

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

(Original Copy)

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AN ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE
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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

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Just the other day, in clearing out a certain cupboard, I came upon an old diary of my sister's into which she had thoughtfully pasted many years ago, some newspaper cuttings giving an account of an attempt which I made when in my third year in Arts at McGill, now nearly forty years ago, to obtain admission to the Faculty of Medicine as an undergraduate student. This old account has brought the facts before me so vividly that I thought it might be of interest to you to accompany me back in a birds eye view across the past in a brief autobiographical retrospect.

Brought up in the country by my beloved Grandmother, and educated with my only sister entirely at home except for one year in Montreal at Miss Symmers and Smith School, I was fortunate in that this School was for the first time sending up a class to McGill for the June Associate in Arts examination, as the matriculation was then called. I had been very unevenly prepared in the Country, well up in French and History and Literature, and yet knowing nothing whatever of Latin or algebra or geometry and very little of arithmetic; but I was consumed by a great thirst for the school work, and hurled myself into it with a tremendous zest, with a result that I was so fortunate as to win the Scholarship into McGill from that School. Had it not been for this happening, I should probably not be here to-day, for an Arts education for a girl was at that time considered a quite unnecessary luxury and it was exceedingly difficult for me to be spared a second year from home. But Miss Symmers wanted her first scholarship taken up for the honour of her School, so pressure was brought to bear at home, and I was permitted to

Read before the Women's Medical Society of McGill University, March, 31st, 1928.

come. Accordingly I came down (this was in the middle of September 1885), the plan being that I was to enter upon my first year in Arts and engage rooms for us all, where my Grandmother and sister were to join me for the Winter, in October. I had been just three weeks in Arts and all our winter's arrangements were made when I was obliged to give it up and return to St. Andrews. That was the time of the great small-pox epidemic in Montreal, and my dear Grandmother was anxious and decided not to come, leaving me free to do as I thought best. It was a great struggle. I had just begun Greek, and the University life seemed to me to have opened the gates of Paradise, but by all the laws of fair play it was my "turn" to stay at home and let my sister come down when the epidemic had abated, and this was what did come to pass. That quiet winter at St. Andrews was not altogether fruitless however, for a kind old friend in the City sent me the modern Greek Textbooks and our own old Anglican clergyman coached me in this subject all winter long. Our lessons were mostly from the Greek Testament and interwoven with much sound doctrine. "ἀνα, my dear", he would say, "means upward, ἄνω, I turn, ὤψω, my face, ἀναθροῦσθαι, a man turns his face upward to God;" "See that you do likewise." While for Latin I had the Presbyterian minister, also a very ancient man. "We will begin our lesson, my dear, he would say "by kneeling together in prayer", and so we did.

This was the reason that although I matriculated in 1885, I did not actually embark on my Arts course until the session 1886-1887, and so graduated in 1890 with the third class of women in Arts from McGill. My three weeks in the First Year in 1885 gave me at first a certain advantage over my fellow Freshmen who, consequently, elected me President, a post I retained until my Final Year. At that time we were called the

Donaldis Department of McGill after Sir Donald A. Smith, later Lord Strathcona, who had just given his first endowment for the higher education of women at McGill, and we were housed in that part of the Arts Building which connected the present Bursar's Office (then the Principal's house) with the centre block. There were then no Science Building, no Redpath Library, no R.U.C., no Biological Building, no new Medical Building, no Royal Victoria Hospital. Only the long low line of buildings from the Principal's house to the Molson Hall, the Redpath Museum, in which most of our honour courses were given, two small blocks at the site of the front part of the present Biological Building, which housed the Medical Faculty, and downtown the Montreal General Hospital with only its three front blocks surmounted by a cupola. The rooms we occupied were then called the East Wing, and we thought it a palace. Very enthusiastic we all were, but I think perhaps I, who was country-bred, and had not had my fill of school or directed study before I entered Arts, felt our new advantage most acutely of us all. I was literally in love with McGill, or so the girls said, and I have never really fallen out of love with her since. I mention this because I think it best explains all that happened since.

Being as we were the third class of women to graduate from McGill, we helped to make our little page of history, for our nine members raised the women students to 20 and that was a large enough number to organize from. During the four years I was in Arts, we helped our seniors of class '88 to found the Delta Sigma Debating Society (in 1888) and in our last Session 1889-90, we ourselves founded a religious society, which is now the College Y.W.C.A., but which we called our Theo Dora or gifts to God Society. A few weeks after our graduation in June 1890, we got together and organized a Soup Kitchen on Jurors Street for factory and working

girls, which we and the accruing band of Women Graduates maintained as such for a number of years, and which finally became the University Settlement; and we banded ourselves at this time as the future McGill Alumnae Society.

As an Undergraduate I was Editor for the Donaldas of the McGill Fortnightly, then our only college publication, and a hectic time I had. Arts, Science, and the Donaldas Editors, the latter being I, united in a vote of censure against the Editor in Chief, who was a graduate in Arts but an undergraduate in Medicine, because he insisted in putting in over the heads of the Editorial Board, what we and our constituencies considered, overbroad medical jokes. Many a time have I mounted the stair in the East Wing to hear some such words as: "Father says he is not going to let us have the Fortnightly in the house, there's another medical joke in it this morning." The men in Arts and Science also objected to certain Editorials which appeared without having been submitted, favouring the views of Medicine which were usually (agog) with those of the other Faculties rather than Arts. Our Editor-in-Chief, however was impervious to our reprimands; he failed to resign and repeated the offence, and we three resigned in a body, whereat he and his junior medical editor triumphantly brought out the last number of the Session alone. From this I learned a lesson I have never forgotten, which is that to resign one's office is to abandon one's trust, and therefore any other form of protest is to be preferred to withdrawal from office, if one really cares for the work it represents.

I was Class Valedictorian too, a matter which was a more serious undertaking then, than now, for the men and women in Arts graduated with Science in the Windsor Hall, and we read our three valedictories,

(which had been strictly censored the day before by the Principal Sir William Dawson and all references not completely in accord with the then University policy, sternly deleted), in open Convocation. They were published in the May number of the University Gazette of that year and I would like to quote some paragraphs from my own if only to show how seriously we took ourselves, and how deeply we sensed our relationship to the School that had admitted us within her sacred precincts. It began, -

"As we stand together here on the vantage ground of our Graduation day looking backward over the past and forward over the future, the one supreme thought that comes to us out of the kaleidoscope of memory and hope is that of this mysterious work. To what it ultimately tends we know not, but we press forward in it to this the mark of our high calling. Work is fundamental to the onward march of science, it is at the bottom of every great and good action that was ever done, it underlies the foundation of all true character; and it is the sin of idleness that is to be counted as the deadliest, just because it chokes, with the stifling pressure of stagnation, every noble deed and eventually, every holy inspiration." And it ended "..... It is with full hearts that we turn to repeat the word to our Alma Mater herself. But surely, there is no need (of vain repetitions here). The "ego polliceor" that we have just vowed is still vibrating in the air; and can we ever dream of ceasing to love and cherish and reverence, of ceasing to keep holy and undefiled the memory of that University that has made us her own children. Let us be still, and let our whole future life-work prove that from our hearts far more than from our lips, arises to our Alma Mater a wish that is a prayer "Farewell."

Owing to my domestic conditions, which were those of a very small family circle, it was impossible for me to remain away from home for two consecutive years. Accordingly after my first year in Arts our little household moved into the city. Owing to illness at home I was obliged to drop my Classics honour course in my third year, but as I had had Greek throughout, I was able to qualify in the final year for the Lord

Stanley gold medal, which I won. Of the five medals awarded that year, the nine girls in Arts '90 got three, and very proud of each other we were. #

But what about Medicine? The idea of studying it was not in the first place my own. My childhood "best friend", now Mrs. C.H. Eastlake, who is by the way one of our leading Canadian artists, to-day, said to me during my second year in Arts, as we sat one day together in the fields at her home in Almonte. "What are you going to do when you leave College?" "I never thought about it", said I. "If I were'nt an artist," said she, "I would be a doctor. Its a lovely life. So human and full of people." I came home and said to my Grandmother, "May I be a doctor?" "Dear child," said she, "you may be anything you like." This was not a full decision however, and I thought and spoke of the plan only in a desultory way, my great desire at that time being to remain on as a student at McGill. At the end of my second year, in May 1888, when the first class of women graduated, their valedictorian Octavia Ritchie, afterwards Dr. Grace Ritchie England, who was my very dear friend, made a stirring plea for the admission of women to medicine at McGill. The authorities were however strongly opposed to coeducation and the matter rested there. Then, in my third year (1889), some kind ladies in the city, of rather advanced views, hearing that I wanted to study medicine, sent for me, and offered to support any step I might take in the matter, and even undertook to go with me to call upon some of the leading Doctors, to ascertain their views. The result was that I did send in, on February 12th, 1889, with the approval of some of the Physicians who were more or less sympathetic or rather, not unfriendly, the following petition which I quote from the newspaper cutting above referred to.

To the Dean and Faculty of Medicine of McGill University:

I, the undersigned, having decided upon adopting the medical profession, and being desirous of obtaining the necessary instruction in Montreal, do hereby petition the Dean and Faculty of Medicine that some provisions be made to this end. And I further most earnestly pray that the said provision be made for the approaching session of the college year, 1889-90.

I would solicit an early reply to this petition.

I am, yours respectfully,

Maude E. Abbott.

111 Union Avenue, Feb. 12th, 1889.

Shortly thereafter some of these lay friends, who were interested, formed themselves into a Society which they called the "Association for the Professional Education of Women (A.P.E.W.), and they also petitioned the Faculty to consider my request favorably, to inform them what requirements financial and otherwise would be needed for our admission (for there were now two of us), and they pledged themselves to raise whatever funds were considered necessary to meet these, and to this end asked for a Conference. The Faculty granted this, and a deputation from it met representatives of the A.P.E.W. and we two petitioners, but the Faculty finally ruled that it was impossible for them to consider the subject favorably at the present time. This was in the autumn of 1889.

Shortly after my graduation in Arts, 1890, I had a message from the Medical Faculty of the University of Bishops College (a small school with its building on the corner of Ontario and Lance Streets, which was more or less in rivalry with McGill, but) whose students had their hospital work from the McGill Teaching Staff at the Montreal General Hospital), informing me that it contemplated opening its doors to women the following autumn and that three women had already enrolled themselves, and inviting me to do so. Dr. Ritchie (a graduate of the first class in Arts from McGill) then in her Third Year at Queens in Kingston was one of the three enrolled for her final year at Bishops, and September found me there a medical undergraduate in my first year. Those were dark days. No longer within the walls of my beloved McGill, among rough students, many of whom seemed to me to have lower standards than those among which we had worked together for the pure love of the working, and struggling, as only a first year student in medicine does struggle, with the bare bones of anatomy,- it was a dreary round. But Dr. Springle, our Professor in Anatomy, and Dr. Bruère in Pathology, were bright lights on our horizon, and the work at the M.G.H. was in prospect. Before, the end of my first year however, in the spring of 1891, I was warned by Miss Ritchie to apply at once for my students perpetual ticket for the Montreal General Hospital, and to pay the money down immediately, and I accordingly did, that same day, pay in my \$20.00, which was duly receipted; but my hospital ticket, which had to be issued later by the Committee of Management, did not come to me. Miss Ritchie, (whose brother the late Dr. Arthur Ritchie was a fellow graduate of Dr. Osler's from McGill and a friend of the men in power), had already walked the wards throughout the session 1890-91, with success and popularity, but some of

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her old fellow-students at Queens had written in, asking for permission to attend the Summer session, and the Committee of Management saw with alarm that they had taken a step that might open the flood gates for an ill-considered innovation, and they had accordingly actually ruled that no more tickets should be issued to women students, so that, in spite of the fact that my \$20.00 had been paid in and acknowledged, the matter was still in abeyance and my ticket withheld. It was now July of 1891, and I was beginning to lay my plans to go to Philadelphia, when the newspaper storm broke. It was the time for the payment of annual subscriptions to the Montreal General Hospital, and the situation had somehow got through to the consciousness of the Governors, and a number of these headed by Mr. D.A.P. Watt and the late Mr. Hugh McLennan, quite spontaneously, and entirely as a matter of fair play, took up the cudgels on my behalf, saying it was unfair to refuse a ticket for hospital attendance to me, an Arts graduate ^(a good student) of McGill, when this privilege had just been accorded my fellow graduate Miss Ritchie and in no way abused by her; and they refused to pay in their subscriptions until a ticket had been issued also to me. The papers were again full of the pros and cons of the situation, of the "poor little men-students" who were about to be invaded and who needed protection from the "great big lady student", who was about to descend on them if allowed, but on the whole they were quite favourable to the cause of women in medicine. I felt the publicity of it both then and earlier, greatly, and it made me very unhappy. I felt quite sure that none of importance in my world would ever want to speak to me again after all this newspaper exposure, and indeed I think many people did probably think of me askance and blame me as too young a woman to be flaunted in the papers so. In the middle of it all one day by mail at

St. Andrews the ticket suddenly reached me. The battle had been suddenly won for me entirely in absentia, by men I had never known or seen. But a Resolution had been passed by the Committee of Management that no other tickets for hospital attendance were to be issued to women students.

During the next three sessions I was in full attendance at all the M.G.H. clinics that were open to McGill and Bishops students. I was the only woman, for Miss Ritchie had graduated, and a Miss Fyffe to whom a second ticket really was allowed through the influence of the late Dr. Kirkpatrick, did not attend the Third and Fourth Year clinics. I enjoyed the work greatly and on the whole I was very kindly treated, but I was more or less at a disadvantage, for I was rarely quizzed or called down on the floor, and there were painful moments in the operating room, when I had to decide for myself whether or not it was best to leave the room for certain operations not attended by the nurses, the thought of which still gives me a tingle of embarrassment. Of all the teachers, Dr. Shepherd was the kindest to me in a practical way for he often let me assist in operations on my cases, or would reward what he regarded as a well worked-up case report by allotting me extra beds, taking them away for this purpose from "that fellow who is never here when he is wanted". I had as many as four beds at a time under him. On the other hand he took a delight in plaguing me by such announcements as "I have to let you out early today gentlemen to attend a meeting we're having to keep out those troublesome lady-students". The stamping and applause that greeted such a remark as this was the only unchivalrous act on the part of the men, which I remember. A number of them had been my fellow graduates in Arts, and I used to look longingly across at them, but I was now in an alien School, and I think over-sensitive, and somehow, we did not grow intimate; and I was very lonely.

I graduated in Medicine in 1894, winning the Senior Anatomy prize, and the Chancellor's Prize for the best examination in the final branches, and in July following, sailed with my sister for Europe, my dear Grandmother then having died, on December 12th, 1890. The Captain was an old family friend and we sat one on each side of him at the table, but they called us the Infants of the Ship, for we had never travelled before, and yet we were bound for Heidelberg, and after that, we knew not whether. But Vienna was at that time the Mecca of the Postgraduate, and our idea was to first learn German in a less expensive locality and then go there. We had a month first in London with old friends, and Professor Moyses, who had crossed with us, had given me a card of introduction to Sir Victor Horsley then at University College and Queens Square Hospital. Between him and facilities provided by ^{the} London School of Medicine for Women, I had all the medical sight seeing I could carry. Sir Victor was very good to us, had us at the house for lunch, got us tickets for admission to the House of Lords, and sent me notices for his daily private operations. On the morning of the day we left for the Continent, I attended one of these operations and after it went up to him to say goodbye. "Did you say you are going to Heidelberg" he said; and when we arrived there, a week later, I found a letter from him addressed to me Poste restante, containing introductions from him, to Czerny the great surgeon, Erb the great neurologist, and Hoffmann the medico-legal expert. As I was at that time steering for Gynaecology (or so I thought) and as this meant a knowledge of surgery, I decided to follow Czerny, and I went to his operations daily. The very evening of the first morning I spent in his operating room, all Heidelberg was astir with joy because he had just refused a call to Vienna to succeed ^{the great} Ballroth. In his honour the students held a Fackelzug, or

torchlight procession in his honour, marching before his house and cheering him sword in hand, after which they marched to the Studentenplatz which lay just under the walls of the beautiful castle, and danced their sword-dance, striking their swords above their heads to the tune of the song they sung together;

" Alt Heidelberg du feine
Du stadt an Ehren reich
Am Neckar und am Rheine
Kein andere kommt dir gleich".

and ending by throwing their swords together in a heap in the middle of the Platz. This was a great sight that met our unaccustomed eyes in the streaming moonlight; for our kindly hostesses of the Pension Caemmerer steered us so that we saw it all.

Three weeks in Heidelberg and one in Bern (where I saw the great Kocher operate) and six in Interlaken, and then September 1894 saw us in Zurich, where I matriculated into the University (since this admitted women), for the winter session, while my sister settled down to music at the conservatorium. As is usual abroad we found old friends there and had a cosy apartment and a happy winter. I concentrated on Pathology, for which purpose I got a place in Prof. Ribbert's laboratory, and struggled there alone and with very little personal supervision over my first microscopic sections, almost the only help he gave me being "Zeichnen Sic, Fräulein", "draw, draw everything you see under your microscope"; but I followed his wonderful courses to the students on combined gross and microscopic pathology with great interest and profit; and ^{I concentrated} also on Gynaecology for which purpose I was allowed to enrol myself as a Student "Unter-assistent-in" with Prof. Wyder, in which capacity my still insufficient grasp of the language brought me up against various difficulties, but he was extraordinarily kind throughout, and in the end

opened the way to Vienna by introducing me to Wertheim there. I also followed Forel (Charcots great co-worker in hypnotism) in his lectures on nervous and mental diseases, and had a neuropathology laboratory course with the distinguished von Monakow and I learnt to use the ophthalmoscope on rabbits eyes, and had a special course in Otolaryngology.

At last, in March 1895, we reached Vienna, and remained there or in the vicinity nearly two years. I began my medical work with the post-graduate courses in Gynaecology and Obstetrics, taking two in each subject, to make up for my lack of student experience, at least in Gynaecology. In the Obstetrics courses, we followed the regular schedule then in vogue, which consisted in spending three days and nights on the Schanta Gebar-klinik, where we were accommodated with flea-infested beds, and were given a part in the many cases that came off, under the able, though it seemed to us cold-blooded tutelage of Dr. Wertheim, at that time a Privat-Dozent; then came three days intermission and then three days on duty again. These were the most expensive of all the courses, and although very goodm they were not, I believe, the best thing to be had in Vienna at that time. In ^{the} consensus of opinion then (and I believe still), the greatest things to be had there by far, were the Pathology with Kolisko and Albrecht, and the Internal Medicine courses with Ortner in Neusser's Clinic, Cvostek in Nothnagel's and Kovacs at the Franz-Josef'spital. The only ones of these three sets of courses in Internal Medicine open to women, were Dr. Ortner's, the other courses admitting men only, not because these teachers objected to taking women, but because the "Americans" who were responsible for filling the places in them had made this ruling. Each course was shared by six postgraduate students who paid 20 guldens apiece for 20 bedside quiz clinics given

by the ²Docent, and his methods were of the best. All that could be got from the patient by Inspection and Palpation we had to glean before proceeding further, and often from the character of the pulse and other general features we had so narrowed the field by exclusion, that the diagnosis jumped out at one as soon as the main facts of the case were exposed. As soon as one Internal Medicine course ended, another by the same teacher began, and once one had secured a "place" one usually held it throughout one's stay in Wien, either taking it along with other courses, or when one needed the time for other work, putting in a substitute who paid for it while he used it, and yielded it up again at request. This very convenient arrangement gave the advantage to those who had been longest in Vienna, or who had had friends there before their arrival, for the Docent cared not at all who was there so long as he was paid, and it was quite easy for old members to get control of other "places", and hand them to friends on their arrival. It is readily seen that such a system might undergo abuse, and I believe a time did arrive later when "Chicago" held one course and "Boston" another, and an outsider could not get in at all. But in my time it was merely a convenience, and at least in the Ortrier courses everyone was friendly and obliging. When we arrived we found two old Montreal friends there, Dr. W. F. Hamilton and Dr. George Mathewson, who were nearing the end of a winter's stay, and Dr. Hamilton got me a "place" immediately in one of Ortrier's courses, and explained the value of it to me, so that I owe it to him that I held it during the entire 22 months I was in Vienna, either filling it myself or by substitutes, who were always to be obtained. Thus it came about also that when in September 1896, four old fellow graduates of mine in Arts, Drs. Armour Robertson, Fry, Nicholls and MacCarthy arrived unexpect-
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for three months work, I "owned" no less than four places in Ortrier's course that had been handed over to me by departing friends, and was therefore able to "place" all four men immediately, with a result that they gave me a grand Christmas dinner at the Riedhof with an invitation addressed to me as the "President of the Montreal Medico-Chirurgical Society of Vienna" (a pleasant harbinger as women had not yet been admitted to the Medical Society at home), at which there were presents for everyone and many promises of mutual good will and good fellowship were exchanged.

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In the same way, the gross pathology which was given once or twice weekly by Kolisko on all the accumulated material and was simply magnificent (no other word applies) was always attended by practically all the post-graduates throughout their stay in Wien. We had splendid courses too, from Albrechtin pathological histology which gave us a good outline and sent us home with a fine collection of slides. The two courses which I followed with him I had the pleasure of sharing with Dr. A.S. Warthin of Ann Arbor, and laid there the foundation of a friendship that has lasted since. I had many other courses, Neurology with V. Goldner, Neuro-pathology with Obersteiner, Bacteriology with Gohn (and myself got Diphtheria), Blood diseases with Neudorfer, Otolaryngology, Ophthalmology and the rest, and followed the lectures by Professors Neusser and Nothnagel, Kraff-Ebbing and von Wagner, Shanfa, and Wlderhofer, - but it was the grounding I obtained into Internal Medicine and Pathology from Ortner and Kolisko and Albrecht that determined my bent, and made possible my later work at McGill.

In the Spring of 1897, en route at last for home, I passed the examination at Edinburgh for the Triple Qualification Licentiate in

in company with Dr. G.S. MacCarthy (McGill Med '94), and Dr. W.B. Howell (Med '96), and I interned as locum tenens for a short time in a small Woman's Hospital at Glasgow, where the new Listerian methods of asepsis were followed in one surgical ward, while the old pre-Listerian practices of sluicing out the abdomen with tap water were practiced in the other, (to my great consternation), and later during the Summer I served as Clinician Assistant for three months in the great City Asylum at Birmingham. Returning to Montreal in September 1897, I set up my office and door plate at 156 Mansfield Street in the November following, next door but one to Dr. Shepherd, upon whom I left a card with some trepidation. A few weeks later I had occasion to call him in consultation on a case of stone in the kidney, and he operated on my patient, and has ever since been one of my best and kindest friends.

X While in England I had joined the British Medical Association, and I had been in practice only a few weeks when I attended a meeting in Montreal at which Dr. James Stewart and Dr. Adams reported a case from the R.V.H. of Pigmentation Cirrhosis in Bronzed Diabetes, the first in the English language, and the first in any literature in a woman. The tissue reaction is peculiar, in that the iron pigment reacts to ferrocyanide of potassium turning a bright Prussian blue (Perl's test). I had seen such a case in Albrecht's laboratory in Vienna and had the microscopic slides with me. I have them still. Next day, in walking through the college grounds I happened to meet Dr. Martin, who was Medical Superintendent of the Montreal General Hospital during the latter part of the time I was a student there. He stopped me with the question, "Are you practising here?" and when I said "Yes", he invited me to come up and work at the R.V.H. Whereupon I asked him if I might bring my

slides of pigmentation cirrhosis and show them to Dr. Adami, and he made an appointment for me accordingly for the following day. When Dr. Adami saw my slides, he turned over the case of "Blue Mary" as it came to be called in the literature to me to work up, while Dr. Martin set me to work from the clinical side on a statistical study on Functional Heart Murmurs, based on the records in the Hospital since its opening some five years previously. // I finished Dr. Martin's paper first, (and he criticized it for me from Berlin, Germany, where he had gone for Post-graduate work, and Dr. James Stewart read it for me (in Dr. Martin's absence, ^{in Germany} and as I could not present it myself not being a member), at the Medico-Chirurgical Society to which women had not yet been admitted. It was very well received and immediately after it had been read Dr. Adami proposed a Resolution that women be admitted to membership in the Society, and nominated me for election to membership. This Resolution, which had been proposed a year earlier on behalf of another medical woman and had then been turned down, was now carried practically unanimously, only one member voting against it. This happened on March 21st, 1898, and the article "On so-called Functional Heart-Murmurs" appeared in the Montreal Medical Journal for 1899, xxviii, of that year. ^PThe Pigmentation-cirrhosis was a more extensive affair. As it was the first piece of pathological research I had ever done, Dr. Adami told me to work it over as completely as possible first, and after this was done, to make a survey of the literature. I accordingly wrote to Vienna for the full records of the case from which I had the slides, and they very kindly sent me material from two others with a paper by Kretz who had studied also a large number of livers to determine the presence of haemosiderin in conditions other than that

which we were studying. In the light of his article I proceeded to examine the livers from all the autopsies done at the R.V.H. since its origin five years before and to test those which showed pigment for haemosiderin, and incidentally I found it necessary to perfect the technique of Perl's test, which did not give a Prussian-blue reaction on formalin preserved material unless the solutions were heated, and the hydrochloric acid used in excess of the ferrocyanide of potassium. In his work on haemosiderosis in copper poisoning Professor Mallory gives me credit for this point in its technique. It was nearly two years before this work, and my study of the literature, was finished, and meantime Dr. Opie of Baltimore brought out a study of a case that had occurred at Johns Hopkins. Fortunately, the fact that Drs. Stewart and Adami had made a brief report of our case at the Montreal meeting of the B.M.A. established its priority, but Opie's case has frequently been quoted by American writers (though never by English ones) as being the first in the English language. My article was ready for publication by December 1899, and it was presented for me by Sir Humphry Rolleston before the Pathological Society of London in January 1900, and published in its Transactions, and also in the British Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology in February 1900. I may add that it was the first communication ever made by a woman before that Society.

5 While this work was in progress, Dr. Adami set me to work also on a bacteriological problem, namely the possible transmutation in form of the colon bacillus under the action of certain serous effusions, (ascitic fluid). Two papers were published by us on this work but no observation of any importance was made by me, partly I think because my own training

in bacteriological technique was quite inadequate for any advanced problem of this kind. But I spent many harassing and hectic weeks trying to change a perfectly good colon bacillus with typical cultural features into a diplococoid form by inoculating successive series of guinea-pigs and putting it through repeated changes of ascitic fluid media. This was the only really depressing bit of medical research I ever did. //

In the Summer of 1898 I had been appointed Assistant Curator of the McGill Medical Museum, and a year later to its Curatorship, Dr. Adams holding the title of ~~being the~~ Director as head of the Pathological Department. In January 1899 the Faculty sent me down to Washington and the other great centres in that vicinity to see Museums, before embarking on my task of classifying and cataloguing the historical McGill collection and completing its teaching series. I went down with Dr. Wyatt Johnston's decimal classification in my hand (which I afterwards applied here) for discussion with other Museum workers, and I carried a suggestion from him that I and the Curator of the Army Medical Museum at Washington should together try to organize a "Society of Curators" as none such existed. No action followed this suggestion at the time, but it led later to the development of the International Association of Medical Museums. On the way to Washington I stayed over at Baltimore and there for the first time I met Dr. Osler, and had the privilege of making rounds with him and a group of his students and physicians. Not only this, but he invited me to dinner at his house, and afterwards I was present at one of his famous student evenings, at which nine young men and two young women, his case-reporters at the Hospital, sat around the large dining-table, and I beside him at one end. After showing us all some rare first editions from early Masters of Medicine, and then discussing with them the problems and points of interest

in their cases for the week, he turned suddenly upon me, as I sat there with my heart beating at the wonderful new world that had opened so unexpectedly before me, with the words: "I wonder, now, if you realize what a splendid opportunity you have in that McGill Museum. When you go home look up the article by Sir Jonathan Hutchinson on his "Clinical Museum", in the British Medical Journal for . Pictures of life and death together, - wonderful, and then see what you can do." And so he quietly dropped the seed that dominated all my future work for very many years. My recollections of this to me, most wonderful first experience of one who has become known to us as the greatest Clinical Teacher of his time are detailed in a little reprint which I can give to those of you who are interested.

Returning to Montreal from this rather strenuous and wholly stimulating trip, to the conflicting calls of a practice that had fallen somewhat into arrears through my absence, the multitudinous claims of a Museum collection that, in Dr. Ruttan's words at the time "needed a lover", and to personal problems of various kinds, I had a sort of nervous breakdown from worry and overtiredness, and was off work for some six months, and after that I gave myself up almost entirely to work in and upon the Museum collection, though for many years I still did some desultory practice partly because I needed the money, and partly because of my desire to cling still to the clinical side which my time in Wien had so endeared to me. This Museum ^{work} was very demanding and seemed at first a dreary and unpromising drudgery; but, as Dr. Osler had prophesied, it blossomed into wonderful things. Of these the most important as its immediate outcome were (1) the application of the Wyatt-Johnston System of Museum Classification, (2) the Museum Teaching, and (3) the development of what I call the Osler catalogue.

(1) The Museum Classification. Before my appointment to the Curatorship several attempts had been made, by the combination of letters and figures, to construct an expansive group number under which the specimens would fall into series containing conditions of the same kind, which is an essential feature of any well-ordered Museum. This object is attained in some places (as in the Royal College of Surgeons Museum), by putting a shelf number on the jar and shelving the like conditions together, but in a collection not already numbered, the use of expansive group numbers provided these can be used in logical sequence, is theoretically best.

X The problem was to provide a numerical series that would meet the needs of simplicity and logical subclassification, and Dr. Whatt^{Johnston} had hit upon the plan, some months before my appointment, of adapting and simplifying the decimal system of Library classification to the needs of the Medical Museum, using in the case of a Museum of Special Pathology, as ours was then, an anatomical number before and the pathological number after the decimal, and subdividing in multiples or decimals of these figures for the group figure required. X The anatomical part of this classification was already complete, having been adapted for use in medical libraries and published by Dr. Haviland Field of Zurich, but the pathological classification had still to be worked out to meet the needs of the collection and a certain modicum of scientific accuracy, and this it became my task to complete. X Dr. Adami pointed out to me that the best way to make an efficient classification ^{along such lines} is to apply it, thus finding out its deficiencies or advantages, and as soon as I had done this he made me publish it as it stood, which I did in 1902, and again with slight improvements in the Pathological part, in 1915, 1916, and 1925. You will find the classification in active use both in the Medical Museum

on the Second Floor of this building, and in the Museum of the Pathological Institute, and it is used also in a number of other Museums on this continent, as it has been found to be simple and easily applied and very useful for teaching purposes.

(2) The Museum Teaching was a quite spontaneous development. As I came to know the specimens intimately, the students began dropping in and asking questions about them, and Dr. Adami, who as Professor of Pathology held the title also of Director of the Museum, put up a notice for the final year, stating that those students who wished to have the specimens demonstrated to them might arrange with me for this at hours mutually suitable. Very soon the entire final year had enrolled itself in groups which came weekly ⁱⁿ rotation, so that I met every student once weekly in serial demonstrations which covered all the material that was worth studying by the end of the Session. In 1902 I went again to Europe, and spent a month in Berlin living in pension with Dr. B.W. Sippy (of gastric ulcer fame) and his wife, old friends of Vienna days, and Dr. Sippy and I took pathology courses with Vesterreich and others. I came home in August 1902 with fresh material for demonstrations and with the first edition of Kaufman's Special Pathology, which was exactly what we needed to answer the questions that arose in the course of the discussions from the informal nature of the "grind". Partly I think as a result of this, the demonstrations became in the next few years so popular that some of the best students would return every morning at 8 a.m. to go over again the same material. In 1902 and 1903 they had given me a purse in acknowledgement of the volunteer nature of these demonstrations, and in 1904 this was accompanied by a letter signed by the President and Secretary of the Class of warm appreciation

which they said they felt it a duty to put on record before they graduated. This letter so impressed the Faculty that on account of this and other reasons they placed the Museum Demonstrations on the curriculum as a compulsory part of the course; and they remained so until 1922.

(3) The "Osler catalogue" of the Museum was merely an ordered catalogue of the material arranged in series under its Descriptive Classification and each section of it was preceded by an introduction which played upon the material and so made it in a limited way, a text-book of Pathology. The special feature of it was that each section should be done in collaboration with a clinician interested in the subject (I being my own clinical collaborator for the Circulatory System), and that the whole should have the benefit of the revision not only of the Chair of Pathology but of that of Clinical Medicine (or Surgery, according to the subject), and also where possible of Dr. Osler himself, who promised his final revision before the Volumes went to press. For the museum contained, in addition to a large number of specimens placed there by the earlier members of the Faculty, a very rich collection made by Osler himself, during the years 1876-1884 when he was pathologist to the Montreal General Hospital, and which had been reported by him at that time in the contemporary journals.

In the year 1904 he came to the Museum for the first time in my Curatorship. I shall never forget him as I saw him walking down the old Museum towards me with his great dark burning eyes fixed full upon me. His delight that his own beloved specimens were being conserved and catalogued and their histories and references from the literature attached was very great and he insisted on being allowed to raise a sum

for its publication. This the Faculty authorized him to do and he raised an amount sufficient to cover the estimated cost. We used a part of it to publish the volume on the Haemopoetic Organs in 1915, but half of it is still in the bank awaiting publication of that on the Circulatory System which contains most of his specimens and is planned to be the magnum opus of the whole. At this time too, he asked me to write up my Museum Teaching in an article which he sent for publication to the Journal of the American Medical Association where it appeared 1905. In this year also the Faculty appointed me Governor's Fellow of Pathology, an appointment which I held for some five years. //

Two other activities arose out of my work on the Museum Collection or rather upon one particular specimen in it. This was a remarkable cardiac anomaly, an adult ^{heart} with no ventricular septum, but a small supplementary cavity at its right upper angle, giving off the pulmonary artery. When I came across it in the year 1900, it was in a perfect state of preservation, but carried a label reading "Ulcerative Endocarditis." On the advice of Dr. Wyatt Johnston, I wrote Dr. Osler enquiring if he could inform me what it was. He replied that he had often demonstrated it to the students, that it was a special type of cor triloculare biatriatum, and that it had been reported by Dr. Andrew Holmes, first Dean of the Faculty, before the Edinburgh Medico-Chirurgical Society many years ago. After a little search I found the article in the Transactions of the Edinburgh Medico-Chirurgical Society for 1823, with a copper plate engraving of the heart. I republished this article with a description of the heart, and a little biographical

sketch of Dr. Holmes in the Montreal Medical Journal for 1901. Next year the Faculty invited me to write up the New Medical Building of that year which was thrown open for the meeting of the Canadian Medical Association in 1902. I decided to embody this in an Historical Sketch of the Medical Faculty of McGill University and of its Building and for this purpose spent some time in the Archives at Ottawa, staying at the time at the home of the late Dr. Douglas Brymner, Dominion Archivist an old friend and I also had the benefit of the advice and assistance of the late Mr. William McLennan, Dr. Shepherd, and other authorities on the history of the School. The book was heavily illustrated too, at the request of the Faculty and the photographs taken for me by Notman at that time, of the founders of the School, from the oil painting in the old Faculty room, preserved them to posterity, for these original portraits were all burnt in the fire of 1907, and the ones now in the Assembly Hall were painted from my photographs. Moreover by Mr. McLennan's advice, I published everything I had found in the Archives or elsewhere as an Appendix to the volume which was brought out as a special number of the Montreal Medical Journal for August 1902, and was distributed by the Faculty free to all the members of the Canadian Medical Association meeting. In 1921, on the occasion of the Centenary of McGill, I republished the main features of this book with some additional material under the title "McGill's Heroic Past", but it is less useful than the original book because it lacks this extremely valuable appendix.

// The other very important outcome of my early article on the Holmes heart was that in 1905 Dr. Osler invited me to write the Section on Congenital Cardiac Disease in his new System of Modern Medicine. // I asked him how to treat it, and he said "Statistically", so I began on the

Transactions of the Pathological Society of London and summarized all the cardiac anomalies there and from this passed to other articles until I had records of 412 cases with autopsies. I analyzed all the individual cases in large charts spaced for the special features and symptoms which I had printed at the Gazette office, and finally I had a large mass of facts and figures from which to draw conclusions, with illustrations of many of the type conditions drawn from our Museum specimens. The work was not completed until December 1907, but that it was a great success is shown from the following beautiful letter which Sir William Osler wrote me when he had read the proof.

Jan. 23rd, 1908,
13 Norham Gardens, Osford.

Dear Dr. Abbott;

I knew you would write a good article but I did not expect one of such extraordinary merit. It is by far and away the very best thing ever written on the subject in English - possibly in any language. I cannot begin to tell you how much I appreciate the care and trouble you have taken, but I know you will find it to have been worth while. For years it will be the standard work on the subject, and it is articles of this sort - and there are not many of them - that make a system of medicine. Then too the credit which such a contribution brings to the school is very great. Many many thanks.

Sincerely yours.

Wm. Osler.

P.S. I have but one regret, that Rokitansky and Peacock are not alive to see it. Your tribute to R. is splendid, My feelings were the same when I read the monograph.

There was a new edition of the System in 1915, in which I raised the number of cases studied in my monograph to 631 and ^a third in 1927, in which my monograph was enlarged to ~~nearly~~ twice its size in the first edition and the number of cases analyzed was raised by me to 850, with new chapters on many subjects and many new illustrations.

The recognition which this work received has actually made me, in Dr. Osler's words, the first authority on this subject at least on this continent.

In the spring of 1907, had come the great fires which burnt the "Old Medical Building of McGill" (with its additions and alterations new in 1901), and a week later the Engineering Building. The flames gutted the central part of the Medical Building which enclosed our bone and obstetrical collections, but though they played havoc in the front part of the Museum where the Clinical Teaching series were, including practically the whole Osler collection and the wonderful Holmes heart, this was fortunately not burnt out for the fire was arrested here, and my catalogues were also saved with the help of an intrepid student. Nearly everything however was on the floor, in the midst of burst jars and ashes, and students and Museum Secretary and I worked for some 48 hours on end carrying them across from the floor, or basement where they had dropped through holes in the floor, on wire screens to a room behind the bursars office, where we washed, identified and salvaged them. Dr. Martin was in Berlin and he got us some 200 picked specimens from Prof. Orth and from the London Museums, to take the place of the loss we had sustained, and a few weeks later when I was in Washington, I put in an appeal, and the Army Medical Museum gave us no less than 1200 specimens to replace the splendid bone collection which had been entirely destroyed.

At this time too, following the suggestion of the late Prof. Wyatt Johnson, and the late Major James Carroll, then Curator of the Army Medical Museum, and with the approval and support of Professor Adami and Sir William Osler, I organized the International Association of Medical Museums and brought out its first Bulletin which was published

esteem, and to our hearty congratulations, we would add the earnest wish that you may long continue to reap the reward of self sacrifice in the success of your work and in the love and appreciation of your fellow countrymen.

June 9th
1910
September 2nd

In March 1911 I went to Europe again, with the idea of organizing Local Sections of the Museums Association, and hoping also that I might see Dr. Osler. Owing to the unexpected development of a phlebitis following tonsillitis just after landing, I was laid up in London and he and Lady Osler took me with them to Oxford where I spent three happy weeks with them reading delightful books fresh from the Oxford Press and seeing the surrounding country, especially Ewelme the historic almshouse of which the Regius Professor of Oxford was Master. Then I did go to Paris and Holland and on my return to London attended a meeting of British Pathologists at the Royal College of Surgeons called by Sir William, at which a British Local Section of the International Association of Medical Museums was organized, and it was arranged that we should be invited to take charge of the section of Museum Technique of the International Congress of Medicine meeting in London in August 1913. I reached home on June 11th, 1911, in time for the opening of our present New Medical Building, which took place that day.

In August 1913, I went across again this time at the expense of the Faculty in charge, as Secretary of the International Association of Medical Museums, of the Section of Museum Technique of the Congress, by invitation of its Executive, and ^{travelling with} Prof. A.S. Warthin, then President of the American and Canadian Section, and his family. We had circularized

zed

our International membership well, and exhibits were sent in from all over the Continent which made this one of the finest parts of the Congress Museum. A very favorable article appeared in the Times describing it, and I cut this out and sent it to Lord Strathcona who was living in London as Lord High Commissioner for Canada, and asked him if he would support this International undertaking which had emanated from McGill, and largely from the efforts of one of his own "Donalda" graduates, by donating a small sum which would place the International Association of Medical Museums on a securer basis and would act also as a nucleus for an Endowment Fund. Dr. Shepherd, who was then Dean of the Faculty, supported this appeal later by a personal visit, taking ~~with~~ me with him, to Lord Strathcona, who received us very graciously and enquired what amount of money was needed and when I suggested £1000, he did ^{not} seem to think the request unreasonable. This visit was followed by letters supporting it from Sir Thomas Barlow and later from Sir William Osler, and shortly thereafter Lord Strathcona sent me his personal cheque for \$5000.00 to be applied to the uses of the Association and it is held in trust now by McGill for this purpose and the interest paid over to it biannually. At this meeting of the Museums Association in London its Constitution was perfected from the International side, and I was made its permanent International Secretary. After it I visited Prof. Ludwig Aschoff who had been elected International President, in Freiburg, Germany, and went down with introductions from him to Milan, Pavia, Bologna, Venice and Rome, returning home in September 1913.

In August 1914 came the great War, and the McGill Hospital drilled in the corridors of the New Medical Building, and nearly everyone we

called for went across. My part was of course to carry on at home, and I was given the Acting Editorship of the Canadian Medical Association Journal from 1914-18, and did my best to keep it from going under during that troubled and short-handed time. // In 1915 I did some work in the Anatomical department of the Harvard Medical School with Frederic T. Lewis in anatomic reconstruction (preliminary to revision of the second edition of my monograph in Osler's System), and published an article with him on the problem of transposition of the arterial trunks, and in 1916 I studied the technique of basal metabolism and basal carrying tensions in the Respiration Laboratory of the Peter Bent Brigham Laboratory with Mrs. Boothby and Irene Sandiford and the following year did determinations of basal metabolism by the Tissot method of indirect calorimetry at the Royal Victoria Hospital for the first time in Montreal and published an article descriptive of this technique and of the findings in a case of polycythaemia. In 1915 also, at the invitation of Dr. Harvey Cushing I delivered an illustrated lecture on Florence Nightingale before the Harvard Historical Club, which was afterwards published by his arrangement, in three successive numbers of the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, under the title of "Florence Nightingale as seen in his Portraits". 1000 copies of this article were reprinted in book form and sold by me by subscription for the benefit of the Canadian Red Cross Society. // This led to my being invited by Miss Hersey to give the Valedictory Address to the Nurses graduating from the Royal Victoria Hospital Training School in May 1916. I ended this address with a plea for the introduction of the Study of the History of Nursing in the curriculum of every Training School. As a result Miss Hersey invited me to give an Introductory course of lectures

on this subject at the R.V.H. Training School during the winter of 1916-17, the hospital to pay for any lantern slides I might wish to have made. In this connection I worked up a series of some 200 lantern slides illustrative of this subject and later published these lectures with a descriptive list of the slides in the Canadian Nurse. Since then these slides have been purchased from us (William Muir and myself) by Teachers College, Columbia, and most of the Training Schools in Canada and some in the U.S.A. In November 1927, the History of Nursing Society of Teachers College made me an Honorary Member in acknowledgement of this contribution, and it led also to my appointment in 1922 to the post of Lecturer on this subject in the McGill School of Graduate Nurses, a post I still hold and an activity which I greatly enjoy.

In 1918, I was given charge of the Canadian Medical Association Exhibit at Hamilton, Ont. at which the first exhibit of the Canadian Army Medical Museum, prepared and mounted at McGill under my direction was shown. After the meeting, being in the vicinity of Ann Arbor, Mich., I went on there to be initiated into the Alpha Epsilon ~~let~~ fraternity of medical women, which had elected me a national Honorary Member through its Alpha (Ann Arbor) Chapter, some two years previously. In the Summer of this year, also, the University of Texas offered me the Appointment of Acting Professor of Pathology for the duration of the war, with the permanent one of Associate Professor of this subject after its cessation. I was however retained at McGill.

9 In the Autumn of 1918, the Department of Militia and Defense appointed me Acting Curator of the Canadian Army Medical Museum and placed the C.A.M. Collection of pathological specimens under my care at McGill, the work of cataloging ~~the~~ ^{and} mounting to be carried out under the

supervision of myself and Mr. Judah with a Liaison officer (Major F.B. Gurd) and a technician (Giroux) to do the actual cataloging and mounting under military pay. Later it was decided by the Government to adopt the McGill Catalogue of which Volume IV has been published, as the model for the War Museum Catalogue of which Major General J.T. Fotheringham was appointed Editor-in-Chief and myself the Managing Editor, with a large Board of Collaborators on the different sections appointed both from Toronto and Montreal. All the preliminary work of this catalogue has been done, but the editorial work still requires consummation before it can be published, and these appointments I still hold for this purpose, under the Canadian Government. //

On December 19th, 1919 our loved teacher and friend Sir William Osler died at the age of 70 years, though still in his prime. The following April, 1920, at the Cornell meeting of the Museums Association it was resolved to bring out our next Bulletin as a memorial number, with myself as Managing Editor. This took six years to accomplish, the first Impression being issued in June 1926. The bound Volume comprises 650 pages, 120 articles by friends, students and associates, 102 fine illustrations, a Classified Annotated Bibliography of all his publications and a Bibliography of Writings about Osler. The First Impression which cost over \$12,000, was financed partly by subscriptions to the publication fund, of which the National Research Council of Washington gave \$500.00 and Sir Edmund Osler \$1000, and by advance subscriptions, obtained from the distribution of circulars, of which I sent out over 12,000 from Philadelphia and McGill. It was exhausted within six months of its appearance, and was very well reviewed. A second impression was published in 1927, upon the distribution of which we are still working.

In 1919 the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania offered me their Chair of Pathology, and, as I was not in a position to consider their offer at the time, they appointed an Acting Head of this Department. In July 1923, their Board of Corporators again approached me, informing me that their Faculty was undergoing reconstruction and offering me double the salary they had previously named, and the appointment of my own Staff, if I would accept the Chair of Pathology and Bacteriology, either on a temporary or a permanent basis. I accepted this offer temporarily, on loan from McGill, for a period of one year, which was afterwards extended to two, from September 1923 to September 1925. I took with me to form the Staff of my new Department Dr. Lola McLatchie (Toronto University) as Associate Professor of Bacteriology; Dr. Winnifred Plampin (McGill '22) as Teaching Fellow in Pathology; and Miss Iseult Finlay (Infants' Hospital, London), as Technician in Bacteriology and Pathology. With their assistance we successfully reorganized the Department (which was graded A. by the State Board of Inspection), and when I returned to McGill at the end of the two years, my entire staff was retained, and Dr. Helen Ingleby, M.R.C.P. (University of London) was appointed on my recommendation, to succeed me in the Chair of Pathology, and has carried on successfully up to this time. During my stay in Philadelphia, I was admitted by Bedside Examination to the Licentiate of the State of Pennsylvania, and elected to membership in the Philadelphia Medical Society, Phila. Physiological Society, Phila. Pathological Society and New England Heart Association; and to Fellowship in the American Association of Clinical Pathologists, and American Association for the Advancement of Science. I published during that time a monograph on the Treatment of

Congenital Cardiac Disease in the Billings-Forschheimer System of Therapeutics, and articles on "Clinical Classification of Cardiac Defects" and "Bacterial Inflammatory Processes in Cardiac Defects" as well as Bulletins X and XI of the International Association of Medical Museums. I have held membership in the American Association of Pathologists and the American Association of Anatomists for many years.

Since my return to McGill, I have published the revised and enlarged 3rd edition of my monograph on Congenital Cardiac Disease in Osler's Modern Medicine, a monograph on the Diagnosis of Congenital Cardiac Disease in Blumer's Bedside Diagnosis, and the First and Second Impressions of the Sir William Osler Memorial Volume

I cannot close this little account of my academic activities to date, without a word of tribute to those generous-minded men on the Faculty of Medicine who gave me so freely of opportunity and recognition during my early years, at a time when women were not yet admitted as undergraduate students to McGill, (for this only happened in 1918, the first class graduating as all know, with high honors in 1922). Among these, I must mention especially, Dr. Wyatt Johnston, perhaps the greatest genius McGill has ever numbered on his roll; Prof. J.G. Adami, whose recent death on September 11th, 1926, came with a shock of sorrow to those of us who were privileged to know and work under him, and who was always to me a most generous and inspiring Chief; Dr. F.J. Shepherd, under whose Deanship in the years my greatest advancement took place, and who was from my student days, on, the kind and liberal supporter of what he saw to be honest work; and

Dr. C.F.Martin, who has always been my best friend in the University. Nor may I omit from this list Dr.W.F.Hamilton, who first gave me a hand in Vienna; John McCrae, who revealed himself on more than one occasion my true friend; and last but not least, Sir William Osler, who keen interest in my work and broad human sympathy, pierced the veil of my youthful shyness with a personal stimulus that aroused my intellect to its most passionate indeavour.

March 31st, 1928.

Maude E.Abbott