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Chapter XXXVIII

Keeping the flag flying

He began the year bravely and says in a letter to J. Y. W. MacAlister:

"I am in hiding for two months trying to finish the revision of my text-book. 'Tis urgent & I am refusing everything but duty-calls so you must excuse me." And in his letters to his friends, young and old, he sometimes manages not to mention Revere's name: thus on the 1st he writes his old *Colleague* friend James Tyson, whose malady is advancing and who is feeling his years:

Dear J.T. How is it with you? Best wishes for the New Year ~~to you all~~. We are keeping well and very busy; so many people coming and going, and always cases of interest at the Hospital. We have 14 nice American surgeons stationed here. They all dined with us on Xmas day. Gwyn is in charge of the Medical Dept of No 1 Can. Gen in France. Love to you all - ask Nell or Mellor to drop me a line, should you not feel up to writing.
Ever yours . . .

And a few days later to Captain Malloch at No. 3 Canadian, where Revere had been Assistant Quartermaster:

Dear Archie That is a V.G. paper, well reported. More please of the same sort! Do get the Pneumonia work together. Why not get [Lawrence] Rhea to give us a joint paper for the Q. J. of Med? Say the April No. which is sure to be late. Can I send you any literature? Did you see that Typhoid spine case at Taplow - there for 10 months and at a V.A.D. Hospital

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for 8 months before - typical case? Yealland, a Toronto wizard at Queen Square made him walk in ten minutes! A regular Lourdes miracle!* Catalogue

*This was the 'case of Sapper C-' which interested Osler greatly, as it supported his early views regarding the hysterical nature of many cases of so-called 'typhoid spine.' He gave a clinic on the case at No. 15 Canadian General Hospital on January 7th and subsequently reported it in the Canadian Medical Association Journal for June, 1918, p. 490-96.

goes well. Got Joules papers this week. Must have a conser. of energy section, and Dalton's fine orig. papers! The Dunn sale brought the Ed. Prin. of Averroes a gem. The Incunabula list is complete, and is being revised item by item at the B.M.* Pollard would not risk any mistake.

*During the summer of ¹⁹¹⁸ that year the coordination of the bibliographical ^{relating to the earliest printed medical books} material which Osler had so painstakingly ~~assembled~~ ^{assembled} ~~was~~ entrusted to Mr. Sholderer at the British Museum, who in time 'brought the whole into accordance with our latest knowledge as to the fifteenth-century types and the printers who owned them.' The volume, "Incunabula Medica" was finally ~~printed~~ ^{issued} four years after Osler's death, by the Bibliographical Society, ^{for the Oxford University Press} ~~in 1923~~.

Was the material before in a final state

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The Harvey Group in B. prima is well, yum, yum! Love to Bill and the boys. Yours, W.O.

Osler had lost nearly two stone in weight since September, and had an ominous interest in the post-influenzal pneumonias on which his young friend was working. Even so, he could be ^{Spirited} ~~jealous~~, and to Dr. A. T. Henderson of Montreal, an old school friend, he writes on the receipt of a photograph:

It was myself, Andy, that was glad to see that dear old mug of yours with the same old Rabelaisian smile, just ready for a joke as usual! Those

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were great old days at the M.G.H. Hell has broken loose now, but we shall hope for a new heaven & a new earth after the Germans have been smashed - which is going to take time and all Uncle Sam can do to help. We are hard hit - I forget whether you ever saw our boy. Poor laddie! I wish we could have gone in his stead. I have had a good innings. Love to you all.
Ever your old friend W^m OSLER.

Giving much of themselves as the Oslers did to the young people 'coming and going,' it was inevitable that during the nine months to follow, added sorrows should come to them. They had gone to town the first Sunday of the year to attend that memorable service at St. Paul's, the day appointed by the King as a day of National Prayer - but Osler could not trust himself there. He writes to Mrs. Brewster:

Sunday 6th.

Dear Mabel Friday eve on my return from town I found the delightful Robin Hood volumes - such beauties! and the whole story so fascinating My mother used to repeat to us many of the very ones in this edition, which she had learnt as a child. And then the tears came, as I thought how the dear laddie would have loved them. He had become so interested in the old ballad literature & one of the last books he bought was an old edition of "Percy's Reliques." While I was turning the pages with delight Grace (who had been to town with me) uttered a cry of grief, as news had been sent from the aerodrome that young Ely of Rochester, N.Y.

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had been killed in the morning with a young Canadian. Ely was a Harvard man ('17) who had just come here for special training, & we have been seeing a great deal of him, as his father, the late Dr. Ely of Rochester, was an old friend of mine. The poor chap came last Sunday for lunch, & as he had a day off we kept him & he did not leave until ten o'clock. Such a charming fellow. An hour ago young Kissel from N.Y. whom perhaps you know, called up from the aerodrome. He had flown over from Salisbury Plain to spend the night with Ely - his college chum - of whose death he had not heard! Such a tragedy. We shall keep the poor fellow for a couple of days, as he is completely knocked out. Our hearts just ache for these dear lads, so far from home. Do let us know of any in whom you may be interested. Love to the darlings all. . .

P.S. At the big service at the Cathedral this p.m. Grace says the Bishop read as part of the sermon Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. It is wonderful what an inspiration Father Abraham is! He brings courage & endurance.

A chapter could be devoted to the story of these two young boys alone -

^{William}Ely and his chum ^{Osler}Kissel - and their relation to the 'Open Arms.' Kissel stayed for 'the couple of days,' got his balance, was sent to France and was shortly ^{afterwards} killed in his turn.

On January 11th Osler writes to Henry M. Hurd who has been poking him

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up to make a contribution to the history of the Johns Hopkins Medical

School:

Thanks for your letter of Dec. 4th. I will get on with the story of the Medical Clinic. Mall's death is a terrible loss. Now comes the sad news that Janeway has gone. ^(*)This will hit the School very hard. I suppose Mrs. Mall will have a good Carnegie pension. Are the plans for your library yet out? I should like very much to see them. I send you a Library School address. I have become very much interested as you will see in this question of Library training. It sadly needs developing here. If there is any preliminary programme of the School of Preventive Medicine please send it. They are starting a National School of Medicine in Wales at Cardiff, and a lady has just given \$30,000 to endow a Chair of Preventive Medicine, one of the conditions being that I name the Committee to appoint the Professor. All goes well here; we are very busy, a great many people coming and going all the time. . . .

On the 14th he writes to Dr. F. C. Shattuck:

We have roared with laughter over Si Briggs. That all round man Sam Bayes and the moderate woman are A.1. Ever see Maria?

All goes well except for the aching heart. Americans are pouring thro. Every week brings in someone who has just landed. The Am. Orthopaedic Surgeons here are first class, 14 of them. I have not heard a

(*) Cf. The Lancet, Jan. 12, 1918, i, 80, for Osler's obituary of Theodore C. Janeway; and the issue of Dec. 1st, 1917 for his tribute to Franklin P. Mall.

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word lately from George. I hope if he gets leave he will come to us.

Love to Geo. B.

Drop in at Goodspeeds & jog his memory about the Bost. Med & Surg Jr. Vol. 35 which has the ether papers, and I want badly Morton's original papers. Love to you all.

Written statements to show the multifarious duties which kept him occupied are few. A postcard of the 21st to Sir D'Arcy Power indicates that he had missed a meeting of the Bibliographical Society the week before: "I was very sorry not to hear your paper on Wed. - but I had to be in town M. & T. & a third day was too much. I shall read it with interest. Thanks for Ward - more please." He does not say that 'M. & T.' had been of themselves too much, but this appears in a note the same day to Adami with whom he was shortly to go to the ^{Canadian} ~~Canada~~ Club luncheon: "I have asked Armour and Colmer to look after you ^{next week} ~~on~~ Wednesday as I am abed with the flu, not bad, but I shall not be out for a few days. So sorry. Tell Sister Radcliffiana [Adami's daughter] to let us know when she returns."

He appears to have taken to bed with him an astonishing book, the unusual

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Essai de Bibliographie Hippique by Général Mennessier de la Lance, the last volume of which had recently been published. How he learned of these volumes does not appear - possibly the Bibliography part of the title drew them into his net - it could hardly have been the Horse; he does not appear to have ridden ^{one} ~~ever~~ since the day ^{in Dundas when} he 'got the sack.' But the book went to his heart. The retired French General had succeeded in doing for the literature of his subject precisely what Osler hoped to do with his own library. And his review of the volumes, which begins as follows, was written with his old zest:

Not naturally dry, bibliography is too often made so by faulty treatment. What more arid than long lists of titles, as dreary as the genealogies of the Old Testament, or as the catalogue of the ships in Homer! What more fascinating, on the other hand, than the story of the book as part of the life of the man who wrote it - the bio-bibliography! Such, for example, is the recent bibliography of Samuel Johnson, issued by the Oxford Press, from the pen of that master of the subject, the late William Prideaux Courtnay, which shows us, even better than does Boswell, the working ways of the great lexicographer. To be of value to the full-fed student of today a bibliography should be a Catalogue raisonné, with judicious

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remarks and explanations. In our great libraries this is impossible from lack of space, but the plan is followed with great advantage in the special bibliographies, of which the work before us is a model of its kind. . .

He goes on to tell how he had put the volumes to the test, all of which *doubled with his own bibliographical project in mind* indicates with what delight he had gone through them; and after commenting

on the high plane of veterinary science across the Channel, he ends thus:

Students of the horse in all its relations owe a deep debt of gratitude to General Mennessier de la Lance for this comprehensive and valuable work, so full of accurate and careful scholarship. As a former teacher in a Veterinary College I may be permitted to offer him on behalf of the profession in Great Britain our congratulations on its completion, and our heartfelt wishes that he may be spared to see final victory crown the Army of which he has been so distinguished a member.

It is curious how at these times when housed with an illness he de-

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lighted to tell, with variants, to the young ^{folks} faces who were about, the stories of his boyhood - how he was expelled from school - how they smoked out the 'Old girl' at Weston - how he killed the pig. No sorrow should be allowed to show itself before them and there is always something of interest for their entertainment, like the pomander-cane which has just come, purchased from two needy old ladies in Maida Vale in whose family it had been for 150 years. One could still get a whiff of the aromatic 'four thieves' vinegar which once filled the receptacle at the top.* And when Ned Milburn's daughter, a Canadian nursing sister,

*The cane was handed on for the collection of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

came, the old stories of 'Barrie's Bad Boys' are revived. Thus 13 Norham Gardens tries to forget the war - a difficult task with the messages which come in - just now one from No. 3 Canadian General telling that poor Jack McCrae ^{is} was no more. 'To you from failing hands we throw the torch; be yours to hold it high.' ¶ So the house was kept continually filled with people, if for no other reason than they they did not yet dare to let them-

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selves be alone. To the Canadians, friends from the United States were now being added in increasing numbers, many of whom came through England on their way to the A.E.F. "Where are the dear boys?" ~~he~~ ^{was his frequent} ~~would write~~ ^{message} to American parents. "Do tell them to come here as to their home if they get a chance." On February 22nd he writes to W. S. Thayer:

. . . We are keeping well and very busy. It is very hard to get time for any continuous work - there are so many calls one way & another. I have been in London four days this week - meetings & committees & sick Canadians. I am so tired of sepsis and of chest wounds, and glossy-nerve - hands & feet. They will be glad to see you at G.H.Q. Give my love to Bradley. Let us know of anything you want - for yourself or the men with you. Mrs. Chapin is in charge of the distributing office Am. Red +, London, but comes for the week ends. Do let us have a line as to your movements. . . .

The library was growing meanwhile. The early anaesthesia papers had finally been secured for the Bibliotheca Prima which he felt was nearly complete, and he was working on the less important but no less interesting sections - the Bibliotheca Literaria, etc. Thus on February 28th to Sarah Orne Jewett's Sister;

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Only this week I have read the "Country Doctor" which you so kindly sent and am perfectly charmed with the very true and sympathetic account of a man of the highest type in the profession. As I told you I am collecting for my library the books ~~etc. giving~~ ^{which give} an account of the social and literary side of professional life. I hope to publish a catalogue of my collection. Under the "Country Doctor" could I state that this was a picture drawn from your Father's life and work? If so will you please send me the date of his birth, his graduation, where he practised and date of death...

In a letter to C. D. Parfitt of March 3rd he says: "A three months 'cure' in Muskoka would renew my youth. We have a deuce of a life here - so much on hand always and so many coming & going. I never seem to get time for any work." ^{The reason is apparent: for one} ~~One~~ of the several weekend sojourners on this very day supplies a fragment from a diary which says:

'Open Arms' full as usual. Among others Col. Sir James Fowler who has just come and quickly gets into mufti. Also an uncouth Canadian signaller who has been convalescing from a wound here for two weeks and who happens merely to be the nephew of a Canadian nurse once at the J.H.H. Many drop in for tea, and afterwards Charles Singer of the Science Room whose book is just out; then a shriveled Prof. of Spanish with some rare

identically or landed for the cards of the Bibliotheca. One of the relates to Miss Jowett's story

Oscar Cape some fragmentary notes in the Doctor in the English Novel which he says is a good and brief one for:

... Dr. Leslie is a man who has had the jaws of Bigelow, the Stallard and Bowditcher as teachers and friends. It is Jacob Bigelow who really speaks: "We must look to the living to learn the laws of life, not to the dead. A wreck shows you where the reef is perhaps, but must how to manage a ship in the fog" (p. 109. No pleasant picture of the woman medicine student as to the than than, who at last married George Dan sure. The ending of it is most untrue to life.

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incunabula under his arm concerning which he wants information. Sir William though a shadow of his former self sails through these interruptions as though they were the very things he cordially longed for. But anyone can see that his desk is piled high with unopened and unanswered letters - still no secretary and there are books and papers everywhere. We slipped away at six and he made a round of visits on people with children - his many darlings who find things in his pockets and cuddle about him while he tells another chapter of some imaginary tale before they go to bed - all over in ten minutes and he flits to the next where there is the sound of a desperate fello-w-fight and great hilarity at the head of the stairs. ¶ Supper, and a quiet evening over books. Thomas Bodley and his 16-page autobiography one of the best ever written; and W.O. tells how Bodley got his friends to bring books, and they in turn told their friends who might be visiting Oxford to take an armful. ^{Since} ~~and~~ as many of these ~~visitors~~ ~~them~~ were prelates they pilfered the church stores of MSS. and so today the Bodleian holds rare treasures from Exeter and Cairo and other places, ~~which were really stolen~~ ^{treasures} and which those other libraries have moved heaven and earth to get back. ¶ There was much else; ~~and finally a look at his Catalogue, with its divisions, B. prima, B. secunda, B. historia et biographica, B. literaria, etc. - it will be as large as a volume of the Index Catalogue of the S.G.O.~~ ^{but} ~~and finally a look at~~

finally, at ten, as of old, he goes to bed which gives an opportunity to copy out, as a sample, the ^{following note he has just written regarding a recent acquisition:} ~~provenance of this one of the books~~ (from its card)

Averroes (1126-1198) 1482 folio; Gothic characters; two columns:

50 lines: 116 leaves: no pagination: signatures a-q. 20 lines - 82 mm.

So that it does not correspond with any of Proctor's measured types, etc..

same case

of the five orders

In spite of the fact that the Bodleian seems to occupy much of his time and thought - and it ^{must be} a rare day that the tower, which looks down on the quadrangle, does not see his own ective figure pop in out of the obscure entrance to the library. Indeed just now he with the Librarian and Mrs. Pollard of the British Museum are engaged in preparing a list of English books printed between 1501 and 1640 now in the Bodleian. . .

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etc., with Hain #2189 - Copinger - Pellechet; what Mrs. Dunn the former owner says about it and the colophon and then W.O.'s note:

"Considering the extraordinary vogue of Averroes it is remarkable how few copies there are of the original Padua edition of the great commentary and of this ed. ⁿprim. of the Calliget. At the Dunn sale, 1917, the B.M. withdrew their bid [having spent all their available cash] which enabled me to get this copy. I hesitated a long time whether or not to put Averroes in B.P. I have done so less on medical than on general grounds: (1) because the history of the profession offers no parallel to the influence he exercised for more than 400 years on human thought; (2) he was the great heretic; (3) he was the 'great commentator' on Aristotle to whose writings scholars still turn for the interpretation of dark passages (Told me 3.1.18 by Prof. of Moral Phil. Oxford); (4) he blazed a trail seemingly back to Aristotle but actually leading forward to nature (Neuberger).

Renan's "Averroes and Averroïsme" (1852-1866) depicts the struggles of the mediaeval mind and its relation to Arabian thought. It is surprising to read "Albert (Albertus Magnus) doit tout à Avicenne; Saint Thomas, comme philosophe, doit presque tout à Averroes," p. 236. Of Renan's book Gauthier ^{ie} says: "Après plus d'un demi-siècle, ce bel ouvrage n'a plus cessé de faire autorité," in La Théorie d[^{Hauke}] Paris, 1909; from the introduction to which the student will have an idea of the difficulty of getting really at the heart of the Arabians."

This card was being copied he came in, in dressing gown and slippers
While ~~these notes were being made~~ he slipped in in his dressing-gown and ~~put~~ ^{placing} beside me a small vellum-bound book, ~~then~~ went out without a word, and I

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could hear him sobbing as he went back up the stairs. It contained the list of Revere's book purchases, with the dates and occasions. It had such entries as this: "I sent the bid for this from Mouquet [?] Farm on the Somme, Dec. 6th, '16. Poems on Several Occasions; Chas Cotton Lond. 1689, 1st ed. Sotheby's £3-12-6." The last note ^{was one of these} made during his leave: "May 14, 1917. Dobell's Meditations on the four last things, Death, Judgment, Heaven, Hell, 4th edⁿ. £2-2-0."

In a letter of March 16th to he says:
He writes (Archie Malloch on ~~March 16th~~): "So sorry you are having a slow

time lately. I have been on the jump - two days at Cardiff straightening

out the Talbot Chair [Department of Hygiene] affairs." Things doubtless

appeared 'slow' in the Boulogne hospitals during early March, but they

were not ^{so} for long. The Germans were ^{massing troops for} ~~on the eve of~~ their last supreme

~~effort~~ ^{- an effort which made it look, after March 21st} ~~and it looked~~ ^{- and No 3 Canadian General without} for a time as though even Boulogne might have to be

^{not its camps and hospitals, No 3 Canadian General included, be pushed into the sea.} evacuated, [¶] Mr. Wilson's manifesto of January 8th with its 'fourteen

points' had served to drive a wedge between Prussianism and the German

people among whom there were strikes and discontent. To counteract all

this Ludendorff, as the Eastern 'Front' was no more, made his last throw on

~~March 21st~~ with the intent to separate the French and British on the West - ~~and~~

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So nearly successful it was that

Sir Douglas Haig, not given to emotional speech, told his army ^{a short} four weeks

later that they had their backs to the wall and must fight to the end.

These were dark days for England. Fortunately Osler had other things to think of. "I have been bedevilled to death lately [he writes on the 25th]. Charlie Bath had a smash at Winchester, forehead knocked in and very bad. Then John Archibald has had pneumonia and I have been up every day since Thursday. Both lungs involved but he is recovering."

On the 31st he writes to Francis J. Shepherd:

I did not answer your cable as I was unable to contribute at the time. The Income tax had just been paid & had left my bank account very low. You have done splendidly & it will put the old M.G.H. in good form. The Carnegie gift to the College will be a great help. We are keeping well & doing what we can. I have to be away a great deal - meetings & war cases & odd jobs. The Library grows & I am getting the Catalogue in good order; but my secretary is away & I have only a woman & an extra from the Bodleian. I wish you could see my divisions & arrangements. I dare say Birkett will tell you about it, as he was much interested. Now that Revere is gone I shall be able to leave the College money for its up-keep. Love to the girls. I am glad E. is still at Bramsho^t - out of this present battle.

He gives no sign that he has been ailing and depressed, though this is

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is apparent from one of Lady Osler's letters:

. . . Sir William is thinner than ever but very brown as he spent two days last week on the roof outside my door. . . I have taken rooms at Sidmouth in Devon from April 24th for three weeks and hope to keep him there and out of doors. The conditions in France have depressed him dreadfully and I think he has been very pessimistic. We talk quite freely of visits from the Müllers and Ewalds, should the Huns reach England. I daresay he would welcome them kindly - Saint that he is. We had an awful week or ten

*It may be mentioned that when Revere's kit, forwarded by the Padre at the C.C.S., finally reached home there was found, ^{in his wallet,} together with his father's twenty-first-birthday letter, notes addressed to Professors Ewald, ^{and} v. Müller to be mailed to them in Germany! in case the boy should be taken prisoner.

days with so many near friends ill and injured, and ending by his getting a cold. He went at once to bed with aspirin and a lemonade with hot whiskey - the first I ever knew him take, and we headed it off.

Nothing of this appears in Osler's own notes written on the same day. "We keep much the same here, ^{with a house -} full all the time, so many coming and going we have not (fortunately) much time to think." And to another: "Do come should you return via England - any day will suit us as we have an india-rubber house, but bring your meat ticket." And to Archie Malloch on April 4th: "All well - very busy - much bedeviled by many things as usual. Love to Bill - and the Kaiser should he reach Boulogne."

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On April 11th he writes C. P. Howard that, "All goes well here - except for the gnawing sorrow in our hearts for the dear laddie. We are distributing Revere's small savings and I will send a cheque for \$500 Bk. of Montreal for Palmer. Invest it for him please." And on the 17th to Archie Malloch:

Thanks for Cabanes but you should have opened the parcel and cut the leaves. The illustrations are A.1. Sir D. MacAlister, Principal of Glasgow University was here last week end, and picked up your book, with which he was delighted - one of the most interesting storied he had read for years. He was much gratified to hear of your Glasgow affiliations. Have you heard anything of the Occupation paper? All here much disturbed by the news, but all will come out on the right side I am sure. It is disheartening, of course. Catalogue is booming - the anaesthesia section doing well, and will be A.A.1. I am picking out a lot of Revere's books for you and Bill. Call on Phoebe [Wright] and ask her if she will please be married from the 'open arms'?

As promised, they left on April 24th for a period of quiet at Sidmouth,

~~though~~ ~~but~~ repose just now, physical or mental, was difficult. Things were at

their worst in France, ^{but} ~~and~~ England ^{steadily} ~~had risen~~ to the emergency. ^{Never so dangerous as} ~~by raising the~~

^{in spite of her war-weariness now}
when heart-sick of a business' a John Buchan says, she raised the

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limit of military age to fifty, by ^{save} giving the Government power to set aside the ordinary exemptions, and ~~by~~ extending ^{ed} conscription to Ireland. As a result nearly half a million men, many of them with ^{more than one} ~~many~~ wound-stripe~~s~~ on their sleeves were poured into France. But the Irish held back, thereby forfeiting the esteem of the world. The Roman hierarchy in Ireland made a false step by openly assuming the right to interfere as a Church in politics; ^{and} Osler must have been so moved by the articles on the subject in the morning papers, that on reaching town he sent from the Athenaeum to The Times a letter entitled "The Curse of Meroz":

Sir: - In Ireland the kinetic drive, to use an expression of the physiologists, is dual - Rome and America. Rome has spoken; now let America speak. Possibly the solution of the problem is with her. Let Cardinal Gibbons and the strong Irish Catholics in the United States and Canada convince their brethren at home that two things are vital - to abjure publicly the dream of an Irish Republic, and to join heartily in the prosecution of the war. Then she may win for herself an enduring peace - the peace she can never have with a perennial Home Rule trouble in Ulster; a peace she will not get, much less deserve, with the curse of Meroz on the land, the curse with which the English-speaking world will curse her bitterly because in the hour of trial she 'came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.'

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He must have been very much keyed up, for this brief note was apparently boiled down from a long "Appeal to Hibernia" found among his papers and which, like as not, he had written on the way to town. With it is the rough ~~first~~ draft of a letter to Cardinal Gibbons which reads:

Dear Cardinal Claiming the privilege of an old friend, and for many years your next-door neighbour, may I address you an open letter on a subject that I know you have at heart - an Irish settlement. We have lived long enough to see what seemed a desperate Irish problem solved. In my boyhood in Canada there were two red-letter days - March 17th and July 12th. We were sure of a holiday and a good row between Orange and Green. Time and prosperity have brought a settlement. Where is the Griffin-town that I knew so well in the seventies in Montreal - filled with the families of the Irish emigrants, many of whom were my earliest patients? Already the intelligence and industry of the children has made comfortable homes for the old people. They have long ago left Griffin-town and are in the best quarters of the city and the suburbs. This is what has happened all over the Continent and with it peace - a row anywhere on St. Patrick's Day or on the 12th July is impossible. Time and prosperity which have wiped out the animosities of 200 years in the New World, may be trusted to do the same in Ireland itself. To one basic consideration I wish to urge your earnest attention for no man in the United States wields the same personal influence as your Eminence. It is this - that the settlement no longer rests with England - nor is it with Ireland, but it is with Hibernia

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Magna, with the Irish in the United States. They control the situation. It is not so much that they pay the piper and call the tune, but the moral force is the telling leverage today. The main truth is that the Irish in the United States demand an independent republic. Grt. Britain could no more tolerate a hostile republic at her doors than would the United States tolerate a hostile kingdom in Texas, in Canada or in Cuba. It would mean the breaking up of an empire the strength of which is the most important single ally of the United States in the maintenance of a threatened civilization. . . Please throw the weight of your strong influence in favour of a direct repudiation by Irishmen of an Irish republic as an essential preliminary to any enduring settlement, etc. *[Here the scribble tails off and in all probability was never sent but it shows at least his momentary impulse]*

Later in the day, from the Victoria Hotel Sidmouth he wrote to Archie

Malloch:

Your letter was here on our arrival. So sorry to hear that Bill is laid up. I hope it is nothing serious ^{and} that he can get a bit of leave. This would be a glorious place for him, beautiful sea and coast. We have been very busy - same rush at the house. Yesterday four men and Ronald Ross for lunch ^{and} such a nice fellow from St. Louis. I shall be glad of a rest and change. We finished the anaesthesia section as far as possible, last week. I think it will be A.A.1. ^{and} give a most interesting picture of the evolution of the whole business. I still lack one or two important items e.g. Rolles Local anaesthesia paper, ^{they} but it will turn up. We intend to keep Revere's books together ^{any} and ~~very~~ general literature books -

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the Miltons, Shelleys &c will go with them. Later I will talk to you & Bill of the plans. MacAlister has sent me two big bundles of reprints &c, many of which are duplicates and I will keep them for you. He was very much interested in my grouping &c of the library. I have to do a lot of reading for the Presidential Address of the Classical Association! Every other year an outside man is chosen - not a classical scholar, and Morley, Asquith, Balfour, Bryce have been recent ones. I am the first Doctor, so I take it as a compliment but a bit of a burden. I shall talk on "the classical Tradition in Science." I am deep in a Post-graduate scheme - & am chairman of the committee of the London Schools which has the matter in hand. Yours, W.O.

The post-graduate scheme to which he refers had for some months occupied his attention. Whatever might be the outcome of the war, it behooved those of his profession to look forward to better days for medicine and medical teaching in England. Early in the year he had written to

J. Y. W. MacAlister:

Yes, a small Executive to arrange for the representative meeting, with a definite programme. As a matter of policy, should we ask Fisher to preside? I think we should. The profession must get over this infantile dread of Govt. interference, and this scheme must be on an imperial basis. Think over, the strong, young men for the Executive.

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^{at this time}
So ~~now~~ he had prepared an elaborate report on Post-graduate Medical Education and it was suggested that the Dominion authorities coöperate with the American University Union of which Professor J. W. Cunliffe was the London representative, in establishing a bureau for graduate students coming to England, similar to the information depot which had had much to do with the pre-war position which Vienna had enjoyed as a great medical teaching centre. On April 25th ~~from Sidmouth Osler~~ ^{he} writes ^{to} Adami:

No reason why you should not mention it, but do not show the circular as it is not to be made public until after the Schools have reported. The ~~P. S.~~ Association will be a Bureau and a home for all p.g. students. Should we fail to get the schools united we can run our own Bureau, and bring the schools to our terms. Cunliffe was with us last Sunday. We have a half promise of active financial aid if the London schools will unite. ¹⁰
~~Please send on the enclosed to Rhea.~~

While at Sidmouth he

He became engrossed in W. F. Smith's newly published "Rabelais in his

⁽¹¹⁾ The inaugural meeting of the future Fellows -
Soc. of Medicine was held July 15 1918 and was
presided over by Lord Eustace Percy.

Writings" and sent off for the Lancet* a most appreciative review - "we have

*May 4, 1918, i, 644 (unsigned). It led to ^{an interesting} ~~a delightful~~ correspondence with the author in an effort to get him to read ^{on} Rabelais before the Historical Section of the R. S. M. ^L

The paper /

which he contributed on -

now the real Rabelais, freed from legend, prejudice and misrepresentation."

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This was a pleasant diversion from which he is aroused by some ^{expressions of} ~~American~~
~~pessimism~~ ^{from America} which ^{moves} ~~arouses~~ him to profanity ^{as none in his letters or in his speech.} ~~worthy of J. William White.~~

On May 5th he writes to Dr. George Dock:

Such a nice letter from Geo. Jr. came in the same mail with yours. He seems in the thick of it. I have written urging him to try & come to us for a rest & change, if possible. The strain is very heavy on these young fellows. I am afraid we are in for a long business. Germany is far from defeat & the U. S. will have to give the knockout blow. It is wonderful what she has done already. Tell the damned pessimists to shut up. I am ashamed to meet them - there are a few here who growl that enough has not been done.

I am struggling with a catalogue raisonné & find it interesting but slow. My sec. is away but I have a meticulous vestal who does very well & a Bodley girl comes from 4-7 to help. I have the books all grouped I Bibl. prima; II B. secunda; III B. literaria; IV B. historica; V B. biographica; VI B. bibliographia; VII Incunabula; VIII MSS. The literary section will be the most interesting - poets, novels, plays, works, by Doctors, or in which the profession is portrayed. Do you know of any good novels in which the Doctor of the West or South figures? The N. E. ones are easy to get. . .

On the same day to H. B. Jacobs:

I cabled you, or will tomorrow - I have bought the Jenner [portrait] for you, if after inspection on the 15th it seems all right. The price

Dr. Thorne in Anthony Trollope's novel of this name "Two Men in one of his consultations at this time" sketches incidentally the transition in the English profession from the apothecary to the general practitioner. Though a graduate doctor, he is invited to call himself a doctor, he confounds his own medicines "pulling like the common bowlers, or spreading vulgar ointments for agricultural ailments". . . I love Dr. Thorne for his theory, or to the happiness of children for he argued that the the principal duty which a parent owes to a child is to make him happy, wise man!

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On the same day to H. B. Jacobs:

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Dr. Thorne in Anthony Hollop's novel of this name" [note also in one of his annotations at this time] sketches incidentally the transition in the English profession from the apothecary to the general practitioner. Though a generalist physician or entitled to call himself a doctor, he compounded his own medicines "pulling together common powders for rural bowels, or spreading vulgar ointments for agricultural ailments". ~~It is...~~ I love Dr. Thorne for his theory, or to the happiness of children for he argued that the the principal duty which a parent owes to a child is to make them happy. "Love them!"

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seems a bit suspicious - very low for the original. The photo. which I enclose looks attractive. I hope it turns out a find! Have you got the big Huxley bronze - as large as the Virchow? If not, I should like to give you my copy for your collection; you could have it at any time. What are you doing with your Jenner items? I have as you perhaps remember, the minutes, largely in Jenner's hand of the Glou. Med. Soc. 1789-95. I doubt whether it should leave the country, but the R.C.S. and the R.C.P. have been so slack in collecting, that neither deserves it. . . This is a lovely spot [Sidmouth] - Far from the Kaiser and Rhonda^d.

Far enough from the Kaiser and the Food Controller to permit him to think of other things, and when on May 9th in the morning paper he came across the figures giving the returns of the last examination for the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons he promptly wrote this open letter to Sir George Makins registering a further protest against an abominable system he never failed to attack when he reasonably could,

Dear Mr. President: All who have at heart the interests of medical students must have been gratified to see in this morning's Times the continued (increasing?) high percentage of rejections - 82! But must we wait for a total rejection before the College realizes the rottenness of the present system? System it must be, dear Makins: for are not the teachers, who fail so ingloriously, among the best of your Fellows (in ana-

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tomy at any rate); are not the examiners, who are so successful, picked men of the same class; and the unhappy victims - well, it seems ridiculous to say so - but are they not our very best students? For results, see the Times, 27 rejections out of 34!

In your skill and judgment the profession has unusual confidence. Induce the College to relieve an intolerable situation. Abolish a system which is a reproach alike to teachers and examiners, and worst of all a cruel perversion of mental values to the student at the very time of life when such values count. The alternative? Back to John Hunter: -

1. Do away with the necessity for Fellowship classes.
2. Make the candidates spend the time (now wasted in cramming) in the laboratories and hospitals.
3. Let them come to the examiners' board with proofs of personal study and research in anatomy or physiology for the Primary - and, may I add, in pathology or surgery for the Final. . .

A day later the following letter was received and answered.

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

The Royal Society of Medicine,
1, Wimpole Street, London.
May 8, 1918.

My dear Osler, Once before you were offered and refused the Presidency of the Royal Society of Medicine, - an absolutely unprecedented snub to the premier medical body of the Kingdom - and now I ask you unofficially and confidentially once more whether you will accept nomination, and I say to you quite seriously and solemnly that in the present crisis it is your duty to accept it for from now on there are great things expected of, and to be done by the Society provided a man of light and leading is at its head, and you are the man to do it! It is the more important in view of the position you have taken up with the Post-graduate Scheme. So please

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let me have a line or a telegram saying you accept. Yours sincerely,
J. Y. W. MACALISTER. I shall turn my face to the wall if you say "No"
for it is going to be my last lap.

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

The Victoria Hotel, Sidmouth,
10. V. 18.

Dear MacAlister I am more sorry than I can say; as I hate to
refuse you anything; but it is impossible. On the previous occasion the
snub as you call it, was certainly not meant as such. I regarded the of-
fer as a great honour Sincerely yours, W^m OSLER.

Osler preferred lesser rôles in the R. S. M.* such as that of contributor

*As well as in other Societies. He had been urged, curiously
enough, during March to accept the Presidency of the old Medical
Society of London, the ancient rival of the Society which had grown
into the R. S. M.

to the programme of the Historical Section, of which Dr. Raymond Crawford
was now President. And on May 15th on his return from Sidmouth he gave
before the Section a paper on "The First Printed Documents relating to Mod-
ern Surgical Anaesthesia," which begins:

The story of surgical anaesthesia illustrates how long it takes an
idea to become effective. The idea of producing insensibility to pain dur-
ing a cutting operation is of great antiquity - e.g., vide Chapter ii, 21,
in the Book of Genesis. Nor is the word anaesthesia modern, as is sometimes
said, and invented by Oliver Wendell Holmes. It occurs, Withington tells

me, first in Plato ("Timaeus"), and is used by Dioscorides in the modern sense.

(The extraordinary controversy which has raged, and re-raged every few years, on the question to whom the world is indebted for the introduction of anaesthesia, illustrates the absence of true historical perspective, and a failure to realize just what priority means in the case of a great discovery.

Just this he proceeds to show that
~~And he goes on to show that:~~ "In Science the credit goes to the man who convinces the world, not to the man to whom the idea first occurs" -

"Morton convinced the world; the credit is his." And he goes on to tell in *con-*
Sidérable detail, *in the Bibliotheca Prina*
 how in his own library he has classified the papers relating to anaes-
 thesia; and since he now has duplicates of some of them he closes the

address by saying:

Remind -

~~To separate in literature the quick from the dead is one of the func-~~
~~tions of a well-ordered library, but much that we carelessly regard as~~
~~dead is magnetized into life when put in its historical relations. The~~
~~plan here suggested, which could be applied in other directions, sustains~~
~~that continuity, to the study of which this Section is devoted.~~ "You remem-
 ber the rings of Lucretius - well, there is a vis et vincula librorum,
 binding together books, a force just as potent as the vis et vincula lapidis,
 which supported the rings; and in the literature of anaesthesia this force
 is derived from the works here presented to the Library *[of the Royal Society of Medicine.]*"

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Back in Oxford the next day he writes to H. B. Jacobs:

The Shelley Letters have just come - many thanks for remembering my collection. Dear Isaac was so interested in it & had become such a keen student of S. The Everyman's Library copy of the Poems he carried everywhere. He would have loved this book. I hope to ^{keep}~~put~~ all his books together - for a purpose. His last leave was spent arranging them & his accession book is most interesting - the pen-drawing of the title-page ~~is~~ ^{is} his own design. The catalogue, & the books he would have loved bring his loss home to our hearts every hour.

Plans for a foundation similar to that of the Elizabethan Club

at Yale, to include Revere's collection and the non-medical portion of his own, were evidently formulating in his mind and in letters to his intimates he frequently alludes to this as well as to another project: -

"We are making this house freehold, and I am arranging to leave it to the university as a permanent home for my successors." Such things must always be when a man is confronted with the extinction of his line.

But before he could really devote himself to the rounding out of Revere's collection there was still much to do in perfecting his own if it was to

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be handed on as he would have it. "I am involved in a terrible job -
this catalogue raisonné," he confesses to F. H. Garrison. "It is not
easy to get everything, and harder to know enough. I wish you could be
here for a few weeks to have your brain tapped."*

*Apparently at this time he had outlined the draft of the
Introduction to the Catalogue which he hoped he might live to
see published. Two MS. drafts are in existence, from the earlier
of which some paragraphs have been taken .

He participated on May 29th ⁱⁿ at the second of an important series of
meetings held at the Royal Society of Medicine to consider 'the future

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of the Medical Profession under a Ministry of National Health.' His address, which must have been largely impromptu, sounds more like his natural self than any of his public utterances for a good many months - vigorous, telling; and, as quoted* it was lightened by touches of his

*The Lancet, June 8, 1918, i, 804.

customary humour. In speaking of 'Research and the State' he said:

Not even the brilliant work in preventive medicine of Sir John Simon and his colleagues and successors has been able to overcome in certain quarters an invincible prejudice against State aid. It is an academic obsession, peculiarly insular and Anglican. There are those present who will remember the virulent outburst at a meeting of the governing body of the Lister Institute, when it was proposed to wed that somewhat sedate vestal to the National Research Committee. The unholy proposal was rejected by an enormous majority. There are no grounds whatever for this distrust . . . Cut out Lister's work, and in the field of infections practically all the first-hand discoveries made in this country have been by men in official harness, such as Griffith Evans, Manson, Ross, Bruce, Leishman and others. The debt of the profession is one-hundred fold greater to the Local Government Board for its researches in preventive medicine than to all our universities combined. The ^umonths of all carpenter shops have been closed by the series of splendid monographs issued during the war by the National Research Committee. It illustrates what can be done by a group of men

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with a good organization and an effective executive. That in these days of tribulation Sir Walter Fletcher and his colleagues have been able to accomplish so much is a source of genuine pride. What a rich store of merit they have acquired for the fresh fields and pastures new as a department of a Ministry of Health! . . . A strong Ministry of Health backed by a united profession, could initiate important reforms which seem at present hopeless. The reconstruction of our medical schools, the destruction, preliminary to rearrangements, of the curriculum, the establishment in our hospitals of up-to-date clinics, a degree for London students, the abolition of the super-tax for British students by unnecessary examinations - some at least of these reforms a strong central organization could force through the blind opposition of vested interests. These are post-bellum problems for the young men, who will meet them with a ~~k~~new knowledge and with courage and confidence. It will be a pleasure for the seniors to stand by and see fair play between them and the public, as represented by the authorities. Metabolism does not necessarily mean progress, and in the body-politic it is not always easy to distinguish kata from ana. A full and free discussion, such as Major Dill's paper will bring out, should be most helpful, if it does nothing but quiet that large and important group whom the fear of change perplexes and appals.

From Oxford again on June 27th he writes to F. H. Garrison:

In D.N.B. vol. xxxix, p. 107, is an account of Chas Morrison, a Surgeon of Greenock, who is described as the first projector of the Electric

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Telegraph. I have just got the Scots Magazine, 1753, with his account which is certainly remarkable. M. is said to have gone to Virginia, where he died. Prosser, who wrote the life in D.N.B. 1894, states that there is nothing about him in the publication of the Historical Soc. of Virginia. Do you happen to have anything about him in the S.G.L.? Ask one of the men to turn up the cards. There is nothing in the Index Cat. Singer is back from Salonika and with his wife has all sorts of schemes on hand - the biggest, the catalogue of all English scientific MSS. They are deep in Anglo-Saxon medicine.† All goes well - and will go better - with time and patience. America has done nobly. We are so proud to see the nice boys who are in evidence now so much - many old friends & students. I was at a splendid camp at Winchester last week. Greetings to McC and all old friends. . .

And the next day, June 28th, to J. George Adami:

Those etchings are gems, and are safely in Bright's Travels, a presentation copy of which I have, with an autograph letter. I have written to Matthews. Sorry not to have sent the lecture - I have not had a moment to look it over - examiners here all week. Two treasures recently for Bibl. prima - Copernicus De Revol. Orb. celest. 1543, and the Ed. Prin. of Plato - Aldine 1513. P. comes in as the founder of psychology.

We marry Phoebe Wright tomorrow (Latin Chapel of the Cathedral) to Reginald Fitz - our old friend's son.

So they did - a military wedding - and there was a gay reception and tea subsequently on the terrace at the 'Open Arms' and no one would for a moment

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have surmised that the hosts were anything but the most light-hearted of people. From others was concealed the sorrow that weighed them down. That they should have arranged for this wedding at Christ Church for an American officer and the daughter of an old Canadian friend, both of whom were serving in France, was not only characteristic of the Oslers but it is expressive of the warmth of feeling which England as a whole felt at this time toward America, whose Independence Day was illogically celebrated throughout Britain a few days later as a popular festival.

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Thus the Bibliotheca Osleriana did not engage his attention to the exclusion of other things. One illustration may be given to show another and familiar side of his character. The first cases of encephalitis lethargica (subsequently, in common parlance, known as sleeping-sickness) were beginning to be recognized - a malady with such protean features that Osler said there were "57 varieties" - as many as pickles. He was wrong in the first impression of the nature of the disorder, but this is unimportant. A. Salusbury MacNalty of the Ministry of Health supplies this account:

In the early part of 1918 I was engaged in an investigation of this obscure disease now known as ~~Encephalitis Lethargica~~ and I early sought Sir William's counsel and advice on the subject. ~~Sir William~~^{he} was at first inclined to regard the cases as examples of Heine-Medin disease or as cerebral types of poliomyelitis. He took an indefatigable and keen interest in the progress of the investigation; this was not merely academic or 'arm-chair study' but personal and active, as his letters indicate:

11 June, 1918.

Dear MacN. Where in London are most of the polio-cases? We have one in the Radcliffe, very remarkable and possibly another. I was in Leicester last week where they have 5 or 6. I shall be up Friday and Monday. Yours, W^m OSLER.

I arranged to take Sir William to the London Hospital where a good many cases of the new disease were domiciled.

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14 June 1918.

Dear Mac I will call for you at 12 on Monday. We could have a bite of lunch and then go to the London or anywhere else. I could not get you this a.m. but I hope you had my telephone message. You might like to have my Heine-Medin literature - a fine big bundle - I lecture on the subject Tuesday. Yours W^m OSLER.

That was a wonderful day for me. Imagine how illuminating for a worker at an apparently unknown disease to have the personal counsel and advice ~~on the cases~~ of one of the greatest physicians of all time. Sir William appeared early in the morning in my room at the Local Government Board laden with a bundle of books and monographs on the Heine-Medin disease. This loan saved me many hours of laborious research in studying the literature of the subject. He then went through all my notes on the cases I had collected, and my manuscript-report, constantly helping me with criticisms and observations drawn from his encyclopaedic store of experience and knowledge. We had little time for lunch so we adjourned to an A.B.C. opposite the Local Government Board where we lunched off coffee, poached eggs and rice. It was by no means the first time Sir William had been in a 'bun-shop' of this kind which caters chiefly for the economical luncher - the clerk and typist. He enjoyed it ~~and nearly made~~ ^{as did} the waitress swooned ^{who nearly} with astonishment ~~by giving her a~~ ^{at his} 'tip' far in excess of the usual donation. Then we proceeded to the London Hospital where we saw ten or twelve cases all of whom Sir William examined thoroughly. Next we went to the laboratory where we discussed the disease from the pathological standpoint with Professor Bulloch and Dr. McIntosh ^{who had undertaken} ~~Dr. McIntosh undertook~~ the pathological and experimental investigation of the disease.

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And Dr. MacNalty goes on to tell at length how they went back to Oxford that night and talked encephalitis all the evening, and how the following day Osler ^{after} first demonstrated ^{by} a most interesting example of the malady at the Radcliffe Infirmary - a case with choreiform movements - ~~and~~ ^{gave} in the afternoon ~~gave~~ a lecture on the general subject of the Heine-Medin disease (Epidemic Poliomyelitis) before an assemblage of medical officers.

[Dr. MacNalty adds:]

It was a great contribution to our knowledge and I regret he never published this lecture. One instance of his great and open scientific mind I must mention. I had ventured with some temerity on the preceding day to point out that all my investigations so far tended to controvert the view that we were dealing with the cerebral form of poliomyelitis in this outbreak. Although Sir William's lecture had been based upon the opposite point of view he alluded in the lecture to the fact that the fresh evidence was leading him to reconsider the matter, and in the article on Encephalitis Lethargica which he wrote shortly before his death he gives me more ^{than} my need of recognition for work upon the subject. . . .

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Aet. 69

Were this single theme followed to the end of a succession of letters there would be little space for other things - but this is enough to show how he loaned himself to others, how he inspired them, and how they felt about it in return.

The influenza epidemic at the time was just beginning, and knowing Osler's condition and his susceptibility to pulmonary infections his friends were greatly concerned about him. "W.O. grows thinner all the time and I can't have him lose another ounce of flesh - his bones will come through," was Lady Osler's comment at this time. But from the following extracts it does not appear that he had spared himself. They fathered and mothered without end the young soldier-children of their old American friends. One of them writes from 13 Norham Gardens a series of enthusiastic letters home, ~~one of which~~ ^{and} says: "Do you remember my saying in my last letter that I thought I was getting the 'flu'? Well, I got it all right, had some temperature, and went to bed for three days. Sir William and Lady Osler took awfully good care of me and made me feel

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very much at home. They gave me Revere's room." And the same day

Osler writes to Hunter Robb:

Dear Robin We are so delighted to have Hampton with us. What a splendid boy! We just love to have him here & he came just in time to have a mild dose of flu, which is all-prevalent. He is an A.1. fellow & what good work he seems to have done. We have told him to make this house his home & to come back whenever he can. My love to you all - particularly to Philip-ip-ip-ip! [his long-time pet designation for another of Dr. Robb's children]. All well - except for the aching hearts. yours ever . . .

And on the 11th to his nephew, W. W. Francis: "Thanks for the Bd- greetings. I shall be 69 tomorrow! Whew! how the time flies. Thankful to be so well, - and for so many things. Very much going on every day. Nothing in lately except secundas and a few medicated novels." Simon Flexner had written urging him to plan for a visit to America, to address the Congress of Physicians and Surgeons of which he was President for the ensuing year, and Osler writes on the 15th: "How I should love to come, but if matters go on as at present I could not possibly leave. While there is

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nothing very essential it would make a good deal of difference to a good many people if I went away for three months. And then I dread the over-warm welcome and the many visits which would tax my heart more than my strength." And from this he launches into a long account of the poliо-encephalitis epidemic, on the trail of which he had just put one of Flex-nef's disciples to work under the direction of Sir Arthur Newsholme.

¶ Rumours of his ill health had gotten about, which he disclaims in a note to Adami on July 26th, chiefly given over to the matter of printing ~~and~~ *after* *Richard P.* Strong's Report on Trench Fever, and of getting Lawrence Rhea's studies on War Injuries of Bones published as a memorial by No. 3 Canadian General, and he adds: "Donald Armour was here for a week-end and with Lady Osler insisted that I was doing too much and looking like the devil, to whom I was rapidly going! and they made me promise to slacken work. The first thing I did was to get out of taking charge of the Swiss delegation for the Govt. which I had promised - and I had to give a reason which I did to John Buchan - hence no doubt the rumour. I shall try to take it easy for a time."

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But his idea of 'taking it easy' is made clear by a note ^{of July 22nd} to General Gorgas, which reaches him by way of the Embassy bag ^{from} through Walter H.

Page's office, and which says:

Dear Gorgas I got back this eve from a four days trip to the American Hospitals in course of organization in the south of England & have had a wonderful time. Such a tonic! Winchester is nothing but a camp. As we passed in Friday a.m. we motored alongside of 3000 men marching to the docks. In the eve we saw the Olympic come in with 6000 men. In the Hursley Hospital were 40 (or 39) men with Typhoid all from one company, who apparently got the infection on shipboard. You will have had reports of the outbreak All were inoculated. There must have been some blunder somewhere. 'Tis a bad infection - typhoid, all so far. Every precaution is being taken & the men - and the work - are in good hands. The Moor Hill Rest Camp & Hospital is well organized & I had the pleasure of having tea with all the officers after a wonderful lecture by Kipling. Saturday we saw Searsbury Park in course of transformation, & a big Kentucky & Arkansas Unit from the Olympic unpacking in the old mansion. Sunday I officiated at the flag-raising for the Albany Unit at Portsmouth in a splendid building - the Asylum. Everyone is so enthusiastic about the fine appearance of the American boys. Love to you all. . .

He does not say that at all of these places he addressed the assembled medical officers, told them what he could of the problems that lay before

them, and how they could be met; of the Royal Society of Medicine and its library which would be open to them; of the arrangements for a series of demonstrations to be given them in the London military hospitals; and doubtless of how glad 13 Norham Gardens would be to welcome them at any and all times.

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On the 24th he writes to Dr. Malloch:

Dear Archie I do hope your leave will not come while I am away. I shall be at Cambridge 6-9, Colchester 9-10 Oxford 10-13 Lyme Regis 13-20 Newton Abbot 21-23. I got one or two small items at the Huth Sale - nothing of moment. I missed a couple of good incunabulas. Some good Linnaeus items, a new Malpighi and several biographies in today. Let me know definitely when you are likely to be over. A week at Lyme Regis with the girls would do you good. My Class. Ass. address is Jan 7th. Shall probably take "The Class. Tradition in Science" as Subject. Love to Bill and to Martin who writes very enthusiastically about you both. Bring over any material. Yours, W.O. Tell Bill that his old chum Strong is here reading proofs of his Trench fever work. What an experience you have had in pneumonia. We might have a few days in London together.

Nor is there any evidence of slackening work in the following almost illegible note among his papers, written 'in bed 10 p m Aug 1st 1918'. It begins by saying that he had often wished, in reading the letters of such men as Withering or Redi that he had come across the account of a day's work; and that he regrets he had not left some record of a typical day at Montreal, Philadelphia or Baltimore. The note so far as it can

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be deciphered reads:

Breakfast with Major Strong of the U. S. Army, who is staying with us while his Trench Fever Report is going through the Oxford Press.

9 a.m., motored to station, stopping on the way to leave Mrs. Brock and Muriel (who had just come to Oxford) some flowers.

At Paddington Dr. M's car met me; first to 44 Mile End Road to see a case of big spleen with remarkable symptoms. Then to see a Mrs. B. with polycythemia and the most extraordinary spleen I have ever encountered (see report of case). I had seen her 24 years before. Then to see a Mrs. Dickinson with Hodgkin's disease - external and internal, and now pressure on the bronchi.

Tube to Piccadilly Circus; called on Evelyn Harty and the children at the Carlton. Went on to the Canadian Club luncheon for Sir Robt. Borden; sat between Gen. Goodwin and Prof. Adami.

3 p.m. to the American Ambassador and discussed his plans.

4 to the tailor's sending on the way a box of cigarettes to one of my specials and a 'cargo' to two other war girls. Then to a meeting of the editors of the Q.J.M.Sc.

5.45 American Women's War Hospital to see two cases - obscure dropsy and a pleurisy with effusion, and case of transposition of viscera.

Caught the 6.50. Dinner at 8.30. At 9 saw a remarkable case of Post-~~??~~ in a man just brought from France.

[illag. h. e.]

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One wishes that he had said something more about the scene at the Embassy when he 'discussed Mr. Page's plans.' The two had become devoted and sympathetic friends and Page might well enough have said: "They tell me you are not very well yourself, Osler, but I don't see you quitting on your job, even though you are six years my senior." But Osler must have insisted, and that night Page wrote to ~~the~~ President ^{Wilson} tendering his resignation.

On Tuesday the 6th Lady Osler writes in a letter to Captain Malloch: "We had five American officers over Sunday, all Boston men. New England is much to the fore in the organization of hospitals here in Old England and they seem to have settled on this as Sunday headquarters. It is delightful but rather exhausting. Sir William was polishing off an address for Cambridge and has gone there today." The address to which she refers was one of a series before the University Extension students, of which the United States appears to have been the general subject of discussion, and he had chosen for his topic "The Evolution of Scientific Medi-

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cine in America."*

*This address was not published, but received a long editorial comment in the British Medical Journal for Aug. 10, 1918.

While in Cambridge he stayed with Charles Sayle, and there must have been much talk about the Bibliotheca Osleriana, some of the volumes in which show traces indeed of this Cambridge visit; and his difficulties must have been brought up to Mr. Sayle on ^{the purchase of} ~~his purchasing~~ a first edition of Browning's "Paracelsus", a presentation copy to 'Fred Geo. Stevens from Dante G. Rossetti,' which led Osler to make some comments on the fly-leaf ^{relating} ^{Seven} to the 'pre-Raphaelite brothers.' But the point to be considered was where this bibliophilic gem, in spite of its provenance, should go in a library on the History of Medicine, - naturally under B. Secunda, Section Paracelsus; which has very little to do with Rosetti, Maddox Brown, Burne-Jones and the rest.

His book-purchases, indeed, as Mr. Sayle recalls, left him so out of pocket that he had barely enough to buy his ticket home. But he recalls another episode which has left a vivid impression; namely Osler's

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quoting from Macbeth during one of their talks when they got on the subject of 'motive':

. . . From this moment
The very firstlings of my heart shall be
The firstlings of my hand.

And Osler confessed that this was the directing and guiding principle of his life.

Back in Oxford he writes that he had found 'Allbutt in fine form, 83 and cycling 10 to 15 miles a day,' also that he had gone on to the Heart Hospital at Colchester where Lewis had some 25 Americans in training, with whom he had talked himself hoarse, and On the 10th he writes MacAlister:

That is a fine memo and I hope the purse strings of your friend may be unloosed! Shall you be at home the end of the month? I ~~have been at Cambridge lecturing and at Colchester all week and~~ am off to Lyme Regis on Monday a.m. for two weeks. Tomorrow Prof. Nettleton of Yale comes to discuss the Am. Univ. Union 135 colleges are combining to arrange for P.G. work in Europe. They hope to establish centres of information etc, and he thinks traverses this ^[The Post Graduate program] at many points, and is much interested. We shall have to consider them in the discussion. I go to Hurst on the rounds. To start a new 'spital would be formidable.

And from the Royal Lion Hotel at Lyme Regis, a few days later to

Mrs. Brewster:

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. . . What splendid work he [E. S. Martin] has done for the country - always so sane and sensible. Send us word in which regiment his boy is, as we are trying to keep in touch with as many of the young fellows as possible. Grace & Sue Chapin have lists of sons of all their friends who have come over. Such thrilling days! A steady stream passes thro' Oxford - Liverpool to Southampton - & we often go on the platform and talk to the men. Grace found the Chicago unit the other day, many in which were old friends of mine. Two weeks ago we visited the Am. Hospitals at Winchester, Hursley, Southampton, Seabury Park and Portsmouth. The whole district is a big Am. camp - 9-10,000 cross every night. Imagine Fall-River steamer on Southampton water! tied up opposite the house of one of our friends. U.S. will settle the war and I hope dictate the terms to the German people. Great enthusiasm here about the Am. spirit, and the troops are splendid. Sue has just gone to Paris with Mrs. Whitelaw Reid to see the Red+ work & to get it coördinated with the London branch. She has proved a trump with a fine gift for organization. We have had a steady stream of visitors, more than ever, scarcely a day passes without a call from someone & the week-ends are always full. We get on very well with the rations - no serious shortage, and Grace manages wonderfully. . . . This is a lovely spot on the Dorset coast. A niece from Toronto with two daughters, the Wrights - mother & three girls - the Hartys, with two adorable children - the Ogilvies with two more - a Boston Gardiner girl, war-widow with a 2 year old - all are here, so that we have very happy beach parties. . . . P.S. Before you get this a year will have passed since our dear laddie was killed. It has been a bitter experience & has

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hit me hard. Poor Grace has been splendid through it all. Everything recalls him which is only natural, but then the sorrow that he is not here in the beautiful world he loved so much! That he is out of the hell of the front, and at rest is, I daresay, what he would prefer.

And to Mr. Martin himself who has just suffered a grievous loss Osler writes: "Grief is a hard companion, particularly to an optimist, and to one who has been a stranger ^{to day} for so many years. We decided to keep the flag flying & let no outward action demonstrate, if possible, the aching hearts. You have been a great consoler to many, and the love and sympathy of your friends should help in this hour of trial."

It was easier to deceive children than their parents, and before them at least no outward action betrayed the aching heart, and one may be sure that he was the life of the 'happy beach parties.' Then^{ly} began about this time a long-drawn-out episode which brightened for some months the lives of his 'adorable ones.' It concerned 'the Popkins baby.' Osler had chanced to see a note in the papers about the mysterious disappearance of a little girl from Kensington Gardens, and one day needing

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a new subject for a story, that of the Popkins baby came into being.

The ridiculous name of course was his own contribution, as was every detail of the tragic narrative. Most of his stories were continued ones as was this, and for weeks he harrowed the souls of the two little Harty children picturing the bereaved mother's anguish and her unavailing search for her lost darling. One may picture him at the Hartys' house, where the three of them in the late afternoon often had nursery tea together. He and the little girls would then go off into a corner together, the three in one chair, where they would whisper rapturously and go off into shrieks of laughter. Suddenly Sir William would grow very solemn; he would lift a warning finger and just loud enough for us scorned adults to hear: "Look out; don't let these grown-ups hear what we are saying." Then they would all three squirm with ^{The}delight of a secret shared, and continue their conversation, or monologue, with bated breaths. . . .

^{News}
~~The data~~ about the Popkins baby was supposed to be gleaned from the daily papers, and any listener would have supposed that the British Empire was ringing with the thrill and horror of the infant's adventures. The child was nearly traced over and over again till the Harty children were almost frantic. One time the abductors had fled with their victim to Canada - a

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thrilling touch as the Hartys were shortly returning there. There is even correspondence on the subject, days when he is away. Thus:

Friday.

Sakes alive! The Popkins baby has arrived by the Olympic! Ask Mother if she wants it - if not ask Dinah and Wanda and Phoebe. They might like it a month about. If none of them wish it Mrs. Dann is most anxious to take it. She has 9 teeth - no fits now, but has impetigo, a little eczema, and whooping cough, but her smile is divine!

Willie.

But there must be an end, even to a child's story, and as 'Willie's' heart was as tender as his imagination fertile he decided that the Popkins family would have to be reunited lest the children become really too concerned. So one day he borrowed a lovely baby out of a passing perambulator, and after explaining to its surprised mother that she was Mrs. Popkins, the two were enthusiastically produced as the jubilant and reunited Popkinses to the joy of the young Hartys whose peace of mind was restored - and they all lived happily thereafter.

All this is as typical of Osler as that before his return to Oxford

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after leaving Lyme Regis he should pay the visit of which he speaks in a long letter of August 24th to H. M. Hurd; "I have just returned from a holiday in Devon and spent a few days at one of the neurological hospitals [Dr. Hurst's] where they carry out with extraordinary success the simple practice of mental and moral suasion without any hypnotism or psychoanalysis. Perhaps you have seen the cinema films which I had sent out from the National Research Committee."

On the 24th he writes to Dr. Pratt of Boston:

Dear Joseph H. So nice to hear from you. I wish you were over here with your T.b. work, to which I referred the other day in an address at Leicester. I keep hard at work, but at so many little bothering things that my day is much broken & I get very little time for writing. My Library grows, and I am working at a catalogue. Did you know that I made a great haul of Withering's letters &c? A man came in one day with a bag & said - are you interested in W? I said 'rather' & he pulled out a big bundle of letters & papers from ~~-64-94[?]~~ & his Edin. diploma. I offered him £20, at which he nearly expired, as he had hoped for not more than £5. I should have gone to double at auction. I have them all in chron. order & beautifully bound. He was a great man - & his plan to which you refer is the only one in giving Dig^[italis]. I read his book first in the Lib.

Mentioned in
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at Montreal. . . 'Tis just a year since the dear laddie was killed. It has been a hard blow - he was such a devoted student of all that was best in literature. . .

It was a hard time for them, this anniversary of Revere's death, but they 'kept the flag flying' and fortunately things were looking better in France.

There the tide was turning and Foch was delivering that succession of blows the first of which had driven the enemy back from the Marne to the Vesle; and now the British in their turn were rapidly recovering the lost ground on the Somme. As it proved, it was the beginning of the end.

During these last months before the Armistice, Osler's chief task was in meeting and addressing the American Army Medical Officers at various camps and hospitals, some of which he mentions in the following letter of September 14th to his old Montreal colleague:

Dear Shepherd How are you all? Well I hope. We have not seen Ernest, to whom I wrote months ago. We are much the same - very busy with people who come & go all the time. So many American friends now. This week I have been two days at the Shorncliffe Camp, where I lectured twice,

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and then joined Gen. Winter of the U.S.A. & visited four of the American Hospitals, Todenham, Dartford, Portsmouth & Hursley. Fine body of men. Many wounded now coming over. I gave a little dinner on Thursday to Finley & Meakins, who returns next week. F. has been splendid. Meakins has done such good work - a great credit to McGill. He is a thoroughly Scientific worker.

Please do something for me. Last eve Harvey Littlejohn (who is stopping the week end & sends greetings to you) was talking of the Burke & Hare memories. I told him of the late persistence of body-snatching in Montreal, & he said, why not get S. to write up the story. Will you do it? if not for publication, send it to me to put with my Resurrectionist literature. I picked up the 1829 Parliamentary Report on the Anatomy Act & have Sir A Coopers MS. note of his evidence. Do write it out & I will put it in the Folio report of 1829, which is full of body-snatching details. The library thrives in spite of the war. I wish you could see it. The Ed's princ. of Copernicus & of Plato are my latest treasures. The anaesthesia section is getting complete. Young Morton sent me a number of his father's pamphlets. I send you a reprint of remarks, made at the presentation of some duplicates to the R.S.M. . . Love to Gardner & Roddick when you see them. . .

His manuscript notes of some of these addresses have been preserved,

~~and one or two of them he evidently planned to work up for publication.~~

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One of the Shorncliffe addresses for example, given at the officers' mess of the C.A.M.C. depot on the evening of September 9th was entitled "The Future of the Medical Profession in Canada" in which there are many autobiographical notes, some of which have been used in earlier pages. He knew full well that neither in medicine nor in other walks would life be the same for those who had gone through the war.

Uppermost in my mind [he said] when I speak to Canadian and American doctors is a realization of the sacrifice they have made in coming over - a sacrifice appreciated at home, and deeply appreciated here. Then comes the question - what is to happen on your return? It is all very well to leave a practice for a few months or even a year, but what will happen at the end of two, three, or four years? We all know the assets representing much hard work, will have vanished. Many of you will have to start life anew, and some will start not so strong in health or pockets. I am not surprised, then, to have been asked to speak on the future of the profession in Canada. I may claim without conceit to have seen a great deal of it during the fifty years that have passed since I entered the old Toronto School of Medicine. It may not have escaped your notice that while I have always expressed a due Hippocratic reverence for my teachers, in equal proportion has been mixed an affection for the general practitioner, very many of whom have been my dearest friends. How I wish for example, we could

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have in full the professional story of some of our smaller towns - but it is too late! My good friend Canniff did a great work for the history of the profession in Upper Canada; but there is so much that can never be recovered. The trials and triumphs of the men, their failures and foibles, and the personal traits that make a man - this is the sort of knowledge we want, but it dies with each generation. Let me try in a few words to reconstruct the story of the profession in the little town of Upper Canada in which my boyhood was spent. . .

And among other interesting passages he gives the following wise admonition to his young hearers:

A doctor who comes to me with broken nerves is always asked two questions - (It is unnecessary to ask about drink, as to the practiced eye that diagnosis is easy) - about Wall Street, and politics. It is astonishing how many doctors have an itch to serve in parliament, but for a majority of them it is a poor business which brings no peace to their souls. There is only one way for a doctor in political life - to belong to the remnant, the saving remnant of which Isaiah speaks, that votes for men not for parties, and that sees equal virtues (and evils) in 'Grits' and Conservatives. I have had one political principle (and practice), I always change with the Government. It keeps the mind plastic and free from prejudice. You cannot serve two masters, and political doctors are rarely successful in either career. There are exceptions, for example Sir Charles Tupper a first-class surgeon in his day and a politician of

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exceptional merit. Nor do I forget that the great Clemenceau is a graduate in Medicine of Paris, and that we have three members of the profession in the Imperial Cabinet, one of them the Professor of Anatomy at McGill. All the same, let the average man who has a family to support and a practice to keep up, shun politics as he would drink and speculation. As a right-living, clear-thinking citizen with all the interests of the community at heart the doctor exercises the best possible sort of social and political influence.*

This ^{talk} to his Canadian friends is merely a sample of ^{those} ~~his talks~~ to the officers at the various camps where he was enthusiastically welcomed, for though he sounds serious on paper, he was ^{a lively} ~~an inspiring~~ and companionable messmate, and few of the American medical officers who reached England in these late days fail to supply some amusing or touching reminiscence relating to him. The life at Oxford meanwhile went on as usual - even to the refugees who have been nearly forgotten.

In a letter to Howard A. Kelly, Lady Osler writes:

We still have several Belgian Professors and their families here - and the widows of those who have died. All need assistance as they are invalids or only able for some reason to partially support themselves. Then we have a school for Serbian refugee boys who came through the Re-

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treat and have lost every trace of their parents. This school and the boys have to be looked after. Anything you could send would be most gratefully received. The demands here are never ending.

Though his recovered letters tend to dwell chiefly on his library, there are occasional notes which show that this delightful avocation can be pursued only in spare moments. ~~Thus,~~ On Saturday September 15th he writes:

Dear MacAlister I am sorry not to be able to come on Tuesday but I have to go to London this a.m. to say good bye to Page; tomorrow I have Billings of Chicago, Philip King Brown of 'Frisco and Seymour of Boston; and Taplow (as usual) Monday. Thus, with a revision of my text-book on hand, and the printers squealing I must cut out as much as possible. Yours,

W. O.

And on October 10th to Major Malloch:

Dear Archie Delighted with your "Turned Soldier" (wh. came this a.m) paper very well written and full of human interest. Shall I send ^{on} ~~in~~ the Magazine or have you a copy. I should like a separate one to go after F. & B. in the Bib. Lit. We are deep in a heavy epidemic and I am busy prac. med. helping Collier and others with the doctors families. McDougall's child has been very ill. Endo peri pleuritis etc. The

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Singers are down - now better - and many others. Bill is at Bd. work in town. Finished the Gui Patin cards last eve. Wonderful old rascal. I think the circulation cards would be worth printing separately as a trial.

Yours, W.O.

The epidemic of influenzal pneumonia will be well remembered for it was world-wide, and the Regius Professor not only had a sharp attack himself of what, in a letter to one of his little friends, he called the 'flugrip' but on his recovery became engaged for one of the few occasions in his life in the actual house-to-house practice of medicine. He had his own ways of doing this, and with children was a veritable Peter Pan. The child of whom he makes mention in the letter to Dr. Malloch was a little girl whose mother writes:

He visited our little Janet twice every day from the middle of October until her death a month later, and these visits she looked forward to with a pathetic eagerness and joy. There would be a little tap, low down on the door which would be pushed open and a crouching figure playing goblin would come in, and in a high-pitched voice would ask if the fairy godmother was at home and could he have a bit of tea. Instantly the sick-room was turned into a fairyland, and in fairy language he would talk about the flowers, the birds, and the dolls who sat at the foot of the bed ^{we} ~~and~~ were always greeted with, "Well, all ye loves." In the course of this he would manage to find out all he wanted to know about the little patient.

The most exquisite moment came one cold, raw, November morning when

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the end was near, and he ^{mysteriously} brought out from his inside pocket a beautiful red rose carefully wrapped in paper, and told how he had watched this last rose of summer growing in his garden and how the rose had called out to him as he passed by, that she wished to go along with him to see his little lassie. That evening we all had a fairy teaparty, at a tiny table by the bed, Sir William talking to the rose, his 'little lassie', and her mother in a most exquisite way, and presently he slipped out of the room just as mysteriously as he had entered it, all crouched down on his heels; and the little girl understood that neither fairies nor people could always have the colour of a red rose in their cheeks, or stay as long as they wanted to in one place, but that they nevertheless would be very happy in another home and must not let the people they left behind, particularly their parents, feel badly about it; and the little girl understood and was not unhappy.

But one can imagine that when Sir William straightened up and ceased to be a goblin on leaving the room that he wept if he did not whistle, for he knew it was to be his last visit.

*Shirley's name
belonged to the
family of
of Mrs. McE.
Lilly.*

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In another note, of October 14th to Major Malloch he says:

Dear Archie Dee lighted to hear you are to come over. 'Twill be splendid. Get some good slides for lantern if possible. It is to be a big discussion [influenzal pneumonia]. Rolleston asked me to open, but I had nothing special and too busy. U.S. troops in the thick of an epidemic here. Bill here and is well. Fine haul from Harvey Littlejohn. Big ether-day dinner of the Boston men on Wednesday. I am to show the original papers. Final meeting of the Graduate Com. of the Hosp. on Thursday. I have to be in town three days worse luck. . .

On October 16th the Massachusetts General Hospital holds ^{annually in Boston} an 'Ether Day' festival, and it was like Osler to remember this and to gather together for dinner at the American Officers' Club at 9 Chesterfield Gardens a group of the graduates of that hospital - a memorable occasion, and one may be sure that ^{he} ~~Osler~~ told the story of anaesthesia, and ^{displayed his more important historical pamphlets,} ~~that~~ ^{sent} messages of greeting ~~were sent~~ to the M. G. H. and to his old friends in Boston who, like John Collins Warren, felt deeply the historical significance of these Ether Day ceremonies.

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Mention has been made in occasional letters which have been quoted,
of the fact that for some weeks Major R. P. Strong had been at ^{13 Merham Gardens} ~~the Open~~
~~Arms~~ seeing his elaborate 'Trench Fever' report through the press.

Strong was a Hopkins graduate, a member of the famous, first graduating
class, who soon after America's entry in the war had been appointed by
the Medical Research Committee of the American Red Cross to undertake a
study of trench fever and its possible relation to the louse. These
experiments had been successfully carried out on volunteers from the newly-
arrived American contingents during the fall and winter of 1917-18. It
was one of the few really important contributions to our knowledge of cer-
tain hitherto unknown infectious diseases which came out of the war. The
knowledge gained was quickly disseminated, and led promptly to more active
measures for the delousing of troops, but inasmuch as the American Expedi-
tionary Force had no possible means of getting the elaborate Report printed
Strong naturally turned for help to his old teacher. And so it came about

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that the Oxford University Press issued the Report which was ready for distribution at this time, and of which Osler wrote ^{a long and appreciative} ~~an elaborate~~ review* which he concluded with the following side-remarks:

[*Published in the Lancet for October 12, 1918, ii,496-8.

One of the shocks of the great war has been that lousiness and the itch have had such an innings. We had become clean enough, at least in this country and America, to forget the enormous capabilities of the louse. The fate of armies has been decided through the devastations of diseases transmitted through it. The truth is that the 'sparrow hawks of Montagu College,' as Rabelais called lice, have always been terrible pests. In a MS. note-book of John Locke is a memorandum of the placards on the walls of streets of Paris giving directions against the prevailing lousiness. Many persons have a curious tolerance of their presence. An Austrian soldier under my care at the Johns Hopkins Hospital assured us that he was never in the best of health unless he was verminous. There is a famous seventeenth-century tractate, Laus pediculi (addressed Ad Conscriptores Mendicorum Patres), which begins: "Sacrum morbum esse opinionem vere positer ac eliganter Patres Mendicorum, ab antiquis proditum memoriae est." The idea of harmlessness was widespread, and is expressed in the Beggar's Song in Izaak Walton's "Compleat Angler":

A hundred herds of black and white
Upon our gowns securely feed,
And yet if any dare us bite,
He dies therefore as sure as creed.

Burns puts a truer feeling in his famous poem "To a Louse":

Ye ugly, creepin', blastit wonner,
Detested, shunn'd by saint an' sinner.

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The reports of the English and American Commissions should help enforce effective regulations - not in warfare always easy to carry out - against the 'crowlin ferlie's' that have done so much damage.

Events in France and Belgium were making it clear that the war was at last drawing to a close. Ludendorff had thrown and lost; and now with Turkey and Bulgaria prostrate and Austria suing for peace on any terms Germany was at her end. But despite the elation of the Allies over these events it was a time of poignant sorrow for those bereaved parents whose soldier boys were not to return with the others - doubly so for those on whom the blow fell during these last hopeful weeks. Among them was his old Montreal colleague Francis J. Shepherd whose son fell while leading his men of the 42nd Highlanders near Burlon Wood and to whom Osler writes affectionately and sympathetically on the 11th, saying: "It is particularly hard to have these tragedies happen to us toward the end of our lives when Fortune in other respects has been so kind."

The terms of the Edward Revere Osler Memorial Fund 'in grateful recognition of the happy years we spent in Baltimore' had finally been decided upon by the boy's parents and under the date of October 30th were forwarded to the President of the Johns Hopkins University. 'To encourage the study of Eng-

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lish literature in the Tudor and Stuart periods,' it was proposed that a club be established with Revere's ^{Collection} ~~books~~ as the nucleus ~~of a library~~; and that the fund be expended 'for the purchase of further books relating to these periods, and in the promotion of good-fellowship and a love of literature among the members.' He writes to H. M. Hurd:

Welch will perhaps have told you about our plan for a memorial library in English literature to Revere. He had begun a very interesting collection to which I will add my special non-medical books, the Shelleys, Fullers, Keats, &c. I would like it managed by the students of the English literature department, but the President and Welch with the Professors may make any arrangements they think best.

All this perhaps explains why there is so little in Osler's letters to indicate any jubilation over the events of November 11th. Demonstrations such as occurred in London and Paris were for and by the young. For their elders: "C'est bien. Mais mon fils ne reviendra pas." There indeed is only one reference, a note in the back of Madan's "Records of The Club," written three days later:

14. XI. 18. The Club dined with the Warden of New College (Dr. Spooner). All present, eleven. After dinner the Warden spoke in touching terms of the great event of the week, the Armistice, and said that the only reference to a public event in our annals was to the Trafalgar Victory more than one hundred years ago. The Club then proceeded to an election, having first - as is the custom - drank the three toasts - the

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health of the Founder, John Banks, father and founder of The Club, our Lady Patroness whose name is not known, and to a successful election. The eleven spills of equal length were then distributed, each member holding them under the table, a scrutator collected and with the secretary examined to see that all were of equal length. A black-ball - one excludes - is the tearing of a portion, however small, from one end of a spill. Sir Harry Earle Richards was elected. W. O.

Demobilization was not without its responsibilities, in which people as well as governments necessarily shared. No. 13 Norham Gardens was more than ever flooded with guests during the next few months and it would appear that the medical corps of the Canadian and American Expeditionary Forces felt that this was an official part of the process of demobilization. But these days of rejoicing were no time to ^{call} ~~sit~~ idly back: constructive thinking was needed now if ever, even if people were inclined to leave all this with those who were sitting in Paris. It was perhaps quixotic for the Presidents of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of England, Scotland and Ireland, together with the Regius Professors of Medicine of Oxford and Cambridge, to urge upon those entrusted with the drawing up of Peace conditions the abolition for the future of all forms

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of gas warfare. Their letter to the Times* begins by saying: "The cessa-

[*Cf. The London Times, Nov. 29, 1918.

tion of hostilities brings with it the great problem of safeguards for the future." And there was another problem, perhaps still more urgent which related to the danger to the public health from the possible spread of venereal disease following a demobilization, a subject which The Times not without considerable pressure was prevailed upon to ventilate in its columns.*

*Cf. The London Times of Nov. 25th. On December 28th was published an open letter signed by Osler and many others. Many meetings were held, and the returning officers who had under their direction in France the control of the spread of these diseases were given an opportunity of describing the effective measures they had there instituted.

He writes Sir Humphry Rolleston December 4th:

(1) The Surg. Gen. in France would send Major [George] Walker over. He has been one of the outstanding figures in the A.E.F. and everyone is loud in praise of his work.

(2) Med Section R.S.M. Why should it not be rejuvenated? Let us make a personal appeal to all the Assistant Phy's at the Lond. Gen. Hospitals for the special ones to make it their first duty; and help put it in the position of the Société des Hôpitaux.

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(3) Talk over the Meeting of the Ass. of Brit. Phy. with Hale White.

Would it not be better to meet in London?

Thus, now that Peace had come, hardly a day passed without some new matter that gained his support and encouragement; and from the post-graduate scheme and the Wales Commission and much else it is a relief to return to his library - and to that of others, as in the following note to Miss Charlton of Toronto:

Yes, the Natural Theology of Dr. Bovell came, and I thanked you, and paid, I think, Britnell's bill. I want all the other smaller works of Dr. Bovell. Will you ask B. to look out for them. I hope your library grows. I have some duplicates to send you when opportunity offers. It has been too risky. I have had several losses on the Atlantic and a whole package from Egypt. Are you trying to collect all details about the local profession? Find out who is alive of the Widmer family and of the Canniffs, and of Beaumont? I will write to Miss Hodder and ask if she has any of the doctor's letters and papers and perhaps Miss Barwick has some papers and even books of Dr. Bovell. All such things should go to the Library, and as years pass are of increasing interest and value. Mr. I. H. Cameron may have Dr. H. H. Wright's papers, and one of the Drs. Aikins, Dr. W. H. Aikins' papers, etc. . . . You should start a special section of the library, if you have not done so already, dealing with Ontario Medical History

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pictures, books, pamphlets, letters, diplomas, &c. I enclose you \$100 to be spent by the Library Committee in this work. There may be many medical papers in the reliques of the late Dr. Scadding, the Historian.
 . . Greetings to the Library Committee. . .

Rumours had been circulated that Osler was to be raised to the

peerage, but he ^{Sends a card} writes to General Bradshaw, who had ventured to speak

of the matter, ^{Saying,} "No second house for me. This is the spot I like, with my books." On December 17th he writes to Dr. George Dock;

Dear G. D. Yours of 26th ult. here this eve when I got in from a very interesting W. O. ^[War Office] discussion about gas & gassing. 'Tis a problem of the future. I do hope George will be able to visit England before he goes back. The Am. Hosps. here are rapidly closing. We have 25 of the Denver Unit (T^aottenham) for lunch tomorrow, and the same no. from Dartford (Brooklyn) Hospital. They have had splendid Hospitals and the Portsmouth one (Albany) is a model. So many nice fellows among them. I have seen a

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good deal of George Norris & Gibbon of Phila. who have been the consultants over here. They sailed last Saturday. My Library grows - & I am gradually getting it in order. I must print my circulation cards as a sort of example & to see how the general catalogue will look. We have been hard hit with the 'flu', so many young have died. What a virulent type of disease! . . .

And the following day he writes to ^{J.G.} Adami to congratulate him on the early publication of his ^{official} account of the ~~record of the~~ Canadian Medical Corps (★):

57? You must have put in a lot of heavy work to get the necessary calories for that book. I am delighted that you have done it so promptly and the profession in Canada will appreciate your labour of love.. ~~I wish you had put a picture of Jones - and then he is so good-looking!~~ Do give us a week-end after the New Year. There are many things I want to talk over with you. Norman Gwyn is here on leave - laid up for a few days with a mild arthritic purpura. Billy Francis is so much better - he comes for week-ends. I saw Allbutt yesterday at a W. O. meeting. So alert and well.

But War Office meetings and playing pleasant though time-consuming tributes to departing American medical units does not interfere with his lifelong habit of holding out a hand of encouragement to physicians even though per-

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sonally unknown to him. So to Dr. H. G. Good of Bluffton College, Ohio,

he writes on December 18th:

Dear Colleague A friend has sent me your book on Benjamin Rush. Hearty thanks & congratulations! You have done tardy justice to the memory of a great educator and to a public spirited citizen. I have collected a number of his works & read many of them. Years ago I made notes for a lecture which I gave on his life & work, but it was never published. Your bibliography will be most useful. Should you ever come across collections of his pamphlets & minor works please remember my library as I should be glad to buy them. . .

And not only does he trouble to send this much-prized note, but he sends material to the Lancet for an appreciative editorial of the volume which might otherwise have passed unnoticed by the English journals.

On December 23rd he writes to Dr. E. Libman of New York congratulating him on his papers dealing with endocarditis, and adds:

The American troops are getting ready to leave England, and the hospitals are closing. . . ~~We had twenty-five Denver unit men here last Wednesday.~~ It has been a wonderful demonstration of the power of America. I hope now she will consent to act the big brother to the small nations. I

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am keeping well - very busy with my library. I wish you could see it. So sorry to hear, only yesterday, that Dr. Jacobi had a fire in his house. I will write to him at once. We are having a very busy Xmas, - 2 Boston, 2 Montreal, 1 New Yorker, 2 B. C. and a Brooklyn man stopping with us. Greetings to all old friends.

For a week before Christmas he had been laid up with another of his pulmonary infections, but pulled himself together and faced what was necessarily a sad Christmas for them both, as he confesses in a letter of Christmas Day to Mrs. Brewster whose husband was one of the household:

Robert came last eve & we are having a very busy Xmas - the house full. My bro. Frank & his wife, Sue Chapin, & Sue Revere a niece who has just come over, Jason Mixter from Boston, in charge of the Hursley Park Amer. Hospital; Major Francis & Col. Gwyn two nephews from France. How I wish you were here with the darlings. . . All here are so enthusiastic about the U. S. & Mr. Wilson. What a wonderful change in a few months. There may be at last a great peace. Poor dear Isaac! Would that he could have been spared to see it. How he loathed war & all its associations! Kiss the darlings & best wishes to you all.