

Death of Weir Mitchell	1	Cambridge again: Papyrus library	42
Correspondence about Ariceum's Tomb	2; 23; 46;	Bibliographical meeting there.	
Earliest Printed Medical Books ^{also XXXV, 123}	3,	Idea of starting 'Bibliotheca Oosteriana' 43	
Presidential Address, Bibliographical Socy		Tribute to John Ferguson's 'Bibliotheca' 44-6	
Death of Lord Strathcona	5	Election to Roxburgh, & Backerille clubs	42
Strikes; suffragettes; Ulster etc	7; 39	(also XXXI, 113)	
Sargeant sketch of W.O. for Philadelphia	8	Telling Birkett of his library going to McGill	43
"Family Encyclopaedia of Medicine" episode	9-12	(also Chap)	
"Locke's Expulsion from Christ Church" 12.			
Consultation with Prince of Wales (also XXXVII)	13	Dinner at Ch. Ch. for St. P. Symonds of Radcliffe in January	46
Sending souvenir to W.O. 91		Courtesy of Agnes J. T. in Leeds in November 47	
Dinner & degree to Gen. Gorgas	13-16	B.M.A. at Aberdeen: staying at Dr. McIntosh's	48
Ass ⁿ of Provincial Surgeons at Oxford	16	Colonsay: war declared	49
"Some Mess... Illustrating Evol. Brit. Surgery"		Reaction of war on W.O.	
Guest of Jewish Historical Society of England	19-22	on Perere	54; 56; 58; 76; 100; 104
Perere passes examinations for Christ Church	23	Compulsory vaccination. Letter to Times	58
Book purchases of the year	23; 75 88; 102	"Bacilli & Bullets" lecture at camp; and others	60-2 73-4; 79; 82, 90
Berks. & Oxon. Chamber of Agriculture on swine fever	24	Letter to Ehrlich on Salvarsan	62
Pres. Hadley's reminiscences (also XXXIII, 40)	26	W.O.'s appointments to various hospitals	58; 63. 65
Roger Bacon celebration	29; 36	Suggestion to restoration of library at Louvain	66
Refusal of Presidency of Royal Society of Medicine	30-32	Providing for families of Belgian professors	68; 71; 74; 78; 79. 81-2; 86. 92; 95; 100
Offer of independent member for Parliament, etc.	33; 41	"Looking Back" letter (J.H.H.) to Macphail Journal	69
'Unit system' for Cardiff	34	Adams suggestion of Med. History of the War	76; 97
Opening of Path. Laboratory at Bath	35	(also XXXV, 116 et seq)	
Cambridge: D.Sc. and opening of laboratories	36	Reading Baron Harey's "Life & Memoirs"	79
Bibliographical dinner to Cardinal Gasquet	38	"Emerson on England" letter to Times	80
Ambassador Page given degree at Oxford	39	Interest in evolution of naval & military hygiene	77; 81
Address at Tuberculosis meeting, Leeds	40	(also XXXV, 26)	
Motor Trip in Norfolk	41	W.O.'s feeling about his German friends	82-3
		(also XXXVI, 15; 28, 33)	
		Boosting Van Loven's medical Association building	85
		Canadian Contingent	87; 93-4 97; 102-3
		Letter in defence of work done at Bodleian	89
		"The War & Typhoid Fever"	89
		Disbelief in atrocities (also XXXVI, 14)	92
		Refusal of Chairmanship at Sister Institute	99

Jan.
1914
Act. 64.

Chapter XXXIV

The outbreak year.

The year opened ^{with sad tidings:} ~~sadly:~~ On January 4th came a cable: "Father died
this morning. ~~John K. Mitchell.~~" And in a copy of Weir Mitchell's
"Ode on a Lycian Tomb", a poem written as a memorial ^{to} his daughter, ~~a~~
~~privately printed volume which Mitchell had sent him in 1900~~ Osler has
inserted ^{on January 4th} ~~with the cable~~ this note:

I have just had this cable from Jack Mitchell announcing the death
of his father, one of my dearest friends. Had I been a son he could not
have been kinder to me during the five years of my life in Philadelphia.
Professionally and socially he did everything to further my interests;
though I had no claims upon him other than that of mutual interests in
scientific medicine and in literature. My estimate is on the opposite
page. Overleaf are the two last letters, one dated Dec. 20th.

In the 'estimate' - a long obituary appreciation in the British Medical
Journal, he says in part:

The 15th of next February would have been his eighty-fifth birthday.
When I saw him last May he had begun to show his age, but mentally he was
as keen and alert as ever. Of no man I have known are Walter Savage Lan-
dor's words more true: "I have warmed both hands at the fire of life."
We have to go to other centuries to find a parallel to his career, not,
it is true, in professional work - for others have done more - but in the

Jan.
1914

combination of a life devoted to the best interests of science with literary and social distinction. He reminds one of Mead, who filled so large a place in public and professional life in the early part of the eighteenth century. And of Mitchell, Dr. Johnson's remark ^{of Mead} is equally true: "No man ever lived more in the sunshine of life." But a much closer parallel is with the great seventeenth-century Tuscan, Francesco Redi, in the triple combination already referred to, of devotion to scientific study and to belles lettres, and in the position which he enjoyed in public esteem. . . .

~~Coleridge had been making preparations for a presidential address before the Bibliographical Society and~~
On January 19th ~~he writes~~ ^{2 writes} to F. H. Garrison who is ~~preparing to write~~ ^{gatherings}

^{material for}
a Life of John S. Billings:

I am taking no steps about the Avicenna tomb until I get an estimate; then I will arrange a committee and send a circular. I am getting a great deal of information out of your history and it will be a great bibliographical help. Mitchell had a fine life. I wrote a very hurried sketch of him in the British Medical Journal. No, the initials "J.S.B." *

[*Cf. note in appendix of "Science and Immortality."
are of Sturgis Bigelow of Boston, who was a great orientalist. I will ask Miss Acland about the letters from B. [J. S. Billings] to her father. He wrote a great deal to Miss Acland - not much I think either to Brunton or to Burdett. I am just trying to finish my early printed books (to 1480)- paper for the Bibliographical Society. I wish you could see the fine exhibit I have got together for this evening, but I dare say the S.G.L. has the majority of them.

Jan.
1914

^{what} ^{said}
~~is~~ was true of ~~his friend and colleague~~, another Student of Christ
 Church, Ingram Bywater, Gilbert Murray's predecessor as Regius Professor
 of Greek, ^{that he} ~~Osler~~ acquired knowledge with an easy deliberation and kept it
 by mere tenacity and a sure instinct for selection, ^{was no less true of Osler.} His interest in the
 early medical incunabula had been a bypath followed in the preparation
 of his Silliman Lectures to give him ^{"a mental picture of professors and practice of the time, from the} ~~a background of the spirit of the~~
~~characters of books they thought it worth while to have printed".~~ ^{with a keen sense in spite of}
 times, ^{red herrings unnumberable,} And a trail of this sort once taken up he pursued ~~to the end.~~
 It was natural, therefore, that he should have made "The Earliest Printed
 Medical Books" the subject of his presidential address ~~before the Biblio-~~
~~graphical Society~~, with a discussion of the influence of printing from
 its dawn till 1480 upon the art of medicine - a sterile medical period, ^{in medicine,}
~~he it said,~~ of greater typographical than scientific interest. ^{having said} ~~He is reported as saying that:~~

. . The leaves of the printed book told man's story as clearly as did
 the palaeontological record of the earth's strata. An expert in a geolo-
 gical museum would pick out the Lower Silurian fossils from the Devonian,
 and so, without knowing their authors, the practical historian could assign
 any dozen books on any subjects to their centuries. Today in special de-
 partments, with rapid progress, the expert could put the knowledge from any
 printed page into decades. It would not be rash to offer to assign to its

Jan.
1914

decade any important work on pathology published in the last century. Revolutions were more rapidly effected in the arts than in the mind. A new process or a new discovery in practical science made more progress in one decade than a new thought in ten. Harvey's announcement of the circulation of the blood was scarcely accepted by his own generation, but in a few years following Jenner's discovery the whole civilized world was vaccinated. It was not surprising that the invention of printing spread so rapidly that within twenty-five years (to 1480) it had been introduced into all places, and some 350 printers had been at work. The art of the copyist, however, long survived, and even as late as 1490 the busy hand of Erasmus was used in transcribing copies of works, and in the early years of the sixteenth century his practice was to present his shorter works to his patrons in manuscript. . . *

[*British Medical Journal, Jan. 24, 1914, 1, 205.

He concluded by expressing the opinion that at first printing did little to revive medicine and that it was only after two generations that Greek influence began to oust Arabian conceptions.* In a note written the day after

*Osler's intention to print a complete list of the medical incunabula up to 1480 led him into a ^{difficult study} task which only the bibliographers of the incunabula can appreciate. The task was finally handed over to Mr. Scholderer of the British Museum ^{to complete the volume} (7), and ~~was only published~~ ^{finally published} by the Bibliographical Society in 1923, ~~or 1924(?)~~ ^{four years after Galen's death.}

*the incunabula
of medicine
is written*

the meeting, to Charles Perry Fisher the Librarian of the College of Phy-

Jan.
1914

sicians in Philadelphia, he tells of the sources of the books he had shown.

Dear Fisher: Send me a notice of the College Memorial Meeting. We never had a better friend than Weir Mitchell and it is wonderful what he did for the old College.

I am glad you have got a good list of Champerius, ^{for} as his books are of very great interest and increasing much in value. I read a paper last night on the Early Printed Medical Books to 1480, and had an exhibit of fifteen of my own, six from the College of Surgeons, four from the Royal Society of Medicine and eight from the Wellcome Historical Exhibit. I have a number of photographs of the rarer books and have collected information in all ³about 180 separate editions to 1480. With greetings for the New Year, Sincerely yours,

~~Wm Osler.~~ *Osler*

On January 21st his old friend whom he had known in Montreal as Donald A. Smith died in his London home, at 28 Grosvenor Square, and six days later the body of this simple and homely man was borne without pomp to his last resting-place in Highgate Cemetery where his wife had preceded him only a few months before. There had been a national service at the Abbey, to be sure, where a grateful nation would have given him space

Jan.
1914

had he not willed otherwise. Osler was one of the ten pallbearers, chosen owing to their personal ties - the Duke of Argyll, the Principal of Aberdeen, the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, the Colonial Secretary, the Lord Mayor, and Lords Aberdeen, Litchfield and Lansdowne. Thus ended a career so picturesque that had it been found in fiction it would have seemed a story over-drawn. A man whose exact birthplace and age were uncertain and who had begun life counting muskrat skins at Lachine, ~~had become~~^{yet} by the time of the South African War, in the words of his Queen, ~~one~~^{he had become} of the Empire's greatest benefactors. John Hay once said that the modern British Imperialism as a popular force was largely the joint product of four men - Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Strathcona, Rudyard Kipling and Lord Northcliffe. To neither Chamberlain nor Strathcona was it given to see what latent endurance and loyalty underlay this federation of peoples when put to a supreme test.

The time was drawing near when the Empire was sorely to need men like Strathcona, of resolute and optimistic type - men accustomed to triumph

Jan.
1914

over difficulties. There could not be too many of them, for even now
the affairs of Britain were in a troubled plight. ^{Strikes were prevalent and the} The Prime Minister
was beset on the one hand by labour delegates ^{who advocated} advocating railway national-
ization, ^{ed} protesting against compulsory military service and ^{any} the increase
of armaments; and ~~strikes were prevalent~~; on the other hand he was dodging
militant suffragists who were terrorizing the country, smashing windows,
damaging pictures, among them Sargent's portrait of Henry James, burning
railway stations and country houses, even to setting off a bomb in the
Abbey. Nor was arrest and imprisonment a deterrant, for the hunger strike
followed and a ^{dismissal} discharge under the 'Cat and Mouse' act. But this was a
trifle to the spectre of civil war. The Ulster crisis was coming to a
head, and to all appearances the Home Rule bill would be introduced at
the point of the bayonet, though Lord Roberts, himself an Irishman, had
said that the use of the army to coerce Ulster was unthinkable. There
were worse things than a court martial, and officers in the Curragh had
handed in their resignations - a course even followed by Colonel Seeley

Feb.
1914

the Secretary for War, though this was not until the end of March. How greatly Osler was himself disturbed by these things does not appear. Though in a letter to a colleague in London by whom he had been asked to see a militant American in consultation, he writes:

. . . W--- says she is not certifiable, so what are we to do! I have written to her brother urging him to come over & take her out of the country. These ancient canophilic vestals should be segregated by Act of Parliament. The Government should buy Iceland from Denmark and deport them there automatically at the menopause.

Meanwhile he writes to J. William White in reply to a letter from somewhere in the Far East:

We have had a very busy winter so far - a great deal doing, so many people coming and going. Awfully sad to have dear old Mitchell leave us, but he had a wonderful innings and died the death of the righteous, with a minimum of that 'cold gradation of decay' through which so many of us have to pass; and it is perhaps just as well that Mrs. Mitchell followed him so soon. Revere is getting ready for his exams, and hopes to come here in October. He has taken to sketching and books and is still devoted to fishing. I had a nice morning with John Sargent the other day. He made a splendid crayon sketch of me which will go in a couple of months to the College of Physicians, Philadelphia.

Feb.
1914

And to Camac on February 25th, that the Historical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine was getting into very good shape; that their plans for the summer were uncertain - "I had hoped to get out early, but the National Library Association meets here at the invitation of the Curators of the Bodleian the end of August and I cannot possibly leave until afterward. I do not know what Grace and Revere will do."

The world in general at this time seemed to be filled with people who, like the woman he had seen in consultation, were 'uncertifiable', and Osler with a number of others was victimized ^{just now} by one of them through the publication of "The Family Encyclopaedia of Medicine," a work which appeared on February 26th and was widely advertised in the daily press. On March 4th there was sent him from the Registrar of the Royal College of Physicians the following note:

The President and Censors deeply regret to observe that your name appears in this advertisement, a copy of which I enclose, and in a ~~s~~imilar advertisement in the Daily Telegraph of Thursday, the 29th ult. (enclosed). They desire also to draw your attention to an article in the Daily Mail of the same date (enclosed). They hope to receive from you an assurance that

Feb.
1914

your name has been inserted without your knowledge or consent. They further desire to draw your attention to a Resolution of the College, dated February 2, 1888. I enclose a copy of this Resolution [pertaining to personal advertising].

They hope that you will communicate at once with the Editor and publishers of the "Family Encyclopaedia of Medicine," requiring that your name be withdrawn from the advertisements, and from succeeding numbers of the publication, if you have not already done so.

And to this he replied the following day:

Dear Mr. Registrar: Your letter, with its lurid enclosure, is the first intimation I have ^{had} of the existence of "The Family Encyclopaedia of Medicine," in connection with which the use of my name was entirely unauthorized. Six months ago a Dr. Riddle asked me to look over a paper on typhoid fever, to which I replied I was too busy. When three months later a type-written article appeared I looked him up, and finding that he was a Cambridge man of apparently good standing, I glanced it over and made a suggestion about typhoid carriers. I made no written corrections. There was nothing on his letter-paper to indicate that he was connected in any way with a popular publication, of the existence of which your enclosure of today is the first and only intimation I have had. I have written to Dr. Riddle that I consider the use of my name was unwarranted and obtained by means of subterfuge, and that he has grossly abused what was meant to be a kindly act to a younger colleague. Sincerely yours,

Wm Osler.

Mar.
1914

His mother's admonition - "Remember, Willie, the shutters in England will rattle as they do in America" must have come to his mind during the trying weeks that followed, when the matter lay before the Board of Censors of the College; ^{and} which apparently culminated at a meeting of the Comitia on April 6th, of which Osler has left the following note.

At the College meeting today (6th) I raised the question of the responsibility of the College to defend its members. D--- made a Pecksniffian address in which he said the honour of the College had been dragged in the mud. P--- said it was not customary for the C. to defend individual members. The President asked if the C. wished to take any action - no reply. I have sent in my resignation as ^a protest against this attitude. In this matter I am not the galled jade and if the College is prepared to discipline me in a perfectly innocent action, they should be prepared to defend me when it is clear I have been the victim of fraud and subterfuge. W.O.

Four days later, April 10th, at the end of an accumulated bundle of correspondence, Osler has written:

The day after I sent in my resignation the President called me up by telephone and asked if he could come and see me the next day, and begged me to say nothing about it as the matter was very complicated. The College could not well take action, as it was not altogether certain how far the Editor of the F. E. M. had comprised some of the younger Fellows. I saw

March
1914

Barlow in town yesterday and talked over the whole business. He much regretted D---'s remarks and explained why it was impossible for the College to take up the matter. Very reluctantly I agreed to withdraw my resignation.

All this need hardly be mentioned except to show that Osler was capable of acting on an impulse of indignation, and the episode may indicate that people in general were perhaps over-sensitized in these early months of 1914. It may have been something more than a coincidence, too, that Osler should have caused to be published at this time an article* containing a long letter writ-

*"Locke's Expulsion from Christ Church." Oxford Magazine, Mar. 12, 1914, p. 254. The Locke letter had been procured at Sotheby's the preceding July.

ten in 1684, in which John Locke the philosopher expatiates 'on ^{the} this arbitrary and unjust expulsion' from Christ Church he had recently sustained under the Deanship of Bishop Fell.

This opinion of me [Locke wrote] I thought time and ye contradictions it caryed with it would have cured, & that the most suspitious would at last have been weary of imputeing to me writeings whose matter, and stile have I believe (for pamphlets have been laid to me w^{ch} I have never seen) been soe very different, yt it was hard to thinke they should have the same author, thouge a much abler man than me.

Osler had schooled himself to meet episodes of this sort with aequanimity. They were indeed of rare occurrence, and as he was not built to harbour a grievance nor willing to let misunderstandings grow into alienations his life

March
1914

'sloping toward the sunny side' went on unaffected. With all his multifarious interests it must not be forgotten that the Regius at the same time was a consulting physician and had professional duties both to prince and pauper though it is difficult to see how he fitted in time for his consultations. He notes in his account-book on March 10th:

Saw the Prince again today. Very good term. He has been hunting and beagling and enjoying life very much. He bedevils Hansell a bit by keeping late hours and taking too much exercise before breakfast. He looks well and fuller in the face, and has gained 5 lbs in weight. His outlook on life is much brighter and he is in better spirits.

And in contrast, Bateman the parlour-maid takes over the telephone a message handed in at Calcutta to "Osler Oxford" which says: "Save my son George Halloran God will pay all expenses," which indicates that an Indian student had received a football injury but was being well attended to. God pays many a doctor's fee.

13-a
March
1914

He presided on March 13th at a meeting of the Oxford and Reading Branch of the B. M. A. ^{held} at the Radcliffe Infirmary, where he spoke on "The Diagnosis of Early Pulmonary Tuberculosis"; and a few days later he writes to his old friend James Tyson of Philadelphia: "I am a great deal in London for one thing or another. We shall have a big dinner next week for Gorgas, and the University has decided to give him an honorary degree."

This tribute to Gorgas, as may be surmised, was entirely at ^{Osler's} his instigation for he never missed an opportunity to do unexpected ^{and kindly} things ^{for his kind} for people coming through England. Early in the year he had learned from Gorgas, who had been on a mission in Johannesburg on the invitation of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines to investigate the cause of the high death-rate among the native labourers, that he would return through England some time in March, ^{and Osler had immediately written to} ^{Sir Ronald Ross saying "would it not be nice if the 'Tropicals' gave Gorgas a dinner when he returned from South Africa? I think we could easily get sixty or seventy men": and to J.Y.W.} J. Y. W. MacAlister suggesting that the Royal Society of Medicine ask him to give an illustrated lecture, to be followed by a reception. He wrote also to Sir Rickman ^{to enquire} J. Godlee, ~~asking~~ whether the Royal College of Surgeons ever

14

March
1914

gave honorary fellowships on special occasions, because Gorgas who had just been appointed Surgeon General of the U. S. Army would soon be in London - 'a man whose work in Cuba and Panama had probably been the most important ever done in tropical sanitation: ~~also~~ ~~and~~ to Major G. O. Squier the military attaché at the American Embassy, to stir him up in the matter. Then to Gorgas himself on March 16th:

Dear Gorgas: I hope you will fall in with the somewhat active programme which has been arranged, of which MacAlister, the Secretary of the Royal Society of Medicine, will send you full particulars. I will see you on Wednesday evening at the Army Mess dinner. Friday and Saturday I have to be at the Association of Physicians at Cambridge. I think we shall have a very good gathering at the public dinner to you on Monday - the Colonial Secretary, the leading members of the profession, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Bryce, Lord Moulton and others will be there. Wire me on arrival where you are staying. Greetings to Darling and Noble.

Sincerely yours, &c.

So it came about that on March 23rd at the Savoy Hotel a complimentary dinner was given to 'Surgeon General W. C. Gorgas of Panama,' at which Sir Thomas Barlow the President of the Royal College of Physicians presided, and on calling on the first speaker, said that the dinner had been first

suggested by ^{a man} Sir William Osler who was "always striving to promote the friendship between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race." Among the speakers were Mr. Page, and Lord Bryce who spoke of medicine as "the only profession that laboured incessantly to destroy the reason for its own existence"; and around the tables sat, among other notables, the presidents of the colleges and schools, ^{and} ~~and~~ the leading members of the profession, with the chief officers of the military and medical services.

It was highly characteristic of Osler that he should have had engrossed and illuminated on parchment, copies of the addresses made by the public orator Mr. A. D. Godley, and by the Acting Vice-Chancellor Dr. T. H. Warren when Gorgas was given his D.Sc., honoris causa, at a special Convocation in Oxford the following day; and that he should have had copies made and sent to the Journal of the American Medical Association, in which they were reproduced to accompany Gorgas's ^{report of} ~~Report~~ of his Recommendations to the Transvaal Chamber of Mines." Few people would have taken all this trouble even to pay a deserving tribute to an old friend, and the story has a curious aftermath, for Sir John MacAlister states that

March
1914

Osler's generous and happy thought leading up to this occasion was what
 (*Macalister*)
 led him, six years later, after Gorgas's death in London, to suggest that

the Nation give him a military funeral and hold a service at St. Paul's, *for good*

~~a tribute which~~, Had it not been for Osler's example on this visit in

this later tribute
 1914, would probably never have been thought of.

There were other things also to occupy him: a meeting of the Association of Physicians in Cambridge; book-sales in London; and March 27th was given over to the entertainment of a group of surgeons. For, following the example of the American inter-urban clinical societies an English club of a similar sort had been formed - the Association of Provincial Surgeons - and they were entertained much as the American Society of Clinical Surgeons had been four years before; and a great display of volumes relating to the history of British surgery was gotten out from the Bodleian stores for their edification.*

*"Some MSS. and Books in the Bodleian Library, Illustrating the Evolution of British Surgery." British Medical Journal, April 11, 1914, i, 825-6.

March
1914

That a group of surgeons should make a pilgrimage to spend a day with a physician, chiefly known to be an ardent bibliophile, is in itself worthy of comment, especially as this physician just now is smarting under the vote of censure from his own kind. But Osler ^{not only} had a catholicity ^{of mind but of friendships as well, (one need therefore} ~~of friendship. One need~~ not be surprised at finding him a month later (April 27th) the guest of honour at the dinner held in London in celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of the Jewish Historical Society of England. Lord Reading the Chief Justice presided, and in responding to the toast of Science ^{Osler} gave a noteworthy speech, a few paragraphs of which at least should be rescued from the obscure journals into which it subsequently found its way.*

[*Cf. Jewish Comment, Baltimore, Dec. 18, 1914.

In estimating [he said] the position of Israel in the human values we must remember that the quest for righteousness is Oriental, the quest for knowledge Occidental. With the great prophets of the East - Moses, Isaiah, Mahomet - the word was, "Thus saith the Lord"; with the great seers of the West, from Thales and Aristotle to Archimedes and Lucretius, it was "What says Nature?" They illustrate two opposite views of man and his destiny - in the one he is an 'angelus septulus' in a muddy vesture of decay; in the

April
1914

other

he is the 'young light-hearted master' of the world, in it to know it, and by knowing to conquer. Modern civilization is the outcome of these two great movements of the mind of man, who today is ruled in heart and head by Israel and by Greece. From the one he has learned responsibility to a Supreme Being, and the love of his neighbour, in which are embraced both the Law and the Prophets; from the other he has gathered the promise of Eden to have dominion over the earth on which he lives. Not that Israel is all heart, nor Greece all head, for in estimating the human value of the two races, intellect and science are found in Jerusalem and beauty and truth at Athens, but in different proportions.

It is a striking fact that there is no great Oriental name in science - not one to be put in the same class with Aristotle, with Hippocrates, or with a score of Grecians. We do not go to the Bible for science, though we may go to Moses for instruction in some of the best methods in hygiene. Nor is the Talmud a fountain-head in which men seek inspiration today as in the works of Aristotle. I do not forget the saying:

In uns'rem Talmud kann man Jedes lesen,
Und Alles ist schon einmal dagewesen.

With much of intense interest for the physician, and in spite of some brave sayings about the value of science, there is not in it the spirit of Aristotle or of Galen. It is true we find there one of the earliest instances in literature of an accurate diagnosis confirmed post-mortem. A sheep of the Rabbi Chabiba had paralysis of the hind legs. Rabbi Jemar diagnosed ischias, or arthritis, but Rabbina^{who} was called in said that the disease was in the spinal marrow. To settle the dispute the sheep was killed, and Rabbina's diagnosis was confirmed.

In the early Middle Ages the Jewish physicians played a rôle of the first importance as preservers and transmitters of ancient knowledge. With the fall of Rome the broad stream of Greek science in Western Europe entered the sud of Mediaevalism. It filtered through in three streams - one in South Italy, the other in Byzantium, and a third through Islam. At the great school of Salernum in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, we find important Jewish teachers: Copho II wrote the Anatomia Porci, and Rebecca wrote on fevers and the foetus. Jews were valued councillors at the court of the great Emperor Frederick. With the Byzantine stream the Jews seem to have had little to do, but the broad clear stream which ran through Islam is dotted thickly with Hebrew names. In the Eastern and Western Caliphates and in North Africa were men who today are the glory of Israel, and bright stars in the medical firmament. The writings of Issac Judaeus, known in the Middle Ages as Monarcha Medicorum, were prized for more than four centuries. He had a Hippocratic belief in the powers of nature and in the superiority of prevention to cure. He was an optimist and held strongly to the Talmudic precept that the physician who takes nothing is worth nothing. Rabbi ben Ezra was a universal genius and wanderer, whose travels brought him as far as England. His philosophy of life Browning has depicted in the well-known poem, whose beauty of dictum and clarity of thought atone for countless muddy folios. But the prince among Jewish physicians, whose fame as such has been overshadowed by his reputation as a Talmudist and philosopher, is the Doctor Perplexorum - dux, director, demonstrator, neutrorum dubitantium et errantium! - Moses Maimonides. . . .

In the revival of learning in the thirteenth century, which led to the foundation of so many universities, Hebrew physicians took a prominent part,

April
1914

particularly in the great schools of Montpellier and of Paris, and for the next two or three centuries in Italy, in France and in Germany, ^{These} Hebrew physicians were greatly prized. But too often the tribulations of Israel were their lot. . . . ~~As one reads of the grievous persecutions they suffered, there comes to mind the truth of Zunz's words: "Wenn es eine Stufenleiter von Leiden giebt, so hat Israel die höchste Staffel erstiegen."~~

Their chequered career is well illustrated by the relations with the Popes, some of whom uttered official bulls and fulminations against them, others seem to have had a special fondness for them as body physicians. Paul III was for years in ^{the} charge of Jacob Montino, a distinguished Jewish physician who translated extensively from the Arabic and Hebrew into Latin, and his edition of Averroes is dedicated to Pope Leo X. In my library there is a copy of the letter of Pope Gregory XIII, dated March 30, 1581, and printed in 1584, confirming the decrees of Paul IV and Pius V, which he regrets were by no means held in observance, 'but that there are still many among Christian persons who desiring the infirmities of their bodies to be cured by illicit means and especially by the service of Jews and other infidels' It was at Mantua that a Jewish physician, Abraham Conath, established a printing press, from which the first Hebrew works were issued. Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France, Germany and Italy we meet many distinguished names in the profession, and Landau pays a very just tribute to their work. Only a few are met with in England. Isaac Abendana, a Spaniard, practised at Oxford and lectured on Hebrew at Magdalen College. We have at the Bodleian Jewish almanacs which he issued at the end of the seventeenth century, and a great Latin translation of the Mischna. He afterwards migrated to Cambridge. A more important

April
1914

author was Jacob de Castro Sarmento, a Portuguese Jew, who became licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1725, and Fellow of the Royal Society in 1730. There is in the Bodleian an interesting broad-sheet from the Register of the London Synagogues respecting charges made when his name was proposed at the Royal Society. He contributed many papers to the Philosophical Transactions, and was the author of several works. In the eighteenth century Jean Baptiste de Silva, of a Portuguese Jewish family, became one of the leading physicians of Paris, consulting physician to Louis XV, and the friend of Voltaire, who remarks, "C'était un de ces médecins que Molière n'eut ni pu ni osé rendre ridicules." One of the special treasures of my library is a volume of the Henriade superbly bound by Padeloup and a presentation copy from Voltaire to de Silva, given me when I left Baltimore by my messmates in the "Ship of Fools." . . .

In the nineteenth century, with the removal of the vexatious restrictions the Jew had a chance of reaching his full development, and he has taken a position in the medical profession comparable to that occupied in the palmy Arabian days at Cordova and Bagdad. In Germany, particularly, the last half of the century witnessed a remarkable outburst of scientific activity. Traube, who may well be called the father of experimental pathology; Henle, the distinguished anatomist and pathologist; Valentin the physiologist; Lebert, Remak, Romberg, Ebstein, Hensch, have been among the clinical physicians of the very first rank. Cohnheim was the most brilliant pathologist of his day; to Weigert pathological histology owes an enormous debt, and, to crown all, the man whose ideas have revolutionized modern pathology, Paul Ehrlich, is a Jew. In America, Hebrew members of our profession for

April
1914

many years occupied a very prominent position. The father of the profession today, a man universally beloved, is Abraham Jacobi, full of years and honours; and the two most brilliant representatives in physiology and pathology, Simon Flexner and Jacques Loeb, carry out the splendid traditions of Traube and Henle. I have always had a warm ^{affection} affiliation for my Jewish students, and it has been one of the special pleasures of my life the friendships I have made with them. Their success has always been a great gratification, as it has been the just reward of earnestness and tenacity of purpose and devotion to high ideals in science; and, I may add, a dedication of themselves as practitioners to everything that could promote the welfare of their patients. In the medical profession the Jews had a long and honourable record, and among no people is all that is best in our science and art more warmly appreciated; none in the community take more to heart the admonition of the son of Sirach - "Give place to the physician, let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him."

"We are very busy and enjoying a wonderful spring," he writes Mrs.

Brewster late in April. "I never saw the country more beautiful and the

sun has had his own way for three weeks." And to his old friend Ogdens ^{in a letter} _{Soliciting}

another 'Alkapton' paper for the Quarterly Journal, urging him to come

over for he could 'breakfast in bed & browse in the Bodleian to his heart's

content,' ^{he adds:} ~~adding:~~ "Revere is just back from Scotland where he has been

April
1914

after his beloved fish. He passed Matriculation fortunately and comes up to Christ Church this autumn." They had been in town for a week, amusing themselves while the house was cleaning, ~~as~~ (he says in a letter of the 27th)

a New England custom introduced into
~~27th, which shows the effect of New on~~ Old England, and on ~~his~~ ^{their} return

*All Paver's
 this spring house
 changes is also an
 English custom*

he writes J. Y. W. MacAlister - 'the poker of the fire' - about organizing a Vesalian celebration for December, the coming 400th anniversary of his birth, and adds: "Another matter! I see ⁱⁿ the Hodgkin sale early in May a 1478 Celsus. Could we not bleed some fellows to the tune of about £30 and send a bid? It is one of the great books of the profession, which the library should possess. I will go a fiver. Who are the men likely to help in it? I will attack them."

During all these past few months there had also been correspondence without end regarding the repair of Avicenna's tomb, and on the departure of Dr. Sa'eed who had been making a long sojourn in England, he writes on May 1st:

I had a note this morning from Mr. Funk with the estimates - repairs at £100 and £300 to provide an income of £15 a year for a caretaker. This

April
1914

amount I am sure we could raise. Would it be possible to have it done under the auspices of the Regent or of the Shah, so that we could put at the head of the circular "under the auspices of His etc. etc."? I am writing to Funk and to Nelligan at once, asking them as to the names of men in Persia who should go on the Committee. In this country we would ask the President of the College of Physicians, the College of Surgeons, the Royal Society of Medicine, Dr. Cowley, Professor Margoliouth, the two Regius Professors of Medicine at Oxford and Cambridge, and Professor Browne - and we may think of some others. In Paris the President of the Academy of Medicine and the Dean of the Medical Faculty and the President of the French Society of the History of Medicine. Good-bye! I hope you will have a very comfortable journey. It has been so nice to see you. Do let me hear how everything progresses. I suppose your address is Hamadan.

On Saturday, May 2nd*, he writes to H. B. Jacobs: "We have the Hadleys

*According to The Times, on this same Saturday was held 'a discussion of great importance not only to agriculturists but to medical and veterinary professions and the public in general,' which took place at a meeting of the Berks. and Oxon. Chamber of Agriculture. It was called to act on a resolution - 'that further research in swine fever should be undertaken at one or more university centres as well as at the Government Laboratory at Alperton.' Osler's life-long interest in comparative pathology which went back to his early Toronto and McGill days may be recalled; and the agitation seems to have arisen from the question whether universities, - and particularly Cambridge, where Dr. George H. F. Nuttall was especially fitted to undertake research in this direction - should participate in it, or whether it should be a purely Governmental affair, for under these circumstances research was apt to be biased and its results often pigeon-holed. Osler is quoted as saying at the meeting, 'that there was nothing like a row for doing good. Until the pool was troubled by the angel the waters had no healing.' Therefore they owed the Chairman [the President of the

May
1914

Chamber] a debt of gratitude; the problem of swine fever would benefit and no harm be done. The officials of public bodies did not take offense. They were thick-skinned.' To this Sir John McFadyean replied: "One needs to be." And Osler answered: "I know; and you are."

with us. He is giving the course of lectures on American History. The

first one yesterday was delightful." The successor of Charles Francis

Adams in this lectureship has written the following account of his visit: ———>

Mycological

St. James

Osler at Oxford. 1913 - 1914 May.

Arthur Hadley 1912

Section on the History

Ch. James Graham
Jr. J. J. Phelps

(file 1914)

In Office before the war

Dr. Osler

My real acquaintance with Osler began after he had left America and made his home in England. He acted as a sort of proxenos for Americans in Oxford, and Mrs. Hadley and I more than once enjoyed the benefits of his hospitality. The household was a most delightful one. The Oslers had positive talent for making people feel at home. The house stood at the north edge of Oxford, with some open ground about it and a beautiful view of the University cricket fields through the trees at the back of the garden. Life at that house combined ^{all} that was most charming in city and country, in England and in America.

Used

XXXX

It was our good fortune to spend two weeks in this house in May 1914, when the English spring time was at its best; and among all the visits I ever made this stands out preeminent in my recollections for the many kinds of pleasure which it afforded. As Osler himself well said at the time, there is no place like Oxford for a man who has passed his most strenuous years and wants to combine occupation with enjoyment. He had them both in plenty. Quite apart from the professional calls on his time, which were rather more numerous than he wished, he was extraordinarily active in dealing with the administrative problems of Oxford University. Even in the quiet halls of Oxford reform had begun to make its disturbing presence felt; and for advice Oxford instinctively turned to Osler as one who knew the habits of the intruder and was familiar with the measures which were necessary to keep him quiet. His work was purely advisory, but

his advice was almost always taken. Well do I remember his interesting comments on the history of the University Chest, as the Oxford treasury was still called, and the attempts to give it some standing of its own not dependent on the pleasure of the several colleges. Never did Washington in the most perplexing days of the Revolution more successfully use his powers and his patience to make something out of nothing than did Osler in his establishment of a federal university authority amid a group of states' rights men.

And Oxford appreciated Osler. He seemed to me to have a kind of hold upon the respect and affection of the place in its entirety which few men have attained. You felt this wherever you dined in his company; not simply in his own college of Christ Church, or among men of his own age, but in every college and with men of every generation. For Osler was a man to whom differences of years meant little. He had a catholicity of social instinct which enabled him to say the right thing to the youngest freshman and to the oldest don alike. For the moment, he was always of the same age as the man with whom he spoke -- not talking down to one or talking up to another, but instinctively taking the other's point of view and being actually interested in the things that absorbed the other's attention.

Nor was it in university and college circles alone that he made himself popular. He was in contact with the civic life of the community. His spirit of personal friendliness and understanding did more to remove sources of tension or friction

than could have been accomplished by any measures of organized cooperation, however wise.

One of the most delightful days of my life was spent with the Oslers in a visit to an almshouse at the ancient village of Ewelme. By one of those delightful anomalies that are so characteristic of Oxford, the major part of the stipend of the Regius Professor of Medicine is obtained, not from the endowment of his professorship, but from the fact that the mastership of a certain wealthy almshouse is attached thereto -- an almshouse founded by some of Chaucer's friends on land not too far from London to have increased enormously in value. As the amount paid to each beneficiary of the foundation was only a few pence each day, the residuary estate whose income went to the master became ultimately very considerable. Previous incumbents of the office had been content to take the stipend without going near the almshouse more than once or twice a year; Osler addressed himself seriously to the duties of the place, perhaps one day each week; and by so doing won not only great credit in Oxford but, what was at once more picturesque and more desirable, great affection from the old men after whose welfare he looked. Many of these duties were of a kind particularly congenial to Osler's mind and tastes. The fourteenth century cloister round which the dwellings grouped themselves; the charming little church with the rooms and yards adjoining it; and above all the old books, long neglected, with their ancient manuscripts and bindings and royal seals; - all these afforded

Osler never ending delight, and gave his friends who visited the place with him a wonderful background against which his face and figure stand out as clear as that of Saint Jerome.

But ^{the} place where he was at his best was in the little upstairs room of his own house, when he or Lady Osler, or both, talked freely and charmingly with those who were privileged to form part of their household. It was in that upper story that he kept his ^{more precious} curious medical books of bygone days; and if he happened to be alone with any one who appreciated them the sight of the books opened a wondrous flow of talk. Well do I remember a couple of hours spent one morning in that study, when each of us ought to have been at work at something else, so that our conversation enjoyed the added flavor which goes with forbidden fruit. It began with Ulrich von Hutten; I have forgotten where it ended. In those two hours of conversation I learned more about mediaeval history and more about the persistence of certain queer traits in human nature than could be got from months of study by the most approved methods of research. What he said was like Smollett and Gibbon; Smollett's frankness without his coarseness, and Gibbon's erudition and lucidity without his conventionality. In talk of this kind I have never met the man who was Osler's equal.

Used
XXXI-277

May
1914To Rudyard Kipling from W. O.

May 9, 1914.

Dear Kipling: The Roger Bacon celebration is on June 10th. There is to be a presentation of a statue at the Museum which will be received by Curzon. Bridges has promised to write a brief ode which would be recited at the Museum, in which he says he will deal only with philosophy and that he might not mention Roger Bacon at all. Merton College gives a lunch and the Committee empowers me to ask you to write and recite something for us at the luncheon, dealing particularly with the personality and tragedy of Roger Bacon. Do please accept and come to us, and bring Mrs. Kipling for a little visit. . . .

To W. O. from Rudyard Kipling.

May 10, 1914.

Dear Osler, I can't tell you how shocked I am to find the practice of medicine at Oxford (Roger's own university) so grossly behind The Age. It was Galen who laid down that 'anger at meat' (by which he meant all mental emotion save of the mildest) is the mother of evil: and here are you - Regius Professor - counselling me to recite my own verses 'at' not before or after, but at - a bountiful meal. May I refer you to "Libellus R. B. A. &c, &c, de retardondis senectutis accidentibus et de sensibus conservondis" (Oxford 1590). But seriously, much as I should love to be of use to you I fear I am no good in this matter. I don't know Bacon except from the popular legend; I have no Brewer and I can't get up to Oxford on the 10th and I am up to my eyes in work and arrears of work of all sorts. Forgive me, and send me, as soon as you can, your paper on R. B. to file with my old doctors. Nicholas, who could write even if he couldn't cure for nuts - says at the beginning of his Herbal, "I knew well enough the whole world and everything in it was formed of a composition of contrary

30
May
1914

elements, and in such a harmony as must needs show the wisdom and power of a great God." That seems to me to cover Roger Bacon's outlook and I present it to you for a quotation. The wife joins me in kindest regards to you both and I am Yours ever sincerely,

Rudyard Kipling.

And another exchange of letters of about this time following upon a telegram of May 14th from Oxford saying: "Thank you so much but impossible to accept nomination. I have written. OSLER."

From J. Y. W. MacAlister to W. O.

1, Wimpole Street, London,
May 20, 1914.

My dear Mr. President-nominate: Your telegram has given me a cruel shock, and I must earnestly beg, - I should say implore, - that you will reconsider your decision. You were nominated yesterday by the absolute unanimous vote of the whole Council of the Society, and, unless you prevent it, your election follows as a matter of course. It is not for me perhaps to say anything about the honour this is, for you have achieved such honours in your brilliant career that there is practically nothing left that will enhance them; but if you knew the traditions here you would understand what a special honour the election to the Presidency of this Society in your case means. It is for the first time in its history an entire departure from tradition, which demands that the Presidents of the Society shall be the best of those who have served it longest. How strong this tradition is you will perhaps understand better if I tell you that some

May
1914

years ago a proposal to make Lord Lister President of the Society had to be withdrawn. It is in some ways even a greater honour thatⁿ the Presidency of the College of Physicians, for the Society is more broadly representative of the profession.

But I know that all that will count for nothing with you, but what I hope will count is the fact that many of the leading men of the Society have been looking to you for some time as the future President, whose indomitable energy, progressiveness, and large mindedness would help to place the Society in the position that properly belongs to it, and it would be a bitter disappointment if now that the opportunity has come you hold back. The Society wants a man, who is above tradition and who will make precedents for himself, and there is none other who can fulfil that need as you can. In saying this I am not disparaging others, for your really unique position in the profession, and in the public estimation gives you opportunities of doing things, which other men, however willing they might be, have not got.

I do not know if you have ever realized how much the Amalgamation owed to you. I remember, as vividly as if it were this morning, how at a time when I had practically given up hope, you came into my room at Hanover Square, and I told you of my dreams, and you urged me to 'go right ahead, that the time was ripe, and that I was not to worry about the old fogies.' Your encouragement gave me just the stimulant that I needed at the time, - for I was physically as well as mentally ill, - and I went 'right ahead,' and even then hoped to see you President of the re-formed Society, and I cannot well express the bitter disappointment, and dis-

May
1914

couragement it will be to me personally if you refuse this opportunity, which may never come again.

Do not be afraid of the work, I will guarantee to save you all that; and you are so often in London that to preside at a monthly Douncil Meeting (the times for which can be fixed to suit you) should be no tax upon you. To parody the posters, - 'it is your inspiration we want.'

Up to now the Presidencies have worked out in a perfectly rhythmical order, and this is the exact psychological moment for your Presidency. Church was the necessary Amalgamating President, as he had presided at all the Amalgamation Meetings, and the Sections had to learn what amalgamation meant; then began the move and the new building, for which Morris was the best man, and did yeoman service; settled in the new building the next thing that had to be done was to break the stupid old tradition, which prevented a specialist from occupying the chair, and Champneys as head of his specialty, has done his duty well; and now, having amalgamated, built, and got rid of its fetters, what the Society needs, and must have, is a new and inspiring energy to give it a good start on the great work that lies before it. It is your clear duty to accept, and for duty's sake you must not refuse. Yours sincerely, and very anxiously,

J. Y. W. MacAlister.

To J. Y. W. MacAlister from W. O.

The Athenaeum, Pall Mall, S.W.
[no date]

Dear MacAlister Awfully sorry I cannot accept the nomination. It is not my job. I need not go into reasons. It is good of you to think of me. I see your hand in it. Sincerely yours, W^m OSLER.

May
1914

A good many other people who knew and had worked with Osler felt that they would like to see his influence exerted in other fields than the one he had chosen. A hint at this will be found in the following note of May 29th to his colleague of the University Endowment Fund.

Dear Lord Hyther: I shall be glad to be at the meeting. I am not quite sure that any words of mine would be of value, so that I would rather not ^{Speak.} We Colonials occupy rather an anomalous position here in the political world. I am in favour of a preferential tariff for the colonies and strongly against any coercion of Ulster. I have sent the slip on to Heberden. . . .

Then too, not long after, on the death of Sir William Anson the senior member of Parliament for the University, he was waited upon, as he says, "by a deputation of the Caucus of both parties asking me to stand as an independent member and that there would be no contest, but remembering Michael Foster, and still having some sense left, I told them it was not my job. There would have been nothing in it for me but worry."

What Leslie Stephen says in his "Hours in a Library" of Sir Thomas Browne is equally true of Browne's modern ^{representative} ~~pretotype~~, Osler:

May
1914

He would have been hopelessly out of place on the floor of the Senate, stirring men's patriotism or sense of right; for half his sympathy would always be with the opposition. He could not have moved the tears or the devotional ecstasies of a congregation for he has too vivid a sense that any and every dogma is but one side of an inevitable antinomy. Strong convictions are needed for the ordinary controversial successes, and his favourite point of view is the centre from which all convictions radiate and all look equally probable. But then instead of mocking at all he sympathizes with all, and expresses the one sentiment which may be extracted from their collision - the sentiment of reverence blended with skepticism. "It is a contradictory sentiment, one may say, in a sense, but the essence of humour is to be contradictory." . .

Osler was never a strong protagonist: his sense of fair play, his charity ~~for~~ the other fellow's foibles and failings, and his sense of humour, would have made him unsuccessful as the great leader of a cause. It has been pointed out by someone that great leaders of men and of causes, with perhaps one notable exception - Lincoln, have been conspicuously without any sense of humour.

There were other things enough, and more to his fancy. It will be remembered that on his earlier visits to Cardiff he had prodded the natives on

May
1914

their financial neglect of the University and its medical school. The seed apparently had not fallen on barren ground. Meanwhile the Report of the Royal Commission on University Education had been carefully studied by some prominent Welshmen and a deputation representing the University had waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the proposal that the Government should come to their aid in establishing the 'unit system' at Cardiff, where an anonymous donor had given a magnificent sum sufficient to complete the necessary buildings. As an outcome of this, a small committee was appointed by the Board of Education to act as advisors of the Treasury, and it may be noted that the 'anonymous donor' had stated as one of the terms of his gift that 'the last and most important condition - and upon this mainly depends this offer - that the grant made by the Treasury shall in the opinion of Sir William Osler the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford be an adequate one for a first-rate, up-to-date medical school.' Thus it came about that Osler makes the entry, "May 22-23. Cardiff Med. School" in his account-book - an entry, be it said, which under different dates is to appear many times dur-

TELEPHONE 10 AUCHTERARDER

XXXIV, p. 34

CLOAN, AUCHTERARDER,
PERTHSHIRE.

14 Oct 1923

To Mr W. Harvey Cushing,

Remember well
our talks on board the 'Luritanica'
in ^{August} ~~Sept~~ 1913.

And now as to your letter.

I was Chairman of the Royal
Commission ^[with Lord Hardinge] which reported on
the University of Wales about 1921. &
Sir Wm Osler was my colleague.

One field of inquiry was a wide
one, one of the difficult questions
was how to found an adequate
College of Medicine in the reformed
University. For ideas on this subject
we turned to Sir Wm. He took a
very active part in framing and

negotiating a scheme. There were two
views: - 1/ that the College should
be an independent one in the
University, the sphere of which was
the whole of Wales; 2/ that it should
be a College affiliated to and
largely controlled by the University
College of Cardiff. The Commission
was unanimous in holding the
first view which the Gov^t supported
very strongly. The desire was to
give the largest importance to the
College. But unfortunately it had
to be connected with the existing
chief centre of medical instruction
in Wales, & thus was the existing
medical college? Hospital at
Cardiff, & standing on land be-
-longing to the University College
there. It was difficult to get over

The Claim of Cardiff but all
stuck to the recommendation,
even now the matter is not wholly
settled, so far as I know. Sir W^m
persuaded a well known lady, I think
Miss Talbot of Margam, to give
£50,000 as an endowment for the
new College, with the conditions
attached, obtained a leverage.
It may be that the compromise
will result in a large measure
of independence in the Government
of the reorganised medical
College being conceded. Cardiff
is a great centre, but a difficult
place to deal with.

Think that one of the
things Sir W^m accomplished

apart from the Commission
was the familiarity in British
medical public with the con-
-ception of the 'Hospital Unit'.
Keepe you ~~are~~ the American Con-
-ment as much a head of
as, but for ~~was~~ experience
when he was with you
enabled him to exercise
much influence.

I hope these few notes
may be of use to you.

Yours sincerely
Alderson

Haldane, Viscount

September 26, 1923.

My dear Lord Haldane:

I venture to trespass upon your time, on the grounds of a brief though very delightful acquaintance made on the "Lusitania" in the summer of 1913 when you were en route to Montreal.

At Lady Osler's request I am undertaking the very difficult task of preparing Sir William's biography and in the material at my command I naturally keep running across your name. I wonder if by any possibility you have any reminiscences which you might have time and be willing to jot down for me. There is, for example, one thing at the present moment which confuses me a good deal, namely his relation to the establishment of the School of Medicine in connection with the University of Wales; and I see that your name is given as one of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into its organization and work. Curiously enough there seems to have been some stipulation made by an unknown donor of the fund which made the school possible, to the effect that the Regius Professor of Medicine in Oxford 'should be the

judge of whether the amount is adequate or not;' and Osler seems subsequently to have spent a a great deal of time in Cardiff in connection with this work.

A note about this or anything else which stands out in your mind; or any letters from him which you may possibly have preserved, would be hugely appreciated.

With assurances of my great regard, and with the pleasantest remembrance of our shipboard acquaintance, I am

Very sincerely yours,

The Rt. Hon, Viscount Haldane,
28 Queen Anne's Gate,
London, S. W. 1, England.

June
1914

ing the succeeding years.

Dr. Osler
affirmed the value of

There were other things of like kind which took him afield. On

June ⁴5th he is found in Bath giving an address at the opening of the

Pathological Laboratory, in which he emphasized the great opportunity

the famous old place offered for the scientific study of arthritis in its

many forms. A hospital was no new thing at Bath for Beau Nash and Dr.

Oliver (he of the 'Bath Olivers') had first started one, *(the name before had been a laboratory. On this occasion,* ~~Here again he~~

again, Osler

prodded the local pride, saying: "There are three further things needed -

a good museum where physicians can come to inspect every known type of ar-

thritis, a modern X-ray department, and, the third, a well-equipped and up-

to-date library. I am a great believer in books as tools and shall be glad

to give £10 toward the founding of such a library." His old friend

'Jimmy' Johnson (now the Rev. James Bovell Johnson of Chedington Rectory)

came over to Bath for this occasion and recalls that there was a large and

distinguished gathering of locally prominent people: the Marquis of Bath and

others; and a public dinner at a famous restaurant. But they slipped away,

meanwhile, and went through the libraries and the old bookshops where Osler

tracked down some volumes dealing with the medical worthies of Bath.

June
1914

On June 9th and 10th ^{came} there was a curious conflict of engagements between the two old universities, one of which had on its rolls the name of ^{James} Roger Bacon and the other his ^{later} prototype in the interrogation of nature, ^{Roger} Francis. After all the trouble and interest ^{was} he had taken, as a member of the executive committee, in helping to prepare for the Oxford celebration when, among other ceremonies, a monument to the 'Doctor Mirabilis' of his contemporaries was unveiled in the Museum, Osler himself was absent in Cambridge.* And so was Sir John Sandys, another member of the Roger

^{on evidence of}
~~Little besides~~ This monument and the volume of essays edited by A. G. Little ^{alone} remains to show for the elaborate programme to commemorate the 700th anniversary of Friar Bacon's birth. Although a start was made to republish his works (Cf. the "Communium Naturalium" by Robert Steele), the war checked the fulfilment of the project.

Bacon Committee, for, being Public Orator at Cambridge, he must be there for the conferring of degrees. Then, too, the Romanes Lecture was made a feature of the Oxford ceremonies and this took ^{Prof.} Sir J. J. Thomson away from the Cambridge celebration.

The opening of the new physiological laboratories in Cambridge on the 9th was the culmination for the Cambridge School of Physiology, of the small

O as was from Oast's original manuscript to the Bell - Chpts XXIV - manuscript to 36-37.

was interrupted university life - at Cambridge -

Opening of new physical lab at Camb. on June 9th - was the culmination of long years of development & progress from 1870 (of Michael Foster) - Big plans were spent - incl. plans for several good services & kitchen etc. coming thus to work "... but from Aug. & for few yrs more it stood almost empty, & in poor & hazy working order in a couple of rooms".

June
1914

beginnings made when in 1870 Michael Foster was transferred from University College shortly before Osler was there at work with ^{Foster} his successor, Burdon Sanderson. It was ^{a ceremony} ~~an occasion~~ not be missed, despite the conflicting Oxford meeting; and, what is unusual for such occasions, when Prince Arthur of Connaught who officially opened the building, admitted the guests, the new laboratory rooms were found equipped and in full operation; and demonstrations were made by the workers there - by Professor Langley, by Miss Dale, G. R. Mines, R. A. Peters, A. V. Hill, W. H. R. Rivers, Joseph Barcroft and his collaborator C. G. Douglas of Oxford; by Walter Fletcher, W. B. Hardy, Keith Lucas and others - many of whom were soon to be swept into far more serious fields than those of academic research.*

*One of them writes: "How little we thought that day of what was coming! We thought the big new building would become a busy hive at once. All of us had plans for work in that Long Vacation, and several good Germans and Austrians were coming to work; but from August and for five years more it stood almost empty, with poor Langley working away in a couple of rooms. Keith Lucas killed flying, and poor Mines were never to return. Peters was winning his Military Cross and Bar in France; Douglas was in charge of Gas Services in France; Barcroft had the Chemical Warfare Camp at Porton; Hardy running the Royal Society War Committees in London; Fletcher in charge of the Medical Research Council; A. V. Hill running a team of mathematicians improving ballistics for the Navy and anti-aircraft guns."

Then in the Senate House, cheerful with its scarlet gowns, the following degrees were conferred - an LL.D. for Prince Arthur of Connaught, Lord Esher, Lord Moulton, and Colonel S. M. Benson, Master of the Drapers' Company which had provided funds for the new building; and a ^{Sc.D.} B.Sc. upon Osler, David Ferrier, E. A. Schäfer and E. H. Starling, four men who 'had contributed to the advancement of physiological science.' ~~There followed a large dinner with many distinguished guests, presided over by the Master of Trinity College.~~

June
1914

It would be difficult to say whether the Cambridge dedication or the Bacon centenary celebration at Oxford had drawn together the more eminent or interesting group of people. Among the Oxford celebrants was the Rt. Rev. Abbot Gasquet, President of the English Benedictines who is singled out for a special reason. ^{For on} ~~On~~ the evening of June 30th from the Athenaeum Club Osler writes: "Just in from a dinner by the Bibliographical Society to the new Cardinal - Gasquet - all the literary book men in London - such a charming company."

The Abbot Gasquet had been the member of the Bibliographical Society who in the natural course of events ^{instead of Osler} would have been made President ^{the year before} ~~in 1913~~ ~~instead of Osler~~, to succeed Richard Garnett, but owing to his work in Rome as the head of the Commission on the Vulgate he had declined. He had ^{just} received his cardinal's hat, and Osler with A. W. Pollard and other friends, mainly of the Bibliographical Society, and of the Colophon Club in particular, gave him the complimentary 'Book Lovers' dinner to which the note referred. As Mr. Pollard has said* of this, the second year of

*Preface to the "Incunabula Medica, 1467-1480" by Sir William Osler. Bibliographical Society publication, 1923.

June
1914

Osler's presidency of the Society, it was unwantedly gay not only because of this dinner but by 'bursting into a summer meeting at Cambridge.'

"Under Sir William's presidentship," he adds, "both festivities were delightfully successful."

"We are having the usual ~~the usual~~ busy spring season," he writes

H. B. Jacobs on the 23rd - just at present in the midst of examinations!

"This evening we have all the Pages coming as tomorrow he gets his honorary degree at the annual celebration." And he adds: "We are in a nice

*At this Encaenia the young Duke of Saxe-Coburg, W. H. Page the American Ambassador, Lord Bryce, A German jurist Dr. Ludwig Mitteis, and Richard Strauss the musician were all given degrees.

mess here with the Irishmen. I wish they would tow the island into mid-Atlantic, and let the Orange and Green fight it out between them." The spectre of civil war which so long had hung over the country was growing daily more real, for there was 'no compromise and no surrender' in Ulster. But not even to this, nor to the railway strike, was so much space given as to the victorious polo team; the crews at Henley; the American Cup

July
1914

trials; the open golf championships; cricket at Lord's; tennis at Wimbledon; a negro prize-fighter who had won another championship; and the incident of Lord Brassey's 'arrest' at the Kiel Regatta. Even the fact that on June 28th a fanatic Serbian student threw a bomb, which had a more far-reaching effect than the ^{mere} killing of the Archduke Ferdinand and his wife, was soon overshadowed by the death of Joseph Chamberlain, by the affaire Caillaux, and other happenings at home and abroad.

Early in July, Osler attended as usual the annual meeting of the Tuberculosis Association at Leeds, where ^{on July 8th} he made an address ~~on July 8th~~, intended to shock his hearers into action; and is reported to have concluded, after saying that since there was only room for a third of the present cases in Sanatoria, much must be done in the homes:

In no way can you so mark the lintels of your doors that the Angel of the White Scourge will pass with certainty. Despair would fill the →

July
1914
Aet. 65.

heart if it were not for the splendid efforts of officers of public health, who in fifty years have cut in half the mortality from tuberculosis. But, after all, this is a wonderful campaign in which we are engaged. We have tracked the enemy, and know his every stronghold, and we know his three allies - poverty, bad housing, and drink. But though the ravages have been reduced it remains the most powerful amongst man's innumerable enemies. Before us is a long, slow, hundred years war, or even longer, in which, however, coördination, coöperation, and enterprise will win out just as surely as it has done against typhus and typhoid.

They took advantage of this meeting for a week's outing, of which he writes in the following letter to Mrs. Brewster on July 10 from the Lamb Hotel, Ely:

Dear Mabel. . . The summer is getting on, & I shall soon be facing west. I have my passage by the Aquitania, Sept. 7th. Grace & Revere sail to Quebec on the 30th of this month. I am kept by the Library Association which meets in Oxford the first five days of September. . . I go on to Boston as soon as possible as Grace & R. sail about Sept. 20th. He has to be back by October 1st to get ready for his first term. What would you have thought had I gone into the puddled pool of politics? Sir Wm Anson, the senior member for the University died about a month ago, and delegates from both liberal & conservative caucuses asked me to stand unopposed as an independent University man. It was awfully good & kind

July
1914

of them, but I was not even tempted. No new job at my time of life, thank you! As it is I have more now than I bargained for, and a good deal of work that I should like to do has to be neglected.

We are off for a week's motoring in Norfolk, & tomorrow pick up Revere at [?]Quidenham, where he is still with his tutor, and on to Norwich, Cromer & round the coast to Peterboro & back to Cambridge, where I stay for a few days at Magdalen College to work over Pepys Library & to preside at the first peripatetic meeting of the Bibliographical Society. I wish you could have been ^{with} us today. The country is superb. This Cathedral is wonderful. ~~A kiss for Sylvia & Phyllis love to R. B. & Uncle Ned.~~

Not in Atlas
Wymondham?
see Power

One of the members of the Bibliographical Society says that the mental photograph he most constantly recalls is ^{that} the picture of Osler welcoming the London contingent at the gate of Magdalene College where they were given lunch on this unwonted excursion. No doubt it was this group of book-loving friends - if any of his groups of friends can be singled out - in whom he took chief delight, and though during this July at the instigation of Ingram Bywater he was made a member of the Roxburghe Club and attended their meetings occasionally during the war, it

He was also elected later in the year to membership in the Baskerville Club - a book publishing club of Cambridge men for encouragement of bibliographical studies, ~~the~~ and to which his recent Cambridge degree was then eligible.

July
1914

by no means supplanted the Bibliographical Society of which he was re-elected President each year until the end.

It would appear that the idea of the Bibliotheca Osleriana must have taken form while browsing in the Pepys Library during this Cambridge visit. Mr. Charles Sayle of the Cambridge University Library whom he first met at this time, became interested in the project and they had many a subsequent exchange of visits in Oxford and Cambridge, during the course of which the plan of a 'Bibliotheca Prima', 'Bibliotheca Secunda', and so on, came to be crystalized. And innumerable letters on the subject during the coming months passed between the two.

At about this time he writes to H. S. Birkett at McGill:

Insert by 46

I am delighted to hear that you have been appointed Dean, as you have got plenty of glue in your composition, a much needed element in a large Faculty group. . . . As I daresay you know, I hope my collection^{of books}/will go to the College. It will be particularly rich in historical works and the original editions of the old masters of the first rank. Of course, many of these rarer things I could not myself have afforded to buy, but my brother E. B. has given me in the past two years about £1,000 for the purpose of purchasing incunabula and the more expensive editions. Let me know

July
1914

6744

who has been appointed acting librarian, as I should like to keep in touch with him, or her. . . . I wonder if we could not have Shepherd's portrait painted by Guthrie in Edinburgh? Is there any example of his work in Montreal? I think he is the best portrait painter on this side at present.

During the next five years the cataloguing of his library on these new lines came to be Osler's most engrossing interest, and in the trials and tribulations of those years it was his refuge and salvation. It was a novel project - this attempt to make a sort of bio-bibliographical index catalogue of his books - at which professional bibliographers shrugged their shoulders; and as the work progressed its difficulties and com-

July
1914

plexities which they had foreseen, merely added to the fascination of the task which was leading Osler on by the nose. He intended that the catalogue should be something more than a mere impersonal list of books and should have some of the features his great forerunner Conrad Gesner, the father of bibliography, had put into his Bibliotheca Universalis. He possibly was influenced, too, by Haller's Bibliotheca Medicinæ Practicæ, but far more by the Bibliotheca Chemica of John Ferguson the Professor of Chemistry at Glasgow, which had been published a few years before.* On the death of

*"A Catalogue of the Alchemical, Chemical and Pharmaceutical Books in the Collection of the late James Young of Kelly and Durris, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S. Glasgow, Jas. Maclehose & Sons, 1906.

Professor Ferguson two years later, Osler paid him a tribute at a meeting of the Bibliographical Society (November 1916), saying in the course of his remarks some things which were unconsciously autobiographical:

Though an absorbing and profitable study, the end-results of Bibliography are too often big tomes of intolerable dullness. There are at any rate two works on the subject full of the marrow and fatness of books: one is James Atkinson's "Two-letter Bibliography", the other is John Ferguson's "Bibliotheca Chemica", a catalogue of the library of the late Dr. James

July
1914

Sic. }
Young, now in the Glasgow Technical College. While not large, the collection is extraordinarily rich in works on alchemy and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books on chemistry, and just the sort of library for a man of Professor Ferguson's training to catalogue. It is the most useful special bibliography in my library. and scarcely a day passes that I do not refer to its pages. The merit that appeals to one is a combination of biography with bibliography ^{for} beside the book is a picture of the man sketched by a sympathetic hand. Would that in other subjects, students as accurate and as learned could be induced to follow this example! There is an interesting paragraph in the preface which illustrates the spirit in which Professor Ferguson undertook this work. "The history of chemistry, as indeed of all sciences, is but a succession of epitaphs upon forgotten men and forgotten discoveries. What then, do these men not owe to him who gathers up their works, and in so doing, recalls their achievements, and thus labours to lift that icy pall of oblivion which descends on everything human, just because it is human, imperfect, temporary, and ~~has~~ to be forgotten to make way for something else? It was to mitigate that fate as far as human effort can, when it has to strive with the eternal law and necessity of change, that this gathering of the writings of bygone thinkers and workers was made. That they were struggling with ^{error} ~~error~~ obscured vision towards the light of reality should cause not neglect of them and contempt for their shortcomings and failure, but should arouse the fellow feeling and interest of those who at the present moment are engaged in the same struggle, and whose turn for neglect and contempt is coming. Dr. Young realized this, and the library is his effort to ~~awaken~~ and foster such sympathy and remembrance."

July
1914

Upon the author of a really good bibliography the iniquity of oblivion vainly scatters her poppy - to use an expression of Sir Thomas Browne - and the "Bibliotheca Chemica" will prevail as potently for John Ferguson as has the "Bibliotheca Britannica" for his great townsman, Robert Watt.

*Must
also be by 43*

The record of a happening of July 16th betrays one of Osler's characteristic acts, for on the evening of that day a dinner attended by the old house physicians and surgeons of the Radcliffe Infirmary was given at Christ Church for Mr. H. P. Symonds, who had served there since 1878. A protrait sketch of the guest of honour, which now hangs in the Infirmary, was presented by Osler, who called attention to the fact that Mr. Horatio Symonds was the seventh surgeon in direct succession from Richard Symonds of Atherstone, Warwick, whose family therefore for three generations had served the public in that part of England; and he also read a gracious letter from Mr. John Sargent who had made the protrait.

The following day, in furtherance of the plan to arouse interest in the repair of Avicenna's tomb, Osler and his colleague Professor Margo-

July
1914

liouth attended a meeting in London of the Persian Society, when both of them spoke - a futile interest it would seem just at this time when one considers that on the same day was a test mobilization of the three British Fleets at Spithead. Winston Churchill at least was not going to be caught napping, but the possibility of a European war, however disturbing were the rumours of Austro-Serbian relations, seemed far less probable than war in Ulster.

"I am shockingly full of engagements," he wrote his friend Shepherd at this time. "I cannot get away on account of some local meetings. Grace and the boy leave by the *Calgaria*^{*} on July 30th. I sail September 7th to New York & shall be a week in Baltimore at the time of the celebration. I wish you could see our roses which Grace gathers by the bushel." He had made a promise, also, to McCrae to give an introductory lecture to his students at Jefferson on the opening of the school year, when he evidently intended to 'sound a note of warning to the average school' in regard to the full-time programme, for he writes to Dock that "the danger will be of get-

*He managed to get off a letter to McCrae which was read to the students and from which some quotations have already been taken,

July
1914

for it was reminiscent of his days in Toronto browsing in Bovell's library when he had first come to know some of the early Philadelphia worthies connected with Jefferson. In all probability his address which he had prepared was used in part for the article sent some months later to Henry W. Cattell of Philadelphia, the Editor of International Clinics, for its twenty-fifth anniversary number, entitled, "The Coming of Age of Internal Medicine in America," in which he says:

The burning question to be settled by this generation relates to the whole-time clinical teacher. It has been forced on the profession by men who know nothing of clinical medicine, and there has been a 'mess of pottage' side to the business in the shape of big Rockefeller cheques at which my gorge rises. To have a group of cloistered clinicians away completely from the broad current of professional life would be bad for teacher and worse for student. The primary work of a professor of medicine in a medical school is in the wards, teaching his pupils how to deal with patients and their disease. His business is to turn out men who know how to handle the sick. His business, too, is to bring into play all the resources of the laboratories in the investigation of disease, for which purpose he must have about him active young men who will stay for years at the clinic, largely for the sake of the experience. His business, further, is to get into close touch with the profession and the public, and with both to play the missionary; and this he can only do if engaged part of his time in consulting practice. There always have been choice of whole-time clinicians. So devoted was Desault to his work that he slept at the hospital. More often they have men of the Samuel Gee type, splendid in wards or laboratories, but ill-fitted by temperament to control large classes, or for the hurly-burly of the professional life. By all means let us have them in the special hospitals attached to institutes of research, as in the Rockefeller; but spare the medical schools an experiment, which may be successful now and then, but which - from my point of view - cannot but lower in type and tone the work of the clinical professoriate.

July
1914

ting 'half-baked' clinicians who do not know chickenpox from measles.

Ewald tells me that there is a good deal of growling in Germany about the ignorance of the ordinary clinical details on the part of the younger men." Among the local meetings to which he referred was one at Reading, of the Oxford and Reading branch of the B. M. A., at which he acted as Chairman and spoke again on the subject of the 'organization of the clinical laboratory' in which the British hospitals were so far behind, but that 'hospital committees must be taught that these things are costly but worth paying for.'

The week of July 26th saw two large medical gatherings in England.

A horde of American surgeons had invited themselves to London, and at the same time the annual meeting of the ^{British Medical Association} B. M. A. was held at Aberdeen. Both

of these meetings were as well attended as if nothing unusual was in the

air: and at both of them were a number of foreign guests, including

some eminent Austrians. Osler himself was at Aberdeen, ^{during the week,} the guest of ~~Dr.~~ ^{Professor C.W.}

Mackintosh who recalls that: McIntosh during the week; and on the 30th at the annual dinner responded

the annual

delegation throughout.

PETER BENT BRIGHAM HOSPITAL

JOSEPH B. HOWLAND, M. D.
SUPERINTENDENT

721 HUNTINGTON AVENUE

HARVEY CUSHING, M. D.
SURGEON-IN-CHIEF

HENRY A. CHRISTIAN, M. D.
PHYSICIAN-IN-CHIEF

BOSTON 17, MASS.

S. BURT WOLBACH, M. D.
PATHOLOGIST

(Chapter XXXIV, p. 48, 1914)

September 24, 1923.

Professor Ashley W. Mackintosh,
Aberdeen University,
Aberdeen, Scotland.

My dear Professor Mackintosh:

At Lady Osler's request I am preparing a biography of Sir William, and have come across a note of Osler's to the effect that he 'was at Aberdeen for the B.M.A. [1914] and stayed with Dr. Mackintosh.' I presume, of course, it was yourself.

Can you possibly tell me anything about his visit, and of his behaviour and his speech; and the beginning of the war? I believe there were some foreigners there. Osler curiously enough went off to Colonsay with the Strathconas and got caught there for nearly a week before he could get away, because of the mobilization. It seems like a very naïve thing for him to have done, and I wonder if he realized what was going on.

For my convenience, as well as your own, perhaps you will answer below, on this same sheet.

Very sincerely yours,

Harvey Cushing

2.

Dear Professor Harvey Cushing

I am delighted to hear that you are writing a biography of Sir William Osler.

Yes, he stayed with me during that last week in July 1914. He arrived on the Monday or Tuesday and left, I think, on the Friday (July 31st) for Colonsay. He was in splendid form - full of life and interest in all that was going on. He summed up in his usual clear way a discussion on "Artificial Pneumothorax" which was introduced by Dr. Rist of Paris. At the Annual Dinner of the British Medical Association on the Thursday night, he proposed the health of the President (Sir Alexander Ogston) in a few admirable sentences.

His behaviour and his speech were simply those of the old Osler. It is an astonishing fact that I at least never for a moment realized during that week that there was any possibility of war for us and I believe that Sir William was quite in the same position: we scarcely looked at a paper - there was no time for it: we did hear I believe that there were no Austrians at the dinner as they had been "recalled", but this seemed natural as the original dispute concerned Austria. I believe that this fully explains Sir William's "naïve" act in starting for Colonsay. No man could have been more natural and delightful throughout.

Read to me from any way I can
I shall see you and my child
as one of my child
I am sure
Yours sincerely
Harvey Cushing

July
1914

to the toast of 'the President', Sir Alexander Ogston.

Osler account -

In his ~~note~~-book, opposite the dates "Sunday August 2nd - Saturday 8th"

^{he} Osler has jotted down, "Colonsay with the Strathconas. On Monday ^[Tuesday Aug 4?] heard

of the declaration of war with Germany. Could not get away from the island till Thursday. Grace & Revere sailed on the 31st. I was to follow on the Aquitania Sept. 5th."

Things had moved rapidly during these two weeks, and it became evident that the peace of Europe depended upon whether Germany saw that her opportunity had come. On the 29th Austria had declared war against Serbia; Grey's proposal for a peace conference had been refused by Germany, and the possibility of a spread of the conflict hung by a thread. On July 31st came the Russian mobilization with Germany's declaration of war the next day, and on August 3rd her troops entered Belgium. And then the avalanche. But Osler by this time had reached the Strathconas' remote island, and something of his feelings are expressed in a letter of August 6th from Colonsay House to Mrs. Brewster:

Aug.
1914

Here is a nice mess! Goodness knows when you will get this, but you will have had a cable. I cannot leave as I have to help in organizing the medical dept. of the Territorial force. Grace & Revere sailed on the 31st. She will be furious to have the ocean between us, and she has been on the committee of the nursing dept. If a steamer is available they will return at once. I am so sorry for the poor souls stranded on the continent. I have a niece & her daughter at Aix. I hope they have got to Switzerland. It all seems very unnecessary, but the ^{nations} natives are still in the nursery stage, squabbling & fighting like children. I do hope you will see Revere if they sail from New York, Grace is sure to telephone you, but it is very uncertain, and they may decide to stay until it is perfectly safe to cross. I am stranded in this far away island about forty miles from the coast, with the Strathconas. We have been trying to get away, but the trains from Oban south have been too crowded. We leave tonight. I am so disappointed not to see you all. But it is a small matter in comparison with the tragedies that are inevitable in the families of friends. ~~..Much love to you all.~~

It all seems very unsuspecting of Osler. Indeed, on Friday, July 30th, while the B. M. A. was in session in Aberdeen, a War Emergency Committee had been formed at the London offices of the Association, 'to organize the profession in England, Wales and Ireland in such a way as to enable the Gov-

Aug.
1914

ernment to use every available practitioner to serve the country in such a manner as to turn his qualifications to the best possible use.' On the memoradnum which must have been sent to Oxford the same day, Osler's name headed the list of the committee-men appointed by the representatives.)

On August 3rd Germany violated her neutrality pact with the invasion of Belgium and Luxembourg. On the 4th came England's declaration of war, and by the time Osler got back to Oxford the vanguard of the 'Contemptibles,' ~~the first 100,000,~~ were on French soil.

There was much for Osler to do on his return, and on the 10th he writes to H. M. Hurd in Baltimore: "It will be impossible for me to leave in these troublous times and to my great sorrow I shall have to give up my proposed visit. Lady Osler & Revere sailed 10 days ago just before war was declared. We shall be here in the centre of the hospital work, as the plan is to utilize the University and college buildings. Already within the week the big Examinations Schools has been converted into a

Aug.
1914

hospital - nearly 300 beds are ready and we could take patients in a few days. I am trying to get in touch with Welch who I fear is stranded somewhere on the Continent. Miss Nutting too is there." The number of beds apparently grew rapidly, for on the same day he writes D. 'Arcy Power: "I wish you could see the Schools! - never put to such good use. About 350 beds in already." Also on the 10th, to Winford H. Smith: "Fortunately the country has been expecting this & the organization has been remarkably prompt. We have converted the Examination Schools into a hospital for 400 beds." And four days later to W. S. Thayer: In the short space of ten days we've turned the Schools into a big hospital ready for 480 patients. "The country is extraordinarily calm and it looks as if we should be able to hold the seas." *had become*
~~It was a thousand~~ ¹⁰⁰⁰ *beds* *hospital* *before* *maneuvers* ~~was~~ ^{elapsed.}

Meanwhile, in order to pick up the rest of his family, a letter of August 16th on the R. M. S. "Calgarian" is being written from Lady Osler which says:

When I found out that W. O. was not intending to come with us but was waiting in Oxford for the meeting of a Librarians' Asso. I was annoyed and said I would not go without him but he insisted that he wanted Revere to

Aug.
1914

see his uncles & Campbell so we started on the 31st. Sir William was in Aberdeen at the B. M. Asso & if my brother-in-law E.B.O. of Toronto who was in London standing by the Dominion Bank had only told me of the condition we might have been saved this muddle & worry. We landed at Rimouski and went to Cacouna where we found the excitement intense as nearly all the Montreal business men have houses there and were telegraphing their wives. . . ~~Dear, calm old Tom F. was a comfort. He was glued to the papers & full of interest in every word.~~ I could get no word from Oxford until Sunday when a cable came saying, "Come when safe!" We left at once for Murray Bay to see Campbell - & I telegraphed my people. Mr. Allan of this Line was at Cacouna & said he should sail this ship on which we came over, on Thursday. We went on to Quebec and the Reveres and Susan Chapin met us there. Campbell came from Cap à l'Aigle and Nona Gwyn too - so we saw some people, hysterical though it was. We are now half ^{way} over, and thus far quite safe. The ship is painted black & every port & window covered with blankets at night. The whole situation is too horrible, of course one cannot take it in ^{as} yet. I expect soon to be very busy as I am on the Hospital Board in Oxford. . .

And on her return she found a man 'quite different from what I have ever seen him.' Osler had a premonition from the first that the war somehow was to bring to him a great sorrow, as well as 'the inevitable tragedies in the families of friends.' But this never appeared on the surface, and re-

Aug.
1914

course must be had to the letters of others, to disclose something of his movements and reactions at the outset of what to him was an abhorrent and unnecessary strife. But though no 'pacifist' he loved peace, and went calmly about his business making a practice of leading conversation at his house and table away from the gossip of war. There follows a contrast of two letters both written from 13 Norham Gardens on August 22nd, the day the Germans had occupied Ghent. The first, to Dr. J.W. Wigmore of Bath in pursuit of the two Dr. Olivers of Bath, one of whom has come down to posterity on a biscuit.

Dear Wigmore Why were the biscuits called Bath Olivers? Did Olive ever give a description of them; and, if so, where? Sincerely yours,
W^m OSLER. Has his original formula ever been published?

The second on the same date from Lady Osler to her sister in Boston.

We reached Liverpool just too late to catch the 9.30 Oxford train. There was no special, so we had to wait until 11.30. After getting off the luggage helped by our ever useful Great Western man we went to see the Cathedral - this calm proceeding being more to Revere's liking than seeing soldiers. There were plenty everywhere - on the Dock and in front of all Public Buildings. The trip to Oxford was uneventful - we took on two carriages of recruits at Birmingham and left weeping wives and mothers

Aug.
1914

in the station. At Oxford we found W. O. looking very fit and well and evidently thankful to see us, never once saying "Why did you come back" - and listening patiently to the tales of our experiences & apparently satisfied that Revere had seen one Aunt, two Uncles, two Godfathers, four babies, two Godsons and many friends. Oxford looked the same and it was hard to ^{understand} believe why we had rushed back. Tea was on the terrace - the garden a mass of gorgeous blooms - a fresh crop of roses and wonderful snapdragons.

First I talked & told our experiences & then W. O. told his. He left Aberdeen the day we sailed and went to Colonsay that evening in the yacht - Monday Harry Howard arrived & brought the news. They tried to get away that night (all of them) but couldn't. All wires were cut off - and trains used only to move Scotch soldiers and no reservations could be made. They never got to London until Friday morning I think. Donald Howard has gone to Belgium with his regiment - Harry waiting for his commission. I think Willie went directly to London where he ^[his brother Sir] found Edmund - worried to death about Isabel Meredith and the Bank. W.O. evidently spent the following week mostly in London where there is a Canadian Committee to arrange for the applications coming from Canada - and he undertook to do what he could about the medical and nursing applications. There here a most wonderful work has been done. The Examinations Schools have been turned into a thoroughly equipped hospital - operating room, p.m. room, chapel and every detail complete - the courtyard with pavillions built to contain beds. - I ~~think there are 350 beds.~~ The large picture of the Kaiser put in the cellar. Opposite, the Masonic Hall has 50 beds - part of the same organization - Magdalen School turned into a hospital - and 80 beds in the Infirmary grounds - 1000 Territorials in Christ Church. Baliol and Keble have been moving on

Aug.
1914

into camps - everyone has come home - all Heads of Colleges but Brasenose, who is lost in Germany. All helping - all working like slaves. The plan is for our hospital to receive patients who are in Netley the big Army Hospital near Southampton - I mean patients there now from the regular army. They want that free at once, to put in the wounded coming across the Channel - then gradually others will come to us. These Military Hospitals have been established all over the country - 3000 beds in Cambridge, etc. Willie says that the quiet calm way in which it has been done could never be believed without seeing it.

Red Cross workers everywhere. Prof. Thomson turned his big laboratory into a work-room and Mrs. Melville Lea and Mrs. Arthur Thomson started a work-room at once. I could not begin to tell you what they have done. I spent nearly all day there yesterday, and as Mrs. Lea has given out I have been made the Chairman. It is in the Museum. They have furnished the hospital with night-shirts and day shirts enough to start with - and I could not tell you the other things for the soldiers who have started. Friday morning I reported at the hospital and shall hope to have regular work there, but fancy this work-room will take much time for the present. Everybody looks very serious and earnest, - W.O. quite different to what I have ever seen him. The newspapers are so different to the American and Canadian papers - no pictures, except in the small cheap ones. ^{an} ~~This~~ enormous number of troops has been moved across the Channel - no one really knows how many. ~~about 150,000.~~ Of course we know so many men - I hardly dare think of the young ones - Revere meditates and is very quiet. He will join the Training Corps in College at once. I was obliged to go to London

August
1914

this morning and it is strange to see the red cross on Devonshire House.

You would never believe the stories and experiences of people getting home. . . . This town is full of Americans waiting - and London too-2000 left yesterday on the Olympic. Our nice secretary has enlisted but not gone yet - Benning and William [the butler and the chauffeur] are here. We are only using the motor for necessity and to help tired people. I am cutting down all expenses so as to have money to use for other things - napkin rings and bare table - no sweets - and two courses for dinner. The first week prices went up in the skies but are better now.

Monday night - I have been all day at the work-room - sent off 200 shirts and started much work. We are beginning things for women and children at odd moments. Nearly all the large houses in London are used for different good works and hundreds of country houses are turned into hospitals already - all this Red Cross training has been splendid. It is almost impossible to explain the feeling. The world is so occupied with the cruelty to Belgium that one's own troubles and fears seem forgotten; even Mrs. Max-Müller calling the Kaiser a "mad vicious brute." I was glad to find the dear lady alive - I feared this would kill her. Her son arrived Saturday from Budapest coming through with the Ambassador returning. The Bucklers were ^{at} a chalet in the Savoy Mountains and were really without a penny - Mr. B. managed to get through and has gone back on a bicycle with gold. I could write on and on telling what I have heard but you would be exhausted. Today the news is bad - but one cannot really trust anything. I am sending a copy of the "White paper" - the report of the Diplomatic transactions, and you can see how Sir Edward Grey fought against it. We went to Ewelme for church yesterday - thirty men have gone from the village and hardly any left in the choir. . . .

Aug.
1914

Even from Ewleme! Just as they went from Ewelme with the husband of Alice of Suffolk to Agincourt. No wonder the descendants of those men saw visions of the 'Bowmen' on their retreat from Mons.

So these daily letters continued, full of details of work; of rescuing friends on the Continent; of the sewing-room in the Town Hall - 'not an idle person about;' of the bad news from the Somme, and on the 27th:

. . . We have no patients yet. Willie is ordering a Colonel's uniform as he can't go into the wards without it - and is Honorary Colonel of the Oxfordshire Regiment. He is Consulting Physician to a hospital in Devon, paid for by Mr. Singer and being arranged by Lady Randolph Churchill and other Americans; also a Canadian hospital supported by Canadian Masons near Netley - and 100 Canadian nurses coming. Revere has gone up the river with Jack Slessor for a few days - there was nothing for him to do here and he looked pale and worried. . . .

Meanwhile the first ^{100,000} ~~hundred thousand~~ of 'Kitchener's mob' was being recruited and trained, for England was plastered with Kitchener's posters - "Father what did you do in the Great War?" etc. But there was no Mr. Britling about Osler. He knew from the first, without waylaying authorities, what his job would be, and quietly went about it without fret or fuss.* He with others appreciated the men-

*When the 'Territorials' were first organized by Lord Haldane and it was decided where the chief hospital-bases were to be, Osler was made an Honorary Colonel, but he was never 'called up' even during the war. He only wore his uniform when on official hospital visits - indeed ~~it~~ ^{he} ~~he~~ ^{he} ordered ~~was~~ a Lt. Colonel's uniform. He held a unique position and could go to the War Office or Headquarters much more comfortably in mufti - an action which would have brought rebuke on almost anyone else. 'Swank' and 'swagger-stick' might be for others,

by mistake and never took the trouble to have the insignia changed.

Aug.
1914

ace from congregating large bodies of men, but such a thing as compulsory vaccination for the troops the Government was unwilling to advocate and an appeal to the men themselves was the only recourse, ~~and~~ ^{to this} ~~he~~ promptly set himself. So on this same evening of the 27th while his wife is writing that 'the army order of 400 night-shirts is finished,' he prepares this letter for The Times:

Sir: - In war the microbe kills more than the bullet. Malaria, cholera, typhus, typhoid, and dysentery have been the scourges of armies. From the first three our soldiers are not likely to suffer; but it will be very difficult to prevent outbreaks of dysentery and of typhoid fever, of which in the South African war more men died than were killed in action. Against this we now possess an effective vaccine, and I write to urge that antityphoid vaccination should be made compulsory in the army. The very simple procedure is followed by a slight and not often incapacitating indisposition and there are no harmful effects.

The work of the French army doctors and of British army surgeons, particularly in India, has shown conclusively the remarkable reduction in the incidence of typhoid when vaccination is thoroughly carried out. The experience of the American army is of special value, as the disease is so much more prevalent in the United States. The number of cases in the home army has fallen from 3.53 per thousand men to 0.03 in six years, and the death-rate from 0.28 in 1909 to zero in 1913. In the army at home and abroad - a strength of 90646 - there were in 1913 only three cases of typhoid fever, and no deaths. The greatest improvement has been during the

Sept.
1914

three years in which the vaccination has been compulsory. What this signifies in the United States is best appreciated by the fact that the civilian death-rate for the year 1912 from typhoid fever was 16.5 per hundred thousand of the population; and in many instances the garrisons are in regions in which the disease is very prevalent. Fortunately, in this country typhoid fever is not common, but in camps it is difficult to avoid contamination from 'carriers' - men who harbour the germ while well themselves. Abroad, the men are sure to be exposed, and I would urge most earnestly that vaccination be made compulsory. Sir William Leishman in the Lancet last week has pleaded for the adoption of the practice. The Vaccine Department of the Army Medical College, Lister Institute, and many of the pathological laboratories throughout the country have a plentiful supply. Pending the issue of a compulsory order, it is the duty of the medical officers of the Territorial Force to urge as many men as possible to be vaccinated...

But there was great opposition on the part of that still-powerful group, the antivivisectionists and the antivaccinationists, to any compulsory legislation of this nature. Hence it was necessary to appeal directly to the newly enlisted men, and one of Osler's many heart-to-heart talks given to the officers and men* in the camps at Churn in the Cotswold Hills, has been preserved:

*This brief address, an appeal to the men's patriotism, he entitled "Bacilli and Bullets," and ~~it~~ as one of the penny war pamphlets issued by the Oxford Press in 1914, was widely circulated.

Sept.
1914

What I wish to urge [he said] is a true knowledge of your foes, not simply of the bullets, but of the much more important enemy, the bacilli. In the wars of the world they have been as Saul and David - the one slaying thousands, the other tens of thousands. I can never see a group of recruits marching to the dépôt without mentally asking what percentage of these fine fellows will die legitimate and honourable deaths from wounds, what percentage will perish miserably from neglect of ordinary sanitary precautions? It is bitter enough to lose thousands of the best of our young men in a hideous war, but it adds terribly to the tragedy to think that more than one-half of the losses may be due to preventable disease.

And he went on to tell in simple terms of the sad experience of the South African war; of the Spanish-American war; of what vaccination meant; of Almroth Wright's discovery and how it had been successfully introduced into all other countries but their own, and in some was compulsory; and he ended by saying:

It is not a serious procedure; you may feel badly for twenty-four hours, and the site of the inoculation will be tender, but I hope I have said enough to convince you that, in the interests of the cause, you should gladly put up with this temporary inconvenience. If the lessons of past experience count, any expeditionary force on the Continent has much more to fear from the bacillus of typhoid fever than from bullets and bayonets.

Sept.
1914

Think again of South Africa with its 57,000 cases of typhoid fever!
 With a million of men in the field, their efficiency will be increased one-third if we can prevent enteric. It can be prevented, it must be prevented; but meanwhile the decision is in your hands, and I know it will be in favour of your King and Country.

He was a little naïve, ^{possibly} ~~one fears~~, in regard to some of the consequences of the war and could not believe that it would affect ^{either the friendships or} the humanitarian attitude of individuals on ^{whichever} ~~whatever~~ side they might be. For at about the same time that ninety-three German 'intellectuals', Ehrlich among them, were preparing to sign their famous 'appeal to the civilized world' to believe as untrue that Germany had caused the war, had trespassed in Belgium, had treated Louvain brutally, etc., etc., and on the same day as his letter had gone to The Times, Osler wrote:

Dear Ehrlich: Do you think it would be possible to arrange for the manufacture of salvarsan in the United States under your direction? I have had letters and have been asked to communicate with you through the American Ambassador in Berlin. Perhaps Flexner has already communicated with you. No doubt the Rockefeller Institute would undertake the control and arrange that your financial interests were protected. Very sincerely yours,

W^m Osler.

Sept.
1914

This letter was enclosed to Mr. Page, asking if he could forward it to Frankfurt, for Professor Ehrlich was an old friend and the matter was really one of national importance and the manufacture of the drug could be carried on in the United States under the direction of the Rockefeller Institute, with any conditions, financial or otherwise, that Ehrlich desired to impose.

On September 1st with the Germans in Amiens Lady Osler writes her sister:

Never have I seen such wonderful weather in England as we are having now, clear fresh and sunny, day after day. It seems almost mockery when everyone is so depressed and worried. You would not notice anything different here ^{though} of course # the streets seem rather empty because women are busy inside. There is a general feeling that the response to Kitchener's call for a "New Army" has not been responded to promptly. Thirty men enlisted at Ewelme and that seemed a good number. I think men in villages do not understand - they seem to feel we have gone to help France and there is not the obligation. I don't believe they lag behind. It seems as though I should expire with that awful loyal feeling running down my back - & I loathe being a woman and sixty years old. . . . We have had such a talking week-end; Isabel Meredith and the two girls telling their experiences coming in a motor from Aix to Boulogne; Orville Bullitt who came for Sunday telling ^{of} his, from Munich to London, and being arrested as a German spy at Southampton. [Sir] Edmund was here too - his predictions for the future are very gloomy - financially I mean. Willie too listless to talk - except

Written by
Mary Dexter

Sept.
1914

~~except~~ German atrocities. . . . All my letters have been returned from Murray Bay, and I see how dreadfully anxious W. O. was. Poor dear - in one he says "You had better stay a month," and on the same page, "I hope to hear you are coming at once." . . . Our hospital has no wounded yet - except men injured in camps near here. The Canadians in London are managing a hospital. W. O. of course and Donald Armour are on the Committee - and probably W.O. has to go this week to Southampton about the situation; near Netley I think. The Queen of Belgium has brought her children to England - came yesterday and will leave them with Lord Curzon. I wonder if you have seen in your papers that Lady Lansdowne and some others have suggested only wearing a white or mauve band on the sleeve for mourning. It seems so wise. Mr. Merry's sister told me today she had one son in the Fleet and two in France and was glad, // I feel a coward when each day brings us nearer December 28th, Revere's 19th birthday. I have read and re-read the Revere memorial [Gettysburg] and hope to have courage.

Though as a Territorial officer Osler had his own official area in Oxfordshire(?) his services were eagerly sought by American and Canadian enterprises beyond his district. Thus in August ^{when} the Canadian ~~war~~ Hospital ^{was started} ~~formed~~ in London by Canadians and Anglo-Canadians, and ^{was} when the "Queen's Canadian Military Hospital" was established at Beechborough Park near ^{Folstone} ~~Shorncliffe~~, he was made Physician-in-Chief with Donald Armour Sur-

Sept.
1914

geon-in-Chief, posts which they held till the end. On the outbreak of the war, ^{too} also, "The American Women's War Relief Fund" organized and maintained an auxiliary hospital of 250 beds at Paignton, and subsequently (1917) opened an officers' hospital at Lancaster Gate. To both of these places Osler acted as consultant; and Lady Mary Harcourt who had much to do with ^{their organization} ~~both of these places~~ and, as she says, came in constant touch with Sir William, writes that: "to everyone - medical officers, matron, nursing staff and patients his visits were like a ray of sunshine. His oversight was what made us efficient; his sympathy and enthusiasm smoothed our path." And the A.W.W.R.F. on January 1st, 1918, when these hospitals ^{came to be} ~~were~~ taken over by the American Red Cross, gave Osler 'in token of their gratitude for his invaluable services' an inscribed gift.

^{Then there was the}
~~There were other Canadian hospitals, too, the I.O.D.E. hospital for~~
 Canadian officers, ^{and} the Duchess of Connaught's Canadian Red Cross Hospital

Sept.
1914

at Taplow which he regularly visited each week throughout the war; and when the Canadians first arrived and were stationed on Salisbury Plain and went through an epidemic of cerebrospinal meningitis he was often among them. It is a universal comment that whenever a difficult case turned up, or whenever anyone wanted help or advice, Sir William was sure to ^{be on hand: but} ~~turn up.~~

~~But~~ this is getting ahead of the story

^{So he was} Osier was one of those who played a leading rôle of optimist during the next five years. Even in those dark days - 'the darkest in the history of modern times' - when the French Government had withdrawn to Bordeaux and people were fleeing from Paris he writes to Thayer: "Things are looking blue for poor old France, but the position today is very different from that of 1870 and we are all confident that in the long run the Allies will come out on top." Others might be filled with gloom but he would be sure to add a postscript to his letters whatever their subject-matter - "spirit here splendid" or words of this portent. To his old friend Ned Milburn he writes: "I was to have sailed tomorrow but of course I cannot leave with this wretched war raging. We

Sept.
1914

shall win out in the end. How splendidly Canada is doing!" There were too many people in those first months of the war who did little but sit back and criticize: anyone would ^{seem on a large scale -} do, - Haldane, Kitchener, Winston Churchill, Woodrow Wilson, Joffre, the Government, the Army, the Navy, the campaign. ¶ "What a cursed act of vandalism to destroy Louvain!" ^{he} he exclaims. This more than any other happening of the early days of the war seems to have touched him to the quick, and he was apparently the first to set in motion the idea, expressed in the following note of September 2nd to A. W. Pollard, that the Library be restored.

Do you think we [the Bibliographical Society] should do anything about the Louvain outrage in the way of sending an official letter of sympathy; and when matters quiet down I am going to suggest that we help them in a small way in the restoration of the library. I would like to undertake with some friends to replace the books of Vesalius who perhaps after Erasmus is the greatest name on their list. . .

And a succession of letters chiefly to American friends on the same subject followed. "Of course," he says, "nothing could be done at present, but

Sept.
1914

an Anglo-American Committee should be formed so that when these modern Huns are out of the country we could put matters into shape. I am particularly interested in helping with the library." All of this came in due time to fruition, though Osler's part in it has been lost.

These are stirring times in old England [he writes Mrs. Brewster, September 4th]. At last the country is ablaze and recruiting going on everywhere. We are very busy - Grace particularly as President here of the Soldiers Guild. She leaves the house at 9 & is away nearly all day. We are starting two hospitals for the Canadian Contingent, and as I am on the executive committee I am in town nearly every day. It is very nice to see how warm the American sympathy is with England & France. Such trials as people have had in getting out of Germany. Some of our Oxford Dons have been captured & put to work in the fields! The first sad list of casualties came out today - two young Oxford friends have fallen. Good will come of all this horror if it wrecks forever the cursed militarism of Germany. How I wish I could be with you for a weeks peace at Mt. Kisco.

The relief from a month of ^{Suspense} ~~suspension~~ which came after the First Marne is unnoticed in his letters. Military operations interested him little, and he did not waste time studying movements of troops and putting pins in maps. "I have been trying to get into touch with Van Gehuchten and Denis

Sept.
1914

so as to offer to take charge, here in Oxford, of the members of the families of the Professors, " he writes L. F. Barker, September 9th. And the same day from Oxford went broadcast this printed letter signed by the V.-C., the Principal of Brasenose, W. O., Miss Price and Mrs. William Max-Müller.

Oxford, 9th September, 1914.

Dear Sir or Madam: With the approval of the Belgian Minister a small Committee has been formed at Oxford to aid our colleagues of Louvain University. A number of people have expressed their willingness to help by taking temporary charge of members of the families of the Professors and Tutors. If you wish to join this movement please send your name to the Secretary, Mrs. William Max-Müller, 7 Norham Gardens, and say whether you could take a man, woman, or child, and for how long.

From Lady Osler to Arthur T. Hadley.

13, Norham Gardens,
Sept. 13, 1914.

Dear Mr. Hadley, I have just written Mr. Stokes asking him to try to raise some money for the Professors from Louvain who have taken refuge in England. Many are coming to Oxford, and are being taken into private families - but where there are families of five children it is difficult. Incomes here are reduced and undergraduates are not returning. At Magdalen only 47 coming - Christ Church about 100 - Keble 70 - Oriel 80 - so

69

Sept
1914

you see what it means. About 350 lodging-houses vacant. We hope to board some of these people and help them until they can get on their feet and find their friends. I am sure the University sympathy will be great and some may like to feel certain the money will be properly used. If you will help at Yale it will be a great assistance. I have asked Mr. Stokes to send anything to my banker in Boston. With kindest wishes, I am Sincerely,

Grace R. Osler.

There was of course a most generous response from all sides when the Oslers asked for anything, but it is doubtful if their American friends had any idea of how they were being pressed, and of their anxieties. He was importuned to send a letter of greeting for the Johns Hopkins Hospital reunion to atone for his absence. And this he did, though he could have had little heart for it even though unaware that there was ^{not a letter} ~~a good deal of~~ ^{considerable} pro-German sympathy in Baltimore at the time.* In his note of September

*His long letter was read at the reunion by W. S. Thayer and contains only a brief allusion to the war. "It is a small matter [he wrote] that I am not with you. 'When the greater malady is fixed, the lesser is scarce felt' - expresses my feeling in the present crisis." This was all. The letter subsequently was published under the title of "Looking Back," in Macphail's journal. This and a review of "The Life and Letters of Nathan Smith," both forwarded on September 25th, were the last two papers (Nos. XXV and XXVI) of the series. He referred to them as "'Books and Men" snippets!'

In "Looking Back" he said:

"Binding us all together there came as a sweet influence the spirit of the place; whence we knew not, but teacher and taught

Sept.
1914

alike felt the presence and subtle domination. Comradeship, sympathy one with another, devotion to work were its fruits, and its guidance drove from each heart hatred, malice and all uncharitableness. . . . To have had more than thirty of one's 'boys' actively engaged in teaching is to draw a big prize in the lottery of life, with which for solid satisfaction there is nothing to compare.

"But shadows flit across the picture - dark memories of the men whose leaves perished in the green. Jack Hewetson we all loved, I as a son, Thayer and Barker and Frank Smith as a brother. There was a light in his blue-grey eyes that kindled affection in all who knew him. Meredith Reese, the first to go, stricken also with tuberculosis, left us with scarred hearts. Livengood, whose mental outfit promised a career of special brilliancy, met with a tragic death in the Bourgogne. Lazear, who went from the clinical laboratory to join Walter Reed, died a martyr's death in Cuba. Oppenheimer and Ochsner, men of great merit, died on duty in the hospital. John Bruce MacCallum, in intellect 'the bright particular' among our students, lived long enough to snatch something from dull oblivion. Al. Scott, whom we all loved dearly, had a successful career in Philadelphia before the call came. And only recently we have to mourn two of our best - Rupert Norton was one of the finer spirits, only touched to fine issues in a suitable environment, and that he found here in the latter years of his all-too-brief life; Otto Ramsay, who came to our clinic first, became one of the most successful teachers and practitioners in New England."

11th accompanying this letter he says: "The country here is in fine spirits,

and ready for tremendous sacrifices. Grace is working early and late.

She has got the true New England spirit. A university regiment of stu-

dents will be organized at once and they will be under military discipline.

Revere of course will join." But to appreciate his real feelings, re-

course ^{again} must be had to his wife's letters. On the 15th she writes her

sister:

Of course we are feeling hopeful today over the retreat from Paris
- but one hardly dares put too much faith in it. The news was posted on

Sept.
1914

the Town Hall Sunday morning when we came out from the Cathedral. The Yeomanry stationed in Christ Church were at the service and Scott Holland preached a wonderful sermon. Poor dear Reggie [W. O.] can't go to church - he says he can't endure the prayers and hymns. To me it is a relief to get ready to burst and not be able to. The attitude W. O. is in seems more unreal than anything else - he allows everyone to abuse the Germans and even says vicious things himself of the Kaiser. He is sending letters and books to President Wilson and all the prominent men - about Germany's lying attitude. It is really extraordinary to hear him. We have seven Louvain people in the house. The enclosed will show you what we are doing - I have written several people to help. . . The Pooles have a Professor with his wife and two babies who just escaped, and one manuscript from the Library - the only thing saved from the University. He gave us the address of the Professor of Bacteriology in Folkestone and we asked him to come with his wife and family. To my horror I found at 9 p.m. Friday that there were five children and they were due at 11.15 Saturday - Parsons, Lizzie and William away! We hustled about and had all ready - went to meet them and only Professor D. came. When he found he was not to pay board he would not bring his family. It seems they were at the seaside near Ostend and got away easily bringing money and clothes, and two maids. So they have a decent place at Folkestone. I am getting him a house and they will come for the winter. The two Professors lunched here and the stories were awful. Anything more wonderful than the kindness of people here I could never imagine. Letters are pouring in with offers of hospitality - but money for clothes, etc., is very important. The lodging-houses here will all be empty this winter and we shall have to help these

Sept.
1914

people. . . The big lecture-room is full of wounded Germans. In our work-room we are making clothes for Belgians, - night-shirts for a hospital, and in a rush 500 sacks to hold straw for recruits to sleep on in College halls. When you read these things you will feel as though Oxford would look changed, but it doesn't - only people look so worried and anxious. . . Now I am going to bother you. Will you arrange to have the enclosed [Belgian appeal] put in the papers - whichever you think best, and receive subscriptions which can be put to my account? . . .

Probably few who thought they knew intimately the blithe Osler and his ready sympathy, fully realized his real depth of feeling and tenderness. Under ordinary circumstances he could conceal his emotions, but he 'could not endure the prayers and hymns.' His collection of books came to be his solace when the day's work was done and he used them habitually to camouflage his feelings and to divert conversation from ^{the otherwise} ~~sad~~ war-
inevitable topic of war.
topics.

To J. William White from W. O.

Oxford, September 21.

Dear J. William: Sorry to be detained here instead of sailing as I had intended but, of course, it was impossible to leave in this scrimmage. The spirit of the country is A.1, and at present things look very favourable. Grace is working about eight hours a day on shirts, etc. Revere joins the Officers' Training Corps and, as soon as he is ready, ~~will~~ apply

Sept.
1914

~~for a commission. We have converted the big Examination Schools here into~~
~~a hospital for nearly 500 beds. Sixty-seven~~⁶⁷ wounded Germans came in last
 week - fine looking fellows all of them - the bullet-wounds trivial, but the
 shrapnel horrid. I am lecturing at various camps on the typhoid question.
 I enclose you a proof of the lecture. We are getting a group of Louvain
 professors here - Denys, the well-known bacteriologist, and his wife come
 today. They tell a gruesome tale.)

Send me two or three of your reprints: one on White's operation and
operation per se, and any other special ones. I do not want the catalogue
 of the Bibliotheca Osleriana without your name in it - to appear 10 years
 hence! If you have any of the early papers of Hayes Agnew to spare, send
 them also. I am gradually getting a great collection, which if all goes
 well, will go to McGill. Many thanks for your card. . . .

In every letter he speaks in this same off-hand way about his son -
 'as soon as he is ready.' But the agony which underlay this casual remark
 never appears. "All here are working," he writes on the 25th to the son
 of his old friend, Archibald Malloch; "The spirit of the country is splen-
 did. We have had several young Oxford friends killed. Revere enters the
 training corps on the 1st and will apply for a commission as soon as he is
 fit. I am very busy - in town three days a week getting a Canadian Continen-
 gent Hospital organized."

Sept.
1914

Meanwhile he has been ~~busy~~ inspecting hospitals and though 'bombarded with antivaccination literature' he continued with his lectures on health and personal hygiene to the new batches of recruits at the camps within reach of Oxford. And yet he writes to Anson Stokes Phelps that he will go on with the Silliman Lectures at once, and to tell Day that he is in dust and ashes for his delinquencies.* And again on October 2nd to

*In a letter ^{a year} ~~some months~~ later he says: "I have bought off the Yale book by returning my honorarium. I was doubtful about them [the lectures] I suppose I have got critical - possibly hypercritical! the deeper I get into medical history.

J. William White who by this time has forgotten his cardiac neurosis and wants to help:

I should think there would be no difficulty in your getting work in connection with the Red Cross. The wounded are beginning to come in. We have about 400 in the Schools - only a few serious. The country is in fine form, recruits pouring in, everybody working, and extraordinarily little fuss. We have got seven or eight Belgian professors here and their families, and some of them, poor devils, absolutely penniless. We are trying to get them settled in lodgings and small houses. Many of them are charming people - and some absolutely destitute. If you can squeeze a few hundred dollars out of any of your friends for them we shall be very much obliged.

Oct.
1914

~~they all have large families.' But 'some of them, poor devils, are absolutely penniless. If you can squeeze a few hundred dollars out of any of your friends for them we shall be very much obliged.'~~ Indeed ^{White} ~~he~~ could: and these appeals to their American friends in Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore were promptly and generously responded to, ~~and~~ ^{so that money} ~~and~~ ^{and} many boxes of clothes began to pour in. Meanwhile he writes on the evening of October 3rd to L. L. Mackall: "While you are in Holland just pick up that quarto edition 1686 of Sir Thomas Browne - it must be loafing about on the shelves somewhere;" ^A and to F. H. Garrison: "If you ever come across copies of the Congressional Reports dealing with the anaesthesia question please remember me;" ^B and to Dr. Neligan of the Legation at Teheran: "There is nothing to do but postpone matters relating to Avicenna's tomb, and ~~please~~ keep your eye open (please) for any good MSS. I am very anxious to have one of Rhazes."

On October 9th Lady Osler writes: "This is the day Revere goes into college and it is all so different to what we had expected. My heart

Oct.
1914

aches for him for he is not doing what he thought would have been better - but has not complained once - only said, 'I will do what Dad thinks best and train here this term.' Willie runs if I speak of it." Everyone knows what 'it' implied, and 'it' was being faced by parents throughout England even for immature boys below military age. On this same day Osler says in a note to Macphail: "We are looking out for the Canadian Contingent - I shall go down and see them as soon as they arrive. I hear they have to be seasoned here a bit before going to the front." And it may be said that ^{the} ~~this~~ third generation from Canon Osler was so well represented ^{among them} as to occasion an editorial in ^a Toronto paper ~~entitled~~ the "Osler Volunteers."

Apparently the first suggestion of making preparations for ^{more complete records} ~~a medical~~ ~~history of the war~~ ^{of the sick and wounded and for a medical war-museum} came from J. G. Adami at this time, and Osler replied on the 9th:

That is a very interesting suggestion. As far as I can see from the work at the Base Hospital here, the histories and reports of cases of wounded, of which we have had about 600 already, and the reports on the op-

Oct.
1914

erations, are very good. The difficulty is that they are all filed away, and nobody has the time subsequently to work up the material as a whole. I am afraid we ^{wig}/at once get up against the Red Tape in the army, but I will send on your letter to Keogh, the new Surgeon General. A letter to the Lancet on the lines you have written would be very helpful.

General Sir Alfred Keogh, who has recently been seen the recipient of a complimentary dinner on his retirement from the army, has been called back into service and as D.G.M.S. he responds favourably to the proposal, and 'Colonel' Osler writes him again a few days later, using anything but military formulas:

Dear Keogh: If I can be of any service in a health campaign in the camps let me know. I have been doing a little of it, and as you say, it is a most important business. I am preparing a demonstration of books and articles illustrating the evolution of our knowledge of military and naval preventive medicine. It is a good story for the country. I visited on Saturday the Convalescent Home that Mr. Mortimer Singer has opened at Milton Hill about twelve miles from here. If you would like to see an ideal spot come down. I could motor you over. It is a splendid piece of work. . .

There was a good deal of talk in England about 'business as usual,' and this to many people meant play as well as business. But Osler had no heart

Oct.
1914

for other than the day's work. When asked by the College of Physicians

to give the Fitzpatrick Lectures for 1915 he promptly sent his regrets.

And when someone suggested the continuance of one of the Oxford dinner

clubs he wrote: "I think we should not meet during the war; at any rate

I am not going to dinners, public or private." Lady Osler writes on

the 15th:

The refugees are pouring into England - Willie was at Folkestone today
 [the Canadian hospital] and said the streets were packed solid. Lights
 are reduced here now at night and only one lamp allowed on a motor. In
 London they say it is awful at night - rows of lights are put in Hyde Park
 on the grass to divert the attention of airships from Westminster Abbey
 and other treasures. I want Willie to send his books to America but he
 laughs and won't believe it. Our work-room has been delving for a week
 over 300 bed-jackets for the hospital, and children's clothes, and shirts!
 We are tremendously busy over the Louvain professors - they are coming with
 a rush now. Some people have taken them in and we have taken rooms and
 houses for others. We have taken none except for the night - it is too
 trying for Willie and he must be protected in every way - all the horrors
 and war-talk nearly kill him and he looks ill and worried often,

The first Canadian troops arrived at Plymouth Oct. 14th.

Hasn't this
 as capital
 "P" also?

Oct.
1914To W. S. Thayer from W. O.

October 16, 1914.

Dear Thayer: Thanks so much for the cable. It was a great worry not to be at the Celebration. We are very hard at work here - particularly Grace who is at it early and late. We have twelve Belgian professors, sixty-one in all, with their families; and it has been a job to settle them comfortably. Many of them are destitute. This Belgian business is an awful tragedy. I was at Folkestone, yesterday, and saw the horror of it on the station platform - old men, women, children, all with their little possessions tied up in bundles, the whole town full. Fortunately they are being well cared for.

We have opened our Canadian Contingent Hospital [at Shorncliffe] near Folkestone - a lovely old place. They sent us a batch of Belgian wounded the night before last, so I had to go down to see that everything was going smoothly. Did you ever read Baron Larrey's "His Life and Memoirs"? - a great book! I am trying to stir up among the Territorial medical officers the importance of the health in the camps. We have had such wonderful weather for the last two months that there has been little or no sickness so far. Revere is up at Christ Church, and has joined the Officers' Training Corps. Love to Sister Susan. Sincerely yours, W.O. By the way, we have Miss Macmahon in charge of our Canadian Hospital.

By this time the Germans had come to realize that their long-planned blow to take Paris in a short campaign had miscarried, and in their under-

Oct.
1914

ground methods they were putting out feelers for peace proposals in Washington and it was feared in England that Mr. ^{Bryan} ~~Bryce~~, an ultra-pacifist, would welcome anything to end hostilities, whatever the terms. This, with ^{the President's} ~~Mr.~~ Wilson's insistence on neutrality while German-Americans apparently were left free to carry on their plots, caused much uneasiness which Mr. Page vainly endeavoured to dispel. Any word from The States, at all consoling, was eagerly received, so Osler on October 21st sends ^{a note on} ~~this~~ "Emerson on England" for publication in The Times.

Sir: - A valued American correspondent writes: "The President's order of neutrality is wise, given our mixed population, but you know where our hearts and hopes are, and what toasts we drink in private life. If you have any half-hearted spirits among you; please read them the enclosed sentiments of our greatest man of letters, written in 1856, and still felt - oh, how strongly now - by all who are worthy of the great cause our race represents." Yours, &c., WILLIAM OSLER.

England. "I see her not dissipated, not weak, but well remembering that she has seen dark days before; indeed, with a kind of instinct that she sees a little better in a cloudy day, and that in storm of battle and calamity she has a secret vigour and a pulse like cannon. I see her in her old age, not decrepit, but young, and still daring to believe in her

Oct.
1914

power of endurance and expansion. Seeing this, I say, All hail!
 Mother of nations, Mother of heroes, with strength still equal to the
 time; still wise to entertain and swift to execute the policy which the
 mind and heart of mankind require at the present hour, and thus only
 hospitable to the foreigner, and truly a home to the thoughtful and gen-
 erous, who are born in the soil. So be it! So let it be!" RALPH
 WALDO EMERSON ["English Traits"], 1856.

It is not improper now to say that the 'valued correspondent' was Fielding
 H. Garrison of the Surgeon General's Office in Washington, to whom he
 writes his thanks on the same day, adding:

I am suggesting at the Council Meeting of our Historical Section to
 have a series of bibliographical demonstrations and talks illustrating
 the evolution of naval and military hygiene. I have been reading Baron
 Larrey - a fascinating life! We are very full of work. Between 600 and
 700 wounded have passed through our Base Hospital here - only one death:
 that from tetanus. We have fourteen Belgian professors in Oxford, all but
 one stranded financially and even sartorially. *They are a eugenic lot with large families* Lady Osler has roused her
 American friends and got a very good bank account for them, and the Rocke-
 feller Foundation has made a splendid offer for the Louvain science men.
 But it is an awful tragedy! The country is in fine form, and nearly
 700,000 recruits have come in, and I do not think there can be any doubt as
 to the outcome; but there is a long road ahead. Do not forget my anaesthe-
 sia wants.

Oct.
1914

'The country is in fine form,' yes: but little did the country outside the War Office know during those late October days of the thin kahki line valiantly holding out in Flanders against far superior numbers, until on the 31st the impossible happened with the recapture of Gheluvelt by the 2nd Worcesters, and Calais was saved.

To J. William White from W. O.

Oxford, October 28, 1914.

Dear J. William: What an angel you are! It is perfectly splendid! [\$3,000 from Philadelphia]. We have got, I think, now enough, as this Rockefeller Foundation offer to help the science professors will help with five or six out of the fifteen who are here; but we are hearing of new ones every day, and there are twenty at Cambridge. The new recruits are getting into shape rapidly. I saw a magnificent camp last week near Brighton. The wounded are pouring in, and the hospitals are filling rapidly. They do remarkably well. . . . I am trying to stir up the antitypoid inoculation, and have had a great time in addressing open-air meetings of the men in the camps. I wish you could have seen us at the King Edward Horse camp near Slough. I addressed the men from beside a big oak tree, they sitting on the ground about, and afterwards all the officers were inoculated as an example. These sons of Belial, the "anti's" have been preaching against it. . . .

The 'Sons of Belial' indeed had even been permitted to put up recruiting

posters in the shop windows: MEN OF THE EMPIRE ENLIST BUT REFUSE TO BE INOCULATED. So there were 'anti's' at home as well as abroad to be opposed. It was enough to make anyone have bad dreams. Of one he writes in this letter to L. F. Barker:

I am sending you a reply from this country to the German letter,*

*This was apparently written by Gilbert Murray, and was signed by Osler and many others. In America, meanwhile, the personal reply by Samuel Harden Church in the form of a letter to Professor Schaper of Berlin, one of the German signers, had been published and circulated broadcast.

and a bundle of Oxford pamphlets. One of the tragedies is really the mental attitude of our German friends. Still, I suppose one has to stand by one's country, right or wrong; but there is the plain fact that Germany has been progressively preparing for this conflict for twenty years. In spite of the shocking mortality and the general feeling of distress, the country is in good spirits and very hopeful. The soldiers are turning out far better than one would have expected. Some of the old stuff is in the country, apparently.

Curiously enough, I had a dream of you last night. You were just ^{as} how you looked that day when you first came to see me at 83 Wellesley Street. You were sitting on the edge of a bed in Ward F. all alone, with a most in-

Nov.
1914

genious apparatus by which you were drawing the blood out of the veins of a man into flexible capillary glass tubes. The whole bed and the floor beside it was just a network of these capillary tubes filled with blood. You said quite gravely that this was the only possible way to get enough blood for cultures. The man was nearly dead! I wonder how the modern St. Joseph (Freud) would interpret this!

"Of course we feel terribly about Antwerp," Lady Osler writes on October 22nd; "and Winston Churchill has been blamed for sending our marines - however, one can't tell. We have got ourselves schooled now and don't listen when people tell tales - or try to - and believe nothing but official statements. We expect the worst and try not to think about it. —————>

Nov.
1914

I allow no one to abuse Kitchener or the Admiralty to me and find these rules make life much less fatiguing - I no longer mind when women put in shirtsleeves hind-side before."

With its cheerfulness, its warm hospitality, its precept of healthy optimism, its example of self-sacrificing hard work, the "Open Arms" from the beginning to the end of the war radiated at its best the fine spirit which saw England through her trials. Always - 'the country is in fine form.' Rarely did Osler write anything more pessimistic than this line to Prof. Josiah Royce of Harvard: " It's the deuce of a mess, this old humanity has got into. We will never be any different. I don't suppose we are a bit better than the Greeks - in some ways not so good. My chief comfort is ~~that I~~^{to} think that after all we are living in the childhood of civilization. What are the few thousand years since Hamurapi^u in comparison with the millions since the Stone Age."

Whatever may be said of 'old humanity' Osler could never be any different, war or no war. "The Regius is keeping up," writes his wife.

Nov.
1914

"He inspects and writes and preaches - and hopes!" That he has not

lost any of his customary reactions is evident from the following ^{in Oct. 29th} to

the President of the Vancouver Medical Association; and his offer ^{it may be added} was promptly taken up.

Dear Keith: That is a very interesting programme of your medical association. I have only one criticism - that you should have had it in the King Edward High School! The city is now large enough for the profession to begin to think of its own home, and do what has been done in Toronto and so many of the American cities, and done so successfully. Begin quietly with your own rooms where you can have the journals and the medical library, and start a building fund, for which bleed freely your friends inside and outside. I am willing to be bled to the extent of 100 dollars to help you make a beginning. I have seen in so many cases the enormous advantage of a home for the general profession that I commend the scheme to you most heartily. . . .

They received consoling letters, of course, from many sources*, and

*And sent consoling ^{for a time} letters, too - even ^{for a time} into Germany (thanks to Mr. Page's Embassy bag) ^{in a bag} to Frau Professor Ewald in Berlin on learning of her husband's death. Ernst Simson's Hymn of Hate was ^{not to be had} ₁₉₁₅₋₁ ^{microfilm available to English households,}

to their old friend H. V. Ogden Lady Osler writes on November 4th:

It was very nice hearing from you and I am sure you are all so English that your sympathy goes out most sincerely to us in the midst of this awful war. Every morning we read of friends being mown down, all the youth

Nov.
1914

and glory of the country, the young men we have known up here and our own only boy training in the Park under our eyes - except that I can't look. Work is the only salvation, and I keep at it from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m. W.O. is busy and trying to be cheerful - hard work sometimes.

And on the next Sunday evening from Christ Church, when presumably those at the high table have set an example of cheerfulness to the uniformed

boys below, Osler writes ^{in his turn} to Mrs. Chapin; ~~his sister-in-law~~:

Dearest Sue All goes well - Grace working like a Trojan and making others work as well. You have been splendid in getting money for the poor Professors. Grace's fund now amounts to nearly \$10,000 & the Rockefeller Foundation has offered \$20,000 for the science men directly as a result of her letter to Dr. Welch. She really has been splendid. ~~I wish you were here.~~ You must come over soon. Revere is very happy here I have just been at his room. Such nice companions. He & Bobby Emmons are great chums. They are off at Iffly this afternoon sketching. He drills every day. He & I must have a snap shot in our uniforms. I only wear mine when I go inspecting the camps & hospitals. I spent two days near Torquay at the Singer American Hospital, 200 beds in a huge mansion. The other brother has a convalescent home near here for 150 - such an ideal spot. I dare say Grace has told you of it. Do let our Boston friends know that they never gave money in their lives that will be of greater help to more deserving people. It was simply ghastly, the plight in which some of these nice people arrived, and now in their own homes they are so happy. It has been a fine bit of work. . . .

Nov.
1914

The Canadians had come, and were on Salisbury Plain for the winter, and apparently each and every one had letters to the Oslers and appeared at the 'Open Arms' to get themselves washed and fed and petted while on leave. McGill, meanwhile, had organized a base hospital unit of which Birkett the Dean was O.C., and Osler was expected to intervene for them at the War Office for of course they wished to go to France - all spoke French, indeed. This he did, but the officials replied that France was too unsafe, for the Germans might yet get through to the coast. The desperate four weeks' fighting of 'the first Ypres' did not indeed subside until the 17th of November. Countless people, too, were pressing him for jobs as though he were the D.G.M.S. himself. He writes November 12th to J. William White who was growing violently restive:

Keogh tells me they have had to sit severely on all outside independent hospitals and units for the front, as they found it was not possible to control their work. The English provisions for the front and at the base hospitals seem excellent, but the French need help. The best work is being done apparently through the American Hospital in Paris. Should I hear of anything specific, I will let you know, or even cable you.

"Things are going well here and the country is in really very good form," he repeats to F. H. Garrison in a letter of November 16th. "I got

Nov.
1914

the other day the 'ether number' of Littell's Living Age, 1848, which is full of interesting material." And he goes on to describe the war exhibit of books they had gathered at the Royal Society of Medicine, adding that: "we are starting here an interesting thing at the Bodleian and have devoted one of the alcoves at the Radcliffe Camera to the history of science." ^{Then too there} ~~There~~ must have been some criticism of the programme at the London Historical Meetings, for in defense he writes November 17th to

J. Y. ^W D. MacAlister:

It is not a good way to pull up the turnips to watch their growth, and we cannot make medical historians in a couple of years. I think if your friend will look over the material presented to the section, while perhaps it does not indicate much research, I do not think there is much that could be called folk-lore or gossip. What is wanted in this country is not dilettante students like myself and some others but real scholars and your friend will be interested to know that some of these are at work on serious medical research. Thistleton Dyer, for instance, is doing for us at the Press a splendid piece of work in Greek botanical terms, etc.; Withington is making a special study for us in Galen and Hippocrates for revision of the medical terms in Liddell & Scott. We have formed at the Bodleian a separate little department for the study of the history of science and medicine at which at present five are working, one making a com-

Nov.
1914

prehensive study of the English medical manuscripts; Singer is doing a very interesting unknown MS of Manfredi, another is collating and will edit an unknown MS of Maimonides; another is working at the Spanish medical MSS in the Library; while we have one of the Belgian professors at work on some interesting iatromathematical literature. Of course, this is the sort of stuff we need, and I think it is quite possible that we may gradually get associated with the history section a group of scholars capable of doing spade work. If your friend wants a job in the historical branches send him along. The harvest is plenteous but the labourers are few. Thank you all the same for his criticism, but if he looks over the papers he will come to my view that it is a bit bilious.

As is so apt to be the case, the funds for the new ^{Science room at the Bodleian and here} ~~project~~ were provided by the workers rather than by the University, and ere long the chief one of them, Dr. Charles Singer, ~~to~~ whom he dubs 'that Socratic gadfly', your husband² very properly enlists and Osler writes to Mrs. Singer: "You must come here when he goes off, and run the Science Room and do the proofs and lay wires and act generally as medico-historical hormone."

He gave an important and timely address in London, November 20th before the Society of Tropical Medicine, on "The War and Typhoid Fever." It

Nov.
1914

^{mainly} was the last* of his separate papers on typhoid, over thirty in all: ^{and meanwhile}

*There was one later paper, on Typhoid Spine. Bulletin Army Medical Corps, 1915(?).

~~And~~ he had seen typhoid reduced to the vanishing-point even in Baltimore where by now there were not enough cases to teach over. But here was a new danger and for this address he had ~~made the subject of inoculation his theme and~~ assembled and reported every case in which any untoward effect had been produced ^{as the result of inoculation.} "It will be a great triumph," he said "to go through the war without a devastating experience from typhoid. While with our present knowledge we cannot but regret that ~~the~~ inoculation has not been made compulsory, let us hope that a sufficient number have taken advantage of the procedure to make impossible a repetition of the enteric catastrophe in South Africa." And he closed with a moving comparison between 'the needless slaughter of the brave young fellows - allies and foes alike' - which was now going on, and the fight being waged by the great army of sanitation 'which claims allegiance only to Humanity.'

Nov.
1914

On this same November 20th there was ^{written ~~at~~ at} ~~posted from~~ Buckingham Palace

this very pleasant note:

My dear Sir William: I am desired by the Prince of Wales to write and tell you that a small souvenir is being sent to you in recognition of your valuable services during his Royal Highness's residence at Oxford. He had intended to write himself, but the souvenir was not ready; then came the orders for him to join the staff [A.D.C. to Sir John French] and almost at the same moment the bad news of Cadogan's death [the Prince's Equerry]. The result was that he was more than busy and I persuaded him to leave the writing to me. A framed photograph will follow the souvenir in a short time. It is too sad that we should have lost our last term at Oxford: it would have been such a happy and successful one. But we must all feel the pinch caused by this world earthquake. One of the pleasantest memories of our two years at Oxford will be the friendship that was made with you. I feel that in this sad time your cheery help will be invaluable to many. With my kind regards, Yours v. sincerely,

H. P. Hansell.

In one of his briefnotes of this same November 20th Osler says to W. S. Thayer: "Very busy and very hopeful. Ike in the training Corps. Grace working like a galley-slave & I knocking about & see much of interest." And to Mrs. Brewster: "Just a line to say that all goes well - only the

Nov.
1914

heartache for friends whose fine boys have been killed. It is sad read-

ing every morning. So many of our young friends here have been taken.

Oxford is one big camp & hospital. Our Belgians are doing well." It was

characteristic that he should have spoken in his London address of 'the

brave young fellows, allies and foes alike.' He found it difficult

even to believe the first-hand stories of some of the refugees. So in

a letter of November 23rd to Dr. George Armstrong of McGill he says:

Dear Armstrong: I have urged Keogh, the Director-General, to take your Unit as soon as possible. There are difficulties, as the question of holding the coast is still doubtful. I have been looking over the photographs of atrocities and of mutilations and have asked in the various hospitals, and one can never get anything closer than this damned third person* whom I should like to mutilate personally. I suppose there

*There had been an editorial in The Spectator on 'The Third Person.' In another letter to Adami, Osler says: "There have been all sorts of rumours and statements but I do not believe there has been a single case of mutilation brought to this country. I am sick to death of the newspapers. I wish the Government would suppress them during the war and issue a weekly bulletin."

have been atrocities, particularly in the sack of Louvain, but in other parts I think they have been grossly exaggerated. Love to all. . .

Nov.
1914To Simon Flexner from W. O.

November 23, 1914.

Dear Flexner: It is very difficult to get these Belgian professors to move. They are all so upset and distracted that I have not been able to induce any one to accept either the Harvard or the Chicago offer. It is a deuce of a problem what to do with the people here. The Government is bringing over another 50,000 from Holland, and it is very difficult to fit them in. We have fifteen professors here with their families, all settled in their own houses and most of them at work. I do not know what we should have done without the Rockefeller help, though our friends in America have been very liberal. I am afraid it is going to be a long job, and the great majority of the people are entirely without resources. We have had to provide everything. Two of our rooms upstairs are a sort of old-clothes shop. People here have been very kind. Denys and his family are charming. He is busy with a big research on tuberculosis. I shall hope to see Rose and James. Love to the family. . . .

'So many people coming and going.' Among them is the son of Osler's

old Hamilton friend, A. E. Malloch to whom he writes on November 24th:

Dear Malloch: Archie arrived in very good form, and we have enjoyed his visit here very much. He is just getting over his second antityphoid inoculation, which knocked him over a bit, but he is all right today. Mrs. Guest has arranged for her hospital somewhere ^{East}~~north~~ of Calais, where I think he will see plenty of good work. As you know, she is the daughter of Henry Phipps and wife of the Hon. Freddy Guest, Controller of the

Nov.
1914

King's Household. She and young Howard Phipps are going over, and Archie will be very comfortable with them. Of course, Mrs. Guest is delighted with him. He looks A.1, in his uniform. We are seeing all sorts of interesting cases here. The nervous injuries and the chest ^{cases} are what I am looking after specially. Love to Mrs. Malloch and to Olmsted. . . .

Our [Belgian] professors are very plucky and trying to get work [writes Lady Osler on November 25th]. The wives and children are nervous and much upset - it requires much tact to find out their wants as they are proud and sensitive. Mrs Max-Müller and I do the work and W. O. smiles and signs the cheques - I believe we will have them for months - they haven't a penny. Those who had a few francs have gone through it, so we shall need every penny we have got. Clothes alone for 100 people are an item. Life is very tragic at present. And one can hardly take it in - I saw 29 huge transports just now in front of St. Johns College ready for an East Coast invasion - to motor troops across country. That seems a fear at present. We have a Base Hospital here with 1000 beds - and it all keeps one busy. Nearly all the large private houses in London are full of wounded. ~~Our love to you.~~

Meanwhile there were Canadian relatives and sons of friends on Salisbury Plain to take care of, and on December 1st she writes her sister: "I have such a nice time sending things to Campbell Gwyn and the eight men in

Dec.
1914

his tent. Two roasts of meat, cakes, potted ham, etc; books galore and papers - so they may keep cheered up." Osler meanwhile: "I have at present a perfect avalanche of correspondence and do precious little else but write letters."* Many of them evidently were ones of acknowledgment

*Nor by any means were all the letters in his 'avalanche of correspondence' purely personal. A good deal of it was propaganda like the long letter to the Journal of the American Medical Association, dated December 4th, which the Journal (p. 2303) entitled "Medical Notes on England at War." *A series of these letters followed,*

for gifts to the Belgian fund, and on December 2nd he writes J. William

White:

Thank you so much for your last contribution! You really have been wonderful. I have written to nearly all the Philadelphia subscribers. I wish you could look in here and see how comfortably Grace and young Mrs. Max-Müller have settled these people. Our house is nothing but a junk-shop. We have packing cases arriving every week, and our drawing-room is a sewing-room for the wives of the professors, most of whom are making baby clothes, as they are an extraordinarily eugenic lot. I hope something will come of your offer to Jusserand. On the French side they seem to be in want of help. I will have your Primer of the War put in proper hands for review. Yesterday the Committee asked me to express to you again our warmest thanks for all you have done.

Dec.
1914

And later he writes enthusiastically about the reception of White's 'Primer,' for such things were much needed in England to offset the distrust for America which was taking hold, despite all Mr. Page's efforts:

I have distributed them with private letters to the Morning Post, The Spectator, the Saturday Review, The Times, The Daily Telegraph and The London Nation. I hope they will give it the notice it deserves. Young Max-Müller, who has just been in, says the copy he took has been circulated. I wish you would send me another half-dozen, as I should like to send to Grey, Asquith, Haldane, Lloyd George, Earl Crewe, Harcourt, and Lord Iveagh; or, what would be better still would be for you to send copies with a private letter, saying, if you like, it was sent at my request. . . . Things are going very well. Treves, whom I saw on Friday just back from the front, says that the organization is something that he never dreamt of when he looks back upon the South African experiences. . . .

Meanwhile his regular tasks continued, even the Tuesday and Sunday clinics at the Radcliffe Infirmary and he actually writes an account of one of them at the behest of the Editor of an American Journal.* "W.O. has been two

*"Remarks on the Diagnosis of Polycystic Kidney, Radcliffe Infirmary, Nov. 23, 1914." International Clinics, Philadelphia, 1915.

days in bed with a cold," Lady Osler tells her sister. "He got it at

Dec.
1914

Paignton when he went to inspect the American Ladies' Hospital. Of course he's preaching at all these places about a Medical History of the War and has started records, etc., and has got the War Department at it."

Even on a Sunday evening at Christ Church he writes ^{calls} ~~as~~ this to Colonel Birkett, the O. C. of the McGill Hospital Unit:

Christ Church, Oxford,
6th [December]

Dear Birkett I had an interview with Keogh, the Dir. Gen. ^(A.M.)
~~D.~~ yesterday and cabled his views. He had not heard of the offer! - these things come through very slowly. The position is this. There are five or six large English Base Hospitals, as many as can be dealt with from the front. They are chiefly at Boulogne & neighbourhood - but the tenure of the coast is just now so uncertain that the War Office cannot undertake any new hospitals in this region. He says if you all came over ^{at this time} ~~just now~~ there would be only delay and disappointment. As it is the Canadian nurses have been kicking their heels - & no doubt cussing! - in London for some weeks & are only now getting drafted into work. The French are sadly in need of help & I have written to Chauffard asking if the French Govt. could utilize a Hospital unit raised in Canada of men speaking French - but not of course mentioning names. It will be some time, I hear, before the Canadian contingent will be fit to leave. K. insists that half trained men only embarrass the Generals. Things are

Dec.
1914

going pretty well. The country is in fine spirits and 'tis sure a good omen that in the end of the 3rd month the Germans have not yet finished with Belgium. We are very busy. I am seeing a great deal of interest. Keogh was greatly touched with your offer & not a little surprised.

On December 10th Lady Osler writes that the Medical Examiners had been there over Sunday and all the week; that they are busy putting warm sleeves into 1,000 waistcoats and making pyjamas for the hospital; that the chauffeur is ill with bronchitis which is inconvenient as they have so many steps to take; that one of the Belgian ladies with five children under seven is expecting another and will go to the Acland Home - "they haven't a penny except what we give them and ^{the} children only speak Flemish"; that each day there is someone to help in a different way - "as for Willie I hardly know how he lives, people ask so many favours of him"; that they were not sending any Christmas presents for 'the money simply flies here in the many things one wants to do.' And again she writes: "I have just come from town - third class - and must go again Tuesday for a Canadian concert and after that I hope not for months - London gives me the blues." One member of the family was too much in London already, as he indicates in the following note of December 7th:

99
Dec.
1914

Dear Lord Iveagh: I am very sorry, but it would be quite impossible for me to take the Chairmanship of the Governing Body of the Lister Institute. As it is, I have undertaken in London far more than I can attend to properly. With many regrets, &c.

Slowly and ponderously Great Britain having started unprepared and without an army, was summoning all her resources. The East Coast affair had amounted merely to a raid which came off on December 16th when a few innocent people were killed at Scarborough and elsewhere by long-range naval guns. But this and the few early air-raids had thoroughly aroused the country. It must be finished this time, once and for all, was the feeling that had slowly made its way into every English household - no more German militarism for us - no more 'Deutschland über Alles' - no talk of peace without victory here, whatever Mr. Wilson may say; for should the German War Party remain in power this might easily happen again. Osler knew this as well as Mr. Page and his juniors at the Embassy. "The horror of it no man knows" writes Mr. Page to Col. House on December 12th. "The news is suppressed, but four of the crack regiments of this kingdom - regiments that contained the flower of this land and to which it was a distinction to belong -

Dec.
1914

have been practically annihilated twice, yet their ranks are filled up and you never hear a murmur. Presently it'll be true hardly a title or estate in England will go to its natural heir - the heir has been killed. Yet not a murmur: for England is threatened with invasion. They'll all die first."

Among his Christmas letters Osler writes on the 14th to Mrs. Brewster:

This should reach you Xmas Eve by the Lusitania - if she has luck; & takes our greetings. . . We are struggling through the winter in fairly good spirits and everything looks more hopeful. We see too much of the tragedies to make life very happy. I wish you could ^{look in on} see our drawing-room - turned into a Galleries Lafayette for the wives of the Belgian professors, who work at their clothing every morning from 9 - 1. Grace has a dressmaker for them & half a dozen sewing machines We have nearly 100 in 16 families Poor things! it is an appalling tragedy for them, and there are such nice women among them. Then G. bosses one of the big laboratories with fifty of the University women working for the soldiers. These N. E. women are full of vitality.

Revere has been in the Oxford Training Corps but has not had enough for a commission. His heart is not much set in the military life Literature, books & art. He and I are so congenial mentally. It is delightful to have him take to these things spontaneously. I could not filch one of

Dec.
1914

his little etchings for you - he says they are not fit to send to any one. . . Uncle Neds book on the war is A.1. He sent six copies & I have passed them on to Asquith, Edward Grey, Harcourt & Haldane & one to the secretary of the publicity dept. I am very sad about all my good German friends. I wonder where Truth is? - bottom of an Artesian well these times! I wish I was sailing on the Lusitania Love to R. B. & the darlings. Yours affectionately, W^m OSLER. I do not know what we should have done without the packing-cases of clothing from America - and the money. G. has raised \$15,000.

And on the same day to H. B. Jacobs: "It will be rather a sad Christmas over

here for so many people but on the whole there is much to be thankful for.

Things are a great deal better than anyone could have hoped - well on in

the fifth month of the war, and Belgium not yet finished with. There are

fully 1,000,000 men in training here and the spirit of the country is A.1."

† The spirit of the 'Open Arms' was equally A.1. "I had an unusually busy time last week," Lady Osler writes her sister at Christmas time. "We had so many orders at our work-room - 3 dozen shirts - 500 surgical dressings - 2 doz. felt mits for navy - 200 holdalls and 200 housewives. Mrs. Balfour the other boss got appendicitis and Mrs. Thomson's brother died so I was much rushed." And then she continues:

Dec.
1914

It was a business getting the presents distributed 325. I got the names, sex and ages of all the professors' children - then tied and marked them all - and tied each family's and addressed it to the mother. Then I sent what was left to the General Committee and to various people who had Belgians to look after. The other cases have not yet arrived - I had a case from Marjorie of shirts, socks and wooleys - which were sent off mostly to the front and to the Canadians at Salisbury Plain. Jack McCrae was here Sunday and said his men needed socks badly. While I was packing them off came a message from Mrs. Griffith next door to know if I could help her with a box for her nephew in the trenches - that's the way all the time, and shirts and heavy scarfs and jerseys are always in demand.

Accompanied by young Dr. Malloch who was on Christmas leave from Depage's hospital at La Panne, Osler went to an auction in town the day before Christmas, and Malloch writes in his journal: "Sir W^m so pleased that he got Aristotle's Opera (~~Aldine 1497~~) and bought Jonathon Hutchinson's collection to give the J. H. H. Some American paying for it at £80 - about 10,000 drawings. We decorated a small Christmas tree in the evening and Sir W^m told of his school escapades in Dundas and of being expelled." "Some of the Canadian contingent spent Xmas with us," ~~Osler~~ ^{and a day or two}

~~Osler writes~~ ^{via letter} ~~to Adam Wright~~ ^(Toronto, Osler says) ~~a day or two later.~~ "They have had a deuce of a

Dec.
1914

time with rain and mud, the worst winter we have for years. The country is in fine form and very hopeful." And his wife's long letter to her sister on Christmas night tells of the morning at Ewelme; ^{Spent} a cheery lucheon at home to which the Max-Müller children came in for dessert; and ^{of} the afternoon in the hospital and Infirmary where the wounded had a wonderful day, though 'one hardly dares think of the men in the trenches - it's cold here and must be ghastly there.'

On New Year's Eve Osler writes of all this in a letter to Mrs.

Brewster.

Dear Mabel What a darling! Such a merry happy face! You must be crazy about her. I can imagine the family worship of you & R. B. & Sylvia. I am sorry not to see her in this stage as there is nothing so adorable as a jolly healthy baby. We have had a full house for Xmas. A nephew and his friend, privates in the Canadian contingent, a great nephew who is at school near Oxford, and a young Canadian friend whose husband is in the trenches. We all went to Ewleme for church and distributed the Xmas dinners to the 13 old men. Grace has not had time to think of anything but the Belgians and acting as a distributing agent for American presents. Really it is wonderful! Every week big packing cases come. Yesterday 24 barrels of apples were unloaded from a van at the door,

Dec.
1914

for the wounded soldiers at the Base Hospital. We are having a very happy holiday with Revere - such a chip of the old block in his devotion to books. He has developed so rapidly, and you never met anyone with a more delightful taste in literature. It is a shame to have his studies interrupted, but he goes on with the military training & will take a commission when ready. My library grows apace - all sorts of treasures come in - a beauty this week, the Editio principes of Aristotle 1495 bound by Jerome. My bountiful brother E. B. sends an occasional fat cheque to meet my extravagances, as he knows my medical and scientific books are being collected for Canada. Awful weather! the worst winter we have had. The raids & bombs are doing much good - except to the poor sufferers - in rousing the country. The American Commission in Belgium is doing a marvellous work. We had one of the committee here yesterday - 49 vessels have already reached Rotterdam! Love to the darlings & blessings on you all for 1915. Yours affectionately, W^m OSLER.

And Revere - 'a chip of the old block' in his growing devotion to books:

But far more like his great-great-grandfather - he of the 'midnight ride' -

in his tastes and occupations, skilful with tools and with his pencil,

a self-taught etcher; and with his rod. "Revere's heart is not in drill

or in the war," writes his mother; "a great question must be decided about

him soon, and of course he will do his duty when the time comes."

Dec.
1914Revere Osler to H. B. Jacobs.

Dec. 27th.

Dear Dr. Jacobs, Thank you very much for your card and your kindness in remembering me amid all this excitement. In spite of everything we have had a happy Christmas. Mother is well as usual & so likewise Dad and myself, 'for which,' as Pepys would say, 'God be praised.'

Dad has given me, (I am telling everyone I meet this, out of joy) a first edition of Dr. Walton's life of Herbert - a perfect gem of a book, uncut, unsoiled and just as it left the hands of the printer and perhaps of Walton himself. You will pardon my enthusiasm for you no doubt know it yourself.

The fishing goes well & I find that in proportion as one's skill increases so does the Thames appear the more unworthy of the abuse which it is customary to bestow upon it. Some day I hope you will come and we will make an expedition with rods and good Waltonian bait to New Bridge or Egham, or some other famous place on its banks. My regards to Mrs. Jacobs. Yours affectionately,

Revere (discip. Iz. Wa.)

✓