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Chapter X

EUROPE; AND THE PHILADELPHIA CALL

1884

In a letter written to E. S. Schäfer early in the preceding fall, stating that 'a barrel of apples (var. Northern Spy) left today per S.S. "Polynesian" for Liverpool', he made known his intention to spend the coming summer in Europe. It was to be one of his periodical breaks 'from the excessive drudgery of teaching', which had much to do with the broad outlook that kept him in the forefront of the profession.

In January there appeared an unsigned editorial in Ross's journal "On the University Question" unmistakably from Osler's pen, in which he urges increased efficiency, better laboratories, better-paid professors and assistants in all medical schools - 'men placed above the worries and vexations of practice, whose time will be devoted solely to investigating the subjects they profess.' The following paragraph from this editorial has a very prophetic ring.

It is one thing to know thoroughly and be able to teach well any given subject in a college, it is quite another thing to be able to take

*Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, Jan., 1884, xii, 373.

4 'Pitchforked' by local 'Exigencias', into the ^{Saltier} ~~chain~~ of the District of Medicine at Medicine Hat, where upon arriving fully
as he himself had been,
Arceus of his landscope. A well known chain of ~~Packtrails~~ ^{trails} would cross the single subject of pathology, to be used with
would unproblematically have kept him on Montreal or taken him to Toronto or anywhere else just at this time -
His aliter visum: And it was probably the better for Medicine Hat it was so well-served. P. M. a Letter - 97 p. 1

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early spring
~~by and had matured~~
 His plans for a sejour abroad were evidently maturing ^{and} and he writes of them again to Schäfer, who evidently is expecting to attend the coming meeting in Montreal of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, of which body Osler seems to have been the local representative, *for the day*

To Edw. S. Schäfer from W. O.

McGill University,
 Montreal, Jan. 16, '84.

Dear Schäfer ^u Please send me within a few weeks the names of those members of the profession - so far as you know - who intend coming to Canada in August. I should like to arrange for their proper accommodation, ^{and the French to give details of railroad arrangements ~~with~~ stops to the Rockies, and ~~to W.~~ ^{elsewhere}} I hope to spend three months in Germany this Summer and should like to plan the return trip with you and Mrs. Schäfer. You must let me know what time you propose leaving. At a meeting of the Executive Comm. yesterday it was announced that the R.R.'s would convey the members on the regular excursions before the meeting, so that if you intend coming early in August, you could see the country beforehand. The important lines give passes and I suppose you could go to the Rockies beforehand, although you could not do the trip comfortably under 16 or 17 days. The Canadian Pacific will take a party of 150 members in Pullmans after the meeting. I am glad to hear that my friend Cameron is with you at Univ. College. He is a good man. Mills is in Strassburg and will be there for five or six months; you may see him on his way home. Was that John Sharpey's photo you sent? What a splendid fellow! and what a picture of good humour and content! ~~With kind regards to Mrs Schäfer~~ Yours sincerely,

Wm Osler

"I am afraid" he said "we shall"

Feb.
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On February 29th He presided for the last time at the Medico-Chirurgical Society, ^{when he} and showed at the meeting a specimen of actinomycosis in the jaw of a cow, the identity of this disease, the so-called 'lumpy jaw' of cattle, with that of human actinomycosis having been demonstrated by Ponfick only a short time before. He writes Schäfer again, announcing his forthcoming departure.

McGill University,
Montreal. Mar. 12, '84.

Dear Schäfer I have picked out the names of the Doctors from a preliminary list which has been received. Sanderson has written to say that he will come. I leave on the 26th for Germany via New York and Bremen and shall not stop in England on the way. Otherwise I should be delighted to stay with you at Elstree. I will let you know when I shall be in London, probably about July 10th. Glad to hear the Laboratory work progresses so well. I am afraid we shall not have much to show you here. You will be interested in Bowditch and Warthin's Laboratories, the only good ones on the Continent." I shall be in Berlin, and if I can do anything for you or bring anything over let me know. Poste restante will find me.

Yours sincerely,

W^m Osler.

(and in a postscript he adds:

P.S. I was nearly forgetting the most important point. I am breaking up home and my arrangements for the Autumn are as yet uncertain" *Suite*

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so that I have asked Prof. and Mrs. Moyse to look after you and Mrs. Schäfer during the meeting. You will be much more comfortable with them and Moyse you may possibly remember. He was in the Physiology class in 72-3, 73-4 and took the Medal or Scholarship at the University. He went into literature afterward and came out here a few years ago as Prof. of English Literature. He will write to you and arrange matters.

Little did he realize how prophetic this postscript was to be. In

company with Palmer Howard's son Jared who had recently been made ^aan assis-

tant demonstrator in anatomy in Shepherd's department he sailed ^{on March 26th} for Bremen, where apparently

reaching Berlin early in April ^{and} ~~apparently~~ one of his first acts was to

buy the Tauchnitz edition of "The Autocrat" of the Breakfast Table and the

^{and the} copy, still in his library, ~~was~~ thoroughly perused and annotated. ~~It is pos-~~

^{Saw this through 1883 Berlin. His for}

sible to trace their footsteps by ^{the same} means of combined medical and surgical

^(most of them unsigned) letters sent back to Ross for publication, ~~most of them unsigned~~. In April

he writes his ^{installment} letter "No. I."

I was not prepared to find Berlin so much changed in the ten years which have elapsed since my former visit. In every direction improvements and reforms have been ^eaffected. The drainage system has removed the unsightly and odorous gutters, the streets are well paved and kept clean, and the newly erected public buildings are exceedingly ornamental, and offer a striking contrast to the general hideousness of the older ones. In the Medical Faculty of the University many important changes have taken place. Death has removed Traube, Martin and Reichert, and Langenbeck no

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longer rules the surgical clinic. Leyden, from Strasburg, was called to succeed Traube, Schroeder from Wurtzburg has Martin's post, and Waldeyer from Strasburg has only recently occupied the chair of anatomy so long held by Reichert. Bergman followed Langenbeck at the University surgical clinic. These are the changes in the front rank, and the men whom we all know by name; there have been many others, of course, among the extraordinary professors and privat-docents. The recent rapid development of the Berlin school, and the tendency towards centralization, have, doubtless, been powerful influences in causing the lavish expenditure of money on laboratory and hospital buildings. The new buildings of the surgical clinic on Ziegel Strasse, and of the Obstetrical and Gynecological Department on Artillerie Strasse, are the chief additions to the hospitals, though the new City Hospital on the other side of the town has also been opened since 1873. From my window, as I write, I look over the palatial buildings on Dorotheen Strasse, devoted to Physiology, Pharmacology and Physics, unequalled in Europe. At the Charité and the Pathological Institute I see no special changes. . . *

"Letter from Berlin." From a Special Correspondent. Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, May, 1884, xii, 582.

To Edw. S. Schäfer from W.O.

2, Neue Wilhelm Strasse,
May 1st [1884]

Dear Schäfer ~~I am grieved to think that you will not be able to get away this Summer - Bewditch will also be so disappointed - we had planned such a nice excursion to his Summer resort in the Adirondacks.~~ I shall

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be very glad to go to Elstree for a short time but I must go first to some friends in Russell Sq. for a week. I am afraid my lawn tennis days are over but you may tell Mrs Schäfer that I am susceptible as ever - therein lies my safety - and shall be delighted to meet the young lady. I have seen Kronecker several times and he has showed me one or two very interesting things - particularly the experiment of permanently arresting the ventricular action by puncture of a small spot in the upper part of the septum vent. Mills is here working with him and also with Hoffman and Salkoski. He is delighted with Strassburg. I hope in October to hand him over the Physiology and to another the Histology and have only the Pathology. I shall leave here about the first of July - possibly go to Leipzig for a few days. Yours sincerely,

Wm Osler.

On this same day (May 1st) he got off his second ^{open} letter to Ross, describing the German Surgical Congress ^{as when he heard} which had just been held. The most important event from a historical standpoint was Theodore Kocher's paper on Cach-

exia strumaprima in other words on the ^{peculiar} symptoms which ^{may occasionally} in some cases follow the

^{operative} removal of goitre, for after ^{It represented the first forward step, in solving the mystery of the disorder} Ord's demonstration, which Osler had also ^{seen attended} known as myxoedema, to be taken since in London three years before.

in London in 1861, this was the next important step in untangling the mys-

teries of the disorder known as myxoedema. But aside from this, the fact

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that ^{he}Osler should have been sufficiently interested in a congress of surgeons to attend the meetings and describe what he had seen and heard is of no little significance.*

*There can be little doubt but that the sound surgical judgment, unusual for a physician and for which he was justly celebrated, was due to his early habit of attending surgical as well as medical meetings, and of reporting them in full. In his accounts not only of the Medico-Chirurgical Society for the Medical News, but also of the Dominion Association meetings of which he was Recorder, his abstracts of the surgical papers and discussions ^{were} apt to be as thorough and full as were those in his own subjects.

Seen after this, ^{scribble and}the following characteristic postcard which chance has ^{was soon forwarded to George Ross in explanation of George Ross:} preserved, ~~went to Ross. It explains the programme under which the letters~~ are being sent:

To George Ross from W. O.

16th [May 1884, Berlin]

How are you off for letters? You have one for the June No. perhaps 2 - as No. 1 probably did not get out in time for the May Journal tho I sent it on the 15th April. I send on the 18th a description of the Koch dinner which might perhaps go after the Surg. Congress letter as it would be rather stale to keep for July No. Why the d. have you not written. What a slovenly careless forgetting unconscionable set of brutes you are - Have not had the Journal yet.)

(If the Koch dinner cannot go in, do not keep it until July, send it to A H Wright, Toronto, as I shall have a good letter for the July No. Hope everything is flourishing. Yours &c W. O.

May
1884*The description of the Koch:*

The third letter sent two days later describes the official dinner in honour of Robert Koch whose party had just returned from ^{the typhoid epidemic to investigate} ~~Egypt and India where~~ they had been successful in their search for the bacterial origin of cholera.

Berlin May 18. 1884

It must, indeed, have been a proud moment for the whilom district physician, Robert Koch, on the evening of the 13th inst., when some 500 of his brethren met to do him honour on his return from India and Egypt. The reception was, as remarked to me by one of the privat-docents, unprecedented, and unparalleled in Berlin. It was, indeed, a gay festival. * * * Prof. Bergman, after greeting the guest of the evening, and congratulating the commission on its safe return, referred to the pride which all felt, from the Kaiser to the lowest citizen, at the fresh honours to German science which had resulted from ^{Koch's} ~~the~~ labours of Dr. Koch. "It was not," he said, "the courage with which you went forth to investigate the fatal plague which we admire. Many of those about me have done the same thing. He who [Virchow] went to Sperrat and Schliessen, to the typhus epidemic, threw his life on the hazard just as much as the man who examined the bodies of cholera patients in the dirty huts by the Ganges. Not one of us, indeed, would tarry a moment to think of our own health when the life of a patient is concerned. The device of our profession is that of the candle - "allis serviens ipse consumer."'. ~~Nor do the consequences which are expected to follow blind us, as they do many who now cry "hosanna", thinking that there will be no more cholera; with us it is different. Our recognition of the value of your work would not have been changed in the least had the fatal disease followed hard~~

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upon your heels and entered Berlin with you." "We marvel ~~also~~ at the ceaseless industry of our colleague, who does not know how often the spirit of a country physician is broken, and his thinking powers weakened, by the endless round of visits. The reality of the waggon-rattle fits badly with the ideal of scientific work. But the district physician of Wollstein knew how to glean some hours from the restless and driving activity of practice, and, in the space of ten years, has concluded the series of brilliant observations from the discovery of the spores of the bacillus anthracis to that of the ~~common~~^{an} bacillus of cholera."

These extracts will give but a feeble idea of Prof. Bergman's stirring address. Then followed two congratulatory addresses from the chief medical societies of the city, after which Prof. Virchow delivered a most humorous and characteristic speech. Dr. Koch's reply was extremely modest; he claimed only to have discovered improved methods of observation. He believed that one important result of the commission would be, if the English Government gave proper assistance, the limitation of the cholera to its native place in India.)

His career is particularly pleasing, and it reminds one of that other country physician who, nearly a century ago, made the memorable observations on cow-pox.*

*"The Koch Dinner." From "A Special Correspondent." Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, June 1884, xii, 677. Another ~~and~~ even more ~~full~~^{detailed} account of the occasion was sent to Minis Hays for the Medical News, June 7, 1884, p. 687.

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The 'good letter for the July No.' dealt ^{largely} chiefly with Virchow, for whom

Osler always felt and expressed the most profound admiration. He was unquestionably the outstanding figure in medicine of the day - a man whose interests extended far beyond pathology in which his first great contributions to medical science had been made; and knowing of his anthropological leanings Osler had taken him as a present some Indian skulls from British Columbia.

The letter begins thus:

The central figure of the Berlin Faculty is Virchow. . . . After 40 years of teaching, it is but natural that he should have much of the drudgery done by his able assistants, Drs. Jürgens, Grawitz and Israel, who conduct the autopsies and the courses on pathological histology. Students have, however, still the great privilege of hearing him in three different classes, ^{and at 11 AM each day he gives a lecture on special pathology.} For the first three of four Mondays of the semester, from 7.30 to 10 a.m., he performs an autopsy before the class, giving detailed directions as to methods and the proper modes of observation. On Wednesday and Saturday are held the famous demonstration courses on morbid anatomy, in which the material of the week - often 10 or 15 cases on each occasion - is brought before the students; the time occupied is at least 2 1/2 hours, the first half of which is taken up with some special subject, the pathology of which is well illustrated by the specimens at hand. The other morning I could not but feel what a privilege it was again to listen to the principles of thrombosis and embolism expounded by the great master, to whose

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researches we owe so much of our knowledge on these subjects. ~~At 11 a.m.~~
~~each day he gives a lecture on special pathology.~~

Politics and anthropology absorb the greater part of his time. He is a member both of the German Parliament and of the Prussian House of Representatives, and I noticed a day or so ago in one of the daily papers, an item stating the number of times which each member spoke - I forget in which House, - that Virchow had spoken on 38 occasions during the session. It need scarcely be stated that he is an advanced liberal. He is also a member of the City Council - not an idle one either, as the copious literature of the canalization (drainage) system of the city can testify, and I notice that he has been again urging the further extension of the sewers. His archaeological and anthropological studies are at present most extensive, and it is upon these subjects now that he chiefly writes. When one turns to the index of authors in the volumes of "Transactions of the Berlin Archaeological Society," the figures after his name stand thick and deep, just as they do in a similar index in medical works. He has been collaborateur with Dr. Schliemann in several of the important works issued on Trojan antiquities. His collection of skulls and skeletons of different races, one of the most important in Europe, will doubtless find an appropriate place in the new Archaeological Museum erected by the Government. At present, his private rooms are a sort of Gehenna, which has laid every quarter of the globe under contribution. The very day on which I gave him four choice skulls of North American Indians, from Prof. Bell's collection, two large cases of skeletons of the natives of Madeira were brought in. There are those who grudge him the time which he thus spends on politics and his fav-

ourite studies, but surely he has earned a repose from active pathological work, and may well leave section cutting and bacteria staining to the smaller fry; and when we consider that in addition to the classes above mentioned he is President of the Berlin Medical Society, and edits his Archiv, now a monthly journal, it can scarcely be said that he neglects professional duties. On all questions of general, medical and scientific interest, his utterances are not infrequent, and display a judicious conservatism - as witness his sound position regarding the Darwinian theory as opposed to the vagaries of Haeckel. . . .

May
1884*The same letter ^{contains} ~~gives~~*

He gives an account of Frerichs, recently ennobled, who had 'renewed his youth with the recent jubilee and ~~has~~ astonished his medical friends with the production of a monograph on Diabetes'; ~~a subject Osler discusses at length~~; ^{and he went on} He goes on to describe Leyden's, Westphal's and Henoch's clinics at the Charité; nor does he forget meanwhile his public-health interests, for ^{he describes a} ~~he~~ visited ^{to the} ~~the~~ Royal Veterinary College, which is under Government control

~~and~~, and where 'there is much better teaching, and altogether a more scientific tone than is the case in English or American institutions of the kind.' ^{The ~~at~~ abattoir also was visited and he} He visits, too, the abattoir and 'was able to see the admirable system of inspection of flesh, as well as to secure a number of valuable specimens illustrating the commoner morbid and parasitic appearances.'*

*~~He refers to these visits subsequently~~ ^{on} (Sept. 24, 1885 ^{to these visits} ~~he subsequently alludes~~) Before the Pathological Society of Philadelphia as follows:

'The liver fluke, *Distoma hepaticum*, so common in Europe, is not very often met with in sheep and cattle in this country, and in my experience it is rare to find here the advanced changes described in works on parasites. When in Berlin in 1884 I spent two afternoons of each week at the abattoir, which, owing to the elaborate system of inspection, both ante- and post-mortem, offers one of the best fields in Europe for the study of comparative pathology and helminthology, and through the kindness of Dr. Hertwig I was enabled to secure a large number of interesting specimens. (Transactions of the Pathological Society, Philadelphia [1885-7], 1887, xiii, 222-4.).

The letter closes ^{this} He closes with a charitable comment on the Semitic invasion of Berlin:

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The mode ~~of~~ "hep, hep, hep" shrieked in Berlin for some years past has by no means died out, and, to judge from the tone of several of the papers devoted to the Jewish question, there are not wanting some who would gladly revert to the plan adopted on the Nile some thousands of years ago for solving the Malthusian problem of Semitic increase. Doubtless there were then, as now, noisy agitators - prototypes of the Parsons Stocker - who clamoured for the hard laws which ultimately prevailed, and for the task-masters whose example, so many Gentile generations have willingly followed, of demanding, where they safely could, bricks without straw of their Israelitish brethren. Should another Moses arise and preach a Semitic exodus from Germany, and should prevail, they would leave the land impoverished far more than was ancient Egypt by the loss of the 'jewels of gold and jewels of silver' of which the people were 'spoiled.' To say nothing of the material wealth - enough to buy Palestine over and over again from the Turk - there is not a profession which would not suffer the serious loss of many of its most brilliant ornaments, and in none more so than in our own. I hope to be able to get the data with reference to the exact number of professors and docents of Hebrew extraction in the German Medical Faculties. The number is very great, and of those I know, their positions have been won by hard and honourable work; but I fear that, as I hear has already been the case, the present agitation will help to make the attainment of University professorships additionally difficult. One cannot but notice here, in any assembly of doctors, the strong Semitic element; at the local societies and at the German Congress of Physicians, it was particularly noticeable, and the same holds good in any collection of students. All honour to them!*

[Signed] W.O.

June
1884

"Letters from Berlin." From Special Correspondent. Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, July, 1884, xii, 721-8.

Following this letter, signed "W.O.," is ~~one~~ signed "R.J.B.H." (evidently Howard), who writes about von Bergmann's clinic and describes the antiseptic methods in vogue there.

~~In June from Berlin came~~ Another long letter to A. H. Wright for the

was sent the following month from Berlin.
Toronto journal.* In this ~~Osler~~ *was given* gave an account of the Congress of German *was given*

*The Canadian Practitioner, 1884, ix, 184.

Physicians which opened on May 20th with Frerichs as President and which drew

a distinguished gathering, as it coincided with the festival in his honour.

~~when he was raised to the nobility.~~ There was much, as would be expected, of

infectious diseases and their relation to micro-organisms, for new discover-

ies were being announced like corn popping in a pan. Friedlander was present

and recounted new experiments with pneumonia; ~~and~~ Fränkel described the pneumo-

coccus, the relation of which to the disease was not as yet generally ac-

cepted; ~~and~~ Loeffler gave a résumé of the diphtheria question giving experimen-

tal support favouring the Klebs bacillus as the cause of the disease.*

*It may be noted that in Paris on the date of the opening of this Berlin Congress, Pasteur read before the Académie de Médecine his paper announcing the discovery of the virus of hydrophobia and a method of protecting against it.

~~Goltz's experiments on extirpation of the dog's brain came in for discussion,~~

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dog's brain came in for discussion, and Osler puts his finger on the weak point of Goltz's experiments, which had so confused the question of localization of function in the brain, by the ^{stating} ~~opinion~~ that Goltz should have conducted his experiments on monkeys rather than dogs.

But in spite of his ^{regard} ~~enthusiasm~~ ^{for} ~~regarding~~ Virchow ^{and all that Berlin offered} the subsequent sojourn in Leipzig ^{was what impressed him most, if one may judge from this} ~~note from an oft-quoted address:~~

In 1884 I spent four months in Germany, chiefly at Leipzig, "working at pathology with Weigert, and clinical medicine with Wagner, a model teacher who devoted the whole morning to hospital work, and whose clinic was splendidly arranged for post-graduate study." After a preliminary visit to the ward he would enter the amphitheatre with clock-like regularity, and day by day demonstrate the more important cases, always finishing the morning's work with a visit to the post-mortem room.***

10. *"The Medical Clinic, etc." British Medical Journal, 1914, i.

^{Here in} ~~In~~ Leipzig he made his début into bacteriology. But the time ^{was} ~~was~~ too

short and he was a little late in getting a start in this field which, with his early botanical and microscopical training would have fascinated him.

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Another year in Montreal, particularly if he could have lived 'under the roof of his laboratory' might have seen him an active worker in the ^{conservation pathology} bacteriology of the infectious diseases.

To George Ross from W. O.

Leipzig, Wednesday 10th [June, 1884]

Dear Ross: - Journal of May & your letter came on Monday - Glad to have them. April No. never turned up. Have written to Bastian Hope he will come but he wrote to me saying that he could not. Shall be most happy to play distinguished stranger at 49 Union Ave [Ross's address in Montreal] Came here last week - very glad. Wish I had done so at first as everything is most angenehm in Cohnheim's* Laboratory. Weigert is in charge, C being ill with gouty nephritis. I go there at 8 a m work until 10.30 at Bacteria, then go to Leuckart's** laboratory until 1 p m when I dine & return to Weigert*** or go to Zurn's assistant at the Veterinary School. Wagner's**** Med Clinic here is good. I have not yet been to Flechsig. The buildings here are very convenient. I am living opposite the Zoologische Institut - very comfortable pension - much more so than the Berlin one & at 2/3s the cost. Lord! don't I wish I could live all the year round for 120 marks a month (beer included). Were it not for books &c it would be a great economy to live abroad all the year. I have asked Howard to get a little inner room rigged up for the Koch apparatus which we ought to have so that we could have some cultures under way when the Association is there. I shall try to bring out some cultures wh. will do for stock - The only trouble is that the heat may destroy them. I

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do hope that the Faculty will be able to arrange for Mills & myself to live at the College. How I envy some of these men! Leuckart has about \$4000 a year, with a splendid set of apartments on the 3rd floor of the Institut. It seems comisch at first to see the upper flats devoted to the families of the professors and assistants but it saves time and money. Perhaps next summer the Governors might put a double mansard on and give me the upper one. ~~What a deuce of a rumpus Lachapelle has stirred up!***** Those papers looked bad.~~ Glad to hear from Dick MacDonnell that a telephone has been put in the College. Have a letter half ready - will be out by 1st & a Leipzig one will do for August. Hope the Surg. Congress one & Koch dinner are both in this No. If that letter came too late dont put it in the July No. as it will be very stale.

Glad to hear of the preparation for the C.M.A. Lawson Tait will give an address on abd Surg & I have asked Sanderson (with Mullin's consent) to give one on Medicine. I have had no word from him yet tho it is some weeks since I wrote. Shall write again.

I leave here July 12th. Bk of Montreal or 25 Russell Sq will find me in London Let me know if I can bring out anything I shall send out a couple of trunks from here. This writing is awful, but the pen is worse
Yours sincerely,

W^m Osler

*Julius Cohnheim, Prof. of Pathological Anatomy.

**Carl Leuckart, Prof. of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.

***Karl Weigert ^{became} ~~was~~ Cohnheim's successor in 1884.

****Ernet Wagner, after a training in pathology became Director of the Medical Clinic on Wunderlich's death in 1877.

*****Refers to an unpleasant episode regarding some examination papers at Victoria College which found their way in advance into the students' hands. Lachapelle was professor at Laval and on the Provincial Medical Board. Cf. editorial, Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, Aug., 1884, 56.

The last of his series of ~~open~~ letters* to Ross's journal ^{opens with} begins by a

*Correspondence: "Letter from Leipzig." Canada Medical & Surgical Journal, Aug. 1884, xiii, 18-22. (Signed "W.O.").

description of the medical conditions in Leipzig, of Cohnheim's pathological institute, and the illness of its distinguished chief, and ^{they} passes on to his assistant as follows:

The charge of the laboratory is virtually with Professor Weigert to whom medicine is under a deep debt of obligation for the introduction of the use of analine dyes in histological work, as well as for the unravelling of many knots in pathological histology. He is a model of industry - first at work in the morning, last to leave at night, - extremely affable and attentive, qualities which go so far to make one's stay in a laboratory comfortable and agreeable. I know of no place where a man can better work at pathological histology. . . .

The medical clinic is in charge of Professor Wagner. . . . His method and manner remind one of Traube, which, in my opinion, is one of the highest compliments to pay a teacher. From 9.45 to 11 a.m. instruction is given upon cases brought into the theatre, usually three or four each day. At the beginning of the lecture new cases are given out to the students, who go to the wards and make out the history, &c., and then, when one of their

cases is brought before the class, the student whose case it is goes into the arena and states the prominent features and makes the diagnosis. The physical examination is made by the student, and then a general summary is given to the class, with the necessary explanatory remarks. We all know how apt this method is - in some hands - to be dry and wearisome; details are obtained slowly by the student, and I have seen a class thoroughly tired, the professor irritated, and half an hour consumed in getting primary facts. Prof. Wagner seems to get the details quickly, and the students appeared to me to be very much brighter than those at Berlin. To students coming to Germany for post-graduate study, I would most strongly recommend them to take a semester at this clinic. For the general practice which nine-tenths of doctors ultimately engage in, it is worth any dozen special courses that I know of.

Probably the most notable figure in medical Leipzig is Prof. Ludwig, Director of the Physiological Institute, and the Nestor of German physiologists. Indeed he has a higher claim than this, for when the history of experimental physiology shall be written, his name will stand preeminent with those of Magendie and Claude Bernard. He is now an old man, with bodily vigour somewhat abated, but mentally fresh and suggestive as ever. He has the honour of having trained a larger number of physiologists than any other living teacher; his pupils are scattered the world over, and there is scarcely a worker of note in Europe - bar France - who has not spent some time in his laboratory. . . . ~~I was struck with one remark which Prof.~~

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It is very hard to adjust the two great functions of a University, or a part of it, as represented, say, by such an Institute. The work which shall advance the science, which brings renown to the professor and to the University, is the most attractive, and in German laboratories occupies the chief time of the director. This function is specially exercised, and the consequence is that medical literature teems with articles issued from the various laboratories. On the other hand, the teaching function of an Institute is apt to be neglected in the more seductive pursuit of the 'bauble reputation.'

So the letter went on and on

He continues with a description of Leuckart's Zoological Institute and of Dr. Zurn, 'one of the leading authorities on the diseases of birds,' ^{it} and he concludes with this characteristic note ^{regarding a visit his inebriation to the University Librarian} ~~for he~~ ^{later} always found his way into libraries: *for many acts of politeness."*

I was extremely pleased to make the acquaintance of Prof. Winter, the University Librarian, and for forty years or more the editor of Schmidt's Jahrbuch. Like most editors - medical - of my acquaintance, he has a kindly and a genial nature, and I am indebted to him for many acts of politeness."

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Prof. Virchow and Cohnheim, his most distinguished pupil who died later
in this year, Ludwig, ~~and~~ ^{Ernst} Traube and Terquies ~~were great names in~~ among ~~many~~ others who
stood in the front rank of the profession in Germany in spite of his brief contact with them all left

Virchow, Helmholtz, Ludwig and Cohnheim (Virchow's most distinguished
pupil who died later in this year) were still the great names in Germany ^{and}
though they were of the outgoing generation. Years afterward in one of his

addresses Osler referred back to the period, saying:

. . . I was much impressed by a conversation with Prof. Ludwig in 1884.
Speaking of the state of English physiology, he lamented the lapse of a
favourite English pupil from science to practice; but he added, "while
sorry for him, I am glad for the profession in England." He held that
the clinical physicians of that country had received a very positive im-
press from the work of their early years in physiology and the natural
sciences. I was surprised at the list of names which he cited; among
them I remember Bowman, Paget, Savory and Lister. Ludwig attributed this
feature in part to the independent character of the schools in England,
to the absence of the University element so important in medical life in
Germany, but, above all, to the practical character of the English mind,
the better men preferring an active life in practice to a secluded labo-
ratory career.*

*"British Medicine in Greater Britain." Address in medicine
at the British Medical Association, Montreal, Sept. 1, 1897.
Montreal Medical Journal, Sept., 1897, xxvi, 186-203.

To H. V. Ogden from W.O. (postcard)

14c Terch Strasse, Leipzig.

Dear O. I have so often thought of writing to you but one thing or another
prevented me. Have been in Germany since April 6th. Was 10 weeks in Berlin
with Howard, who is there still. Like this place very much. Am in Cohn-
heim's Lab, going for the bacteria and working with Weigert at brain slicing.

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Shall be able to give you some nice preparations. Hope you are getting on. Let me know if I can do anything for you. Shall go to London (~~25 Russell~~ ~~Sq. W~~) about July 8th and leave for home Aug 7th. Let me have Cantlie's address, have mislaid it. Tell him when you write next that 'his bt. sm. hts. me still.' Kind regards to Dorland., Yours sincerely,

W^m Osler

But his sojourn in Leipzig was so delightful that

as he expressed it in a letter to Osler

But all this "going for the bacteria" was to have a sudden and unexpected end. On the fly-leaf of his pocket commonplace book under the date 17/6/84 is the note "Telegraphed Tyson from Leipzig that I would accept Professor of Clinical Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. 'Yes.' " And in another place occurs the provisional draft of a letter in reply to the one evidently sent by Tyson May 29th. Two days later came a package of mail from Montreal, and he writes both Shepherd and Ross ^{in similar terms} as follows:

To F. J. Shepherd from W. O.

19/6/84

[Leipzig, Germany]

Dear Shepherd: Yours with the enclosures to hand. As I dare say you saw from the opening sentence of one, there is to be a vacancy at Univ. Penn - & Tyson, the Sec. wrote asking me if I would accept the chair of clin. Med. if nominated. Letter quite unofficial, only just a feeler. I have replied 'yes.' I have written to Howard and Ross, & told them both to keep

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mum until something definite is heard as it will do no good to have the thing talked about, as it may come to nothing. Tyson said he sent on a catalogue as well - please forward to 25 Russell Sq. London where I shall be on the 12th July.

It will be a great wrench if I go after 10 years growth in a place the roots get pretty deep, but I hope I ^{am} ~~am~~ not too old for transplanting.

I like Leipzig very much - sorry I did not come here earlier. Shall see Braune & His and their work before I leave. Kind regards to Mrs S.
Love to the children

Yours sincerely

W^m OSLER.

To George Ross (49 Union Ave., Montreal) from W. O.

June 19th (1884)
(Leipzig)

Dear Ross: - Shepherd forwarded me a letter this week which played the deuce with my peace of mind. Tyson writes asking me if I would accept the Chair of Clin. Med. in Univ. of Penn. if appointed - His letter is quite unofficial & nothing may come of it, but after much meditation I decided to reply in the affirmative. The temptation is too great, but the prospect of severing my connection with McGill & Montreal gives me no end of worry. However, it may come to nought, but of course I wrote to H. at once. Now I think - as I told him, - it had better be kept quiet - not let a rumour get about if possible. It would stir up another Hospital agitation. Shepherd may possibly have twigged it from the opening sentence

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of the letter. I sometimes think it may be a hoax but the matter of fact communication - wh. Howard has - does not look like it.

'My heart within me is even like melting wax' at the thought of the possibility of leaving you all.

Yours sincerely,

~~W^m OSLER.~~

Shorn of its details, the story as he recounted it years afterward may be given in Osler's own words:

I was resting in a German town when I received a cable from friends in Philadelphia, stating that if I would accept a professorship there, I should communicate with Dr. S. Weir Mitchell who was in Europe and who had been empowered to arrange the details. I sat up late into the night balancing the pros and cons of Montreal and Philadelphia. In the former I had many friends, I loved the work and the opportunity was great. In the latter the field appeared very attractive, but it meant leaving many dear friends. I finally gave it up as unsolvable and decided to leave it to chance. I flipped a four mark silver piece into the air. 'Heads I go to Philadelphia; tails I remain at Montreal.' It fell 'heads.' I went to the telegraph office and wrote the telegram to Dr. Mitchell offering to go to Philadelphia. I reached in my pockets to pay for the wire. They were empty. My only change had been the four mark piece which I had left as it had fallen on my table. It seemed like an act of Providence directing me to remain in Montreal. I half decided to follow the cue. Finally I con-

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cluded that inasmuch as I had placed the decision to chance I ought to abide by the turn of the coin, and returned to my hotel for it and sent the telegram.*

*Remarks before the American Club (Rhodes Scholars, etc.) of Oxford, July 12, 1916: unpublished.

Meanwhile ^{Osler was} ~~In Philadelphia~~ the announcement had been made ^{in Paris} ~~in May, 1884,~~

of the retirement, after twenty years' service, of Alfred Stillé from ~~his~~ ^{the} Senior Chair of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. Stillé, one of the

few survivors of Louis's pupils, as Osler was ^{first of four} ~~went to point out,~~* had wished

*Cf. ^{Osler's} ~~address~~ ^{April 2, 1902} on Alfred Stillé, by Osler; ~~also~~ Stillé's remarks at dinner. Medical News, Philadelphia, June 14, 1884; ~~xliv,~~ ^{also} 713-16.

to resign five years before but had been persuaded to hold on until this

time, and it was obvious that William Pepper ^{II} would be his successor. For

Pepper's Chair of Clinical Medicine a lively canvass had been in progress and

there were two particularly worthy candidates, both of whom from long service

in junior positions well deserved advancement. The following statement of

the subsequent events so far as they concerned Osler has been furnished by

Dr. Minis Hays.

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~~A vacancy having occurred in the Chair of Clinical Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania in the spring of 1884,~~ the Medical Committee of the Trustees recommended to the full Board that a named member of the existing teaching staff should be elected to fill the vacancy. At a weekly meeting of the Editorial Staff of the Medical News held shortly afterward, upon the conclusion of the routine business, the members engaged in general conversation and the first and uppermost topic naturally was this recent nomination to the Board of Trustees. There were present at the meeting Doctors Hays, Bartholow, S. W. Gross, Parvin and Tyson. Surprise was expressed that the Committee had not gone further afield and taken a wider view of the ~~available~~ material before making its recommendation, and Dr. Osler of Montreal was mentioned as one eminently qualified to fill with marked ability the duties of the Chair, but his name, so far as known, had not been even given consideration in connection with the filling of the vacancy.

Dr. Osler was then known to the gentlemen present only by reputation and by his writings. Upon the organization of the Medical News as a weekly magazine several years before, Dr. Osler had been invited to become its Montreal special correspondent, and the duties of this position he fulfilled with great acceptability. Dr. Tyson, a prominent member of the University Faculty, while recognizing Dr. Osler's capacity to fill the Chair with conspicuous ability, seemed to think that it was now too late to move in the matter; ^{but} and he further urged that Dr. Osler and his qualifications and abilities as a teacher were unknown to the Faculty and Trustees. In reply it was strongly urged upon him by those present that as the election had not been consummated, the situation was not irretrievable, ~~and that full information upon the points upon which further~~

~~The other~~

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information upon the points upon which further information was desired,
could easily be obtained from Dr. R. Palmer Howard of Montreal, who was
well and favourably known to the Philadelphia profession, and from other
members of the McGill College Faculty. . . . The other members of
the Staff strenuously concurred in the views expressed and, recognizing
their force, Dr. Tyson finally said that he would immediately take up the
matter with his colleague, Dr. Horatio C. Wood, who was then still in
town - most of the members of the Medical Faculty being away on their sum-
mer holiday. The suggestion appealed very strongly to Dr. Wood, and with
his characteristic energy he at once journeyed to Montreal to learn at
first hand more concerning Dr. Osler's attainments and qualifications for
the position. . . .

All who were familiar with Osler's consulting-room and study in Baltimore, and with his library in Oxford, will recall certain familiar pictures. There was a large photograph, of course, of Bovell, another of Johnson, and another of Howard. Over the mantel was the panel of his three heroes: Linacre, Sydenham and Harvey, the great triumvirate of British Medicine. Another portrait gave the fine profile of Newman whom he admired as greatly for his personal characteristics as Johnson did for his religious views: ~~(2)~~ *and* And still another was a large photograph of H. C. Wood wearing a picturesque fur cap such as a distinguished earlier fellow-townsmen of his, Benjamin Franklin, was ^awant to wear.

Though they became great friends, he and Wood were not acquainted at this time as the foregoing statement indicates, and the story is told in Montreal that sometime in the summer of 1884 H. C. Wood, ~~whom it was supposed had committed himself as regards the Philadelphia appointment in favour of Dr. Starr's candidacy,~~ suddenly appeared, unannounced, to make

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inquiries regarding the local feeling about Osler. He went first of all, curiously enough, to the French hospitals and found that among the French physicians everyone spoke of him in high ^{the} ^{and terms:} praise; he then visited the Montreal General where he ^{encountered} ~~met with~~ such a degree of enthusiasm ^{for him} on the part of the young members of the house staff that he became himself a thorough convert, and returned home without interviewing ^{any of Osler's colleagues in the Faculty. So it was come} others. ~~F. J. Shepherd~~

about that on June 17th a coin was flung at 140 Arch Street Leipzig which fell 'heads'. To this
later referred to this as follows.

Some in Philadelphia rather doubted his suitability. I know one friend who came to Montreal on a visit of inspection to the French and English hospitals, where he became very friendly with the house staffs and asked them all for the information he could get concerning friend Osler. He even dined with these young men and then he found it all out. I recognized him and he confessed his errand. I told him still better things than those he had already heard, and he went away quite satisfied.*

*Remarks at Dinner to Dr. William Osler, May 2, 1905. Privately printed.

apostrophe Osler referred

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As indicated, a cable was received from Weir Mitchell asking for a meeting in London, which took place some time later in June. To this episode Osler, in lighter vein and with some stretching of the facts, referred at the time of his departure for England fifteen years later, as follows:

I would like to tell you how I came to this country. The men responsible for my arrival were Samuel W. Gross and Minis Hays, of Philadelphia, who concocted the scheme in the Medical News office and got James Tyson to write a letter asking if I would be a candidate for the professorship of clinical medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. That letter reached me at Leipzig, having been forwarded to me from Montreal by my friend Shepherd. I had played so many pranks on my friends there that, when the letter came, I felt sure it was all a joke, so little did I think that I was one to be asked to succeed Dr. Pepper. It was several weeks before I ventured to answer that letter, fearing that Dr. Shepherd had, perhaps, surreptitiously taken a sheet of University of Pennsylvania note-paper on purpose to make the joke more certain. Dr. Mitchell cabled me to meet him in London, as he and his good wife were commissioned to 'look me over,' particularly with reference to personal habits. Dr. Mitchell said there was only one way in which the breeding of a man suitable for such a position, in such a city as Philadelphia, could be tested: give him cherry pie and see how he disposed of the stones. I had read of the trick before and disposed of them genteelly in my spoon - and got the chair.*

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*"L'Envoi." Response at farewell dinner, May 2, 1905. Medical News, 1905, lxxxvi, 854-60.

The cherry pie test was apparently ~~an actual fact and was~~ suggested to her husband by Mrs. Mitchell; and it was ever after a source of unfailling by-play between the two when he came to be ~~a frequenter~~ of the Mitchell household.

It became necessary for Osler to engage again in the procedure of soliciting testimonials to forward to the University Trustees in Philadelphia.

It was done in a less distasteful manner than in his enforced campaign in

1878, for the appointment to the Montreal General - merely ~~by~~ asking some of

his London friends, ^{two} Bastian, Gowers and Burdon-Sanderson to send ^(some word concerning) ~~a note about~~

^{to Dr. Mitchell} him, if they felt so inclined, ~~to James Tyson or Weir Mitchell.~~

^{These letters were of such} ~~Strangely~~

^{unqualified} ~~signature~~ ^{is to leave no doubt in anyone's mind as to Osler's desirability in any possible sense.} Mitchell enough these letters have been preserved, their general tenor being as

follows:

To S. Weir Mitchell from W. R. Gowers.

50, Queen Anne Street,
Cavendish Square, W.
July 14, 1884.

Dear Dr. Weir Mitchell, Osler has asked me to send you the enclosed.

I am very glad for your sakes and his own, that there is a prospect that

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he may become your colleague.

I am also very glad to hear that there is a prospect of my seeing you in the autumn. Sincerely yours,

W. R. Gowers.

[Enclosed in above letter]

There is perhaps, no English physician of the same standing who has achieved a wider or higher reputation than Professor Osler of Montreal. His work at scientific and practical medicine is of highest character, exhibiting a rare combination of the power of exact observation, of estimating the value of evidence, and of critical judgment. As he is a clear thinker, so he is also a lucid and forcible teacher. The fact that he has worked assiduously not only at clinical medicine, but also at pathology, fits him in a peculiar way for the teaching of the former, since a basis of exact pathology is absolutely essential for the highest and best clinical teaching. A striking proof of the esteem in which he is held is afforded by the fact that he was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London, almost as soon as he became eligible, an honour which, in the case of a physician residing out of England, is probably unique. As regards Dr. Osler's personal character, I know him well, and know no one whom I should regard as a more agreeable colleague, or in every respect, a more desirable acquisition to an important medical school.

W. R. Gowers.

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as he wrote a succession of letters to
Mitchell meanwhile had gone to Paris, and writes Tyson urging him

to move, for 'unless we are pretty active we shall be saddled with' another: to Joseph Leidy adding that "Osler is surely a man for the Biological Club if by any good chance we can get him"; and to James C. Tyson of the faculty.

C. Wilson
1st. To James Tyson from S. Weir Mitchell.

Paris, 17th [July] 1884

Dear James: - I send more letters about Osler, and have asked him to write to you, to Tyson and to Pepper. He was to write me after hearing from Howard and as he has not done so I wrote him today about it, but the testimonials still coming must mean that he Osler has decided. Pepper has written me at length, and thinks that Bruen has great strength in the Board: I put him last for fitness and am in no doubt that Osler is in all ways the best man. He has every social need; his age is 35. He has won distinction as an investigator and writer, and will therefore add to our illustrations, and as to competence as a teacher if anyone can be believed he must be a really unusual instructor. I wish you would write to Howard about him. I would vote for Osler with far less doubt in my mind than one usually has and with less than I should have as to any other candidate.

Guitéras would be my second choice and Starr my third. If possible I think that the Provost and individual trustees, and I would say the faculty, ought to see the testimonials of Osler, and so much of my letters as concern him, and as you might think well to have copied. But these are purely suggestions. If you think well of it Tyson would put together all there is in Osler's favour and see that all concerned saw it. * * *

My girl is mending and has a normal temp. today. Pray pardon my numerous letters.

Yours,

WEIR MITCHELL.

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What Osler wrote Palmer Howard is not apparent, but a fragment of a letter from Howard, written as soon as rumours had reached his ears and a meeting of the Faculty could be called, and which offers too late some counter proposals, has been preserved:

From Palmer Howard to W. O.

The Saint Louis Hotel.
Quebec. [no date].

I avail myself of the first opportunity to communicate to you. In the first place, the faculty is not willing at once to relieve you of the Professorship of Physiology, and to make an appointment to that chair of a Professor. It thinks it wiser to allow some person probably Dr. Mills to lecture in the coming session on that subject for you with the view of finding out his adaptation to and fitness for the work of teaching. Altho' they do not question his ability they have some fears of his personal fitness in other respects. Under this feeling and with these views the following resolution has passed unaimously at a large meeting of the Fac.: (~~Graik and Wilkins being absent the former having to leave before the resolution was moved, the latter two having been absent throughout.~~)

(Moved by Dr. Farnell, seconded by Dr. Roddick, that this Faculty authorizes the Dean to communicate to Prof. Osler as follows:

That this Faculty undertakes to make arrangements for the establishment of a chair of Pathology and Comparative Pathology at as early a date as possible.

That the sum of sixteen hundred dollars be thereby voted to Dr. Osler

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for this year. Now as to the other part of it I don't know how to speak my own sentiments and those of the entire Fac.; the thought of losing you stuns us, and we feel anxious to do all that we can as sensible men to keep you amongst us, not only on account of your abilities as a teacher, your industry and enthusiasm as a worker, your personal qualities as a gentleman, a colleague and a friend, not only on account of the work you have already done in and for the school, but also because of the capabilities we recognize in you for future useful work, both in original investigation which shall add reputation to McGill and in systematic teaching of *any of* the branches of Medical Science, you may care to cultivate; and finally because we have for years felt that vitalizing influence upon us individually exercised by personal contact with you - analogous to that produced by a potent ferment.

At the same time we know nothing of the inducements that may have been held out from other quarters, but hasten to assure you that the above expresses the spirit of our intentions. In any case don't finally decide to go elsewhere before you have either seen or communicated with us.

Ever yours truly,

R. P. ~~Palmer~~ HOWARD.

To Joseph Leidy from Weir Mitchell.

Geneva,
Aug. 3rd [1884]

Dear Leidy:- I spent all day with Schiff yesterday, seeing his laboratories and assisting at his experiments. He asked much about you and made me laugh at his amazing memory, recalling to me facts in my papers I had forgotten

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and merrily talking French, English, Italian and German in turn to me or to others present. ~~He speaks very warmly of Reichert who is now with him.~~ He wants very much a copy of your rhizopods and if you have or can have one sent by Smithsonian I shall be obliged. . . .

I saw Osler in London and was very much pleased with him, and with all I heard concerning him in London he is a most accomplished pathologist, physiologist and clinician, an admirable teacher; very popular and with the power of exciting interest, in others; socially, a man for the Biological Club, if by any good luck we can get him. I may add that he has written a number of clinical papers, which are spoken of very highly.

I have been one month in Paris detained by my daughters attack of Typhoid; she is now getting well. Write me soon & remember me to Mrs. Leidy & believe me

Yr friend

WEIR MITCHELL.

To H. V. Ogden from W. O.

25 Russell Sq., London,
[Aug. 1, 1884]

Dear Ogden: - Very glad to get your letter the other day. I have been in England about three weeks and am enjoying London again. It is the world. How I should like to live here! Perhaps you have heard that by Oct. 1st I may have changed my allegiance and joined you as a citizen of the Gt. Republic. I have been asked by some of my Philadelphia friends to be a candidate for the chair of clinical medicine, vacant by the transference of Pepper to the chair of medicine. I have consented and from what Pepper writes me I think they mean to elect me - at any rate I have the strong professional ~~[backing(?) word omitted]~~ of the electionary board. The salary is about

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what I get at McGill and of course the temptations are the larger centre and the prospects of consulting work. I am grieved at the thought of leaving McGill and Dr Howard, but they will get along quite well without me - any one man is never essential. Give my love to G. C. I have mislaid his address or I should have written. Mrs. F. and chicks are well. I leave on the 7th and take out with me an aunt - a young girl of 84. I wish you could run down to Montreal for the meeting. ~~Tell Dorland we should be delighted to see him.~~

Yours most sincerely,

~~W.C.~~

He must have seen all his old friends in London, have visited Schäfer at Elstree and have gone to Cornwall to see the family relations there; and when he sailed on the 7th he brought out with him 'the young girl of 84' - Mary Anne Pickton his mother's sister, who was henceforth to share the family home in Toronto. On the fly-leaf of John Henry Newman's "Verses on Various Occasions," a volume still in his library, Osler had written in a later hand:

This copy was given to my Aunt, Miss Pickton, of Eglaston, Birmingham, by Cardinal Newman, with his photograph. She gave it to me in 1884, the year I brought her out to Canada. She and the Cardinal were exactly the same age. The additional verse to the Pillar of Cloud at p. 152 is in her handwriting. Her inscription of the book to me on the fly-leaf was unfortunately not put in when the book was rebound by Revière & Sons in 1903.

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It is probable that during the voyage he found time to write the "Notes of a Visit to European Medical Centres," which was published shortly after.*

*Editorial. Archives of Medicine, N.Y., 1884, xii, 170-84.

It is a résumé of his impressions, and concludes with this significant paragraph which shows the direction his thoughts were leading him - away from the pathological institute and from comparative pathology, to the ideal clinic which became his goal:

The custom of placing one or two men in charge of a large hospital seems odd to us and has both advantages and disadvantages. Thus, Dr. Guttman is responsible to the city authorities for the care of about 350 patients at the Moabit institution and is, of course, allowed a staff of assistants on whom necessarily a large proportion of the work falls, and in some cases the treatment is entirely in their hands. At the city hospitals the rotation of assistants is much more rapid than at the University clinics, where they gladly remain for years at small salaries for the sake of the opportunity of making reputations as clinical workers. At the Charité the wards of Frerichs, Leyden and Westphal are clinical laboratories utilized for the scientific study and treatment of disease, and the assistants, under the direction of the Professor, carry on investigations and aid in the instruction. The advanced position of German medicine and the reputation of the schools as teaching centres are largely fruits of this system.

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It was while he was at sea that the Editorial Board of the Medical News
saw fit to make ^{an announcement} ~~this early statement~~ in their issue of August 9th: *Osler's candidacy.*

Dr. William Osler of McGill University, Montreal, is prominently and favourably mentioned in connection with the Professorship of Clinical Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, rendered vacant by the transfer of Dr. Pepper to the Chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine. Dr. Osler is widely known as a talented scholar, a learned clinician and a popular teacher, and his election, which it is understood will be very acceptable to the Medical Faculty, would add undoubtedly to the high reputation which the University has always enjoyed. Dr. Osler has just been invited to deliver, next spring, the Gulstonian lectures before the Royal College of Physicians of London, of which body he was elected a Fellow, in May, 1883.

This note was promptly quoted broadcast, so that by the time of his landing, the cat was well out of the bag. The Canadian Medical Association met at Toronto, August 25th to 27th, the most notable feature of the meeting being a long and, be it said, contentious address by Lawson Tait on the subject of abdominal surgery then in its infancy, and it is over infants that their sponsors become quarrelsome. It may be assumed, however, that Osler,

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at the mercy of his friends, was nevertheless the centre of the gathering.

The paper he had planned to read on "^uPneumonia as a Contagious Disease" was

given only in abstract; and on the last day of the meeting, Foddick who

read the Report of the Nominating Committee gave the name of Osler as the

next President and of James Stewart to be his successor as General Secretary: ~~and~~

~~It was~~
~~It was reported~~

~~The note reads~~ that 'with singular unanimity Dr. Osler was elected President

for 1885.'

It was a hectic ten days, for the meeting of the British Association

followed immediately after, ^{with this gathering} ~~and~~ Osler's ~~chief~~ interests naturally lay with

the Physiological Section, a long report of which he sent off for Minis Hays's

columns.* The chief participants were Newell Martin and Howell from the

*Medical News, Sept. 27, 1884, xlv, 360-3.

Johns Hopkins Biological Laboratory, C. S. Minot and H. P. Bowditch of Boston,

his pupil Wesley Mills, and his ^{old} ~~able~~ friend Edward Schäfer who presided and

took an active part in the programme, among other things reporting some ex-

periments on cerebral localization carried out with Victor Horsley.*

*Among the British visitors were Drs. Strouthers and Cunningham, Professors of Anatomy at Aberdeen and Dublin respectively, who subsequently visited the leading schools of Canada and the United States. Dr. Strouthers on his return gave a full account of his impressions, which gave a sorry picture of the conditions then existent in the States, ~~and~~ not yet entirely overcome. *of medical Education. Conditions*

time &
His departure was drawing near and he was subjected to the usual series of tributes; ~~by~~ appropriate resolutions ~~which~~ were passed by the Societies of which he was a member; *this was* ~~by~~ a farewell celebration *at* the Dinner Club; ~~by~~ minutes of congratulation *were* passed by the McGill Faculty upon "his recognition by a distinguished foreign university;" *one with due* ~~acknowledgements~~ of his service as professor, and of the 'admirable and efficient manner in which during the past seven years he has performed the important duties of Registrar;' and so on. Finally on the eve of his departure* *October 10th* there was given *at the Windsor Hotel* ~~October 9th~~ a large complimentary dinner

*He had been formally elected to fill the Chair of Clinical Medicine, vacated by Dr. Pepper, on October 7th, and commenced ~~his work~~ *arrived* in Philadelphia on October 13th. "1884"

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at which Palmer Howard presided, and where somewhat more than the usual

felicitations ^{known to} on such occasions were given. The students themselves, not

to be outdone, ^{presented} subsequently sent him ^{with} a handsome hunting-case watch. ^{Suitably inscribed} ~~which he~~
and this will be glad to know

*It bore this inscription: "Presented to William Osler, M.D., by Classes '85, '86, '87 Medical Faculty of McGill University, Montreal. Nov. 1884." The watch he uses and daily winds, and the picture in its case, is a token of a man's fidelity; and the students of these years will be glad to know it was the only watch he ever carried. In his letter ^{and which he daily acknowledged} ~~acknowledged~~ he said

He acknowledged it with this letter:

To the Members of Classes '85, '86 and '87 from W. O.

Stet.
My dear Students: - for so you always were, and to address you so expresses my feelings still... I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your great kindness in sending the beautiful present which I have just received. I thank you for it most sincerely. But I have to thank you and your predecessors of nine classes for a present even richer and more enduring, one which I esteem above anything I possess - your confidence and your love.

The consciousness that during the ten years of my sojourn at McGill I won the esteem of the successive classes lies deep among my most cherished feelings, and shall ever be indissolubly joined in my mind with those most sacred and enduring memories of family, home and friendship. As I look into the future such a feeling is at once a comfort and a stimulus - dashed though it be at present with the thought that there was an element of in-

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gratitude in leaving McGill, an Alma Mater so kind, students so devoted and colleagues so considerate, but this source of present worry time with its kindly friction will doubtless efface. That time which you have enabled me to measure more accurately will soon bring upon you the serious responsibilities of life, and amid the busy cares of practice the memories of your college days will grow dim as a dream at noon-day. But there will come certain periods in your careers - of doubt, of anxiety and perhaps of mental distress - in which your thoughts will turn back to your old teachers and the effect of their influence or example will then become manifest, and if in such moments any words of mine or the influence of my work among you enables you the better to battle with difficulties within or without, my labour will not have been in vain.

I remain your former teacher and ever your friend,

WILLIAM OSLER.

So Mcgill lost what Howard called its 'potent ferment', and thus
~~Thus~~ closed Osler's Canadian period. He was thirty-five years of age,

at the mid-point of his life as time proved, though his expectancy at that time, in view of his ancestry, was for a longer tenure than is vouchsafed most men. Such a transplantation from one university to another of a clinician at the height of his career, though common enough in Europe was unusual in America and it caused a great deal of comment - favourable, be it said, on all sides.*¹ Still even in America there was ample precedent

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* It is a commendable sign of the times that on this continent men of ability and industry in scientific pursuits are being called to fill positions in Universities at a distance; that neither geographical nor political boundaries prevent their interchange. This spirit will, in our opinion, act beneficially in many ways. The colleges will thus secure the best men possible, and young men will be encouraged to a greater extent to make the study of scientific medicine their principal aim and object in life. Canadian Practitioner, Nov., 1884, ix, 349. Editorial on William Osler.

as in the case of Nathan Smith, Dunglison, Gibson, Elisha Bartlett,

More besides.
Bartholow, Flint, Gross and ~~others~~. Nevertheless, there was something different about Osler's call from these others, for it represented the choice of a young man, known more for his scientific papers and his interest in research than for any proven clinical ability. Time has shown that such a preparation is often the best, though the appointment of laboratory-trained men to clinical positions often raises an outcry.

Unwilling to let go entirely, and trusting perhaps that the experiment might not succeed, the McGill Faculty at their meeting on September 3rd had voted him a six-months' leave of absence and his resignation was not finally accepted until October 11th when ^{final} resolutions of regret

were passed. Their hopes of his return were vain, and though some years later he was again urged to do so it was not to be, though he was never forgetful of what he owed to Johnson and Bovell and Howard; to the microscope and the pathological laboratory; to the Montreal General and to his Canadian friends.

What particularly lured him is difficult now to tell. It may even have been difficult for him ^{to tell.} For a person capable of such strong local attachments there is something contradictory about it, for a great career was assured in Montreal, and Philadelphia was an uncertainty with its different environment and customs and in a land more foreign to him than England. It ~~possibly was~~ ^{may have} the singularity of the call which attracted him; and an ancestral impulse which bade him accept. He possibly realized that his bent lay in the study of disease ^{as it was seen} ~~in the living and~~ at the bedside rather than in the laboratory. ^{As W.S. Connally has said "He could only have become a great Scientist"} His chief regret must have been in leaving Howard, ^{* The John Hyatt Bowdler ^{July} 1919 xxx p. 197} of whom in his writings he referred so often in years to come.

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He had lived in Montreal through an eventful decade, which W. T.

Councilman thus describes:

From 1872 to 1878 was a great period in medicine; it just preceded the bacteriological era in which the nature of infection was established; Pasteur had completed his studies on fermentation and the silk-worm disease and was in the midst of his revolutionary work on anthrax; Koch, an obscure country physician, was beginning his studies on bacteria and developing the methods which made their scientific study possible; Virchow was at the height of his fame; Cohnheim and Weigert had begun in Breslau and in Leipsic their remarkable work; a new university in Strasburg had just been established which became famed through its products; physiology, in England and under Ludwig in Leipsic, had taken a new life; Lister in England was in the midst of the work which revolutionized surgery; the modern medical clinic was slowly being established, and medicine was becoming scientific, its procedures based upon knowledge and not conjecture; new ideals and methods in medical teaching were being everywhere introduced; America was feeling the enormous stimulus of the promise given in the establishment of The Johns Hopkins University. Osler was under the stimulus of all the new life. He could easily have become a great scientist, but he chose the path which led to the formation of the great clinician which he became; a worthy associate of the great men who have made English medicine famous. "

(11)

Johns Hopkins Hosp. Bulletin.

1914 XXX p. 197

During the short span of years since his ^{McGee} appointment he had stirred into activity the slumbering Medico-Chirurgical Society, he had founded and sup-

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ported a Students' Medical Club, he had brought into relation with the university the Veterinary School, he had introduced the modern methods of teaching physiology, had edited the first clinical and pathological reports of a Canadian hospital, had recorded nearly a thousand autopsies and made ~~countless~~ ^{innumerable} museum preparations of the more important specimens; he had written countless papers many of them ephemeral it is true, but most of them on topics of live interest for the time, and a few of them epoch-making; he had worked at biology and pathology both human and comparative, as well as at the bedside; he had shown courage in taking the smallpox wards, charity in his dealings with his fellow-physicians in and out of his own school, generosity to his students, fidelity to his tasks; and for his many unusual qualities, popularity unsought but of a most unusual degree lay at his door.

Years later in an address which he gave at McGill, Osler briefly

["*After Twenty-five Years." Montreal Medical Journal, 1899, xxviii, 823.

reviewed the occurrences of this formative period of his medical life, as

follows:

"Twenty-five years ago this Faculty, with some hardihood, selected a young and untried man to deliver the lectures on the Institutes of Medicine. With characteristic generosity the men who had claims on the position in virtue of service in the school, recognizing that the times were changing, stepped aside in favour of one who had had the advantage of post-graduate training in the subjects to be taught. The experiment of the Faculty, supplemented on my part by enthusiasm, constitutional energy, and a fondness for the day's work, led to a certain measure of success. I have tried to live over again in memory those happy early days, but by no possible effort can I recall much that I would fain remember. The dust of passing years has blurred the details, even in part the general outlines of the picture. The blessed faculty of forgetting is variously displayed in us. In some, as in our distinguished countryman, John Beattie Crozier, it is absent altogether, and he fills chapter after chapter with delightful reminiscences and descriptions of his experiences and mental states. At corresponding periods - we are about the same age - my memory hovers like a shade about the magic circle which Ulysses drew in Hades, but finds no Tiresias to lift the veil with which oblivion has covered the past. Shadowy as are these recollections, which,

be they what they may
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet a master light of all our seeing,

they are doubly precious from their association with men who welcomed me into the Faculty, now, alas, a sadly reduced remnant. To them - to their influence, to their example, to the kindly encouragement I received at their hands - I can

never be sufficiently grateful. Faithfulness in the day of small things may be said to have been the distinguishing feature of the work of the Faculty in those days. The lives of the senior members taught us youngsters the lesson of professional responsibility, and the whole tone of the place was stimulating and refreshing. It was an education in itself, particularly in the amenities of faculty and professional life, to come under the supervision of two such Deans as Dr. George Campbell and Dr. Palmer Howard. How delightful it would be to see the chairs which they adorned in the school endowed in their memories and called by their names!

"One recollection is not at all shadowy - the contrast in my feelings today only serves to sharpen the outlines. My first appearance before the class filled me with a tremulous uneasiness and an overwhelming sense of embarrassment. I had never lectured, and the only paper I had read before a society was with all the possible vaso-motor accompaniments. With a nice consideration my colleagues did not add to my distress by their presence, and once inside the lecture room the friendly greeting of the boys calmed my fluttering heart, and, as so often happens, the ordeal was most severe in anticipation. One permanent impression of the session abides - the awful task of the preparation of about one hundred lectures. After the ten or twelve with which I started were exhausted I was on the treadmill for the remainder of the session. False pride forbade the reading of the excellent lectures of my predecessor, Dr. Drake, which, with his wonted goodness of heart, he had offered. I reached January in an exhausted condition, but relief was at hand. One day the post brought a brand-new work on physiology by a well-known German professor, and it was remarkable with what rapidity my

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labours of the last half of the session were lightened. An extraordinary improvement in the lectures was noticed; the students benefited, and I gained rapidly in the facility with which I could translate from the German.

"Long before the session was over I had learned to appreciate the value of the position entrusted to me, and sought the means to improve the methods of teaching. I had had the advantage of one of the first systematic courses on practical physiology given at University College, London, a good part of which consisted of lessons and demonstrations in histology. In the first session, with but a single microscope, I was only able to give the stock display of the circulation of the blood, ciliary action, etc., but a fortunate appointment as physician to the smallpox department of the General Hospital carried with it a salary which enabled me to order a dozen Hartnack microscopes and a few bits of simple apparatus. This is not the only benefit I received from the old smallpox wards, which I remember with gratitude, as from them I wrote my first clinical papers. During the next session I had a series of Saturday demonstrations, and gave a private course in practical histology. One grateful impression remains - the appreciation by the students of these optional and extra hours. For several years I had to work with very scanty accommodation, trespassing in the chemical laboratory in winter, and in summer using the old cloak room downstairs for the histology. In 1880 I felt very proud when the faculty converted one of the lecture rooms into a physiological laboratory and raised a fund to furnish and equip it. Meanwhile I had found time to take my bearings. From the chair of the Institutes of Medicine both physiology and pathology were taught. It has been a time-honoured custom to devote twenty lectures of the course to the latter, and as my colleagues at the Montreal General Hospital had placed the post-mortem room at my disposal I soon

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found that my chief interest was in the pathological part of the work. In truth, I lacked the proper technique for practical physiology. For me the apparatus never would go right, and I had not a Diener who could prepare even the simplest experiments. Alas! there was money expended (my own usually, I am happy to say, but sometimes my friends', as I was a shocking beggar!) in apparatus that I never could set up, but over which the freshmen firmly believed that I spent sleepless nights in elaborate researches. Still one could always get the blood to circulate, cilia to wave and the fibrin to digest. I do not think that any member of the ten successive classes to which I lectured understood the structure of a lymphatic gland, or of the spleen, or of the placental circulation. To those structures I have to-day an ingrained hatred, and I am always delighted when a new research demonstrates the folly of all preceding views of their formation. Upon no subjects had I harder work to conceal my ignorance. I have learned since to be a better student, and to be ready to say to my fellow students "I do not know." Four years after my college appointment the Governors of the Montreal General Hospital elected me on the visiting staff. . . . What better fortune could a young man desire! I left the same day for London with my dear friend, George Ross, and the happy days we had together working at clinical medicine did much to wean me from my first love; From that date I paid more and more attention to pathology and practical medicine, and added to my courses one in morbid anatomy, another in pathological histology, and a summer class in clinical medicine. I had become a pluralist of the most abandoned sort, and at the end of ten years it was difficult to say what I did profess: I felt like the man in Alcibiades II. to whom are applied the words of the poet: -

Full many a thing he knew;
But knew them all badly.

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"Weakened in this way, I could not resist when temptation came to pastures new in the fresh and narrower field of clinical medicine.

"After ten years of hard work I left this city a rich man not in this world's goods, for such I have the misfortune - or the good fortune - lightly to esteem, but rich in the goods which neither rust nor moth have been able to corrupt, - in treasures of friendship and good fellowship, and in those treasures of widened experience and a fuller knowledge of men and manners which contact with the bright minds in the profession ensures. My heart, or a good bit of it at least, has stayed with those who bestowed on me these treasures. Many a day I have felt it turn towards this city to the dear friends I left there, my college companions, my teachers, my old chums, the men with whom I lived in closest intimacy, and in parting from whom I felt the chordae tendineae grow tense."