighi; Power, Harvey; Paget for Paré - unless you wish new men for these two - Mediaeval Medicine, Norman Moore. I don't know who to suggest for Greeks and Arabians. Save Brown of Cambridge. I don't believe we have an Arabian scholar in the profession - it is time we tried to breed one. I am delighted to hear that the post-graduate course has been so successful.

'It is time that we bred one.' The feeling therein expressed may in a measure explain this note written by Professor Morris Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania, who says:

" I owe much to his encouragement. When he heard that I was interested in Babylonian-Assyrian medicine, he invited me to open a course of lectures on the History of Medicine at the Royal Society of ^{Medicine} Physicians in London.

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told after they had lunched the last day and were to pass on the books:

"There's just one thing to remember - be lenient!" It is needless to say that his attitude met with strong opposition from those entrenched in the old system of examinations which like the French concours kept men during their best years continually meeting tests on subjects they had long left behind. Certainly something was wrong with a system of accumulated examinations which in the case ^{at least} of one of ^{the examining bodies} ~~them at least~~, could reject sixty-nine per cent of the candidates.

Of the examinee, who had his chief sympathy, he said in the address:

When quoting figures I purposely dealt with the results of the final examinations, and I am sure the feeling uppermost in your minds was one of sympathy with the hundreds of young men who, after five years of hard work, fall in ordinary tests. and this brings us to a brief consideration of the examinee and his position. In two respects he is an unfortunate victim. Of one I have already spoken - the enormous development in the subjects of the curriculum; and here, I am sure, lies his serious difficulty. It is the case of a quart measure and a pint pot. Intellectual dyspepsia from cramming is at the bottom of his trouble. It is like a diet of hot bread, which a man can stand at first, but, as Lowell says in the "Fable for Critics"

By gradual steps he
Is brought to death's door by a mental dyspepsy.

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Another cause of the widespread rejections is defective preliminary education; but let me emphasize the fact that the percentages of rejections are nowhere higher than among the very best students - e.g., Cambridge men, among whom in some subjects more than fifty per cent are rejected. I do not deny that much could be done to relieve the present stasis if all medical students began thoroughly trained in physics, chemistry and biology. In this respect matters are improving year by year. And we should be more honest with the feeble ones, not fitted either by breeding or by pasture to pursue their studies, who should be asked early to withdraw. It is infinitely kinder to stop a man in his career than to allow him to struggle on painfully and submit to the humiliations of half a dozen or more rejections.

The conclusion of the matter is, the student needs more time for quiet study, fewer classes, fewer lectures, and, above all, the incubus of examinations should be lifted from his soul. To replace the Chinese by the Greek spirit would enable him to seek knowledge for itself, without a thought of the end, tested and taught day by day, the pupil and teacher working together on the same lines, only one a little ahead of the other. This is the ideal toward which we should move. The pity of it all is that we should have made an intolerable burden of the study of one of the most attractive of the professions, but the reform is in our own hands and should not be far off. A paragraph in an address of the late Dr. Stokes contains the pith of my remarks: 'Let us emancipate the student, and give him time and opportunity for the cultivation of his mind, so that in his pupilage he shall not be a puppet in the hands of others, but rather a self-relying and reflecting being.'

ist but a great doctor, ^{for the} ~~for~~ the use of digitalis in medicine we owe to him,
and though curiously enough he did not seem to be acquainted with its
action on the heart, yet it was ⁱⁿ anasarca, often one of the results of
heart disease - that he made many cures and brought foxglove into repute. ~~He~~
Withering's "Arrangements of British Plants," 1776, was the chief British
botanical text-book for many years. It was through Osler's intuitive
knowledge that a copy of Sibthorp's "Flora Oxoniensis" was secured, which
was full of notes of Ewelme plants. These were found to be by Randolph,
Bishop of Oxford, 1798, and they have been recently published in our An-
nual Report. Though we cannot claim Osler as a botanist, ~~he~~ had a liking
for it, especially on the historic side, and shortly before his death he
was making inquiries in regard to the earliest evidence of a dried plant
other than those in the Egyptian offerings.

Canma between
Randolph & Bishop?

14 BRADNOPE ROAD
OXFORD

MS. 11
11

MS. 11

Aug. 18. 1920

Dear Dr. Cushing

✓ here with send
you a memorandum
on Sir W. Osler
and the John Locke
Scholarship which
I hope may be
of use to you
when you write
the paragraph
which you wish
to insert on the

subject -

John Vincent

N. A. Stewart

The John Locke Scholarship in Mental Philosophy was founded by the late Henry Wilde F.R.S. Hon. D.C.L. for "the promotion of the Study of Mental Philosophy among the junior members of the University of Oxford." According to Regulations approved by Convocation on May 24 1898 it is "Confined to students of the University of Oxford who have passed all the examinations requisite for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts and who have attained the seventeenth Term and not exceeded the twenty-fifth Term, from their Matriculation." It is tenable for one year, and the value is £100. The Examiners and Electors are 1. The Regius Professor of Medicine, 2. The Weynfleet Professor of Moral & Metaphysical Philosophy, 3. The Wykeham Professor of Logic, 4. White's Professor of Moral Philosophy (throughout the whole of Dr. Osler's tenure, the writer of this Memorandum), 5. The Wilde Reader of Mental Philosophy. "Each of these officers, if he think fit, may appoint some other person

the degree of Master of Arts at least, 2
and approved by the Vice-Chancellor
to act in his place. Dr Osler
occasionally appointed some one ^{so} to act
in his place; but, as a rule, he
examined himself. He evidently en-
joyed the opportunity ^{this given} which the annual
examination gave him of coming in
direct touch with the humanistic
side of Oxford work: indeed, it
was as a humanist, even more
than as a man of science, that
he ^{seemed to me to} contributed ~~to~~ to the efficiency of
the Board of Examiners. Among
the papers set in the Examination—
(1) Essay (2) Philosophical Questions,
(3) Logic, (4) Mental Science (general)
and (5) Mental Science (special)
with History of Philosophy as an alter-
native paper — the ~~two~~ ^{two} Mental
Science papers (general & special),
of course, always contained questions
on which, as a man of science,
Dr Osler spoke with authority; but what
I remember best is the value
which I ~~learned to attach to his~~
~~learned to attach to his~~ learned to attach to his

History knowledge of
physiological principles

3
judgment on Candidates' answers
to questions belonging to moral and
political philosophy - (Questions about
which he amused us by protesting,
year after year, that he knew
nothing at all!) - and especially
to his judgment on the Essay,
perhaps the most important part of
the whole examination. Here
his keen eye for native ability,
and for the style in which
it expressed itself, was one of
the most valuable assets which
the Board of Examiners possessed
during the period of Dr. Osler's
membership.

J. A. Stewart

May 18. 1920.

Though wages have risen and ^{taxes} ~~taxes~~ were heavy, the requirements of 1916 were a general
of renewed confidence throughout England. The resolution to pursue the war to the
end has been strengthened by the Gallipoli news and by the stories of the which
then followed through of the treatment of prisoners at Witleybury and other internment
camps in January. ~~Consequently~~ ~~Mrs. Phipps~~ Mrs. Phipps after the meeting of the Society
had at last ~~shown~~ shown impatience and actually threatened a severance of
relations. ~~Menard~~ to keep the peace in this respect defers at Radnor
that ~~the~~ ~~best~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~western~~ ~~front~~ ~~for~~ ~~years~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~some~~ ~~was~~ ~~her~~
imposed a very ~~new~~ ~~of~~ ~~five~~ ~~million~~ ~~men~~ ~~more~~ ~~and~~ ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~however~~ ~~is~~ ~~yet~~ ~~un~~ ~~trained~~
in actual warfare. ~~But~~ ~~later~~

Of the ^{actual} ~~actual~~ ~~number~~ ~~of~~ ~~men~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~armed~~ ~~forces~~ ~~later~~ ~~throughout~~ ~~apparently~~ ~~and~~
Little and said that ~~at~~ ~~this~~ ~~moment~~ ~~a~~ ~~number~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~relatives~~ ~~were~~
actually engaged. "We are kept ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~front~~ ~~most~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~" his wife writes on
April 24th "well - all the battles are going on at the front - for the most part -
and the ~~Can's~~ are holding a line ~~about~~ ~~the~~ ~~front~~." They indeed were, for all they
during March April and June in the ~~desperate~~ ~~and~~ ~~large~~ ~~un~~ ~~recorded~~ ~~fighting~~
for a better front held.

~~John~~ ~~Robert~~ ~~James~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~line~~ ~~drawn~~ ~~about~~ ~~the~~ ~~front~~ ~~the~~ ~~London~~ ~~and~~
largely engaged. And ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~16th~~ ^{Sunday the 16th} she writes "until we hold on so well while
the horse goes on in the same odd way, when I open the front door there
is always some one waiting for a job or for a letter of introduction to the
war office" ~~and~~ ~~again~~ ~~the~~ ~~General~~ ~~gives~~ ~~a~~ ~~glimpse~~ ~~of~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~front~~ ~~on~~ ~~Sunday~~ ~~the~~ ~~16th~~ ^{the} ^{particular} ^{Sunday}

"We now have ~~and~~ Mrs. Phipps the Rhode Scholar who was on the Society was
a practical leg in ~~the~~ ~~room~~ ~~make~~ ~~will~~ ~~stay~~ ~~in~~ ~~my~~ ~~or~~
he works. Bob is here too in a tremendous state of excitement as he has a job to
draw an audience at the front. Also Archie Mallock. Just as we finished
lunch on a note arrived with Ralph Allen (Foster's son) and another officer -

Copied

The spirit of Calypso-Chauvignin so far manifested in the narrow spirit too the
desire in falling opponents: ⁱⁿ the negative manifestations due to the competition ^{which} existing
exists in scientific circles which leads to a narrowness of judgment instead of
a genuine appreciation of the broader work of others; and he warned against the
jealous spirit of the 'local rhy' laboratory. But, he continued:

1943

St. Malin

Learn that the specimens were sent to ~~the~~ Paris at St. Malin.

at St. Malin

containing

of examinations might not change the & singly a choice for the pollen and work.
the way not in frequency of growth of
they were sent to the same place as
of pollen and the pollen - some from: saw
of specimens was ~~sent~~ - the specimens, for example, were sent to the same place

One day take about the paper

ST. THELEMA
English Literature.

Honor Paper

1911.

- I. In the poem beginning "I sing the progress of a deathless soul" justify the author on Evolutionary views, for starting its progress in an apple.
- II. How far did Democritus Junior draw upon Democritus Senior for the foundations of his immortal book?
- III. Trace the influence of the life of Thomas Hobson on John Milton.
- IV. Write, and justify, an imaginary love letter from Damaris Cudworth to John Locke.
- V. Write a bibliographical essay on the vicissitudes of "Queen Mab".
- VI. Sketch the life of Rose Aylmer and explain physiologically how Charles Lamb was able to live for weeks on Landors' verses to her.

Egerton Yorrick Davis,
Senior Examiner.

D Miss Cady was a student at the time she became much interested in the daughter of Ralph Cudworth one time master of Christ College, Cambridge. She has become interested in the legend of her attachment to John Locke and has a water color painted showing the two sitting together under Milton's Mulberry tree at Christ Church, in the garden of Landors at

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This was more entertaining than a review of the Siliman Lectures concerning which see

On November 1st he writes again to the Yale Press: "I have been so tied up the past two months with extra work that I was not able to get on with the proofs. Jastrow whom I consulted about some Babylonian matters and who was coming over to lecture, wished to see them, so that detained me further. Now I shall get on with them rapidly. There is no hope of getting the volume out by January and it will make no difference except that it would have been nice to distribute them for Christmas presents."

It will be recalled that during one of Osler's summers spent at "The Glades" he had made friends with a number of Boston ^{young whom he found congenial,} gentlemen, ~~in whose~~ ^{at this time} society he greatly delighted, ^{One of them was staying at 13 Northam Gardens while giving} and it may explain in a measure a character-
^{marked}istic letter ~~written at this time~~ ^{a course of lectures and this explains in a measure a character-} which appeared shortly in the New York Nation, entitled "Charles Francis Adams at Oxford." The letter reads as

follows:

Oxford, November 4.

The University did herself great honour today when she enrolled this distinguished American among her graduates. There are several occasions when honorary degrees are conferred - at the Encaenia, or Commencement, in June, at one of the many degree days during the term, at special gatherings or congresses, such as the British Association, or at any one of the weekly

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meetings of Convocation during term. The preliminary procedure is slow, taking four or five weeks. The name is first proposed to the Hebdomadal Council, the next week the case is stated, the following week the voting takes place, and in the next Gazette an announcement is made ~~in the following term~~ under University Agenda...

"In a meeting of Convocation, to be followed by a meeting of the Congregation of the University, to be holden on Tuesday, November 4, at Two o'Clock, the following business will be presented to the respective Houses.

T. B. Strong,
Vice-Chancellor.

Delegates' room,
October 28, 1913.

1. CONVOCATION.
1. Honorary Degree.

"It will be proposed to confer the Degree of D. Litt., honoris causa, on Charles Francis Adams, LL.D., Harvard, late Lecturer on the History and Institutions of the United States of America."

¶ Oxford University is governed by a democracy of doctors and masters who week by week meet in Convocation and Congregation and pass upon the business prepared by a group of eighteen men, who, with the Vice-Chancellor and proctors, make up the Hebdomadal Council. A degree may be conferred in one of three places, the Divinity School, the most beautiful room in Oxford, dating from the fifteenth century; the Convocation House; or in the famous Sheldonian Theatre. By a piece of good luck there was a contentious meeting today, so that Convocation had to meet in the theatre. Robed in a scarlet gown with gray trimming, Mr. Adams was first escorted by the regius professor of history to the Divinity School to await the decision of Convocation. At two o'clock sharp the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Strong, escorted by the four

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bedells, entered a fairly well filled theatre, the senior bedell saying: "Intretis in Congregationem Magistri, intretis." Taking his seat, the Vice-Chancellor declares "causa hujus convocationis est," etc., and immediately proceeds to the first business in hand, on this occasion the reading of the proposal to confer the degree; and asking in the old phrase, "Placetne vobis Domini Doctores, placetne vobis Magistri?" Unless the question is doubtful one rarely hears a "placet" or a "non placet"; and as no objection was raised the bedells went for the candidate and escorted him to the steps leading to the Vice-Chancellor's seat. It was a glorious day, and the sun, streaming through the window of Wren's majestic building, lit up a memorable scene, the centre of which was the alert, vigorous-looking old veteran, an historical representative of all that is best in American life, to whom the mother of English universities paid homage.

As the public orator, Mr. Godley, had not returned from Princeton, his deputy, Mr. Powell, Fellow of St. John's College, made the presentation in the following Latin speech, many passages of which called forth hearty applause:

(Translation). "I think it is well known, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that for the last few years lectures on American Institutions have been given here by distinguished men, on one of whom, Charles Francis Adams, we are here today proposing to confer our highest Academical distinction. In his lectures on the Civil War he showed us clearly what was the character of the men who made America great.

When such a striking example of American character as we see before us today is presented to us, we think at once of the old days of Rome, when her greatness lay, not so much in the character of individual citi-

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zens as in that of her distinguished families. When we hear of any citizen that his grandfather and great-grandfather were made Presidents of the United States; that his father filled with high distinction the office of Ambassador to the British Court; that he himself served in the cavalry throughout the Civil War, and courageously faced great danger 'For Fair Liberty's Sake,' and received public honour for his valour at South Mountain, we seem to be reading the rolls of some great Roman family like that of the Bruti or the Decii, who prove the truth of the words

The brave breed the brave,

and the truth of the fact that it is the example or the painting of an ancestor which kindles the fire of valour in the hearts of his descendants.

Characters and men like these have often been bred by New England, the famous and noble home of simplicity, consistency, and of loyal duty. He will always be remembered as one of her most illustrious sons, for his unflinching championship on the field of battle for the freedom of the slave, and for his untiring efforts as a private citizen in healing the wounds inflicted by the war, and in removing all bitter feelings of defeat. He gave a remarkable proof of this in his Lectures, by the unstinted praise which he bestowed, not on his own side, but on the illustrious pair of Generals on the opposite side, Robert Lee and Thomas Jackson,

Who was a Stone Wall on the battlefield.

Finally since peace returned, he has been regarded as a sound authority on America, and has been appointed one of the Overseers of the University of Harvard; and he is regarded by his country as one of her most influential men, ever exhorting the younger generation to emulate the

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brave deeds of their fathers, and to be ready to spend themselves in their country's service.

A blessing on thy manly worth, Sir; this is the path to Heaven.

I present to you Charles Francis Adams, an American citizen, for admission to the Degree of Doctor in Letters, for Merit."

By an interesting coincidence, Mr. Adams's Lectures appeared from the Oxford Press this week. A most unfortunate date was chosen for their delivery - Eights Week, devoted to the boat races, when a Gibbon or a Mommsen would not have drawn good audiences. It is to be hoped in future that the October term may be selected for these lectures on American history. The value of the volume, so it seems to me, is the presentation of the subject, "Transatlantic Historical Solidarity," by an active participant in a great struggle. It is an inspiring volume for young men to read, and I trust the old veterans will rejoice in the splendid tribute which the distinguished lecturer paid to his old foe, Robert E. Lee, for whom he rightly claims admission 'among the world's great - one more American Immortal.'

WILLIAM OSLER.

In sending a 'bread-and-butter' letter after his return to Washington,

Mr. Adams referred to this 'elaborate and kindly communication' as having

given him 'what is commercially known as a "first-class send-off";' and he adds:

I was glad you accompanied your presentation of the speech in the original Latin with a translation; for I can only say that on the occasion referred to I found myself somewhat deluged by Latinity, and was almost pain-

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fully reminded of how rusty my Latin had become. Of this, by the way, I was still more forcibly reminded by a lapsus in my Oxford lectures, or in the language of Virgil: "Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem," which, translated, signifieth in this connection: "Doctor, let me confide to you my unspeakable mortification."

In the eyes of classical Oxford, I am no better than that eminent explorer, Dr. Cook, and stand convicted of the unpardonable. I have made not only a bit of bad Latinity, but a false quantity, two sins altogether unpardonable in the eyes of Oxford. If you will turn to page 154 of my lectures you will see to what I refer, in the line there quoted from Lucan. I also enclose you herewith a copy of a recent letter which I have addressed to the authority-in-chief of your Clarendon Press at "Amen Corner", in which I have set forth such extenuating circumstances as suggested themselves in excuse of my altogether unpardonable lapsus.

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~~It was this fall that~~ ^{the} General Education Board of the Rockefeller
~~Foundation~~ ^{under the ~~the~~ Chairman ^{ship of}} of which ^{ca. 1912,} Mr. F. T. Gates whose interest in medicine had been
~~aroused~~ ^{as before} by the reading of Osler's Text-book, ^{in Fall of 1913,} ~~was Chairman,~~ announced that
 they had given the sum of a million-and-a-half dollars to the Johns Hopkins
 Medical School 'for the purpose of so organizing the departments of medicine,
 surgery and paediatrics that the professors and their staffs might complete-
 ly withdraw from private practice in order to devote their entire time to
 their respective departments.' Osler's position in this particular matter
 has been rather emphatically expressed in some earlier letters, and though
 he hedged a good deal in expressing his opinion, his own extramural activi-
 ties had been of such a nature that he tended to sympathize with those who
 were opposed to the rigid Rockefeller programme and would have offered a com-
 promise. He wrote at this time a letter to the British Medical Journal,
 dated November 5th, in which he again expressed what he thought would be the
 dangers from what he termed 'a life of clinical and laboratory seclusion,
 though it is a great attraction and appeals to many men.'

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In this letter he spoke of the most gratifying feature of the endowment, namely that it was to be associated with the name of William H. Welch, saying: "No man of his generation in the United States has so deeply influenced the profession, not only by his administrative ability and his stimulating work in pathology, but much more by a personal, unselfish devotion to its highest interests." He must have sent this ^{communication} ~~letter~~ to Welch before it was printed, for in the following issue of the same journal there is published a reply dated November 10th and signed "W.H.W." which fully answers Osler's apprehensions and outlines the scheme which in late years has come to be adopted by a few of the London hospitals, whereby, adding unquestionably to their prestige, they have affiliated themselves in part with the University of London.

What may have passed privately between these two men is not known, but Osler had had sufficient experience during fifteen years in Baltimore to appreciate that even if he and Welch might not entirely agree on some programme, Welch's plan at least was well worth trying.

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However much ^{he} Osler favoured the 'hospital unit' scheme, with a paid incumbent, he apparently did not wish to entirely debar the professor from a certain amount of private consultation work, feeling that what had been true in his own case would undoubtedly apply to others; that it would not interfere with a teacher's university work and would encourage him to keep more in touch with the profession as a whole. There

was of course much to be said on both sides. In his own case, ^{the friendly doctor-patient} meeting ^{relations was not only a pleasure & source of friendships but} with people ^{and they came to him from most remote places. Thus} was a great stimulus, and in his day-book on ^{Nov.} the 29th, under the name of ^{the} two patients he saw in consultation on that day, he has written: "Curious coincidence. These people knew each other well in Winnipeg; both came over on purpose to see me and met on my doorstep 4000 miles away."

That Osler missed no opportunity for campaigning in aid of the reform ^{can be judged} needed in medical education from his remarks made at the annual court dinner of Sheffield University ^{earlier in} on November, 14th, on which occasion he was the guest of the university. ^{From all accounts he} He made a stirring plea for the linking up of the universities and hospitals in order that medical science might be

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advanced. For the medical schools no less than the universities needed that "subtle, imponderable element, a sort of educational radium, an emanation not easy to analyze, known as the university spirit." He paid a warm tribute to his friend the new Vice-Chancellor, late of New College, Oxford, saying that he "had three justifications for his office - mental eyes such as very few Vice-Chancellors had; a heart, which was so important for an institution dealing with the young; and, lastly and most important, an ideal Mrs. Vice-Chancellor. Unfortunately he lacked one important qualification, and that was the element of dullness, which Dr. Fuller had declared was essential in the head of a college - but of course he was talking of Oxford and Cambridge."

of Osler's relations to the education-reform^{movement} in England, the husband of 'the ideal Mrs. Vice-Chancellor' who three years later was to become President of the Board of Education, under the Coalition Cabinet of Mr.

^{and of the}
Lloyd George, writes as follows:

Others will tell you, with more authority than I can command, of his services to medical education in England. Of course we, at the Board of Education, made the fullest drafts on his experiences and enthusiasm, and

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1918

many are the conversations we held together after I took up official work in London. One of Osler's great ideas was to create a scheme under which country practitioners might be given regular opportunities of keeping in touch with clinical work in the hospitals; another was the further development of the clinical unit system of teaching in our hospitals and university schools; a third was a great development of post-graduate education. It was not his business to think out practical details, and I should doubt whether his strength lay in administration, but as his mind was always alive and moving, and as he was never frightened by the size or novelty of a plan, his counsels at a time of active concern for educational progress, were always of value, even if it might prove impracticable to give effect to them in every particular. His remarkable evidence given before the Royal Commission on London University was specially important as helping a professional opinion in favour of the clinical unit system of teaching which he had himself perfected at Johns Hopkins, and is sufficient to give him an enduring importance in the history of English medical teaching. Until his death he was a distinguished member of the two Committees which successively advised the Board of Education and the Treasury in the distribution of State grants to the Universities, and was thus brought into contact with all the medical work of an academic character which was proceeding in the country. In the end I doubt whether there were many men in Europe or America who had so good a synoptic view of the contemporary state of medical education in the world at large.

*All this may be a meagre account for his procrastination ^{in receiving the proofs} ~~and the completion~~ of the *Journal of Medicine*.*

On the 15th a letter from Oxford to Anson Phelps Stokes says: "A little

on the day of his return from Sheffield he writes

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more patience please! Am at it now - hard, and you will soon have the proofs.

Forgive the unpardonable delay and tell Mr. Day that I am in sackcloth and ashes."

But there were 'so many people coming & going,' ^{as he says in the following letter to} and on November 21st he

^{to}
writes Weir Mitchell:

I have owed you a letter for some time. I have to thank you for the delightful story, which I read on a long journey into Shropshire. I liked it so much. The picture of the divided family is so good. Gettysburg too was fine. Lady Osler read it with special interest as both Dr. & Col. Revere lost their lives in that great battle. We have had Charles Francis Adams here. I am sending you his lectures on the war. He is a fine old veteran & in great form. At the Royal Automobile Club he astonished the members by taking every morning the high dive, about 14 feet, into the swimming pool, very few attempt it. We are very busy - so many people coming and going, and I have got mixed up with London affairs so that I am there two or three times a week. Lauder Brunton is better, but looks badly. Poor Gowers is a sad wreck. I go in & have a chat with him as often as possible. I hope you liked the Harvey Portraits. Our Historical Society is a great success. Revere is home today, for what is called a "leave out". He is thriving but finds Latin & Greek not very easy. He has nice tastes & good hands. He is getting ready for the University. Your letter from the Hot Springs was full of marrow. I like such details about your work.

~~The Radcliffe Infirmary meanwhile had been opened and on the 27th he~~

~~writes: "I have been so busy with one thing or another that I have not~~

yet had time to finish correcting the (g)ooofs of my Yale lectures;" and the same day to A. C. Klebs: "I had a great gift the other day from Persia of a beautiful canon of Avicenna, 1190, and a new photograph of his tomb which needs repairing. I have sent for estimates preparatory to passing round the hat."

On December 4th he gave before the Abernethian Society at St. Bartholomew's hospital, his address on "The Medical Clinic: a Retrospect and a Forecast" - an address from which many quotations of an autobiographical nature have heretofore been taken, and which he began as follows: —————>

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ture have heretofore been taken, and which he began as follows:

Unrest and change are the order of the day, and it may be taken as a good sign that the medical profession is bestirring itself about many problems, one of the most important of which relates to the future of our medical schools. Those who have followed the discussions of the past few years will have noticed that two diametrically opposite opinions have been expressed. On the one hand, there is a group thoroughly satisfied with existing conditions - and with themselves - the teaching was never better, the students never more contented, and any change could not be but for the worse. On the other hand, there are those who say that the existing conditions in our large hospitals are inadequate to meet the modern needs of student and of staff, that the teaching is defective, that the rejections at the examinations are shockingly high, and there is inadequate provision for research, and that an entire change is needed in the organization of the clinical departments of our medical schools.

And he went on to tell in retrospect the story of the organization of the medical clinic at the Johns Hopkins, of his own methods of conducting his classes there, and of what, as he saw it, were the real functions of a medical clinic.

~~And his forecast follows:~~

[He said]
Now, in a few concluding words, let me give you a forecast. I designedly took this subject for my address because the future is with you young men, who are certain to see within the next few years radical changes

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in the medical schools of this country. There are two important problems. Is it possible to organize in the English hospitals university clinics such as exist on the Continent, and such as those which we had at the Johns Hopkins Hospital? There are difficulties, of course, but they are not insuperable, and, once started, clinics of this type will be instituted in every school in the kingdom. Only let them be complete; the chief in full control, responsible for the teaching, responsible for the work of his assistants, and let them be well equipped with all modern accessories for research. The other problem is more difficult. Shall the director of such a clinic devote his whole time to the work, or shall he be allowed to take consulting work? For the former many advantages may be claimed, though the plan has nowhere yet had a practical trial. The amount of work in a modern clinic is enormous - quite enough to take up the time and energies of any one man in conducting the teaching, treating the patients, and superintending the researches. Then it is attractive to think of a group of super-clinicians, not bothered with the cares of consulting practice, and whose whole interests are in scientific work. It is claimed that as much good will follow the adoption of the plan of whole-time clinicians as has followed the whole-time physiologists and anatomists. Against it may be urged the danger of handing over students who are to be general practitioners to a group of teachers completely out of touch with the conditions under which these young men will have to live. The clinician should always be in the fighting line, and in close touch with the rank and file, with the men behind the guns, who are doing the real work of the profession. The question, too, is whether the best men could be secured; whether academic and scientific distinctions would satisfy these men. Then for the hospital itself, would it be best to

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keep our best in clinical seclusion? Would there not be the danger of the evolution throughout the country of a set of clinical prigs, the boundary of whose horizon would be the laboratory, and whose only human interest would be research? I say frankly that I am not in favour of the whole-time clinical teacher. This is not surprising, as my life has been largely spent in association with my professional brethren, participating in the many interests we have had in common. At the same time let me freely confess that I mistrust my own judgment, as this is a problem for young men and for the future. I know how hard it is 'to serve God and mammon,' to try to do one's duty as a teacher and to live up to the responsibility of a large department, and at the same time to meet the outside demands of your brethren and of the public. And if added to this you have an active interest in medical societies, and in the multifarious local and general problems, the breaking point may be reached. I had had thirty-one years of uninterrupted hard work. William Pepper, my predecessor in Philadelphia, died of angina at 55; John Musser, my successor, of the same disease at 53! After listening to my story you may wonder how it was possible to leave a place so gratifying to the ambitions of any clinical teacher: I had had a good innings and was glad to get away without a serious breakdown.

Seven years later at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where this address was given, the 'unit system' for one of the ^{services} ~~units~~ both in medicine and surgery was put in operation - even to the feature of having 'whole-time' appointees regarding which, as Osler says, he mistrusted his judgment. And had a four-

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year war not intervened the experiment would have been made before.

But with all this concerning medical education in the London hospital schools, it must not be forgotten that there were Oxford obligations to be met, ^{at the Infirmary, at the Press, and particularly at the Bodleian} The Charles Francis Adams letter serves to recall the Hebdomadal Council and its tedious Monday afternoon meetings at the Clarendon Building with the Agenda - Mr. Vice-Chancellor's business - Registrar's business - Business of Council, etc., etc. - on which "James Bovell

^{came to be} M D" was so often written. Then there was the Bodleian which he was getting to know thoroughly ^{and on whose, as the Curator's Agenda, he was less likely to scribble James Bovell's name} ^{Use in the years when he had faithfully attended the Sessions of the Hebdomadal Council. But} ~~for~~ scarcely a day passed ^{when he} when in Oxford that Bodley's staff, from chief to chore-boys, was not cheered by ^{me of} his stimulating and en-

livening visits. The former Librarian, ^{E.B.} Nicholson, ^{he} who had ^{shed in tears to the floor} ~~went on the floor~~ ^{of the Bodleian's front hall} at 13 Northam Gardens ^{Bodley's First Folio of} on learning that ^{recovered,} the Furbett Shakespeare had been se-

^{for some years} cured, had during his later years ^{been a victim of} suffered from arhythmomania, ^{of which} as the little annual Staff-Kalendar published ^{during his later} each year ^{gives abundant} evidence, ^{The poor man} to such an extent that he was ^{officially} quite unfitted for his task ^{and} ~~the poor man~~ had died on March 17th, 1912.* ~~and~~

^{Osler's}
*In the copy of Macray's "Annals of the Bodleian Library" (1868) ^{in Osler's library} he had inserted, ^{with the instinct of an historian,} from time to time as was his custom, many letters and personal notes relating to Nicholson's peculiarities and of his final illness ^{during which} ~~which~~ ^{Osler} cared for him. ^{The volume} ~~It~~ consequently ^{has an intimate} has great historical value ~~for~~ the Bodleian and Osler made special disposition of it, having written on the fly-leaf: "This book goes to Bodley's but I do not wish anyone to print the Nicholson note at the end during this (20th) century. 5 XI '18."

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~~He~~ had been ^{His successor} succeeded by Falconer Madan, ^{with whom} and though he and Osler must have
^{Came in contact} met, almost every day ^{nevertheless write} he sends the following letter ^{on December 4th} which records another of
Osler's contributions to Bodley's history.

From Falconer Madan to W. O.

Dec. 4, 1913.

Dear Sir William Osler, I am very much obliged for your suggestion about a Bodleian Quarterly Record, to contain Notes and News. Up to the present I have been working to get the chief Accessions printed, and part of that plan is, to allow us four extra quarto pages or so of Bodleian news. But I am bound to say that this plan drags heavily, even in view of the time approaching when we shall have to settle the gigantic question of printing our Catalogue. Now your timely suggestion may lead to a more modest but hardly less useful beginning.

It is only too patent that we are much behind the time in not printing more about ourselves. There is very little in evidence to show outsiders that we are alive. The Annual Report is somewhat stately, and nothing approaching to liveliness can possibly be allowed in it. . . . Can you bring this before the Standing Committee tomorrow, and make some suggestion about ways and means? I do not forget that you first suggested the Bodley Memorial Service, the public opening of the Underground Bookstore, and the Exhibition of some of the Chinese books (now in a case in the Picture Gallery). I am, Sincerely yours, F. MADAN.

Thus were laid the plans of the B. Q. R., of Osler's part in which there might

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otherwise be no record. Others who had spent their lives there might have known the library letter, but certainly it never had a better publicity-agent, for even an institution like the Bodleian needs to give evidence of progress and activity. But Osler's object was more than Madan's letter indicates, for ^{he} Osler probably better than anyone else knew and sympathized with the junior workers on Bodley's staff and ^{unquestionably} his chief reason for advocating the 'Quarterly' was to provide ~~for them~~ convenient pages for the publication for their occasional brief papers which would make them feel that they had some small voice at least in Bodley's affairs.*

*This publication had an effect beyond ^{the Bodleian} Bodley's itself, as is evident from the first item in the Harvard Library Notes, No. 1, 1920, which reads: "Sir William Osler should have whatever credit may come from the printing of these Notes. No one would have welcomed them more encouragingly than he, or have awaited future issues with keener interest. It was his guarantee of support that enabled Falconer Madan, who retired a year ago from the post of Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, to start the Bodleian Quarterly Record. Its first number was dated April 23, 1914, and Dr. Osler had much to do with keeping it going regularly during the distracting years that followed. These Harvard Library Notes are frankly modelled upon "B.Q.R.""

wrote a few years later in the same periodical

[Osler]

As Madan ~~has said~~,* "The Library was his admiration and delight, and as

*"The Late Sir William Osler, Baronet, M.D." Bodleian Quarterly Record, 1919, ii, 298.

a Curator and a member of the Standing Committee he had considerable influence on its administration. He promoted the establishment of the Room for Medi-

cal Students, as well as the Science Research Room at the Camera; and when a good opportunity for a special purchase presented itself he was among the first to offer liberal support, and to engage the interest of friends." But, what after all is more important, comes later on when ^{the writer speaks} ~~Madan~~ says of his 'unmeasured friendliness and sympathy' - ds the larger feature of Osler's life: "If he came to you as a friend, he had a way of drawing up his chair to yours, as though all his time were at your disposal, with looks and words of infinite compassion if you were in ill case, of helpful encouragement if you were striving against hindrances, and sympathetic comprehension if you were in doubt and difficulty. These qualities are akin to the divine."

Besides all this ^{Osler had} ~~there were~~ regular engagements, too, outside the university, ^{where this 'quality' akin to the divine' was needed. One of them ^{them} ~~was~~, as Osler has stated,} ~~and one he rarely failed to keep~~ was the monthly meeting of the Oxfordshire Branch of the Tuberculosis Association. And there, at the annual meeting of December 17th, the President of the Society spoke as follows:

The difference between what men hope for and what they get is often a source of worry and discontent, but yet in politics and in other aspects of life they generally get what they deserve, neither more nor less. A couple of years ago we hoped for great things in the way of Tuberculosis organization in this city and county - a well-equipped sanatorium on Shotover (for which we have the land), a hospital for advanced cases, a complete organization of dispensaries, a thorough coöperation of all the public health and voluntary associations; and it seemed an easy matter. This is not a large county,

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the city is not large, and their association with each other is extraordinarily close; the population is homogeneous, and the Radcliffe Infirmary is an exceptionally excellent medical centre. But here we are, still muddling, after having considered some half a dozen schemes, not one of which has driving power behind it to blend the scattered and sometimes antagonistic interests.

No army can enter upon a successful contest without a first-class general staff, and in this tuberculosis warfare the one thing lacking is a central organization with power, a body that will be able successfully to dictate terms to the local authorities, a general staff that will mature a plan of campaign and hand it over to the subsidiary commanders to carry out. As it is now, there is no organized scheme for the country at large, but a happy-go-lucky method, every county, every town, with its own. Is it ~~not~~ yet too late here to hope that the City and the County may yet join forces? If there is not enough glue in the local pot to get them together, perhaps the Local Government Board may provide what is lacking.

One thing is certain, that an efficient scheme must include ^{the} insured and their dependants, uninsured, and Poor Law patients. The present status is as follows: there is neither sanatorium, nor hospital, but the Radcliffe continues to treat cases on the balconies. The Association is continuing the work of the county, and, as the Report will show you, we have had a very successful year. I wish anyone interested would visit the Bath Court Dispensary at eleven o'clock on Wednesday or Saturday morning, or one of the local dispensaries scattered about the county. The educational value of the Association has been enormous, very largely through the visits of the Tuberculosis Officer and of the nurses who have been untiring in their ef-

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forts and deserve our warmest thanks. We are only holding on until a scheme is matured. The Association is at the command of the health authorities and of the public, but we are ready to hand over the work at a month's notice.

Meanwhile it is gratifying to note the remarkable decrease in the deaths from the disease throughout the county. It is perhaps early to attribute this to any special efforts of the Association, but it comes in, I think, as part of the general improvement that is taking place everywhere in the health of the community.

As a relief from medical education and the tuberculosis campaign, he writes the next day to James J. Walsh of New York, who is ^{composing} writing a book on "The Century of Columbus":

Dear J.^JW.W. . . I will ask at the Bodleian what would be the best piece of Oxford architecture of the last half of the fifteenth century. I should think the superb Divinity School, I will let you know. I am glad you had such a nice visit. It was awfully nice to see you, but I wish you would not appropriate all the reprobate Protestants like Shakespeare [~~Was Shakespeare a Catholic?~~ by J. J. Walsh] in your wretched ^{community} ~~community~~ [Church] # out-of-date century. Why don't you take Bacon and that old rascal Calvin who burned my friend Servetus! Sincerely yours, W^m OSLER. I have just seen Madan who says the Divinity School is the thing. If you wish I could send a picture.

cf. "Was Shakespeare a Catholic?" by J. J. Walsh.

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On the 20th he writes to Fielding H. Garrison:

Our history section has been doing very well. Jastrow's lecture was a great success and we have had a good talk on Egyptian Medicine from Elliot Smith, and Caton lectured this week on the Greek temples. My [Silliman] Lectures have been delayed, as I have been so busy this term I have not had time to finish the proofs. They are semi-popular and represent a sort of aeroplane flight through the centuries. . . . I hope before long to print my paper on the early printed books up to 1480, dealing with them as illustrating the mind of the profession during the early years of printing. I have been getting some treasures lately.

~~In the next letter~~ ^{and in} a Christmas letter ^{he says:} to H. B. Jacobs, ~~saying that~~

"the house is full and a very merry party," ~~and that~~ "My books are streaming in & such treasures - a Newton principia the other day to add to my ed. principes of the 17th century," ^{and in this letter} he speaks for the first time of the new interest which had come over his Waltonian boy: "Revere has taken to the auction room & sent his first bid to Sotheby's, \$1 for Landor's Pericles & Aspasia & got it! He is taking such an interest in good literature. He got out his etching for Christmas and has just started to copy one of his Florence sketches."

And ^{in our} ~~among~~ his Christmas letters ^{mail was the last letter he was to receive} is ~~one of the last~~ from his constant cor-

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respondent in Philadelphia in acknowledgement of "A Way of Life" which he ^{had} ~~had received for~~ a Christmas gift, saying: "Many thanks for the booklet, and more for the M.D. who can fearlessly speak out for the wholesomeness of a Christian life. ~~—————~~ May the New Year be kind to you and yours, and so I remain with all good Xmas wishes loyally your friend, S. WEIR MITCHELL."