



BATTLE, MURDER AND SUDDEN DEATH

**WILLIAM JAMES DEADMAN – FORENSIC
PATHOLOGIST, MEDICAL PIONEER**

**A biography of Hamilton's first forensic
pathologist**

**John Deadman
Edward Smith**

A WORD ABOUT OUR TITLE

William Deadman had always written about the events in his life. In his last years he set about writing his autobiography. He came up with the title: *Battle, Murder and Sudden Death*. It seemed to exemplify the phases of his life.

Battle: This was the period during the Great War where he broadened his experience and learned most of the knowledge of bacteriology, pathology and tropical medicine that he used throughout his professional life.

Murder: This was the period of his active practice in Hamilton during the Great Depression, the Second World War and the immediate post-war period. This was the time when he really became a forensic pathologist and established the forensic pathology centre and the related work on laboratory medicine that he became famous for.

...and Sudden Death: This was the period when his academic research and teaching led to his broad recognition by professional societies across the globe. His presentation on *Sudden Death*¹ earned him an international reputation and even a mention in the Miscellany column of *Time Magazine*.² This was followed by research on unexpected deaths in infants that led to the 'sudden infant death syndrome'.

These terms were used in the latest versions of the text he wrote. He had gone through several other titles before arriving at this title.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My father, William Deadman had always kept careful records of everything he did. In his last years he set about writing his autobiography. He came up with the title: *Battle, Murder and Sudden Death*. It seemed to exemplify the phases of his life. He had started writing it before his death in 1965 but died with only four or five chapters finished. My mother carefully bundled all his papers and artifacts into file boxes and when she died, they came to me. I am deeply indebted to both of them.

I started working on them when I first got them but the pressures of a busy political career meant that they sat in my basement for years. Then I

1 Deadman WJ; *Sudden Death*. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 56, 273-277, 1947. (read at the 77th annual meeting, CMA, Sect. Medicine, Banff, 46/06/12.)

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The Last Word.

A Dr. W. J. Deadman presented a paper on "Sudden Death" at a recent meeting of the Canadian Medical Association.

went to the Hamilton Academy of Medicine for help. The Archivist, Edward Smith worked with me for several years and when he retired, became my co-author. His contributions made all of this possible.

I am also indebted to members of the Forensic Pathology Service who operated the service for many years. In particular, I thank the physicians who kept the service going despite attempts to close it. Finally, I am indebted to the Hamilton Public Library and particularly Margaret Houghton, who was chief of the Special Collections Unit. She had big files on my father and gave great assistance to this work.

John Deadman, Lead Author

INTRODUCTION

THE EVOLUTION OF FORENSIC PATHOLOGY IN CANADA.

*Excellent!" I cried. [Watson]
Elementary," said he. [Holmes]*

*Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, (1859-1930)
The Crooked Man (1894)*



Sir Bernard Spilsbury (1877-1949) is generally regarded as the father of British forensic pathology.ⁱ Spilsbury had a number of famous murder cases to his credit, including Dr. Crippen (1910), and “the Brides in the Bath” (1914). He also had a critical role in developing “Operation Mincemeat” a deception operation during World War II which is credited with saving many Allied service men’s lives. Forensic scientists and pathologists captured the public imagination in Britain with names such as Sir Sidney Alfred Smith (1883-1969), Cedric Keith Simpson (1907-1985) and Francis Edward Camps (1905-1972). In the United States, Charles Norris (1867-1935) and George Burgess Magrath (1870-1938) medical examiners in New York and Boston respectively, and Milton Halpern (1902-1977) stand out. Charles Norris cannot be mentioned without his chief toxicologist for many years – Alexander Gettler (1883-1968) who in 1919, set up the first dedicated toxicology laboratory in the United States.ⁱⁱ

In the annals of Canadian forensic pathology, the name of William James Deadman (1885-1965) fits well in such august company. He was born only 7½ years after Spilsbury and did most of his early forensic work in the 1920s and ’30s at a time when

the forensic sciences in Canada were in a very rudimentary state. They were well behind advancements in the United States or Europe. Deadman took part in numerous murder trials, many flowing out of the period of prohibition and the rise of organized crime in the Roaring '20s, the Dirty '30s and the '40s, the Second World War years and their aftermath. Hamilton was a centre for organized crime, most of it arising in the period of Prohibition which ended in Ontario a decade before it did in the United States. Perhaps because forensic science in Canada was much less well developed at that time, William Deadman did not achieve the level of recognition that was seen in Europe or the United States.

His most famous case was the murder trial of Evelyn Dick in Hamilton in 1946. In the early 1960s, a few years before his death he was the forensic pathologist on what became known as the "C.O.D. Trunk Mystery" in which a woman's body was discovered in a steamer trunk that had been shipped from Toronto to Argentia, Newfoundland. En route it developed a peculiar odour.

He was also involved in many other projects. With his chief laboratory technician Frank Elliott, he established a training school for laboratory technology in the 1930s that was undoubtedly the first in Canada. He chaired a committee at the Canadian Medical Association to develop standards and curricula for the training of laboratory technologists. Out of this work came the *Canadian Society for Medical Laboratory Science*³ founded in 1937, which accredits these training programs. He was a patron of this society until his death.

From 1956 to 1959 he directed the Erythroblastosis Foetalis project at the Ontario Medical Association which provided province-wide treatment for Rh babies, undoubtedly saving many lives. He also was actively involved in the reforms to the Regional Coroner system in Ontario. He worked with H. Beatty Cotnam on many issues. He was supported in this by the Ontario Association of Pathologists who proposed a system of regional pathologists and coroners that was adopted by the Province of Ontario. He furthered this work during his tenure at the Attorney-General's Laboratory in Toronto from 1959 to 1965. At that time he worked with H. Ward Smith, L. Jocelyn Rogers and Noble Sharpe, three of the leading forensic scientists of that period.



3 The founding members, Ms. Helen Smith, Mr. Frank Elliott and Mr. Denys Lock as well as another nine members applied for a Dominion Charter in 1936 under the name *Canadian Society for Medical Technologists*. The Canadian Medical Association protested on the grounds that "medical" implied that it was a physician-run organization. So when the charter was issued in 1937 the name was changed to *Canadian Society for Laboratory Technologists*.

It has always been a concern of the body politic that unnatural or unexplained deaths be investigated and murderers brought to justice. Forensic pathology and forensic medicine are sciences of the 20th century but the social and legal issues they deal with go back to the beginnings of organized society. In countries of the British legal tradition, it became necessary to appoint an officer of the Crown that was independent of the political infrastructure of the time.⁴

In medieval England, the sheriff (shire-reeve), the sergeant and the bailiff were representatives of local government. There is reference to another officer called a crowner or coroner in pre-Norman times but by the reign of Richard II, coroners were appointed as the king's legal officer to protect the monarch's interests, to separate the legal issues, such as the death of a person, from the political administrative issues such as tax collection and property issues dealt with by the sheriffs and bailiffs. The office is specifically mentioned in the "Articles of Eyre" of 1194. The "General Eyre" was the periodic visitation of the King's itinerant judges, later known as the "assizes".

The office of Crowner or Coroner probably originated in England in Norman times although it was mentioned in Saxon times in the reign of Alfred the Great. Gradually over the centuries the coroner took on his more modern form as the legal officer who investigated unnatural deaths. The coroner system was instituted in all present or former British colonies or territories. Similar offices under a variety of titles exist in virtually every country in the World. But the English 'Coroner' system is undoubtedly the oldest.

In more recent years, the coroner was a physician or a lawyer – in the latter case the medical examiner would be a physician although this varied considerably from one jurisdiction to another. In the United States the terms *coroner* and *medical examiner* are used more-or-less interchangeably in different jurisdictions. In Canada there is some variability between provinces. In Ontario, the coroner is a physician. He investigates deaths and presides at inquests, calling in witnesses and other forensic science experts as appropriate. The Medical Examiner is usually a pathologist and would be called to give evidence.

In the 20th century forensic science developed rapidly although it had its beginnings much earlier. A series of spectacular murders in England during the late 19th and early 20th centuries made names like Jack the Ripper and Dr. Crippen fall from every tongue. It spurred a sudden development of the science of ballistics and toxicology and also a rich

4 "Crowner: Origins of the Office of Coroner" by Bernard Knight, CBE.
www.britannia.com/history/coroner1.html

literature – including Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s ‘Sherlock Holmes’ and Dame Agatha Christie’s ‘Miss Marple’ and ‘Hercule Poirot’. These still has great popularity today. Many popular television programs such as CSI follow this theme.

Forensic medicine and forensic pathology developed in the tradition of increasing specialization. The two terms seem to have been used somewhat interchangeably until well into the 20th century. In the early years, forensic pathology required no special training. It was an interest, not a professional specialty. Physicians often did the work reluctantly if at all, and any physician who took an interest in the field was welcomed by all the others who were glad to be rid of unpleasant and unrewarding tasks. William Deadman was appointed City Pathologist and Director of Laboratories in Hamilton in July 1914 although he did not take up his duties until 1919. His early interest in this field ensured that he would get all of the forensic work in the city and surrounding area. His reputation as a pathologist and expert witness grew rapidly in Hamilton and later across Canada.

This is how it usually happened in the early years. Deadman’s experience in many ways paralleled that of the “father of forensic Pathology” Sir Bernard Spilsbury. Spilsbury obtained his medical degree (M.B., B.Ch.) at St. Mary’s Hospital, London in 1905 and an M.A. in 1908. Deadman got his B.A. in 1911 and his M.B. in 1913 at the University of Toronto. Both of them got some training in pathology as part of a general medical education. Spilsbury acquired his reputation because he was willing to take on difficult and challenging cases and gave convincing evidence in the witness box. His systematic approach to the evidence and careful analytical approach enabled him to solve some of the most complex cases. Deadman applied the same approach.

Deadman’s training at Johns Hopkins was cut short by the onset of the First World War. He always said that he got much of his training and experience as a medical officer with the Royal Army Medical Corps during that war. Like Spilsbury, Deadman also took on cases that others did not want to touch and brought a scientific approach to forensic work. Spilsbury went on to gain an international reputation. Deadman was much more reserved in his approach and his international reputation only developed in his later years when his active work was largely behind him.



When Deadman started his career in 1914, there was little difference between forensic and general pathology in Canada, although some

distinctions had emerged in Europe in the late 19th century and in the United States by the time of the First World War. At that time in most centres in Canada, pathological and laboratory work were seen as part of the task of the general physician although a physician with even a smattering of pathological training was always in demand. Dr. Deadman had established qualifications in pathology and bacteriology at a time when no such training existed in Canada but the fields of pathology and bacteriology were well established in Europe and were rapidly developing in the U.S.A. In Canada, formal services in forensic science were confined to Montreal and Toronto, with a laboratory at McGill and a medico-legal laboratory in Toronto under the Department of the Attorney General of Ontario. It was set up by Dr. E.R. Frankish in 1932. The specialty of forensic pathology was not formally recognized in the United States until 1959. Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada formally recognized it as a sub-specialty of Anatomic Pathology in 2003.

Deadman's work as a forensic pathologist began after his return after WWI to Hamilton in 1919, but by then his training at Johns Hopkins and his extensive experience as a field pathologist and bacteriologist in the war was pivotal to his career. Throughout his life, the analysis of murders continued to be an important part of his work. He was interested in all aspects of pathology and laboratory medicine. After retirement, because of his long experience in forensic pathology he was invited to join the Attorney-General's Forensic Laboratory in Toronto – the so-called "Crime Lab" – which provided forensic pathology services across Canada. He continued working there until his death in 1965.

The training and professional qualifications of professionals in this field were brought into question in Canada with the discrediting of the evidence of Dr. Charles Smith, one of the best known pediatric pathologist in Canada in recent years. Smith was a paediatric and forensic pathologist at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto. He was popular with crown attorneys because of his performance in the witness box. Some thirteen people were convicted of serious criminal acts based on his autopsy evidence and these were overturned on appeal or reopened later and described as miscarriages of justice. Smith resigned in 2005. In 2008 the government of Ontario ordered a public enquiry. It was chaired by Mr. Stephen Goudge, a judge of the Court of Appeal. It concluded that Smith had "actively mislead" his superiors and made "false and misleading" statements in court. It also noted that there were serious problems in the way that suspicious deaths in children were handled in Ontario. Smith had his medical licence revoked by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario in 2011.

This is nothing new. Courts cannot deal with probabilities or uncertainty. Such evidence is too easily discredited. To please the Court, the witness must deal with all issues in black and white terms. Further, when an expert witness becomes more expert than anyone he is dealing with, appropriate humility is often the first victim. In his later years Spilsbury was often accused of arrogance, dogmatism and black-and-white assertions that resulted in increasing challenges to his evidence and alleged miscarriages of justice that harmed his later career.

Several provinces have had crises in their laboratory medicine tests, both hospital laboratories and commercial labs where efficiency and profit are too often more important than scientific accuracy. In the 21st century they are now highly regulated and the situation has improved. We must not ignore the tremendous advances in forensic science in recent decades. These previous failures of quality health care and medicine only point out the high standards we now expect and are usually able to attain. One hundred years ago, there were few universal standards, medical and laboratory training was highly variable, sometimes non-existent, and too much often depended on the moral and ethical integrity of the individual – too easily corrupted by the pressures of the workplace and the demands of an international reputation.

Certified specialties were not established in Canada until 1929 when the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada was formed. Pathology was recognized as a specialty sometime later and William Deadman, like nearly all of his colleagues was grandfathered into the specialty and was given a Certificate in Pathology in 1945. This was long after he had received fellowships from other international professional bodies. He received Certification from the American Board of Pathology in 1939. More particularly, his tale looks at one sub-speciality – forensic pathology – which has remained the poor cousin in this explosion of specialization.

The late Roy Porter in his book had this to say about the situation in the United States and Britain. In this regard, Canada is much closer to Britain:

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“...the 20th century brought a widespread shift of gravity in the profession from general practitioner to specialist. Here a rift opened up between the UK and the USA. In Britain, primary care was to remain firmly in the hands of generalist family doctors. That was because panel practice under the National Insurance Act of 1911, later reinforced by the National Health Service (1948)... ...made GPs the linchpins of a publicly funded medical system. Denied the right to attend patients in hospital, they were cut off from surgery and science and all that they

implied in terms of innovations and superior professional identities. Yet GPs remained the dispensers of family care and became gatekeepers to the hospital and the specialist. In the USA, by contrast, general practice inexorably lost out to specialism. In a competitive market milieu, the scientifically advanced pediatrician, cardiologist or oncologist gained an edge. By 1942 fewer than half of all American doctors were GPs. and by 1999... ..fewer than one in ten were in family practice; GPs had gone the way of the horse-and-buggy doctor.”⁵

During Bill Deadman’s lifetime, there were significant changes in the practice of medicine in Canada and across the world. The need for more focused specialty training had been recognized for many years but it was perhaps slower to come in Canada than in the United States and certainly in Europe. At the end of the 19th century Europe was well ahead of North America but medical schools in the U.S.A. were rapidly moving ahead. Canada was slow in following the lead so it was the mid-20th century before medical education, research and practice could be said to have caught up. Physicians in Canada often took their own initiative to move ahead and were only recognized later. Deadman’s appointment as pathologist and director of laboratories at the Hamilton General Hospital was intended to start immediately. It was on his initiative that he sought training at Johns Hopkins Medical School in pathology and bacteriology in the summer of 1914.

It is difficult for a modern reader to appreciate the significance of an extensive military career a century ago. Not only did William Deadman return home from training at Johns Hopkins to enlist in the 5th Field Ambulance in October of 1914 he was given the rank of Staff Sergeant. He notes that the reason that he could not be appointed as a 2nd Lieutenant, the usual rank for graduated physicians in the army, was because all the places were already taken – almost the entire graduating classes of 1914 and 1915 from the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto had enlisted after the outbreak of war in August of 1914.

When he was in England in 1915 the (British) Royal Army Medical Corps was extremely short of physicians and were appealing to physicians in the colonial units to be seconded to the RAMC. He was seconded with the rank of Lieutenant, soon promoted to Captain and he subsequently worked with international leaders in the fields of bacteriology and

5 Recently the same trend was noted in Ontario but the establishment of the College of Family Practice has meant that family practitioners have semi-specialist designation. Further, many family practice clinics have replaced solo practitioners. Other provinces have made similar provisions.

pathology. He worked with L. S. Dudgeon, professor of pathology at St. Thomas's Hospital and C. M. Wenyon, then the leading protozoologist in Britain. He became close friends with (later Sir) Philip Manson-Bahr, the son of Sir Patrick Manson who had founded the London School of Tropical Medicine.

At war's end, he seriously considered giving up his position at the Hamilton General Hospital to join the Colonial service in Tropical Medicine. He did return to Hamilton and continued his military career in the Canadian Militia (Reserves) until 1945 when he finally went on the Retired List as a Lieutenant Colonel after 31 years of service.

Although he had given evidence at inquests and trials from the early years of his career and was a regional pathologist for the Attorney General of Ontario from 1940, it was the Evelyn Dick Trial in 1946, in which it was his responsibility to organize and present the medical forensic evidence at the preliminary hearings, the protracted trial and the subsequent appeal proceedings, that really made his name as a forensic pathologist. Oddly enough, he considered this to be too sensational and too salacious to be taken seriously in the academic atmosphere that was developing in forensic medicine in those days. It is hardly mentioned in his own autobiographical notes.

He was actively involved in the scientific approach, research and teaching. He trained interns had residents in pathology, internal medicine and lectured on medical jurisprudence and forensic pathology. He presented papers and published extensively on his research. His training program in laboratory technology at the Hamilton General Hospital became a Mecca in Canada for students in this field.

Deadman had written extensively on many subjects in pathology and forensic pathology over his career. But the immediate post-war period was undoubtedly his most productive. By the time of his retirement he had been honoured by many international societies at a time when Canada was struggling to catch up with advancements in forensic pathology in Europe and the United States. He established a position in the practice of pathology, laboratory and forensic science which more recently has led to the creation of the sub-specialty of Forensic Pathology in Canada. He was a founding member of the Ontario Association of Pathologists and worked with them to develop guidelines on regional coroners and medical examiners. He published scientific research from his broad experience in pathology, bacteriology and public health. And war or no war, he was involved in murder investigations and trials. He was a medical pioneer at a time of tremendous change in medicine and all the sciences.

But his interests were much broader. Deadman was an active observer and critic of Canadian political life. He wrote many articles on the post-

war recovery and the state of politics in Canada. His paper on *Canada's Fundamental Reconstruction* was acknowledged by the Prime Minister, W. L. Mackenzie-King. In 1950, he was named Hamilton's Citizen of the Year. This not only recognized his great contributions to the development of medical and pathological services but also for his many contributions to the political and cultural life of the city.

He was keenly interested in his city, his country and the whole world. He was a student of world history and culture, and a patron of the arts. In this, he was influenced by the political, economic and social climate in a British Canada in the last days of the Victorian Era and up to the mid-20th century. He had wide-ranging interests in all aspects of life. He was a 19th century liberal in a 20th century liberal world.

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PROLOGUE

THE TORSO ON THE MOUNTAINSIDE. THE MURDER OF JOHN DICK.



*“Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
the proper study of mankind is man.”*

*Alexander Pope (1688-1744)
“An Essay on Man, Epistle 2” 1734:*

Bill Deadman had just come up from the morgue in the basement of the old Victoria Street building of the Hamilton General Hospital – up the stairs past the Outdoor Department and into the City Laboratories on the second floor. Marion Hutchison, his secretary of many years was sitting at her desk just inside the lab at the top of the stairs. She directed him into his office next door where the Coroner, Dr. Isaac Crack was waiting on the telephone. It was a Saturday, but because Bill was the Regional Pathologist involved in all the forensic work for Hamilton, Niagara and a large surrounding area, he was on call seven days a week. He was in the city morgue and laboratories seven days a week. Crack said “Bill, we’re got a strange one for you. We have a torso with no head, arms or legs. We’re sending it over to the city morgue right now.”

On March 16th, 1946 the Hamilton Spectator ran a story with the headline: “*Gruesome Discovery Made by Hiking Children Today*. It was late winter and there were still some patches of snow in shady spots at Mount Hamilton. There the Niagara Escarpment rises some 300

feet quite steeply from the downtown area. This forested wilderness faces north and runs right through the centre of the city. At that time the city located on the Mountain consisted of a grid of small streets extending south from Concession Street near the Nora Frances Henderson Maternity Hospital, and another cluster of streets to the west near the big provincial mental hospital which sat on the mountain brow.

That fateful Saturday, Jimmy Weaver, thirteen, and a couple of younger friends were hiking on one of the trails just below the mountain brow near Albion Falls. As Jimmy testified later at the murder trial, it was a nice day and as they were walking along, his two friends saw a big lump that turned out to be the torso of a man wearing only the truncated remains of a suit of long underwear. The torso appeared to have been thrown over the embankment near Mountain Drive Park about half a mile from the falls. It was in a wooded area that was quite remote from the built-up part of the city. No effort had been made to conceal the body which had slid down the steep embankment and lodging on a small shelf a short distance below the brow. Controlling their sense of nausea and alarm, the boys climbed back up the embankment and formed a chain across the street above. They stopped a passing motorist who went for the police.

Constable Leonard Mattick was the first police officer to arrive. He was soon joined by Sgt. Carl Farrow, Ontario Provincial Police. They climbed down the hill and found the torso lying on its front with the neck pointed downhill. The limbs and head had been roughly cut off. There were two bullet holes in the chest and a deep cut across the stomach but there was very little blood. The officers speculated that whoever put the torso there had not expected that it would be found so soon. They estimated that it had probably been there for a week, or ten days at most.

The police reviewed the list of missing persons in the region but were unable to come up with a “match”. Hamilton had had some unsavoury connections with the ‘rum runners’ of the 1920s prohibition period. Prohibition had lasted only a few years in

Canada but had extended into the 1930s in the United States. There were still connections with the criminal organizations and the local mob leader, Rocco Perri had mysteriously disappeared in April 1944. A police superintendent commented that Rocco Perri wouldn't be found until Burlington Bay was drained. However, the torso found by Jimmy Weaver and friends did not match the description of any of the missing persons – mob related or not.

News of the gruesome discovery got others thinking, including city workers who remembered an earlier find in the same area. Another article appeared in the *Spectator* on March 18th. *“Police Seek to Link It with Finding of Torso: City Workmen had No Suspicions of Foul Play as They Made Discovery.”* Several days before, city maintenance workers had found an old bloodstained shirt on the road near Albion Falls. They tossed it in the ditch and thought no more of it until the discovery of the torso. They then returned to get it and turned it over to police. It had two bullet holes in the right chest area which matched the bullet holes in the torso. By this time attention was beginning to focus on John Dick, a Russian émigré who had worked as a motorman for the Hamilton Street Railway.

New discoveries were announced in the newspapers daily. In addition to the local *Spectator*, the *Toronto Daily Star*, *Globe and Mail* and *Evening Telegram* were soon on the case. The bloodied shirt found in the ditch was definitely linked to the torso. On March 21st the *Spectator* reported: *“Certain Stains in Vehicle Examined by Dr. Deadman.”* By this time John Dick had become the focus of investigation. Police interviewed his wife Evelyn in her home at Carrick Avenue, in east Hamilton. They were accompanied by Dr. Deadman, the city pathologist. They searched the house and property. They found ashes strewn beside the garage which were carefully collected from the site and taken to the laboratory where they would be sifted and all fragments examined and sorted. The furnace had been cleaned out but some ashes remained and they were also collected for analysis. The police and Dr. Deadman then searched the attic of the house where they found a heavy suitcase

containing the macerated body of a newborn infant encased in concrete.

On March 23rd, the Spectator reported: "*Widow Arraigned on Vagrancy Charge...*" Evelyn Dick was remanded without bail. Her friend William Bohozuk was charged with having an unregistered firearm. By the 25th, many other facts were coming to light. It was reported that Dick had told his workmates about fears he would meet with foul play.

Police also searched the home of Donald MacLean, Evelyn's father, who lived several blocks from Evelyn's mother. Like John Dick, McLean was an employee of the Hamilton Street Railway. At his house they found a copy of True Detective magazine that described the operations of an abortion ring which had disposed of bodies by sawing off the arms and legs and burning various parts. They also found several guns, one of which had recently been fired and a pair of bloody shoes and other clothing which John Dick had been wearing. And they also found a large quantity of streetcar tickets, cash, fare-box keys and counting equipment, none of which MacLean was authorized to have.

On March 26th, the Spectator reported that Evelyn Dick would be charged with the murder of her husband as well as the newborn infant found in the suitcase. On the 29th both Evelyn and William Bohozuk were charged with the murder of John Dick. Evelyn's parents, Donald and Alexandra MacLean were also charged with murder, but at the preliminary hearing in April, charges would be dropped against Alexandra when she gave evidence for the Crown.

It came out that John and Evelyn had been married for less than a year and had been separated for several months prior to the murder. Alexandra was living with Evelyn at 32 Carrick Avenue while her father, Donald McLean continued living in the family home on Rosslyn Avenue. At the preliminary hearing, Alexandra testified that Evelyn Dick had driven a large Packard limousine to her home but was unable to get it into the small garage. When challenged by her mother about whose car it was, she drove off in a huff. It came out

later that the car had been rented by William Bohozuk who was picked up by police for questioning.



When the torso arrived at the autopsy room, Bill Deadman performed the autopsy and examined and analysed all the other bits of evidence as they were delivered to the lab. He carefully sifted the ashes in the baskets and found many recognizable fragments of bone and nine teeth. Bill was able to confirm that the bone fragments were human in origin and came from extremities of the body. He then consulted with Professor J. C. B. Grant, who was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Toronto and a prominent human anatomist in Canada. The teeth were sent to Professor Roy Innes, Dean of the Faculty of Dentistry at Toronto for identification.

Dr. Deadman also examined the car with the police. There were blood stains on the back seat, a rear door handle, and the handle of an outboard motor found in the trunk. A blood-stained necktie was found on the back seat. It was still tied in the way it would have been when worn. Bill took samples back to the City Laboratories for analysis. He was able to confirm that all the samples including the torso were Blood Type O⁶ and almost certainly from the same person.

During the autopsy on the torso, Bill noted that the limbs had been cut off below the shoulder and hip joints. The neck had been cut at the level of the larynx and most of the larynx was missing. A deep cut below the umbilicus had only cut into soft tissue. The cuts

6 In 1946 the typing of blood antigens was relatively new. Karl Landsteiner at the University of Vienna received the Nobel Prize in Medicine in 1930 for his work in elucidating how blood antibodies and antigens worked. During the Second World War the ABO antibodies were used to match blood transfusions on the battlefield to avoid immune reactions. In 1946 there were two systems known – the ABO system and the Rh (rhesus) system. In 1946, this was a relatively new development that became important in forensic pathology.

were very ragged as if made by a saw and the nature of the cuts was consistent with their having been made after death. There were two bullet holes in the front of the thorax about 2" apart but Bill concluded that they were not the cause of death. The blood type was "O", the most common type. The blood alcohol level was quite low but the level of the urine in the bladder was fairly high.

Bill concluded that the person, John Dick, had been drunk before the time of death. There was very little blood in the torso and the heart was collapsed. From the general condition, he concluded that the body had been dead for a week to 10 days and had exsanguinated and been dismembered fairly soon after death. The torso was measured 30½ inches from the seventh cervical vertebra to the base of the pelvis, giving an overall height of the deceased as about 5' 6"- 5' 8". No other diseases or causes of death could be found in the torso so Bill Deadman assumed that death had been caused by trauma to the missing head.

By 1946, Bill Deadman had long experience in just this sort of forensic work. He had been doing it for 26 years. He also had a level of training that was very unusual in Canada. He had taken a course at the relatively new medical school at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, followed by three years of battlefield experience as a medical officer in the First World War. He was demobilized in 1919 and returned to Hamilton in 1920 to his job as City Pathologist and Director of Public Health Laboratories. He had been appointed to this position before joining the army in 1914. The job was very busy because he was the only pathologist Hamilton, Burlington, Niagara, Brantford and surrounding area. Between the wars he had gained another quarter-century of experience.

In the 1920s, Hamilton was a bustling industrial city in post-war Canada and the small lab at the Hamilton General Hospital was overwhelmed with work. Bill supervised the expansion of the lab over the next decade. Because he was the only pathologist in the

area willing to take on forensic work, he also had to deal with many murders and questionable deaths. He became the Regional Pathologist for the Hamilton and Niagara area. By 1946 he was doing as many as three or four autopsies a day. As Director of City Laboratories, he supervised a lab that had taken over the second floor of the Victoria Building at the Hamilton General Hospital and had expanded from a staff of three to more than forty.

Having been the medical examiner for almost all inquests in the Hamilton, Bill had considerable experience giving evidence in court. He was a favourite with local crown attorneys because of his careful testimony that was difficult for the defence to challenge.

The Preliminary Hearing

On April 22nd 1946, the trial proceeded to preliminary Hearing. The purpose of a preliminary hearing is to determine if there is enough evidence against the accused to place him or her on trial. The hearing gave the public its first opportunity to learn about the results of the investigation so far, and the basis of the charges against the five co-defendants. Evelyn Dick and her parents were represented by lawyers Walter J. Tuchtie and Montalieu McLean. Bohozuk's was represented by William Schreiber and his brother Henry.

The Hamilton Spectator, the Toronto Daily Star, the Globe and Mail and the Evening Telegram all reported extensively on the hearing. Bill Deadman's evidence was reported in detail.

Witness testimony began on April 23rd and continued for several days. John Dick was a motorman with the Hamilton Street Railway (HSR) and his father-in-law, Donald MacLean checked in fare-boxes and counted money and tickets. Witnesses attested to the ill-feeling between Donald McLean and John Dick that had progressed at times to threats. McLean was quoted as saying: "Damn you Dick, you tried to break up my home." Dick had arguments with MacLean and seemed to be very much afraid of him to the point that his work as a streetcar motorman had been affected. He apparently believed that

MacLean was out to kill him. There had been many arguments between John Dick and his wife Evelyn. They were not living together and had formally separated about five weeks before the murder.

Dr. Deadman stated that the murder had been committed on or about March 6th. The cause of death of John Dick was unknown but was assumed to be trauma to the missing head. Charges against Mrs. MacLean were dismissed and she gave testimony about her husband and her daughter Evelyn. Evelyn and William Bohozuk were committed for trial on charges of murdering John Dick. Evelyn was also charged with infanticide for the infant found in the suitcase. Donald MacLean was to be committed on other charges related to his thefts from the Hamilton Street Railway. Bohozuk had a charge of possession of an unregistered firearm that was later withdrawn.⁷

On April 25th, Mrs. Ann Kammerer testified. Her husband was a cousin of the deceased man, John Dick. She identified various articles of clothing including black Oxford shoes with blood on them. John Wahl, Dick's brother-in-law, identified the torso. He also reported a telephone conversation with Evelyn Dick on March 18th in which she said that John Dick owed a lot of money and suggested that he was being sued. But Wahl stated that Dick always repaid the money when he could. He was unaware that Dick had borrowed money from Evelyn and a month after they were married, had her arrange a \$200 loan.

Aleck Field testified that he was an automobile dealer who had done business with Mrs. Dick. William Landeg, who worked with Mr. Field, testified that Evelyn had borrowed the black Packard sedan on

7 Much of this is taken from the Toronto Star report from the 25th of April, 1946. There are several minor errors in the account that are probably due to the rapidity and complexity of the evidence that would tax the reporter's comprehension and writing speed. The ashes were not found in a bushel basket at Donald MacLean's home but in the driveway of Evelyn Dick's home. Also Freeborn did not find infant bones in the ashes. All the identified bones were adult male, and from the extremities.

at least six occasions, the last time was on March 7th. The car was dirty and there were blood stains on the seat and other places in the car. When questioned about the blood stains, Evelyn said that her little girl had cut herself and she had to take her to the hospital. But this was challenged because Bill Deadman had already said that the blood in the car was type 'O' and was the same as the blood in the torso, whereas the girl's blood type was 'B'.

By this time, the bizarre case had attracted considerable attention and the courtroom was increasingly crowded. The judge ordered that spectators without a seat be removed. Then the testimony continued. Detective John Freeborn then testified that he had found Dick's black oxfords in a wood-box in the cellar of Donald McLean's house. He also found large numbers of HSR tickets and a ticket punch with blood on it. In a front room he forced open a trunk and found a money counter and large sheaves of tickets as well as five keys used for opening fare boxes. They also found cash in the amount of \$4440.00, three shotguns and a rifle.

Raymond Castle, Superintendent for Transportation at the Hamilton Street Railway (HSR), testified that McLean was not authorized to have the keys and tickets that had been found in his home. Also he was unaware of the marriage of John Dick to Evelyn in November 1945 until Donald McLean told him about this. He had received reports of 'squabbling' and told McLean that this would have to stop on company property.

James Weaver, the thirteen-year-old hiker testified to finding the torso on the mountainside. George Meeker testified to finding the bloodied shirt on the road nearby.

Robert Morrison, a security guard at the gate of the Dominion Foundries and Steel plant said that in late October, he saw William Bohosuk, John and Evelyn Dick outside the Plant gate. Evelyn wanted to borrow Bohosuk's car. The next morning John Dick was seen in the parking lot. Bohosuk was going on shift and Dick tried to talk to him but then returned to the security shanty and was

weeping. There was other evidence of the feud between McLean and Dick and problems with others as well. John Walker, a HSR employee and a friend of Dick's, said that he heard MacLean say to Dick: "...damn you Dick, you're trying to break up my home." He was also very red-faced, angry and upset and referred to Dick as "...that damn Russian."

Dr. Deadman gave extensive testimony about the autopsy and a detailed analysis of the evidence he had worked on. He said that death had occurred approximately 10 days before the autopsy on the torso. He said the injuries to the torso were not lethal. The extremities had been roughly sawn off and it looked as if the arm and leg bones had been cut partly through and then broken. The head was cut off at the level of the larynx. The blood was Type O and this matched the bloodstains on the car and the shoes. There was little alcohol in the blood but more in the urine, suggesting that he had been drinking before death but was not intoxicated at the time of death. Gunshot wounds to the chest were inflicted at about the time of death but were not the cause of death. The cause of death was presumed to be trauma to the missing head.

Dr. Deadman testified that all the bone pieces were from the same person and all were from the missing extremities. Professor Grant testified to this and was able to add that they were from a male adult of medium build and height. Dr. Deadman testified that the infant encased in cement in the suitcase was badly decomposed but he was still able to present considerable information about it. Hospital records showed that it had been born to Evelyn Dick about a year before and had died shortly after birth.

Detective Freeborn testified that two days before the finding of the torso, Mrs. Dick had come to him to ask if her husband John Dick had been arrested. Freeborn asked her if it was for non-support but Evelyn said that it would be because she thought he had taken off with the company's money. Inspector Preston searched Donald MacLean's home and found the bloodstained shoes. He testified that

the pieces of bone found in the ashes in the driveway were examined at the Police station and then released to Dr. Deadman who had taken them back to the City Laboratories for analysis. Sergeant Farrow found several pictures of Evelyn Dick at Bohozuk's home and a picture of Bohozuk at his home that was similar to one at Evelyn Dick's house.

Freeborn also testified to the finding of the suitcase in the attic of the Carrick Avenue home. It was filled with a block of cement from which bits of fabric were protruding. When the cement was chiselled off, they found a bag containing the macerated remains of an infant. The bag was taken to the central police station for examination.

Dr. Deadman was at the police station when this was done. He testified:^{iv}

“...underneath it all was a skirt in which I observed the name of Evelyn MacLean. I opened the zipper of the bag and found the decomposed body of an infant. I then took the bag and its contents to the hospital for later examination. This extended over a period of weeks. I am still examining it...”

...indicating that he was reading from his preliminary report. He continued:

“The body of the infant was clothed and squeezed into the cloth bag and closed in by a zipper. The bag was about 13 by 5 by 8 inches. In order to remove the body it was necessary to slit open the sides of the bag. On removal the body was seen to be clothed. The skull bones are separated, loose. There were tooth buds in the jaw bones. The chest and arms were desiccated. The internal organs were decomposed beyond recognition. The left foot and ankle were missing. Around the neck there was a knotted piece of coarse hempen string one-half inch in diameter. The string was the type used to tie parcels and of fairly heavy weight...”

... He held up a loop of cord for the court to see. It would be small for an infant's neck.

"The diameter of (the neck of) a full-term infant is usually from seven to nine inches. The body was 18 inches long, which is normal for a full-term child."

Summing up, he listed the main findings:

"The body was the desiccated body of a full-term infant. The time of death was over a year from the time the body was found. The cause of death cannot now be accurately determined. The cord on the neck is worthy of consideration."

"The attorney for Mr. Bohozuk, Mr. William Schreiber asked if the age could be accurately determined. The pathologist replied that reconstructing a child's dried-out body from the remains would only indicate its length and that it was the body of a full-term infant. Nothing more could be accurately determined. He stated that the length of time after birth of up to 11 days would have little effect on a child's length. The attorney for Donald MacLean, Mr. Walter Tuchtie questioned the witness who agreed he could not say...

"...because of the condition of the body whether the child was three weeks old or not. All I could say would be weeks old."

'It had been agreed earlier in an exchange between the crown and the magistrate that any evidence involving confessions, or testimony by one accused against the other, should be heard in camera with the press not admitted. Later, through the juvenile court window, Bohozuk could be seen answering questions with the same composed manner he showed in open court.

'At 1 o'clock Bohozuk and Mrs. Dick were brought back to the main court-room. The in-camera hearing had been going on since 11 o'clock without a break. Mrs. Dick returned to the court-room with her coat thrown over her shoulders, showing a sky blue dress with white collar and cuffs. Bohozuk smiled occasionally at newspapermen and a flicker of a smile occasionally crossed Mrs.

Dick's face. But as far as their outward appearance went these two might have been complete strangers, certainly not accomplices.

'On resuming his place on the bench Magistrate Burbidge said "in the case of Bohozuk there is direct evidence that a jury is entitled to consider." He then committed him for trial. Referring to Mrs. Dick, he said, "and the jury is entitled to draw the inference from circumstantial evidence that there is a possibility that she is at least an accomplice."

"It is an admitted fact that the body of the baby was found in the home of what might be called the crown's star witness against Bohozuk." said Mr. Schreiber, "but there is not a tittle of evidence incriminating her in this matter on her testimony." The court interrupted Mr. Schreiber and proceeded to commit both for trial.^v

The Fall Assizes

The fall assizes of the Ontario Supreme Court convened on September 24th, 1946 under Mr. Justice William Schreiber. This would be the same William Schreiber, now a judge, who had represented Mr. Bohozuk at the Preliminary Hearing. The indictments charging Evelyn Dick, her father Donald MacLean and Walter Bohozuk with the murder of John Dick were sent to a Grand Jury who returned a true bill so the indictments continued to trial. Trial was scheduled to open on October 1st. The Special Prosecutor was T. J. Rigney assisted by the Crown Attorney, Harvey McCullough. The Defense attorney was Mr. John J. Sullivan.

Dr. Deadman's 'grim evidence' was given in the first few days. It was basically the same as he had presented at the Preliminary Hearing. There were few other questions. His evidence was clear, concise and difficult to dispute.

Alexandra MacLean quoted her daughter, Evelyn Dick: "Yes, John Dick is dead and you keep your mouth shut." She stated that this was only 2 days after John Dick's disappearance. The Hamilton Spectator reporter went on to say: "There was a gasp and a stir in the courtroom...". She then gave background information that she

repeated in more detail at the trial. She commented on her annoyance about Evelyn's marriage to John Dick and the obvious problems between Dick and Evelyn's friend Walter Bohozuk.

There was much other evidence from many of the same people who had testified at the preliminary hearing. Dr. Deadman gave evidence that was similar to his earlier testimony. There was considerable cross-examination and many points were discussed but the defense was unable to find flaws in the evidence.

The court room was crowded to the point that there were line-ups outside waiting for seats. When all seats were filled, the Judge ordered that no one else should be admitted, creating many arguments at the door. The judge had to restore order frequently. By this time the trial of a very attractive woman with a somewhat chequered past had attracted so much interest across Canada that the media were providing comments about Evelyn's dress and her responses to various bits of testimony that sometimes resembled a soap opera. Also tidbits emerged such as the introduction of Evelyn's address book into evidence. Many well-known Hamiltonians were listed there and the judge ruled that it was not admissible because it was irrelevant. Some people wondered if the judge might be one of the names listed.

The Trial

On September 29th the Grand Jury committed Evelyn for trial on the murder of John Dick and infanticide for the baby in the suitcase. Her mother, Alexandra had charges dropped at the Preliminary Hearing and was a witness for the Crown. Walter Bohozuk and Donald MacLean were charged with the murder of John Dick but were also facing trial on other charges that would be heard separately. The defense attorney was Mr. John J. Sullivan.

The trial commenced on October 7th. Bill Deadman was one of the first witnesses and he gave testimony that was the same as his earlier testimony. Alexandra MacLean gave her testimony again that her daughter had told her that John Dick was dead and ordered her

mother to keep her mouth shut. She also gave testimony that she and her husband had come to Canada in 1911 and had lived in Hamilton since then. Evelyn was born on October 13th, 1920. She indicated Evelyn had lived with her family virtually all her life. The MacLeans had lived on Rosslyn Avenue but when the parents separated in June 1945, Alexandra had moved to the Carrick Ave. home with Evelyn and her 6 year-old daughter, Heather. Her husband continued to live in the house on Rosslyn Avenue. Alexandra testified that Evelyn had had a child out of wedlock a few months before this move but the witness did not know what had happened to the child. It was then that Evelyn began using the name Mrs. White.

She learned about Evelyn's marriage to John Dick when her daughter got a marriage licence two weeks before. She described herself as "...very much annoyed" and said that they had had a great row over her marriage. The newly-weds did not move in together until a few days later; Evelyn came back to the Carrick Avenue home alone that night. And when John Dick did move in, there were constant arguments over money. He began staying out late and he was home less and less. They finally separated in February.

Alexandra gave much additional evidence about a phone call from Bohozuk that left Dick "...shaking like a leaf." John Dick's disappearance was early March. She testified that Evelyn became very close-mouthed about this and was angry when questioned. At one point she said to her mother that John Dick would not bother her again. When her mother asked about this, Evelyn replied that John Dick was dead and that mother was to keep her mouth shut. This also caused a stir in the court room. She said that the furnace in the house was running a lot after March 6th. And she testified that Evelyn was taking the ashes out and dumping them in front of the garage – evidence she had given before.

In the afternoon Bill Deadman continued his testimony about bloodstains in the Packard car. He said that they were all type O. He also said that there was a blood-stained necktie in the back seat that was still tied as it would be when worn – again type O. He said that he had also examined the shirt and sweater with similar blood

stains. Both garments had the arms roughly cut off just below the shoulder and had bullet holes that corresponded to the holes on the torso. He repeated his testimony about the finding of bits of bone and teeth in the ashes found outside the garage and in the furnace. He made it clear that all the bone pieces were human, were from the extremities and from one individual.

Cross-examination by Mr. Sullivan could not shake that. He said that he had examined a pair of red rubber boots that had been identified as belonging to Evelyn. They had blood stains, again type O. John Dick's black Oxfords, found at Donald MacLean's house had bloodstains, also type O. However, a tooth and Hamilton Street Railway tickets found there had blood spots that were type B.

Deadman also testified about his method of calculating the height of the body based on measurements of the torso. He repeated earlier testimony about the torso being drained of blood and no rigor mortis. Cross examination by Mr. Sullivan elicited other information about the condition of the torso, the food in the stomach and the alcohol level in the bladder indicated that he had eaten and consumed alcohol about an hour before death. He also testified that cutting off the arms and the head must have occurred shortly after death because the torso exsanguinated quite quickly before the blood would have had time to clot. Professor J. C. B. Grant also repeated his testimony confirming that the bone fragments were human, from the extremities and almost certainly from the same person. Dr. Roy⁸ Innis, also gave similar evidence about the teeth as before.

There was evidence from the civic employees who had found the bloody shirt on the side of the road. Jimmy Weaver who found the torso, gave his testimony again. The two police officers who were

8 In the Hamilton Spectator account the name is given as "Ray Innis". A misspelling of the names was quite common in these handwritten notes. The first reference to William Bohozuk was misspelled at the time of the Preliminary Hearing.

called to the scene gave their testimony. Defense attorney Mr. Sullivan gave intense cross-examinations to each of them.

There were long lineups to get a seat in the courtroom and arguments by people who could not get a seat. The judge took a firm line on this – no standees. There was also considerable interest in Evelyn's arrival from the holding cells to the court. At several points she is described as grimacing or making notes on a piece of paper.

In the final verdict, Evelyn Dick was convicted of first degree murder and sentenced to death by hanging. She was remanded in isolation at the Barton Street Jail with execution set for January 7th, 1947. On October 18th a jury was chosen to try William Bohozuk and Donald MacLean, also charged with murder. The same evidence was given by several witnesses including Bill Deadman. Evelyn was also called. Her testimony was to be the clinching evidence for the Crown. However, when she was called as a witness on October 18th, she refused to be sworn or to testify against her father and friend. The judge asked if she would “think it over” until Saturday (October 19th) she agreed, but gave the same answer the next day.

The trial proceedings collapsed suddenly when Evelyn's refusal to testify compromised the Crown's case. The trial was adjourned and a new trial was to be called in a month. However, all these proceedings were put in abeyance when it was learned that Evelyn Dick was appealing her conviction. The appeal was filed on November 15th. It would have to be heard before anything else could proceed.

The Appeal

The notice of appeal filed by defence counsel John Sullivan contained 25 points in which he argued that Evelyn did not get a fair trial. They included an assertion that the judge's charge to the jury was improper. Another point was that the principle evidence by her mother was bought by enticements of dropping charges which made her biased. There were many other points, many of them technical but some material to the evidence given. On the 9th of December,

Chief Justice R. S. Robertson announced a stay of execution until February 7th to allow for the hearing of an appeal.

The appeal was led by John Josiah Robinette ⁹ who later became known as Canada's leading litigator. It was the winning of the appeal of Evelyn Dick's murder conviction in 1947 that put his name on the legal map. He was involved in several high-profile trials including (unsuccessfully) defending members of the Boyd Gang in 1952. He always argued that even the most desperate criminal was entitled to the best defense that could be mounted.

The appeal was launched on January 10th, 1947. The evidence was reviewed and Robinette put in more than 1000 pages of testimony. He considered the crucial piece of testimony was that when she took detectives Wood and Preston on a motor ride over the murder route, she had not been cautioned about giving evidence that could be used against her. He suggested that she had seriously misjudged the consequences of her cooperation with the two detectives.

He further argued that there was no evidence as to who had committed the murder of John Dick although it seems that all three defendants would be considered accessories. But he argued that the others had stronger motives than she did and this was not put forward in the trial. He argued that Evelyn Dick was at most an accessory after the fact ¹⁰ so she could not be found guilty on this evidence. The arguments are well described in the *Globe & Mail* account on January 23rd, 1947.

9 John Josiah Robinette (1906-1996), popularly known as J.J. Robinette, was relatively unknown at the time of this appeal but it cemented his reputation and prominence in the legal community. He was appointed King's Council (KC) in 1944. He was made a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1973.

10 An accessory before the fact is complicit in the crime and therefore could be found guilty. An accessory after the fact is not complicit in the crime but only found out about it when it was underway or afterwards. They are at most an accessory to the crime, but not a perpetrator.

On January 28th Mr. Justice Keiller Mackay granted a motion of the Crown to adjourn the trials of the three accused because they were also seeking leave to appeal. He recognized the appeal that was proceeding through the Supreme Court but said that in the interests of justice, the whole matter must be reconsidered when the findings of the appeals are known.

On February 24th the Hamilton Spectator reported on the second trial of Evelyn Dick for the murder of her husband. It was convened under Chief Justice J. C. McRuer. Evelyn was tried alone and counsel for the co-accused, Donald MacLean and William Bohozuk made no objection. They were returned to jail and the trial then proceeded without them. The Crown was represented by Mr. Rigney and Mr. McCullough but a third man was added, Clifford R. Magone. He was a solicitor for the Attorney-General's Department of Ontario. Mrs. Dick's defence counsel was J. J. Robinette.

The Globe & Mail reported on the proceedings on February 29th. They observed that the same old evidence was hauled out by the same witnesses and it seemed strange that such macabre material was quite boring in the dry setting of the court. However, Robinette was able to show that Mrs. Dick could not be convicted of murdering her husband so on March 26th, 1947 she was convicted on the lesser charge of manslaughter for the death of the fetus in the suitcase. At a subsequent trial her father, Donald MacLean was convicted of accessory to murder and for stealing from the Hamilton Street Railway. Walter Bohozuk was exonerated of the baby slaying and other charges were dropped. But he was bitter about this for years because he was held in close custody for over a year – all for the crime of being Evelyn's Lothario.

Mrs. Dick was sentenced to life imprisonment for infanticide and was taken to the Women's Prison in Kingston. She was released from jail in 1958 on parole. Because of the notoriety of her case, she was given a new identity by the National Parole Board and subsequently dropped out of sight. In 1983 she was pardoned and released from parole by application under the Royal Prerogative of Mercy. Her file is officially sealed.

The Aftermath

There was much speculation about Evelyn's subsequent life, both in Hamilton and across Canada. The femme fatale, the scarlet lady apparently had a black address book with 150 names in it – including many prominent Hamilton citizens. A popular joke at the time went like this:

“Cut off his arms, cut off his legs, cut off his head – how could you Mrs. Dick?”

(If you don't get the joke, try saying it aloud.)

It became the title of a play by Douglas Rodger that was popular for a time in the Hamilton area and has been revived every few years since.^{vi} Articles about her whereabouts and the mysteries surrounding her name have appeared in local newspapers and journals from time to time.^{vii} It was just too juicy a story to give up. It put Hamilton and the principles in the trials very much on the map. The extensive news coverage even earned an entry in Ripley's Believe It or Not:

In Hamilton Ontario Canada, the Head of Detectives is Sergeant Pinch. There is a firm of lawyers called Lazier and Lazier, and the Coroner is Dr. Deadman.

They got it a little bit wrong. There was someone on the police force with the name of Pinch but not the head of detectives. The law firm is correct but the name is pronounced “Lazheer” Bill Deadman was never a coroner but he was the Medical Examiner to the Crown. But most people would regard these as mere details.

Yet in a way this is a sad story. The actual perpetrator of the murder of John Dick was never formally determined. Evelyn suffered throughout for events that almost seemed beyond her control. And her naivety cost her dearly when she suddenly realized the very serious situation she was in. She began to cast aspersions and allegations in all directions that further confounded the issues. Her father suffered but he was clearly guilty of the crimes for which

he was convicted. He finished his life penniless, alone and suffering from senility. Evelyn's boyfriend and sometime lover found himself mixed up in matters that suddenly ran out of control and he was left bitter and angry. He spent over a year in custody and then the charges were dropped.

One could argue about the failures of the legal system that were brought out in the appeals. By that time the case was so hopelessly entangled that no good resolution could come out of it. However it resulted in procedural and legal changes that have benefitted those charged with serious crimes ever since.

However, the importance of forensic pathology was reinforced. Bill Deadman's examination and testimony was thorough and it used the best science available at the time. Attempts to challenge it were met with patient explanations and direct answers to questions but no backing down. At that time forensic pathology was not recognized as a separate specialty of medicine – in fact general pathology had only just been formally recognized by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada after the Second World War. But the work of Bill Deadman and many others like him across Canada was enhanced by this experience in dealing with the criminal justice system. These men and women were the pioneers.

CHAPTER ONE

Part 1 Beginnings

THE VICTORIAN ERA (1837-1901)

*Great events make me quiet and calm; it is
only trifles that irritate my nerves.*

*Victoria Regina (1819 - 1901)
...in a letter to King Leopold of Belgium (April
4th, 1848)*



William James Deadman achieved celebrity status after the Dick trial in 1946, but the 61 year old forensic pathologist was well-known and highly regarded in his field well before that. To fully understand the person that William Deadman became, we must look at the family background and the social, political and economic atmosphere of the late Victorian Era that shaped him. He was 12 at the time of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and 16 at the end of her reign in 1901. It was the apogee of the British Empire. Five decades later, the Empire was almost gone. As the new century opened, it was a time of great political, social and economic changes in Europe and North America. During those five decades, he participated in two world wars and a Great Depression. He had seen his profession of medicine evolve into a highly scientific endeavour and had done pioneering work in the new field of forensic pathology even before he was asked to examine the torso found on the mountainside.

He lived in interesting times. People sometimes muse that the rate of change in society, in science, in politics is faster now than it has

ever been. But if one compares the changes of an age to their starting point, there is no question that the rate of change in the 19th century and early years of the 20th far surpassed anything before or since. When he was born in 1885, Canada was just sixteen and a half years old and most of the modern conveniences we take for granted did not exist. When he died in 1965, virtually all of the modern developments of today were present in his world, at least in nuclear form. Automobiles, aeroplanes, space satellites, radio, television, transistors and computers were all invented during his lifetime.

Canada – The Victorian Era – Pre 1837.

William Deadman was born at the peak of the British Empire's power and influence in a part of Ontario that was not very far removed from the frontier and was very much influenced by it. To the modern reader, this period has a distant, almost unreal quality about it but it was very real to those who lived through it. In 1837, when the 18 year old Victoria ascended the throne of Great Britain, the colonies in British North America, (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Lower and Upper Canada – known as 'the Canadas') had less than a century of history. Britain had acquired the Canadas from France in what became known as the Seven Years War (1754-1763)¹¹. At that time Upper Canada (later Ontario) was Indian country with a few settlers of French extraction in the extreme eastern and western parts – around Windsor and Detroit and Kingston. They were also scattered along the voyageurs' trade routes into the upper lakes, notably Sault Ste. Marie. Making this wilderness a British colony became a high priority for the government in London. This became even more urgent after the secession of the American colonies to the south in the American War of Independence (1775-1783). During that war a large number of British Empire Loyalists fled northward to the Canadas and incorporating them into the struggling colonies became a further priority.

11 The French and Indian War in American history.

Three decades later, Britain and the United States of America were at war again. In the War of 1812-1814, Britain was engaged in fighting Napoleon in Europe. But the small army of British regulars in the colonies had to rely on Indian warriors and the colonists themselves to fight the battles. The outcome of the war was largely a stalemate but in the new Canadian colonies the ragtag mix of aboriginal people, voyageurs, settlers of both French and British origin and the newly arrived American settlers, not all of them loyalists, were beginning to develop a sense of national identity. The basic institutions of civilized society began to develop in the towns but the settlers in rural areas were still struggling to survive from day to day. It was a far cry from the civilization known to most European settlers or even in the more settled colonies that made up the new United States of America.

In 1837, Victoria's first year as Queen there were many further troubles both internal and external. Not only had the Americans continued to covet what they referred to as their fourteenth colony, but often heavy-handed attempts by colonial administrators to unite the colonies of Lower and Upper Canada led to rebellions in both. William Lyon Mackenzie led a rebellion in Upper Canada that was finally put down in January 1838. Mackenzie fled to the United States and was arrested and charged under the Neutrality Act. But the rebels continued to agitate for the overthrow of British rule until another decisive defeat at the battle of the Windmill, later in 1838.

In Lower Canada, the rebellion was more serious and at one point led to the declaration of martial law. The *Parti patriote*, led by James Stuart and Louis-Joseph Papineau had been challenging the rulings of the colonial administration (known as the Château Clique) for year before 1837 when it broke out into open warfare. After initial successes, the rebellion was finally put down by the British in November 1838.

Since the successful breakaway of the American 13 colonies in 1777 was still fresh in the minds of many people in Britain, these events were viewed very seriously. In 1838 Victoria appointed John George Lambton, Earl of Durham as Governor in Chief of the

Canadas with special powers as Lord High Commissioner. His report on The Affairs of British North America recommended that the governments of Lower and Upper Canada be united into a single parliament modelled on Westminster. The report was not well received by French-Speaking Canadians because of the implied – even stated – long-term goal that the French would gradually be absorbed by the English. Lord Durham's report of the next year, did not settle it and it was not until 1840 that the *United Canada Act* (Act of Union) was passed by the British Parliament.

The Mid-19th Century – Immigration and Expansion.

It was a time of rapid expansion. Settlers, mostly from the British Isles, flooded in seeking land and a chance to start anew. By the time that the Deadman family emigrated from England in the early 1850s, settlement in Upper Canada was firmly established along the northern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie and was spreading north into the hinterlands.

It was a fluctuating mass of political, social and cultural streams, now combining, now separating. The mid-19th century population while largely either of British or French origin, contained also groups of Germans, Scandinavians and Dutch. Even the label 'British' hid a wide diversity of cultural groups, who did not consider themselves to be the same – the Scots, the Irish (some Protestant, some Catholic) and the English. To add to the mix, within each of these groups were small divisions – adventuresome aristocrats from England, middle class people looking for more freedom from class restrictions, or perhaps just lured by the chance of a more open market place.

There were Highland and Lowland Scots. Will's mother was a Carruthers from the parish of Applegarth in Dumfriesshire. There were tenant farmers from Ulster, more prosperous and land-owning than the poor tenant farmers from the south of Ireland – both groups of which would come in even larger numbers after the potato

famine years of the 1840s. Many came more often as a means to enter the United States more easily. Canada was to experience a net emigration until the very late years of the 19th century, that is, more people left Canada than arrived. Only natural increase provided by necessarily large farm or industrial working class families kept the overall population total rising slowly over these years. In 1896 17,000 individuals arrived in Canada and 37,000 left, compared to 1912, when 400,000 immigrants came to the country and 300,000 departed.^{viii}

Transiency was a common feature of life, whether rural or urban. For example, it is estimated that only a third to at most three fifths of the inhabitants of the city of Hamilton in the mid-19th century was comprised of permanent residents. Immigrants were much more common, for Hamilton at mid-century, only 9% of the work force were actually born in Canada.

In the early years of settlement, all land was legally held by the Crown, then 'alienated' into private hands by sale, outright grant, Loyalist grant and military grant – not forgetting the clergy reserves.¹² No clear definition of who might fit in these categories was ever agreed upon, and the bulk of this land lay wild and unused until mid-century, acting mostly as an unwanted check on growth and development. Land was Canada's chief commodity and revenue earner for the government of the colony as it was for settlers. It was viewed as the principle means by which a settled, orderly and loyal populace could be placed in the province. For people, land represented freedom, and self-sufficiency. Even a small, poor farm was often felt to be better than seasonal labour in the cities and towns of mid-century.

12 In the survey of Upper Canada ordered by the first Governor, John Graves Simcoe, it was determined that one seventh of all the land in the province was reserved for the support of a 'Protestant clergy'. This was in part to offset the predominantly Roman Catholic environment in Lower Canada. But the few clergy present were itinerant and so scattered that most of the land lay unused for years, forcing many new settlers to move ever farther out into the hinterland.

In 1826, the need for revenues and the fact that many of the grantees had either not improved their land, or had not even settled on it, forced the legislature to borrow the system used in New South Wales of selling lands at auction. The government set a reserve price for each lot prior to each auction – the bidding winner was allowed to pay in yearly instalments until 1837, when full cash at the time of the auction was required. The purchaser had to promise to erect a dwelling and cut a road on at least half the frontage of their land within three years. They had to prove all this by affidavit as well as proving they had settled on the land within six months of purchase.

But this did not solve the problem of all the land which remained unoccupied, although granted, in the years prior to 1837. It is estimated for example that in Peel County four fifths of the land granted to that date lay wild and unsettled, but unavailable for settlement.^{ix} The situation was similar in Simcoe County where the Carruthers family had settled and where William Deadman grew up.¹³ Settlement was slowed, and even those with farms had uncertain ownership in many cases as these lawsuits continued.

Speculators were thus a problem and bar to open settlement in Ontario's colonial days. David Gagan notes in his study of Peel County that this group represented 3% of land owners, but held at least 10% of the land – sometimes leaving it as bush, in other cases sub-dividing into small rural lots which were rented or leased out. Allan MacNab in Wentworth county and beyond dealt in land in this fashion also – buying and selling parcels throughout the province as he needed cash, or in barter transactions (hard cash being rare in the early years), or when he needed political favours or needed to grant them. It should be noted, that far from being a British style landed aristocrat – which was the hope of this class – these

13 There the Simcoe district council attempted to tax non-resident lands which were undeveloped, but was blocked in the provincial legislature. A later By-law was allowed, but very difficult to enforce and was an ongoing problem from the 1850s. It flared again in the 1860s, when Samuel Street, the MLA for the Welland area brought suit against Simcoe County for taxes he claimed were illegal.

speculators usually lived on the edge of bankruptcy, then not mitigated by limited liability laws.

Ordinary settlers had to wait an average of 13 years to obtain the inspection report which would allow them to get a Crown deed to their land. Some who had not been able to improve their land lost it at auction despite the fact that senior government officials and land speculators held their land as long as they wished without improvement and without losing it. This may explain one reason why so many passed through Canada on their way to the United States.

Canada was overwhelmingly rural. The largest city, Montreal, had a population just over 100,000. Toronto was half that. Only 25% of the total population lived even in incorporated settlements. Hamilton, for example, incorporated as a town in 1833 with a population around 1300-1400, and by 1846, when it incorporated as a city it had a population just under 10,000. Not until the 1920s were more people to live in incorporated settlements in Canada than in rural areas, and even then, incorporation was possible for any place with a thousand people or more. The 19th century, however, was the golden age of rural Canada. Not only did most people live in rural areas, either as farmers, or farm workers, but they often lived in villages and small towns whose economies depended on agriculture. Even the growing cities such as Hamilton owed a good deal of their growth to the expansion of agriculture, in its more settled form in Ontario, and by the late 19th century, to service the settlement of the prairies. More importantly, Canada was rural in its mindset, even in the cities. The rhythms of agriculture and nature dominated daily life.

Technology

In terms of technology, like the rest of the world, the early 19th century was a time of wood, wind and sail, though from the 1830s, some sailing ships on the lakes were steam assisted. From the middle of the century on, steam power took over. Steamships now 'sailed'

the Great Lakes, steam powered grist and saw mills continued to convert the remaining forests to lumber, and convert the dominant wheat crop into flour. In the new factories, steam operated the machinery in a world now turning away from crafts to unskilled labour. Steam carried produce from farms to cities on the new railroads. The rails also carried settlers to central points inland and farther, while perennially bad roads hampered local transportation.

Both the Deadman and Carruthers families came out about 1850. It is not recorded how they came but the conditions of travel then were very different from today. The first steam-assisted sailing ship crossed the Atlantic in 1833. Samuel Cunard submitted a bid in 1839 to the British government to carry mail across the Atlantic – his service began in 1840. The first trip took 12 days from Liverpool to Halifax. By the 1850s he was using iron ships, and by the 1860s had changed from paddle wheels to screw propellers. More successful in Canadian terms was Sir Hugh Allan. He founded a shipping company in 1819, which became the main rival to Cunard in the 1850s. Most ships out of Canada to Britain and return were Allan liners. He invested in banking and railroads after that becoming very rich indeed and one reason Montreal became Canada's financial capital of the day. The telegraph was introduced in the late 1840s and transatlantic cables in the 1850s and 60s. The world was becoming a smaller place a century before Marshal McLuhan popularised the term 'global village'.

Life as lived on the Ontario frontier in the 19th century

In the 19th century as today, an individual's skill set determined life in its entirety. Back then most men were, or aspired to be, farmers owning their own land. William's father was a farmer all his life and proud of it. He worked for others until 1891 when he was able to buy his own farm. Whether one would come to own land and farm it profitably, or at least wrest a living from it, was determined by a whole range of factors. Farmers, then as now, were jacks-of-all-

trades – able to build and repair machinery, to plough and plant, to erect houses and barns, to keep books, to sell and market their produce and to adjust to changing technology and changing times.

We often think of the 19th century as some kind of unchanging world of simple verities floating in a golden haze, often because of that peculiar human trait of looking back to a golden age, but also bolstered by today's pioneer villages which are themselves perhaps a product of this longing for a golden time. What these constructed memories leave out is the hardship of a life battling weather, climate, disease, injury, crop failure – all of which could be traumatically disastrous in an age without sound scientific medicine, without the modern array of fertilizers and agricultural technology, and without social services of all types.

Hard work and family were often the keys to success, but family less often than we might think. Many of the agricultural workers had come from other places, leaving family behind and attempted to make it without this support. Others were luckier, or perhaps more sensible, in that extended families came and settled close enough to one another to offer this form of communal assistance, as is the case of the Deadman family. Some were not even experienced in agriculture, but merely lusted after the estate of having one's own estate. Again, the Deadman family were luckier, or perhaps more sensible than some in that they were experienced farmers.

Transiency was a regular part of this existence. Sometimes families moved on because they could not establish themselves in their first choice of residence – and in other cases they moved because all the good, affordable land was already taken – either by other farmers, or in the early days of settlement by non-resident land owners. But underneath all this, was a rational attempt by individuals and families to sustain themselves firstly, then to establish themselves and to gain some degree of social standing. Social standing is a factor often forgotten in bloodless analyses of history, yet it is one of the most important determinants of history. Farmers were the least transient group in 19th century society: some 50% stayed on their lands, once cleared and farmed. There was

another kind of transiency also. Individuals and families moved easily among cities, towns and farms, and had a network of family and friends in both worlds.

Our modern predilection to divide urban from rural as two separate worlds did not reflect 19th century reality. Farmers were the single largest group of workers in 19th century Ontario, but could and did set their hands to other work in the forests, or in towns. In the 1860s, farmers made up somewhere between 33 and 37% of the male workforce, while industrial workers counted as only 12% at most.^x Occupations which we today consider to be middle class: clerks, professionals, business owners, and so on, made up only 5% of Ontario's workforce.^{xi} If farmer's sons were included in this statistic, the percentage rose to 50, though some farmer's sons did indeed leave farming for other town occupations, or left the area entirely.

Women are not usually counted in these reckonings, but farm women were a necessary and important part of the rural economy, and also functioned as the first line of health care within families. Women grew the herbs and roots used to prepare 19th century medicines. Women were more often than doctors, the ones who delivered babies, bandaged cuts, and even set broken bones. Even in the semi-rural cities, towns and villages of the era, women were essential to the family economy, taking in laundry, or working as de facto healers, or midwives and nurses, and often working at other factory jobs. Middle class women ran the household, controlling the accounts, raising money for good causes, and raising children. In the earliest years of settlement, when the forest had to be cleared first, there was a shared existence based on this back-breaking toil for both men and women.

Wheat was king in Ontario until the mid-19th century, when the early farming techniques which had been employed began to exhaust the land for wheat farming. Early settlers in Simcoe County, as in most frontier areas, planted wheat one season, then let the land lie fallow for one, and never used manure as fertilizer, despite these methods being commonly criticized by scientific farmers from

elsewhere. They had good reason to employ these techniques in early days, however. Most of the land was laboriously cleared from forest, probably at best, five acres per year, and crops had to be planted quickly in order to live and wheat prices were high and brought in needed cash in a way no other produce did at that time. Farm animals were usually left to forage in the still encroaching forest and thus using their manure as fertilizer would have introduced weed seeds from the forest foraging.

Only immigrants who brought a large amount of capital with them were able to practice mixed farming. And even those few who did, found themselves undersold by Americans who imported cattle to market in Toronto. Those who attempted to sell in local markets, such as that in Barrie, were stymied by the lack of a good system of marketing their beef or produce. The best they could do was to attempt to sell their beef by going door-to-door. In all cases, freight rates were extremely high until the development of railroads in the later 1850s and 60s. By the mid-1850s, however, when the Deadmans and Carruthers had settled in Simcoe County, less than a quarter of the land was under wheat, and enough farmland was opened to employ modern techniques of mixed farming. By this time, a market in Simcoe County had developed for both livestock and crops other than wheat.

Yet, before this first great financial collapse, much of what was to become Ontario was set in place. The 1840s and 50s were a time of growth, growing prosperity and optimism. A thinly populated, almost subsistence economy was replaced in these years by commercial agriculture whose produce flowed through Ontario's two commercial centres, Toronto and Hamilton. These places became the first industrial cities in the province also, largely by supplying the hard goods farmers wanted, and indeed needed, in order to pursue profitable commercial agriculture.

Surveys and Townships

Politically, Upper Canada was divided into townships and districts. The surveying of townships began under the first governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe who was also responsible for moving the Capitol of the colony from Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake) to York, a town on the north shore of Lake Ontario and therefore somewhat farther from the frontier with the new United States of America, which still made periodic rumblings about acquiring its fourteenth colony.

Unlike England, where the lots were very irregular and the properties had been there for many centuries, Upper Canada was mostly forest without settlement and the few squatters that were there could be easily displaced. Simcoe determined that all the land was to be surveyed in a square grid pattern before it was opened up to settlers. Surveyors were sent in and any squatters they encountered were forced to conform their holdings to the new grid system once the survey had been completed. This process continued from about 1785 right through the 19th century as new areas were opened up to settlement. Tecumseth Township was surveyed in the 1820s after the War of 1812-14 and when new settlers were flowing into Upper Canada at an ever increasing rate.

Counties were realities only for land registration until 1851, when counties became the principal sub-divisions of the province of Canada West. Simcoe County, named after the former Governor, was the first county to be surveyed in the northern part of the Home District. In its original form, it was enormous, extending from the existing York and Peel counties north to Georgian bay, East to Ontario County and west into the Indian lands, known as the 'Queen's Bush' that were to become Dufferin and Grey Counties.

Picking names for the many townships that were being carved out of the bush must have been a challenge for legislators, cartographers and surveyors. This was usually left up to the surveyors who created them and by this time, most of the good names had been used,

creating some amusing anomalies. It is noted that in Simcoe County, *Gwillimbury* honoured Governor Simcoe's wife's family name, Gwillim. Sir Peregrine Maitland, Governor at the time of this act, named *Flos*, *Tiny* and *Tay* after his wife, Sarah's pet dogs. The names of several townships named in the act, *Alba*, *Java*, *Merlin* and *Zero* seem to have disappeared. They never appeared on the maps. Some names were changed. For example, *Aurelia* became *Orillia* on later maps.

The origins of Tosorontio are less clear but it would appear to be a variation on Toronto, a name already used several times. Tecumseth, where the Deadman family farm was located, was clearly named after the famous Indian chief but the unusual spelling may again be a variation on Tecumseh, a town in Essex County. To avoid confusion, Tecumseth Twp. in Simcoe County became known as 'New Tecumseth.'

Around each concession was a road allowance one chain wide.¹⁴ Local landowners were responsible for clearing, building and maintaining the roads that abutted their property. This led to roads of highly varying condition. Many were totally impassable in the spring or extended wet periods. But William's father was proud of the roads he maintained around his property at the 10th concession, 10th line. He built and maintained a log bridge over the creek on the 10th line. Over the years it was replaced several times, but the concrete bridge that now spans the creek has a brass plaque labelling it the *Deadman Bridge*.

The system of measures for land was based on the Imperial system of weights and measures and in those days every school child could recite it: 12 inches, 1 foot, 3 feet, 1 yard, 5½ yards, 1 rod, 320 rods, 1 mile, 160 square rods, 1 acre, 640 acres, 1 square mile. A standard surveyor's chain was 4 rods long, so the road allowance between each concession was 66 feet. Surveyors were hired locally

14 Most modern readers have no idea of these old measurements. Since Canada's conversion to the SI System, they are only reminded of yards, feet and inches because the U.S. has not converted.

and many had very little training. They established an east-west base line to mark the southern edge of each township, but local topography might dictate where it was placed and the angle from the true east-west in which it ran. The lines between concessions were numbered, usually from the south and west but sometimes in a different way. North-south road allowances were called lines and east-west ones were called roads but again there was considerable variability. Further, the angles between the roads and lines in Tecumseth (and in many other townships) were not even right angles. They incline to the East about 10°. Sometimes townships were irregular geometric shapes. Narrow triangles were called gores – a term derived from seamstress work. This was probably true of Toronto Gore, a township in the Home District northwest of Toronto. However, the district at the head of Lake Ontario around Hamilton was called the Gore District to honour a former governor of Upper Canada.¹⁵

By the 1860s, most of the good land in the southern and western parts of the province was taken already. Children – daughters and younger sons of farmers – had either to choose a new, non-agricultural occupation, or move farther north and into the more sparsely settled interior, which is reflected in the Deadman story. Others became tenant farmers – the choice not only of young men who did not yet have the capital to start and own their own land, but of recent immigrants also. Sometimes a son might rent the family farm after the father decided to retire, but needed an income. In 1871, the average number of farms operated by tenants in Ontario was 16%, with a high of 30% in York County, and the lowest at 1% in relatively undeveloped counties such as Manitoulin. Simcoe county stood somewhere in the middle at just short of 15%, probably reflecting the developed state of the southern townships, and the still undeveloped state of much of the northern townships, such as Tecumseth.



Ontario was still the centre of Canada's agriculture in 1871, having 47% of all Canada's farms, 51% of the total improved land, 57% of all horses on farms, 83% of all land that was in wheat, and 46% of all land in hay. By 1871 substantial changes were underway in Ontario's agriculture. The old dominance of wheat production was giving way to the raising of livestock and later to dairy products such as butter and cheese. With livestock, the cultivation of fodder crops took the place of wheat. Ontario's population changed gradually over the late 19th century. In 1871 53% of the population were under 20, by 1911, this figure had declined to 43%.

Even then, they had to somehow earn enough to buy their own land. For men, this meant work, sometimes years, as agricultural labourers – for girls it meant staying home until the right man came along, or working as domestics on farms, or in the towns and cities which were now growing with immigration from other lands, or from the farms. These were the fairly limited choices in this early period, choices dependent on the relative success of the first generation of settler.

Added to this, was the depressed state of the economy after the market collapse of 1857, and again in the 1870s. Grain was the principal product of Ontario, and its sale depended on international markets in both Britain and the United States. The economy was to recover by the 1860s, but decline again in the 1870s, this time for a much longer stretch. The financial crisis of 1857-60, a decline in wheat prices, crop failures, and a disruption in sales to the United States after the end of the Civil War constituted a perfect storm, damaging life and prospects for farmers and city dwellers alike. Life in Canada was always to be marked by these short bursts of prosperity and long stretches of stagnation, depending, of course, on one's ability to move into a trade, or profession or practice which did well despite the general conditions. The band-aids of socialism were

still far into the future, as were effective unions. The first task for most was to farm successfully, and to do that land was all.

Tecumseth Township.

Tecumseth Township was created by an act of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada on the 14th of April 1821. In this law, the new county of Simcoe, named after the earlier Lieutenant Governor, John Graves Simcoe was carved out of the northern part of the Home District and the Indian Lands near Lake Simcoe. Will was obviously interested in the district of his upbringing. he had travelled the dirt roads in his youth. He returned to Beeton on many occasions and in the rough notes for his autobiography, he makes reference to:

“Simcoe County – Yonge Street – Holland River, Holland Landing – Kempenfeldt Bay – Barrie – Orillia - Lake Couchiching – Indian Reserve – Severn River – Georgian Bay – Penetang – Wasaga Beach – The Nancy – The Collingwood – Blue Mountains - Nottawasaga River bed – Clay farm land in South – ”^{xii}

It is not clear why the name of the township was chosen. It clearly honours the great Chief of the Shawnee, Tecumseh who sided with the British in the War of 1812-1814, and died in the Battle of Moraviantown in 1813. The spelling of many Indian names was variable in those days and some spellings contained in the legislation to create the County of Simcoe had to be changed in later iterations. But the township named after Tecumseh remained as Tecumseth.

After the War of 1812, the soldiers, the Loyalists and many others had been given free land. In 1817, Lieutenant Governor, Francis Gore (after whom the Gore District was named) was determined to improve the problem. The government had no idea who was living where or even if many of them had taken up their free grants. Settlers were required to build on their land, and to build and maintain roads on the peripheries of their holdings. Gore instituted a tax on registered owners who had not done these things and raised

considerable revenue. From this arose the requirement on settlers to build roads in lieu of taxes.

In 1819 a system of payment for the new lands was instituted. Poor settlers would get 50 acres free. 100 acres cost £12 and 200 acres cost £30. Land surveyors were given land in payment. Clergy reserves were a continuing problem as many remained undeveloped. This was a major criticism of Lord Durham in his report of 1839. The disputes continued but gradually, a more orderly system emerged. In 1831, most lots in the southern part of Tecumseth Township were taken up but only a few in the north. Even in 1850, about the time that WJDs ancestors were settling in Carrville, only about half of the concession roads in Tecumseth had been opened up.

Because of the rough and heavily forested terrain, the early surveys were notoriously inaccurate resulting in concession lines that did not meet and early settlers discovering that they had cleared land on plots that did not belong to them. It took some time to get all the concession lines and lots clearly marked and the roads cleared through. By the time WJDs father took up land in the 10th concession, 10th line, the township was more settled with a number of small hamlets at intersections. Alliston was at the extreme north-west corner, Cookstown at the extreme north-east corner. Bond Head, the birthplace of Sir William Osler, was on its eastern boundary at the 6th concession; Tottenham at the 3rd concession and 5th line and Beeton at the 8th concession, 10th line. Beeton was almost at the geographic centre.

It is noteworthy that some famous Canadians came from this same area. Sir William Osler, Sir William Mulock from Bond Head, Sir. Frederick Banting was from Barley Creek in that area. Kate Aitken, a CBC Radio personality from the 1950s and '60s went to Beeton Public School, but as she always claimed, some years later than Bill.

Beeton.

Richard Rorke, (1805-1889) took up land in the new township in 1822. His journal, written during his 25 years in Tecumseth and later in Collingwood was salvaged by his great-great granddaughter, Phyllis Armstrong of Markdale and gives a good picture of life on the frontier in those days.^{xiii} He describes the cedar swamps infested with mosquitoes, flies and gnats, (black flies?) He describes encounters with marauding bears and wolves. It is an excellent description of pioneer life.

Although Richard Rorke and William Hammill had settled in this area as early as 1822, the settlement that was to become Beeton really started when Robert Clark purchased land and established a blacksmith shop in 1852. He also sold building lots to new settlers which were cleared to make way for the new village of Clarksville, named after him. A couple of decades later, the main Post Office for Tecumseth was moved into the village and for a time it was known as Tecumseth. At that time, Mr. D.A. Jones was postmaster. Jones had become known as “The Bee King” because he had introduced Italian bees to Canada and had set up a large bee and honey industry in Beeton which became famous all over the new Dominion. When in 1878 it was decided that the name should be changed again because it was too easily confused with Tecumseh Post Office in Essex County, it was called Beeton to honour the Bee King of Canada who was Tecumseth’s largest employer at the time.

“Beeton, in 1885, was a hustling village of some 800 souls, larger by a couple of hundred than it is today. It owed its name to its then outstanding citizen, Mr. D. A. Jones, who expanded his original apiary into one of the largest apiaries in the country at that time. Indeed, he was dubbed by some as the “Bee King of the World”. Indeed he travelled in pursuit of the interests of his business to many countries of the world and imported stock from various European countries. He also imported from Europe a type of thistle which flowered throughout most

of the summer, furnishing nectar from his bees, but also furnishing seeds which the wind carried from the roadsides to neighbouring farmers' fields, to the great annoyance of the farmers in spite of their pride in presence of the Bee King. His factory in the village for the manufacture of supplies for the bee business was one of the mainstays of the village's industry." ^{xiv}

That would have been its heyday. The population of Tecumseth had been 546 in 1829 but had increased to 1410 in 1836 as more settlers flowed in. It was 2491 in 1842 and 3612 in 1850. It slowed somewhat but still reached 4546 in 1861, 4728 in 1871 and 5325 in 1881. By then most of the land was taken up and the depressions of the 1870s and the 1890s were taking their toll. Land had opened up in the Queen's Bush, the present Grey and Bruce Counties which had attracted many in the 1880s, and when the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, many farmers left to take up free land on the great prairies of western Canada. This wave of emigration meant that in the 1891 census, Tecumseth's population had dropped to 3865, in 1901 it was 3440 and in 1911 it was 2880. By 1937, in the later part of the Great Depression, it was 2639. It has continued to drop since so that in the 1950s the population was less than it had been in 1842.

The Coming of the Railway

The second half of the 19th century was the period in which railway lines were being built everywhere in the rapidly expanding hinterland of Canada West which at Confederation had become the Province of Ontario in the new Dominion of Canada. 1857 the first railroad system, the Great Western Railway, connected the province, not only internally but to markets in both New York State and Michigan. The Grand Trunk Railway, which was eventually to swallow the Great Western carried these rails east to Canada's first metropolis, Montreal and beyond to Portland Maine and by ship to the imperial centre in England. Canada was politically still a colony,

yet now a colony with a large degree of independence to decide how to direct investment and how to develop infrastructure as an added benefit.

Immigration, mainly from the British Isles came as a result of this growth. Among these immigrants were the Deadman family from England and the Carruthers family from Scotland. Their land must have been productive because they were not among the many that moved through British North America to settle in the United States, nor were they devastated by the regular economic problems which plagued Canada until the 1890s.

Hamilton and Toronto companies were in competition northwards into the new townships being opened for colonization. The railways were demanding subsidies from these counties, townships and communities to have the new lines come through their communities and Tecumseth was approached by both the *Hamilton and Northwestern Railway* and the newly formed *South Simcoe Junction Railway*, based in Toronto. Mabel Burkholder told it this way:

“At a historic meeting in Clarksville (Beeton) in August, 1873, the Northern Railway loop line scheme (i.e. the South Simcoe Junction Railway) versus the Hamilton line was debated before an assembly of 200 people from various parts of the country and the resolutions endorsing the Hamilton line were carried – with a complete rout of the Toronto delegations, thus assuring the success of the Hamilton line.”^{xv}

In the 1870s the Hamilton and North-Western Railway had emerged from the decline of the Great Western Railway (GWR). Both were based in Hamilton but the Great Western struggled to recover from the train disaster in 1857 when a bridge over the Desjardin Canal collapsed, plunging 59 passengers to their deaths.¹⁶ Hamilton

16 The GWR was never as heavily capitalized as the Grand Trunk Railway (GTR) which was backed by Toronto and Montreal interests- and it made an early engineering mistake building in broad gauge and then was

and Toronto had always been in competition since the early 19th century for domination of the economic life of the colony and province. Eventually Toronto won out because of its larger size and the fact that the town of York had been selected as the provincial capital even before the War of 1812.

But Hamilton won this round and by 1878 the railway was snaking north. It went through Tottenham and Beeton and on to Allandale near Barrie. It continued north-east to Orillia. Another line to Collingwood branched off just north of Will's childhood farm at Beeton Junction, originally called Allimil. The line ran through the family farm and was an important part of Bill's childhood recollections. He says:^{xvi}

"I learned of Hamilton at an early age. The Hamilton and Allandale branch of the then Grand Trunk Railway ran through my father's farm. This line of railway had been opened in 1877 as the Hamilton and Northwestern Railway. Passenger and mail trains ran north to Allandale, Collingwood and Meaford, passing through the farm at 10:00 o'clock every week day morning, returning each evening at 6:00 o'clock. The regularity of this schedule was of considerable advantage to those of us on the farm, chronologically speaking. The day of paved highways and automobiles was still to come. Freight trains were even more numerous than passenger trains as freight transportation was still largely in the hands of the railways. The freight trains running through my father's farm carried the box cars and names of virtually every railway in North America, a feature which contributed very materially to our education in railway matters. Further information concerning Hamilton came annually with the issue of the Stanley Mills Department Store

forced to alter this to standard gauge at great expense. The GWR was damaged by competition from the GTR and especially a line called the Canada Southern causing it to lose much of its most lucrative business - through traffic from New York State to Michigan.

catalogue, and this and its fellow sent out by the T. Eaton Co. of Toronto provided interesting reading for the long winter evenings on the farm. By the time the new issues arrived, the old ones were dog-eared and worn. But even in retirement, they continued to serve a useful purpose.”¹⁷

But the Hamilton and North-Western had its own financial troubles due in part to its rapid expansion and the issuing of too many bonds to pay for it. Close to bankruptcy, it was absorbed by the Grand Trunk Railway in 1882.

The Mid-Late 19th Century – Political Visions.

Politically, British North Americans were firm believers in king and parliament as the best form of government yet devised by the human race. The rebellions in Europe of 1848, and the American civil war of the 1860s gave republican democracy an unsavoury reputation to British North American politicians and ordinary people alike. A separate parliament for Canada seemed sensible as long as it remained within the British Empire. True, there were dissidents to this model, especially those heirs of the rebellions of 1837 who dreamed of a U.S. style British North American constitution, but this was not to come until the 1980s. For now, and for more than a century, the dominant political ideology was that of monarchy, common law, parliament and the British connection, whether as empire, or Commonwealth.

A federal, rather than unitary system was chosen for practical reasons. Canadians had then and for a long time to come, a strong pragmatic streak in our national character. Where Britain had one parliament for all its diverse peoples, and the U.S. a federal system, which had resulted in a very bloody civil war, Canada combined the two approaches. There was a desire to emulate Britain exactly, but French Canada would not subsume itself into a centralized state, nor would the Atlantic colonies that did not have municipal government.

17 **Biographer’s Note:** William’s offhand comment: “They served two purposes in the outhouse.”

In fact, in the first parliament of 1867, separatists held a goodly number of seats like today's Bloc Quebecois – but at that time they were from Nova Scotia whose first provincial politicians after 1867 decided they wanted out of Confederation. So Canada became a federal state, with a central federal legislature and provincial legislatures and a constitutional form which devised a separation of powers.

From that time, Canadians had to become great negotiators and compromisers, devising on the fly as circumstances changed. The complex dance of relationships between provinces and federal parliament, between ethnic groups, between municipalities and provincial legislatures, and between Canada as a whole and the Empire and Commonwealth, the United States and other countries came to signify Canada. This was a dance which required an ability to learn new steps, and new rhythms which changed sometimes in mid dance. This political need was to permeate Canadian society at all levels, whether rural or urban.

In the years just before Bill Deadman's birth, his country had come through a long drawn out baptism of fire, but one which, while not quite over, was drawing to a close. Sir John Alexander Macdonald, first prime minister and the chief architect of Canada, envisioned a nation state organized federally, but with the preponderance of power settled on Ottawa. He clearly saw the necessity of expansion across the lightly populated Prairies and Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and that massive immigration was also necessary. Settlement did develop in the early years, but within a few short years of Confederation, a world-wide depression halted settlement and reduce the revenues of the country. The Conservatives under Macdonald lost power for a time to the fractious and cautious Liberal Party under Alexander Mackenzie, but even he saw the need for the railway, especially as it had been promised to British Columbia.

In these years the political philosophies of the two parties were almost exactly opposite to their modern views. The Conservatives were the champions of a high protective tariff barrier; they used public money to encourage purely Canadian projects. The Liberals were free trade continentalists, seeing Canada as being a niche player in North America, whose transportation and trade routes should run north-south, rather than the Conservative dream of east-west. Mind you, they had not come to these positions directly. The Conservatives and the Liberals both shared a generally similar political and economic philosophy founded on the sound electoral principle of getting elected by discerning the will of the people. The Conservatives switched to protectionist mode with the advent of economic depression in the 1870s, but spurred on primarily by scandal followed by a defeat in the House of Commons and before the electorate in the ensuing election. The events of 1873/4 bear an uncanny and unpleasant resonance for us with the situation in 2008/9.

Macdonald and the Conservatives regained office in 1878, and had the added good luck of seeing a brief revival in the American economy, which already had an important impact on Canada, if not in the world at large. Canada enjoyed a brief respite from what one historian has called 'the real Great Depression' with capital flowing into the country to begin the CPR. The railway project was re-organised under competent managerial, financial and technical hands. Large guarantees of money and land were given to the CPR and construction began in earnest from both east and west.

Despite being re-elected in 1882 and 1887, the Conservatives in the 1880s worked in a very different climate. 1882 saw a large decline in stock markets, and depression resumed. In fact, this world-wide economic doldrum was not to lift until the second half of the 1890s. The railway continually ran out of money and could get none in New York because of the financial collapse, and none in London, because the Grand Trunk Railway moved to block them from gaining a share of scarce capital, having a large number of

British investors and not wanting the competition the CPR threatened in the East.

The CPR, if not the economy, was rescued, ironically, by the Riel rebellion of 1885. The railway which had nearly reached the Red River moved Canadian forces so quickly and in such numbers to the rebellion that Macdonald was now able to push through its financing, allowing for its rapid completion. This final great infrastructure project of the 19th century brought a temporary degree of prosperity to Canada. But the execution of Riel set a new tone of French-English irritation, and the depression continued, alongside the hope which the opening of the West brought along.

This was a time in Canada when the country was in the tail-end of a long, agricultural depression. When the country was formed in 1867, there had been great hopes, which were dashed for a time by the depression in world agricultural prices. Canada was a land which relied on selling its farm produce, mainly to the imperial centre in Britain. The world economy in agricultural terms did not begin to revive until late in this century. The late 1870s and the 1880s were the era of Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy as leader of the Conservative party and Prime Minister. This policy imposed high tariffs on imports of manufactured goods in order to nurture and grow a local industrial economy. It coincided, fortunately, with a recovery in the world economy, a growing need for Canadian agricultural produce, and the first wave of mass immigration. Most of these people went to the West, especially as the new Canadian Pacific Railway opened the prairies to agriculture. The needs of these settlers began to be filled by the protected manufacturers of Ontario and Quebec.

Medicine on the Canadian Frontier.

The situation in scientific medicine in Canada in the period provides an example of this process. The 1880s saw Canada move very quickly to adopt and adapt the newest medical science developed in Europe, and to change the health care system overall to

a new model of caring. New hospitals on new plans and improved medical schools aided and reflected this productivity, if such it may be called, in medicine. William Deadman's training firstly in the sciences, then in medicine directly and his specialization in pathology at the best medical school in North America is as good an illustration as any of the booming world of Canada in this era – but a boom based on foundations laid in the doldrums of the first three decades of Canada's existence.

These were heady times for scientific medicine. In the middle of the 19th century anaesthesia had changed surgery forever. In medicine, Louis Pasteur of France & Robert Koch of Germany led the way in elucidating the aetiology of disease. Prior to that, miasma (a kind of airborne poison emanating from rotting matter, or swamps) or contagion – that is, person to person contact, were most often thought to be the primary causes of disease.

Anaesthesia for surgery has a long history. Prior to the 19th century, alcohol or opiates were used but they were often ineffective. In 1846 Dr. Thomas Morton demonstrated the use of ether at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Chloroform had been discovered in 1836. Its use in surgery was advanced in Britain by several physicians because ether had many side-effects including its explosive potential.

Dr. Ignaz Semmelweis, a Hungarian physician, discovered that the incidence of Puerperal fever in childbirth could be drastically reduced by simple hand sanitization during delivery. He had much resistance from surgeons and obstetricians who clung stubbornly to their traditional methods. Joseph Lister, a British surgeon, introduced antiseptic surgery and later aseptic surgery in 1851. He introduced the use of phenol to sterilize instruments and found that surgical infections were largely eliminated. Surgeons protested but later were forced to accept the changes when the results became known.

The refinement of the microscope in the 19th century was essential for the development of laboratory medicine, which

included forensic work. This allowed the study of bacteria and cells. By the mid-19th century, the 'germ theory' as the cause of disease was well advanced. The study of pathology and bacteriology advanced rapidly after that but it was not until the 20th century that medicine to counter germs really developed. The one drug, the vaccination for small pox was developed in the late 18th century and was based less on science than on careful observation of folklore. Disease did recede in the 19th century, but due more to increased sanitation in cities and the gradual introduction of hand-washing by doctors, attributable to Semmelweis and Lister. Public health regulations were also introduced in the late 19th century, thus disease began to be understood before specific medical cures were invented.

The Zeiss firm in Germany, especially under its brilliant researcher Ernst Abbe, began to produce sophisticated microscopes in the 1870s. Germany, as a result, became the centre of laboratory work in medicine. It was generally accepted that the great advances in scientific medicine were coming from Europe, particularly in pathology. The earliest centre of training in pathology in North America was established on German models by William Henry Welch at Johns Hopkins. In Canada, Wyatt Galt Johnston in Montreal used the new techniques up to his death in 1902. By 1914, Montreal had Canada's best equipped laboratory for pathology, and for forensic medicine. In Ontario, the scientific thrust was only beginning to be felt with the establishment of the Medical School at the University of Toronto in 1905, replacing a number of proprietary schools, some of them of dubious scientific merit.

Economic Uncertainty.

The period was plagued with economic uncertainty, especially for the predominant industry, agriculture. Farmers had land and food but usually very little money which limited their ability to enter into professional training or other things that could not be obtained without cash. Physicians seldom came from the countryside; most came from more urban settings in Europe or the British Isles. An

increasing number came from the United States but there, the conditions for professional training were only slightly more advanced than in Canada. Canadian born physicians of that period, such as Osler faced an uphill battle to get training and advancement and to establish conditions necessary for good medical practice. Those with more ambition moved away from rural areas into larger cities or south of the border. Those who excelled usually did not return to the place of their origins.

Bill's early life began when Canada was still mired in depression, but as he grew older, the land gradually became more prosperous. He completed primary school at the time of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. He completed secondary school just after the end of the Victorian Age and the Boer War. By the time he entered the University of Toronto in 1907 boom times were here. These good times lasted until the year he graduated in medicine in 1913, when another world economic collapse began.



CHAPTER TWO

Part 1 Beginnings

THE CHILD IS FATHER OF THE MAN – 1885-1903.

*My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The child is father of the man;
I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.*
1802

William Wordsworth (1770-1850)



Wordsworth's poem was written at the beginning of the 19th century. But his famous line is still quoted today and contains a natural truth. William James Deadman, a second generation Canadian, had a pioneering childhood on the edge of the settled world. He was much influenced by his British connections in the closing years of the Victorian period. In adulthood he participated in two world wars and lived through a Great Depression. He had seen his profession of medicine evolve into a highly scientific endeavour

and had done pioneering work in the new field of forensic pathology. Indeed, the child was father of the man.

The Deadmans

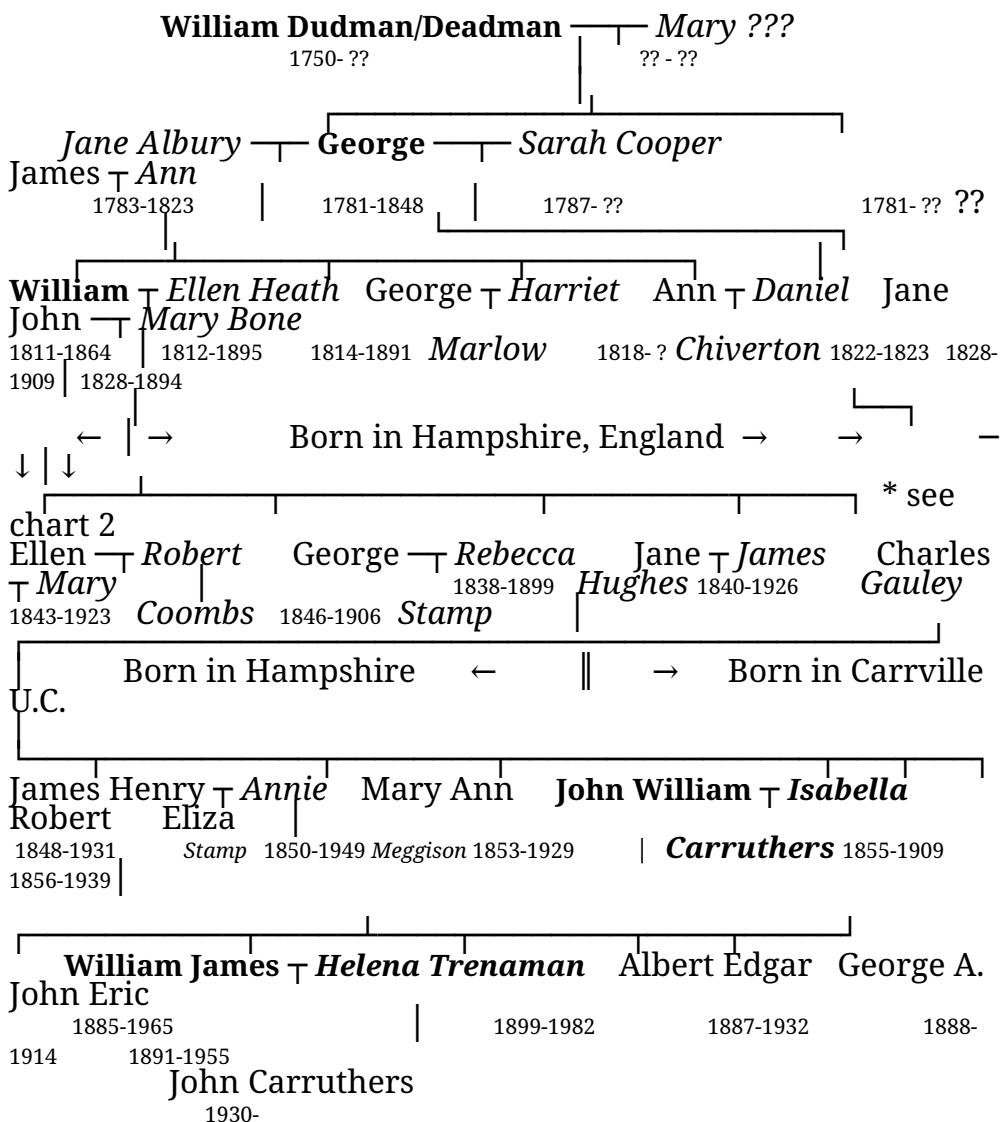
The Deadman family name originated in southern England. Genealogists suggest that it came either from Debenham, which is both a place name and a family name, or from Dudman – the name given to the local laundryman in the village, the one who washed the duds. Another source asserted that the Deadman name means “he who dwells by the river” (or slough in one translation). One supposes that it would be convenient for a washer of duds to live by the river. William’s (Bill’s)¹⁸ family name came from Dudman.

A certain William Dudman, a great-great-grandfather of Bill was born sometime around 1750 in Hampshire, England. The name was recorded as

18 Since William and James were very common names in the Deadman family and William James Deadman was known as Bill to his friends throughout his life, we shall henceforth refer to him as Bill to distinguish him from all the other Williams in the family.

“Dudman” in the parish records. When William was married, the name was shown as “Deedman”, and when he died, it was shown as “Deadman”. Such name changes were found quite commonly before the advent of Standard English spelling. In those days, few ordinary people could read or write, all church records were handwritten by the clergy and various spellings were common. It would be easy for someone to mistake a “u” in cursive script for two “e”s. Once that error was made, ‘ee’ could become ‘ea’ possibly because this spelling sounded closer to the way the family pronounced the name.

Deadman Family Tree



Further, the old parish records show that William Dudman/Deadman was born in Alton, married a woman from Greatham, and settled around Selbourne, a village about half way in between. Other records mention East Worldham which is only a few miles from Alton.¹⁹ They are all within a relatively small area in Hampshire about 20 miles east of Winchester. He had twin sons, George and James, both born on the family farm and baptized in East Worldham on the 6th of February, 1781. They were apparently referred to as the Dudman twins in the family.

The older twin, George married Jane Albury in Selbourne on the 31st of July, 1810. They are shown as having four children. Jane Albury died in 1825 and George married Sarah Cooper on 14th of December, 1826. Such second marriages were not uncommon shortly after the death of a spouse. Wives often died in childbirth or of post-puerperal infections and fathers could not run the farm and look after young children by themselves. A fifth son, John was born to George and Sarah on the 9th of March 1828. George died in Selbourne on the 24th of May, 1848.

The younger twin, James was a wheelwright in Lambeth, now part of London. His wife's name was Ann. Apparently his nephew, also named George, apprenticed with him and then worked in the family business. In his last will and testament, James left his business in Commercial Road, Lambeth to his nephew, and this branch of the Family continued to live in London. Bill Deadman was in touch with one family on his later travels to England, and several other Canadian relatives were in touch with Alan Deadman of Oxford who has done considerable research into this side of the family.

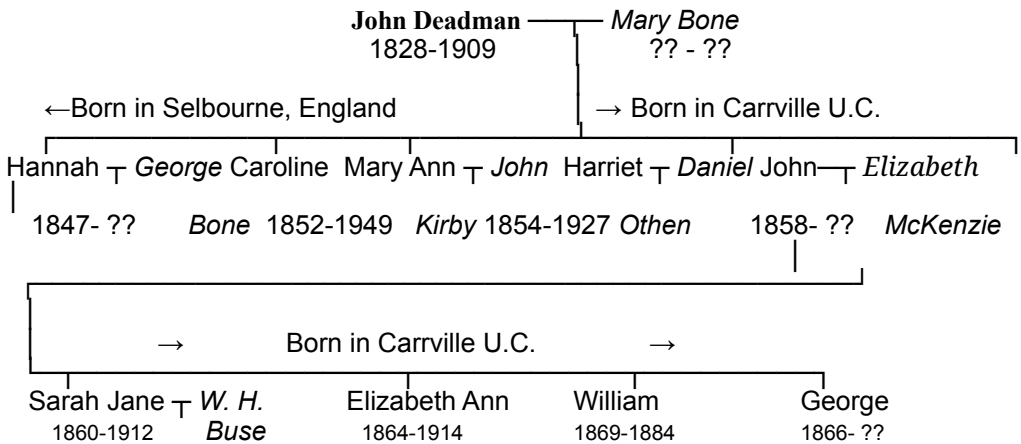
The four children of George and Jane Albury were named William, George, Ann and Jane. William was born in Selbourne, christened on 15th of September 1811 and married Ellen Heath in Greatham on 25th of October, 1836. They had six children born between 1837 and 1849. It is noted that several of the children are shown as christened in East Worldham, a small village a few miles from Selbourne. It is probable that the family lived on a farm somewhere in between. The family emigrated to Upper Canada in 1851 and settled near Carrville, a small village in Vaughn Township west of Yonge Street in what is now the

19 All of the place names mentioned here are within a few miles of each other. Alton was the home of the author Jane Austen, who lived there mid nineteenth century, although there is no record that the Dudmans/Deadmans and the Austins knew each other.

city of Richmond Hill. They had three more children. The oldest was John William Deadman, the father of Bill who was born at Carrville in 1853.

The fifth son, John, from George's marriage to Sarah Cooper was born in 1828. He married Mary Bone on the 5th of December, 1846 and within a year after his half-brother William had come to Upper Canada, they also emigrated and lived in the same area near Carrville. They had nine children, six girls and three boys. Four were born in England and five in Carrville. In the mid-19th century, Carrville was a heavily settled farming community in the Home District of Upper Canada.

Deadman/Bone Family Tree



The name of the settlement no longer appears on the maps, but the Methodist cemetery is still there, and a cluster of Deadman grave markers from that period. William Deadman died in Carrville on the 21st of May, 1864 but his wife, Ellen Heath lived until 7th May, 1895 when she would have been 83 – a great age for those days.

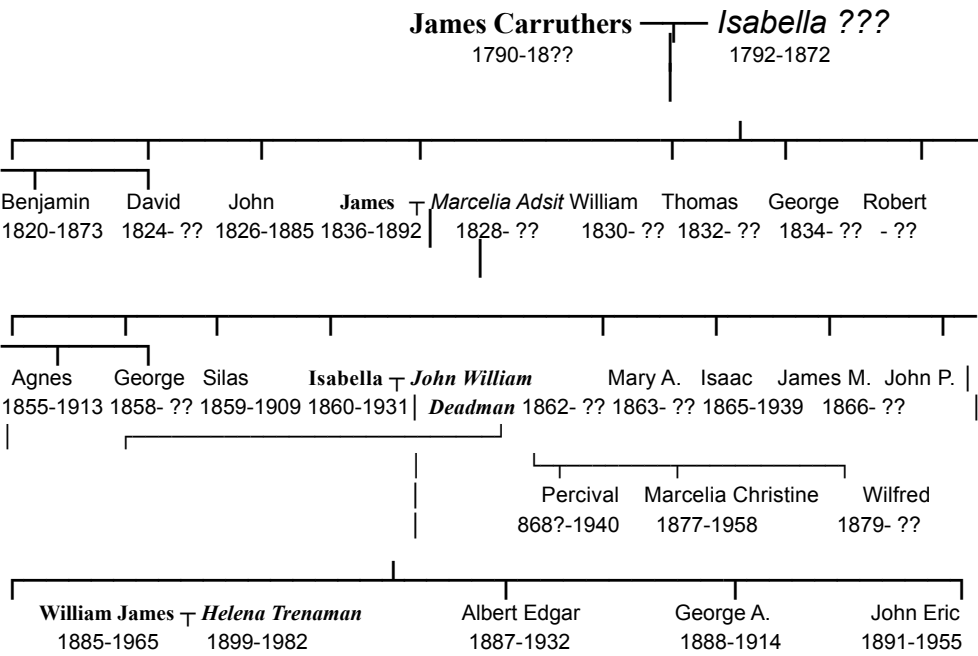
John, the son of George's second marriage to Sarah Cooper married Mary Bone in Hampshire on the 5th of December, 1846. This family emigrated to Upper Canada and also settled in the Carrville area sometime around 1852. The Upper Canada census of 1851 (which was mostly done late in 1852) shows William Deadman, Ellen and six children ranging in age from 15 to 3. It does not show his half-brother John and Mary so they must have come to the area too late to be counted. John died in 1909 at Carrville but Mary lived until 1920. Interestingly, in the 1881 census, Mary is shown as living in Tecumseth

Township with other family members, but John’s name is not shown. His whereabouts at that time are not clear.

Bill’s father, John William Deadman, was the seventh of nine children born at Carrville in 1853. He was the first one born in Canada – his older siblings were born in England. When he was old enough to strike out on his own, he realized he would never inherit the family farm, and all the good farmland had been taken up around Carrville. So he went to Tecumseth Township, in Simcoe County, near the village of Beeton. In the 1881 census he is shown as living with his aunt, Mary (Bone). He worked as a farm labourer until he was able to buy his own land in 1891. He married Isabella Carruthers in Alliston on the 24th of March, 1884. The witnesses are both young women from Alliston, one of them has the same last name as the presiding clergyman, suggesting that she may have been wife or daughter of the clergy. Presumably the other was recruited locally. It is not known why neither John or Isabella brought family members as witnesses.

The Carruthers

Carruthers Family Tree



Isabella Carruthers (known as ‘Bel’), was born on the 25th of November 1860, the fourth of nine children of a well-established family in Beeton who had come from Dumfriesshire, Scotland at about

the same time as the Deadmans had come from Hampshire. Her father James Carruthers, was born in 1826. Her mother Marcelia Adsit, was born in 1836. It was noted that James's father was also James Carruthers, born in Dumfriesshire in the 1790s and his mother, Isabella, was from the parish of Applegarth, an area just north of Lockerbie that no longer appears on the maps. The small village of Carrutherstown is about 10 km. south of Lockerbie, so clearly Carruthers was a popular name in that part of Scotland. It is part of the Clan of Bruce.

Her father James was the fourth of eight sons born between 1820 and 1834. He and his older brother Benjamin immigrated to Simcoe County in 1852 and brother David came about a year later. James married Marcelia Adsit shortly after his arrival in Canada and they settled in Beeton. The family of Benjamin Carruthers settled in the Beeton area. They intermarried with the Heuchans and the Palmers and many of the first names were used in both families. There is more than one Agnes and Isabella Carruthers in the Beeton Cemetery. Other brothers came over the next few years and settled in Essa, Adjala and Tosorontio townships adjacent to Tecumseth.

Living conditions in Scotland at that time were desperate for common people. The so-called Highland Clearances had started in the mid-18th century but were still continuing. They devastated the tradition-based semi-feudal crofters' landscape even in the Lowlands to the south and the misery was compounded by a severe potato famine in both Scotland and Ireland in the mid-19th century. Emigration was in full swing both to the British colonies, especially Canada and to the United States. This family of Carruthers was only one of many who crowded the ships on the long difficult passage across the Atlantic.

There were eleven children to James and Marcelia born between 1855 and 1879.²⁰ Agnes was the oldest, born in 1855 married Worsley and died in Kearney in 1913. George was next, born in 1858; he is shown in the 1891 census as having a wife Mary and three young children. Silas was born in 1859 and died in Beeton in 1909. In the 1891 census he is living in Beeton with his younger siblings James M., John P., Christine and Wilfred.²¹ Isabella, (Bel), was born on November 25th 1860, married John William Deadman on March 24th 1884 and died in

20 Isaac is mentioned in the 1871 Census. He was 8 years old at that time. The youngest son, Wilfred, is shown in the 1891 census as being 12 years old. However, their names do not appear in any other family records.

Hamilton at her son Bill's home on the 5th of August, 1931 and was buried in the family plot in Beeton. Bel appears to have been the mainstay of the family for many years. When others were ill or in difficulties, Bel would take them in or provide succour. Mary was born in 1862 or 1863 but little else is known of her. The census also shows Mary A. Adsit, age 63. This was Marcelia's mother who apparently was living with them at that time.

James M. was the third generation to be named James. He was born in Beeton in 1865, married Laura McIntosh and struck out for New York as a young adult and carved out a successful business career. This is the brother that helped Christine get a job in New York. He continued to maintain close contact with the family throughout his life and died in Ocean Grove New Jersey in 1939. After him came John P. born in 1866, Percival a year or so later and then Marcelia Christine, known in the family as 'Teen.

Christine was the one with the closest association with the Deadmans. She must have been something of a 'menopause baby'. She was born on 20th September, 1877 when her mother was about 41. She was about 17 years younger than Bel, and only 7½ years older than Will, her nephew. Christine seems to have been a bit of a rebel. Her career and her life probably shocked the staid communities of Tecumseth Township. When she completed primary schooling in Beeton, she went off to New York to live with her older brother, James some 12 years her senior and took training as a "typewriter".²² In the period before the Great War, she was living on her own in New York, and had a senior stenographic position with the Prudential Life Insurance Company. She never married, and because people back in Beeton must have viewed her lifestyle with some scepticism, she said very little of it on her infrequent visits home. The story then became a bit confused.

Apparently, she became ill and when she returned to Beeton, sometime in the 1920s, she was going deaf and was very depressed. Christine was nursed at home for a while by her sister Bel, and after a

21 Silas's father James died in 1885 and his mother Marcelia died in 1892. his older brothers were married with children and living in the South Simcoe area. His occupation is shown as 'hotel clerk'. According to family tradition, Silas was living with his mother and the others in Beeton at that time although his mother is not shown in the 1891 census.

22 ... as the operators of the new-fangled typing machines were known. They are now called typists and the machine is the typewriter.

long time she seemed to recover, but she was stone deaf. Many people speculated that she had an unfortunate love affair and had gone deaf to shut it out. William always thought that she had a form of nerve deafness, and this had caused her depression. In retrospect, it is possible that she could have gone deaf with an infection related to the great Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918-20, or developed otosclerosis or a 6th nerve degeneration at the height of what sounded like a very successful career in New York. This would mean that she could not work, or for that matter, carry on any part of her lifestyle. It is easy to understand why she might become depressed.

In those days it was socially acceptable to talk about deafness, but not depression. People used euphemisms such as *died of a broken heart* even to cover situations where the person had committed suicide. Another one was used to describe Elizabeth Barrett Browning. “*She took to her bed, and did not get up for years. She became a recluse.*” That did not happen to Christine. After the family home in Beeton was sold in 1933, she lived with William’s family until her death in 1958. Despite her deafness, she was very much involved in life right up to the time of her admission to a nursing home a couple of years before her death in April of 1958. She was 81 at that time.

William Deadman was born on January 11th, 1885 at the village of Beeton, Tecumseth Township, Simcoe County in the Province of Ontario, Dominion of Canada. He was the first child of Isabella Carruthers and John William Deadman, who had been married only nine months before. The name William came from his grandfather and it was also his father’s second name. James came from his mother’s father and was a common name on both sides of the family. When William obtained a new birth certificate as an older adult, he discovered that he was born in 1885, not 1886, as he had always believed.²³ He further discovered to his surprise that he had been baptised William James Levinas Deadman. Apparently his father never liked the third name and it was never used in the family. His mother called him Willie, his father called him Will as did most of the rest of the family. In adult life, everyone knew him as Bill.

23 Many of the newspapers had his birth as 1886. A death notice in the Hamilton Spectator listed his age as 79 when it was really 80.

2. In formal terminology, he will be referred to as Doctor Deadman or as WJD. For the early period he is called Will and the later period of his life he is called Bill.

His son²⁴ recalls as a child asking his father where the name Deadman came from. The son was being kidded and teased about it in public school. His father said that he had had the same experience as a child but as he got older and people got to know him better, the name was no longer a problem. He instilled in his son a sense of pride in family and origins, no matter how humble or strange they may be. He suggested that if one cannot feel good about oneself and be proud of family background, one cannot feel good about anything in life. He added that as a child, he had always determined that when he became an adult at 21, he would change his name. But when he became 21, it didn't seem to matter anymore so he never did it. William said that two of his paternal uncles had simply dropped the 'a' to change the name to Dedman.²⁵ Will had grown up with his first cousin, Milton Dedman who lived in Bradford, Ontario. Both father and son agreed that if they were to change the name, they would make a complete change. But it never happened.

In 1886, another son Albert Edgar was born, and in 1887, George A. The youngest, John Eric, was born in 1891. In 1891, when Will was 6, his father bought the south half of lot 10, Concession 10²⁶ from William Banting²⁷ of Alliston, a village just a few miles to the north.²⁸ Much of the land had not been cleared, so the first few years were very hard, building a barn and house,²⁹ draining part of the cedar swamp near the

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- 24 His son is the lead author, JCD. He recalls many incidents that are not otherwise recorded.
- 25 There was some variability. In the 1871 and 1881 census records, several members of the family show the name as Dedman but in another census, the same name is shown as Deadman.
- 26 Townships were divided into blocks called "concessions". A Concession was 1000 Acres, and was usually divided into 10 lots of 100 acres each. However Tecumseth Township had 5 lots of 200 acres each. The original deed of land for the Deadman property described it as "The south half of lot 10, Concession 10..."
- 27 He was the father of another famous physician, Sir Frederick Banting, who received a Nobel Prize in 1923 for the discovery and purification of insulin.
- 28 Alliston is on the extreme north-west corner of Tecumseth Twp. on the line that divided it from Essa Twp.
- 29 It is not clear from existing records what buildings were on the land when John William bought it. His oldest son, Will was 6 when the family moved there so there must have been a house and probably some out-buildings.

creek, and getting a few crops in the ground. Their farmhouse was built later. It was of concrete blocks with a moulded stone-like pattern facing out – a more substantial house than the white clapboard houses that were common in that period. As these communities became better established, many houses were of brick but this was more expensive.³⁰

In lieu of taxes, local settlers were expected to maintain the concession roads which abutted their property. Because John William had a corner lot, on the 10th line and 10th road, he built a bridge of logs over the creek where it crossed the road allowance. The modern bridge of poured concrete – the latest replacement – has a plaque on it stating that this is “*The Deadman Bridge*”.

Although the Deadmans were Methodist, Will’s mother raised the children as Presbyterian as the Church of Scotland in Canada was called. In a later census, they are shown as Church of England. They lived about 4 miles north of the nearest church in the village of Beeton so in the early years they didn’t get to church very often. Will recalled his mother teaching them about the Bible but did not remember attending church except on special occasions.³¹

Will’s younger brother George was the farmer, and even as a boy, showed the most interest in the farm. Will was much more likely to be reading a book, or fixing something in the barn. Albert was also interested in the farm and helped his brother with the chores and work in the fields. As he grew older, he was more sickly and could not work as hard. It was discovered when he was in his 20s, that he had “consumption” as tuberculosis was then known. He later spent time in the Hamilton Mountain Sanatorium where he died in 1932 aged of 43.

This was tuberculosis. In the 19th century, before the Tubercle Bacillus had been discovered, it was a scourge like cancer, venereal

30 The house and barn were still standing until about 20 years ago. At that time whole concessions in Tecumseth Township were bought up for commercial potato farming and all buildings and other obstructions were removed. The ground was leveled for large watering and cultivating machines to operate unimpeded. It was a loss of a whole culture of small family farms.

31 It was apparently common practice for the line of descent to be patrilineal but for the mother to determine the religious affiliation of the family. It was certainly true of the Deadmans. They were Methodist when living in Carrville. John William became Presbyterian and the children were raised that way. WJDs younger brother Eric continued to attend the Presbyterian Church even though WJD had become at least nominally Church of England when he got married.

disease or mental illness – not to be talked about in polite society. There was no cure, and everyone who contracted it would eventually die of it.³² It seemed to run in families so the infectious and contagious aspects were not fully understood at that time. The tubercle bacillus (*mycobacterium tuberculosis*) had only just been identified by Robert Koch in Germany in 1882, and many strange notions of the disease persisted until well into the 20th century. Certainly a farm family at the turn of the century would have been quite unaware of all these things.

John Eric was shorter in stature, and remained “the baby” of the family for many years. His mother doted on him, but his father never thought that he would be able to take over the farm. When Will was in medical school he recognized that Eric probably had suffered a birth injury,³³ and this explained why he had not developed as well as the others. This degree of illness history was not at all unusual in those years. In fact, according to contemporary records, the family’s health would be considerably better than many of their acquaintances and of other pioneer families.

John and Isabella had 4 boys – a pioneer farmer’s dream. Unfortunately this dream was not to materialize. Will, the oldest had no interest in farming and sought a career first in teaching, then in medicine. George, who had a keen interest in farming, was killed in a barn-raising in his 20s. Albert (Bert) developed tuberculosis and was in and out of the Hamilton Sanatorium most of the rest of his life. And John Eric (Eric), the youngest, had a birth injury that restricted his development and ability to work on the farm.

Life on the Farm

Will never talked about his childhood much. It is almost never mentioned in his own memoirs. When he did refer to it, he described it

32 Large sanatoria were built all across the country and in the 1930s the Hamilton Mountain Sanitarium at Chedoke had the distinction of being the largest in the British Empire.

33 He had a ‘rupture’ as it was known in those days. He had undescended testicles and a partial scrotal hernia. Such things were common in those days. Despite this, he was very kind, thoughtful and taught Sunday school in Burlington for many years. He could not do all the more complex functions of a 100 acre farm, yet he managed his brother William’s small 2½ acre plot in Aldershot quite well. He developed a total bowel obstruction probably caused by abdominal adhesions from the earlier hernia and died in 1955 at the age of 64.

as difficult and unpleasant. In the early days on the farm, one could not afford to be sick. There was hard work, hard work and then more hard work. By the time Will was of school age, in the 1890s, a farm depression gripped the land, and the prices for agricultural goods were very low. His father was a good farmer, so they always had enough to eat, but never anything else. Will recalled a family down the road, where there was always a lot of sickness. He said that malnutrition, poor hygiene, and poor family life probably was the reason that none of the seven children lived to be 25. His brother Albert was a close friend of one of the boys in that family. Will was convinced that that was where Bert caught the tuberculosis that eventually caused his death in 1932.

Will remembered all the work, which he undertook from an early age. Settlers in those days would have very little cash, and would be absolutely dependent on the food they could raise to survive. Only if they had a surplus, could they sell some to get money. They made everything they needed from materials at hand, and repaired and reused everything. William recalled when he was too young to work in the fields, his job would be to straighten nails and oil rusted hinges which he would painstakingly remove from an old broken gate, so that they could be used again.

In his later writings, Will told about early days on the farm. He recalls that the existing townships were filling with settlers and new counties (Dufferin, Grey, Bruce) were created on Crown land in what became known as the Queen's Bush. Will became more eloquent and nostalgic. He describes this period.

"I was born toward the end of the nineteenth century in Beeton in Simcoe County Ontario. I remember Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and was in High School during the Boer War. Like most Canadians I thrilled to the ringing verses of Kipling, that poet of Empire, for in those days, we were rather proud of our Empire, upon which "the sun never sets." Colonialism then was not the "naughty" word it seems to have become today." ³⁴

In "Memoirs of a Pathologist" he says:

34 From '*Hamilton Memories*'. The original version of this text was a separate document tucked into the file containing drafts of the biography. It could have been the text of a speech. It was probably written between 1960 and 1963 although other similar drafts are much earlier.

“I had my childhood and part of my adolescent period in the so-called “gay nineties”, toward the end of the Victorian Era, and indeed, of the Pax Britannica. Whatever may have been the faults of the Victorian era, its virtues were real, and its philosophy of life and of living based on the age old sound principles of human conduct, principles which seem at times to be flouted by the present generation. Memory takes me back to the good Queen’s Diamond Jubilee, to Kipling’s soul-stirring imperialism, tempered by his solemn warnings in the recessionary.”

He goes on:

“When I was six years of age, my father bought a farm two miles north of the village from William Banting, father of the late Sir Frederick, a few years before Sir Frederick was born. In later years, and after he has become illustrious through the discovery of insulin, we became close friends, and I spent many interesting hours on visits to him in the Banting Institute for Medical Research, so named in his honour. His tragic death, while on active service in World War II was a great loss to Canadian Medicine, and to his Canada, his Commonwealth and Empire.”³⁵

It is noteworthy that some famous Canadians came from this same area. Sir William Osler and Sir William Mulock from Bond Head, Sir Frederick Banting was from Barley Creek in that area near Alliston. Kate Aitken, a CBC Radio personality from the 1950s and ’60s went to Beeton Public School, but as she was quick to remind Will whenever he mentioned it, “...some years later.”

The Late 19th Century – Social and Economic Visions.

The closing years of the Victorian age saw many changes of government and several political issues that were to plague the new dominion well into the 20th century. Reciprocity was advanced by the Liberals and strongly resisted by the Conservatives. The Boer War also caused divisions between French and English. But it was the Manitoba Schools issue that was the most serious.

Canada could most charitably be described at 1890 as stagnant. Despite keeping the West out of the hands of the Americans and despite the railway – a financially unlikely project for such a small, poor country – the needed immigrants had not come. To the contrary, over the previous twenty years, there had been a total net loss of 300,000 people through emigration, that is, many came to Canada, but many more left, mostly to settle in the United States. Overall population increased due to natural causes, but large areas of the country were empty or nearly so, and not only in the West as is usually pointed out in History text books. In 1890, the McKinley tariff shut a barrier down across Canadian grain exports to the U.S., and the Americans refused to negotiate any kind of trade deal with the Dominion. Manufacturing was growing due to the National Policy, but this was still a rural country whose wealth depended on agriculture.

Two stark proposals appeared in this era for Canada's future. On the one hand, the Liberal Party advanced the need for full open borders with the U.S. – reciprocity it was called then – and a continental outlook for Canada as a source of raw materials for the republic to the south. One extreme thinker, Goldwin Smith, an Oxford Don translated to Canada, advocated union with the United States as the only sensible policy, and as the inevitable future in any case. The other proposal, championed by the Conservative Party, was of a 'British' nation to the north, trading with both the old world and the new, but with tariff and incentive policies aiming to create a transcontinental nation. This was the philosophy which was to catch the imagination and intellect of a young William Deadman and was to guide his attitude towards his country to the end of his days. He was not alone in this attitude. Many Canadians in this era were eager imperialists, seeing a bright and prosperous, and even powerful future for Canada within and eventually at the head of, the British Empire.

In 1891, people voted Conservative this time around because they saw the very real danger of annexation. Half of Canada's revenues came from tariffs and customs duties (there was no income tax yet), which would be lost. Closer ties with the U.S., even if short of full annexation would mean erecting trade barriers against the 'old country' which provided almost as much financing, not to mention our entire defence and foreign policy. People still had also a loyalty to the mother country, as well as a nascent loyalty to the new country, Canada.

By 1896, the Conservatives were divided, especially over issues of race and language; the Manitoba Schools Question being the most divisive. In 1869 after the first Riel rebellion, Louis Riel set up a provisional government in the Red River Colony that prompted negotiations with the federal government to resolve its legal status in Canada. Manitoba became a province under the Manitoba Act³⁶ in 1870. The government sent in the militia to restore order. This provoked the second Riel rebellion³⁷ that led to Riel's hanging for high treason. At that time the population was largely francophone, and Roman Catholic, with relatively few Anglophone Protestants from Ontario. The settlement provided for denominational schools based on religion. The Roman Catholic, mainly francophone Métis, population were predominant and the Protestant Anglophone population were very much in the minority. This meant that the schools issue was both religion and language – a potentially toxic mix.

When Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870, French Catholic and English Protestant schools were accorded equality as the two groups were roughly equal in numbers. In the 1890s, the now majority Protestant English caused this deal to be abrogated. The problem of 'English and French' was to exist as the fly in Canada's ointment to the present. Unusually for his time and place, Protestant William James Deadman spoke some French. He also loved Quebec and the French Canadian people and visited it at every opportunity. His criticism of them for not joining willingly into the Boer War and the two World Wars was said more in sadness than in distain.

In foreign affairs, Canada was entering a dangerous period, one where the interests of Britain in its relations with the U.S. did not always match those of Canada, with Canada being the loser. This was to be the genesis of the long drive for full autonomy for British North America, or at least that part called the Dominion of Canada. Thus Canada, still connected to Britain, might find itself drawn into the increasingly tense situation in Europe, and might (and did) find itself harmed by Great Britain's new policy of appeasing the Americans in the Americas. The British saw their alliance with the Americans as being necessary to strengthen the Empire's world-wide position, should a European war come. The dominions had to think of the empire as a whole, if they wished to play a leading role in it.

36 Passed by parliament and receiving royal assent on May 12th, 1870.

37 Known as the North-West Rebellion.

This was an odd and ironic time for Canada culturally. There was indeed a growing desire for more independence for Canada, but a curious kind of independence which eventually would be seen as unworkable. It is one which with the imagination can still play: a fully independent nation within an empire, a country with its own constitution,³⁸ its own foreign policy and representatives, but which was intimately tied culturally and diplomatically, though less so commercially, with the imperial centre in London. This was the golden age of imperial popularity in English-speaking Canada. In French Canada, the concern was merely to hold onto their still religious culture within their borders in Quebec, and to support the declining French speaking communities outside Quebec, while allowing the English to play in the imperial playground, largely, but not entirely unsupervised. For Canada, this was not a pipe dream, although the emotional connection was very strong, but also a sensible, perhaps the most sensible policy for that age.

Fin de Siècle – The Apogee of the Victorian Age.

1897 saw the imperial conference of the senior dominions and Great Britain, held in the same summer as Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. This amazing display of imperial might could be said to mark the apogee of the Empire. Discussions were held over the creation of an imperial parliament, or at least an imperial council, for example, but alas nothing was to come of it. This might have marked the beginning of a truly effective united nations, centred on the old structure of the British Empire. Although it did mark the beginning of regular imperial and then commonwealth conferences, the ideal of a functioning imperial system in the modern world was not to be. The test for Canada and for the Empire was to be the South African (or Boer) War a few years later.

Public School Days.

In September, 1891 Will began attending school. He walked about 2 miles each way from his home. A whole new chapter in his life was

38 The British North-America Act (1867) was an act of the British Parliament but served as Canada's Constitution until it was finally repatriated by parallel acts of both the British and Canadian parliaments in 1982. In 1896, in the usual sense Canada's constitution, like Britain's, was unwritten but it was a constitution nonetheless.

opening up. His early life began when Canada was still mired in depression, but as he grew older, the land gradually became more prosperous. By the time he entered the University of Toronto in 1907 'boom' times were here. These good times lasted until 1913, when another world economic collapse began.

In September, 1891 Will, age 6½, started attending School Section No. 19, Tecumseth Township, the rural school at Beeton Junction, on the 11th concession, 10th line, about 2 miles from his home. Beeton Junction, originally known as Allimil, was the place where the Hamilton & North-Western Railway line divided, one branch going to Allandale near Barrie, the other to Alliston and Collingwood. This was a typical school of the day, with about 30 pupils in all forms. The teacher, usually a young man who had taken a 6 month course in Model School was king of the roost and discipline, usually a leather strap to the hand, was meted out freely. Will's first educational experience was in a one room rural school. A decade later in his career, he was destined to teach in them.

Small rural schools were dotted all across the province. In those days, the rural townships were divided into "school sections" and there were small one-room school houses to serve each section, usually located at major intersections of concession roads. In theory, these schools were within walking distance of every farm, but this was seldom the case in practice; some children would have to walk several miles, winter or summer, rain or shine. In extreme cases, if the parents could not get the children to school, they simply did not attend. If the local school section could not obtain a teacher, the children might have to walk to the next nearest school, or simply stay home. In cold winter weather in some families, there may not be enough heavy winter clothing for all the school age children, so the oldest would go and bring home work for the younger ones to do. At spring planting and harvest time, boys old enough to help in the fields were seldom at school and this was considered normal. Although the school year ran from the beginning of September until the end of June, attendance after late May and before mid-October could be quite uncertain.

The primary schools, usually referred to as "public school" had 4 forms but because there was a 'junior' and 'senior' year in each, it represented 8 years of schooling for the average pupil. But it was quite common for good students to do a whole form in one year. These were not changed to the present system of 8 grades until 1937 in most parts of Ontario. The secondary school, commonly called "high school" also

had 4 forms but there was only one year in each. This represented a total of 12 years of public education.³⁹

Tecumseth Township and Beeton.

In the 1890s, Beeton was a busy and prosperous place. As a child Will recalled several notable citizens who were still living there. D.A. Jones, the 'Bee King', W.J. Bell, R. Scott, the Pringles. He remembered going to Sunday school at the Presbyterian Church. He remembered the Queens Hotel and the Commercial Hotel on the main street and the Station Hotel near the Grand Trunk line on the edge of town. He remembered Beeton Junction about four miles north of the town where the branch

line to Alliston split off. That was also the location of S.S. No. 19, the one room public school he attended for six years.⁴⁰

He remembered the Banting Farm which his father had purchased when he was six. Bailey Creek ran through it and his father built the log bridge that crossed it on the 10th line, which the locals always knew as the Deadman Bridge. The railway owned a 6 acre strip across it and Will had many recollections of the trains that determined the farming day. He recalled working on the farm, fishing in the creek and the cedar swamp, Sunday school picnics and Christmas Concerts. He recalled passing the Entrance in 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. The town was decorated in red white and blue on both the Queen's official birthday, May 24th, and on July 1st, Dominion

39 During most of the mid-late 20th century in Ontario, an extra year was added that was supposed to represent the first year of university level and enable the obtaining of a Bachelor of Arts degree in 3 years. 5th Form (Grade XIII) became the new standard for the Senior Matriculation level and 4th Form (grade XII) became the level for Junior Matriculation. The University of Toronto soon set 5th Form as their admission standard for all undergraduate courses and most other universities eventually followed suit. Ontario was the only province to add a fifth year to the high school program. This reverted to four years in the 1990s.

40 In Bill's descriptions of his school days, only one note refers to S.S. No. 19 whereas other notes indicated that he attended S.S. No. 9, Tecumseth. However, No. 9 was a considerable distance away at Hammill in lot 5, concession 8. No. 19 was at Beeton Junction, only 2 miles from the farm in the same concession. School sections took in pupils from concessions immediately adjacent to them. No. 9 is too far away and S.S. No. 19 would have to be the one that Will attended.

Day. The town band would play in the band-shell and everyone turned out in their Sunday best. It was a time of excitement and optimism. The new Dominion was thirty years old.

He remembered Bond Head, on the eastern boundary of Tecumseth. It was noteworthy in another way, as he recounts in his writings:

“Bond Head, so named after a Governor of Upper Canada, was the birthplace of two famous Canadians. Sir William Osler, who in 1889 became the first Professor of Medicine at John’s Hopkins Medical School in Baltimore, and who was later Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University was born here. Sir William Mulock, who was Canada’s well-known Postmaster General... in the government of Sir Wilfred Laurier...^{xvii} in the early years of this century, and who was responsible for Imperial Penny Postage, was also a native. He was Chancellor of the University of Toronto for more than twenty-five years. In 1936, the University Alumni Federation, of which I was President, honoured him at a banquet at the Royal York Hotel attended by some 700 graduates, at which the Postmaster General of Great Britain conveyed to him his congratulations by transatlantic radio.

xviii

Will recalled many happy times – spelling matches, Christmas concerts. He speaks of summer holidays, exploring “the swamp”, fishing and swimming in the creek with his brothers. He completed the four primary forms at S.S. No. 19 in six years, getting his ‘Entrance’ in 1897 when he was 12½. He discovered that he loved school. As he was the oldest, he often had to coach his younger brothers if they were unable to go, or if his father required them to work on the farm. He was sometimes held back by his father, who regarded the fourth form (eighth grade) as a good education but his mother would plead on his behalf, because if he missed too much school, the younger boys also could not keep up. But Will wanted to go on to high school and his mother supported him.

Will had done well in the public school in Alimil – completing 4 forms in 6 years. Again he faced a difficult choice. His father considered this to be a good education and he was needed to work on the farm. But this was a life that he hated and he had set his heart on getting a better education. His family had several members that had gone on to professional careers. Two of his uncles had done so. James Henry was a professional engineer, living in Bradford. His maternal

uncle, James had moved to New York City and was well established in business there. His maternal aunt, Marcelia Christine had moved to New York after completing school in Beeton and her brother had helped her get a secretarial job with the Prudential Life Insurance company which she held for many years.

As we have discussed, this was a period of restless movement in the new

Dominion. Immigrants were arriving, mainly from the old country but they often did not become permanent residents. Many used Canada as a stepping stone to a better life in the United States. In that period, net immigration was often exceeded by net emigration resulting in very slow increases in population based on natural increase alone. Will's father was born a farmer and he was a good one so all he could see was maintaining the family farm and passing it on to the next generation. But the children were seeing the new world opening up and they had different ideas.⁴¹

Throughout this time, Will got support from his mother. She could also see the new world opening up. She could also see how Will was unhappy on the farm and was always exploring everything around him. His observations of the health of the families around him only whetted his appetite to learn more about health and disease. He also had been encouraged by his teachers who realized that he was very bright and would not be happy stuck on the farm. His father finally had to give way. Will enrolled in the Beeton Continuation School that offered the first two forms of high school. He was on his way.

Beeton Continuation School.

Beeton did not have enough students to justify a full secondary school, so the Beeton Public School added first form and later second form of high school and called it the *Beeton Continuation School*. In September 1897, he started at that school. He mentioned several classmates, Frank and Earl Scott whom he referred to as the Scott Boys, Henry Aiken, Kate Scott, Martha Law. He also talked about walking into Beeton every day, a distance of over two miles. He became more involved in the social life of the village. He passed the Public School

41 John William kept a log of all expenditures. It shows purchases and sales of farm products that was the only source of income in those days.

Leaving Examination in Beeton and the certificate is dated October 25th, 1898.⁴² He describes it this way:

“After passing the Entrance examination I began my secondary school education at the Beeton Continuation School which provided the first two years of the course for Junior Matriculation to the university. The principal at that time was a Mr. Joseph McPherson, and, though he was in his forties, the older students referred to him as “Old Joe”, not, of course, in his hearing. The leading general store of the village was operated by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Scott, and several members of the Scott family were in school at the time. Frank Scott, later a prominent Toronto surgeon was a classmate of mine. His sister Kate, afterward Mrs. Aitken,⁴³ attended this school, but she was careful to add, if I mentioned this fact in conversation, ‘but not at the same time’... ”^{xix}

In 1899, the Boer War began. Troops were being sent off to South Africa and Canada, with the other dominions was making a contribution to the war effort. The long years of farm depression – from the early 1870s to the late 1890s with some improvement during the 1880s – had finally lifted, the price of wheat increased to a dollar a bushel⁴⁴ and farming was good. As in 1914 and in 1939, it seemed to take a war to get the economy back on track. In writing he said:

“I recall the depression of the so called “gay nineties”, when wheat was 50 cents a bushel; and the threat and onset of the Boer War where the price of wheat went to over \$1.00 a

42 Will described this as Public School Leaving Part I. There was another step which he described as Junior Matriculation but this term was not clearly defined and it is not clear what it applies to. The way in which he uses the term suggests that he was applying it to the completion of Beeton Continuation School. That would be 2nd Form of secondary school. Presumably this would have been Public School Leaving Part II.

43 Kate Aitken was a well-known radio personality on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the 1940s and '50s. she was also interested in food and published several family cookbooks.

44 There was a headline in “The Globe” from Toronto announcing the improvement in farm prices. “Wheat is a dollar”. This phrase was repeated in every farming community and became the by-word for the improved conditions on the farm.

bushel. I recall my days at High School, which were concurrent with the course of the South African War, the relief of Ladysmith, the death of Queen Victoria and the accession of King Edward the Seventh to the throne. I remember well the “cold war” of the early part of the twentieth Century created by a truculent Germany, instead of a truculent Russia. I recall vividly my four years of teaching public school, in North Grey, and my entry into the University of Toronto as a freshman in 1907.”⁴⁵

He said that he got out of writing June exams, because his marks during the year were good, and often did not return to school in the fall until late September or early October, so that he could work with his father on the farm. By the spring of 1899 Will had two years of the four required to finish high school and he wanted to complete it but he then ran into a problem. His father felt he now had a good education and should come and work on the farm. After some difficult discussions with his father, he talked to his mother who supported him and then helped him persuade his father to let him complete high school. He would have to go to a larger centre that had a high school with all four forms. The closest and most convenient place to Beeton was Bradford, on the Holland River near the Holland Marsh. Because there were relatives in Bradford who could sponsor him, he decided to go there.

Bradford High School.

Will’s Uncle, James Henry, was his father’s next older brother, born in 1848. He was married to Annie Stamp whose sister, Mary Jane, was married to the next older brother, Charles, born in 1846. Their brother, Thomas Stamp was married to Eliza, the youngest sister of the Deadman family. Such close relationships were not uncommon in those days where populations were small and scattered, families large and very close. James and Annie had nine children, but the first four died at an early age. Of the five that reached adulthood, the youngest

45 This was another of the earlier attempts at an autobiography entitled *Memoirs of a Pathologist*. Handwritten in pencil on the backs of old voters’ lists it is an earlier version of some of the material contained in the other writings. Probably written in the late 1950s. Its reference to a “truculent Russia” suggests that it was written during the Cold War.

and only surviving boy, Milton, was the one that Will had the closest relationship with.

Uncle James had decided to formally drop the ‘a’ from his last name, making it ‘Dedman’. The spelling had been inconsistent for some time, even going back to the English ancestors – presumably trying to avoid its inevitable associations with death. But the other siblings, including Will’s father stuck with what they considered to be the proper spelling. Will learned to live with the inevitable jibes and jokes. It was perhaps ironic that he became the foremost forensic pathologist in Canada in his time. But this was many years later. In 1899, Will arranged to live with his uncle Jim in Bradford and was duly enrolled at the Bradford High School. He stayed with the Dedmans for about three years while he finished high school. He became very close to his cousin, Milton who was of similar age. His narrative continues:

“.... My secondary school education was completed at Bradford, a town situated twelve miles to the east of Beeton. There I boarded with an uncle who was engineer at the local flour mill, and went home to the farm on the weekends. My father used to drive me by horse and buggy ⁴⁶ to the village of Bond Head which was the half-way point. The remainder of the journey was by way of a horse-drawn stage coach.

Because he was shown as part of the family in Bradford, Will’s high school graduation certificate shows his name as William J. Dedman. Bradford was less than 20 miles from Beeton, but it must have seemed quite a distance in those days. Stage coaches and horse-drawn vehicles could usually only manage about 4 or 5 miles an hour, and much less if the roads were in poor condition as they often were. This means that it was about a five hour trip but despite this, he managed to get home most weekends during the school year.

His uncle Jim was trained as an engineer, which probably gave Will another perspective on professional careers. When he was home, he had talked to his mother’s younger brother about James. Uncle Jim had been born in 1865, had attended school in Beeton and then struck out to New York City to establish his career. This was another influence on Will who was beginning to realize how big the world was out there and the range of possibilities for someone who was not content to stay on the farm.

46 In another note he refers to this as a Democrat. This was a popular buggy in this period.

His mother's youngest sister, Christine was by this time living and working in New York with her older brother, James. Later, in one of his summer holidays, Uncle Jim helped Will to get a summer job in New York which broadened his horizons further. At that time, backwoods Canada was increasingly regarded as very insular and many people were looking to the States for careers and a better life. Those who did not have the courage or desire to venture forth developed a peculiar but understandable trait of putting down the United States and saying that they had no desire to go there. My father loved the American experience and referred to these attitudes as "Sour grapes", an expression that was in common use in those days.⁴⁷

Other notes indicate that this was a broadening experience for him. He began to see his life opening up. It is not clear what he saw as his future when he was on the farm and in Beeton. He had mentioned some aspirations to become a school teacher but he also had seen his fate as taking over the family farm with the help of his brothers. It was probably in Bradford that he really began to imagine a future beyond the confines of Tecumseth Township. He made reference to thinking in French and dreaming in French, a reference to his learning of a second language at the school. One of his teachers at Bradford, a Mr. Foncar, suggested high school teaching. He remembered Mr. Rogers saying to him "...stay yourself." But he was still trying to find out who *yourself* was.

His Bradford days were happy ones. He recalls playing baseball in the schoolyard and his first introduction to English Football.⁴⁸ He also recalls lacrosse and field hockey. Ice hockey was popular in the winter time but not all students had hockey sticks and skates. He says little of his social life, but as he had mentioned sometimes later, opportunities

47 It comes from Aesop's Fable about the fox and the grapes.

48 English Football became known as soccer in the United States and by the turn of the 20th century, that usage spread to Canada. It is still known as football everywhere else in the world.

English Rugby was also called 'rugby' in Canada but the United States had developed a slightly different game which they began to call football. Canadian Rugby, like almost everything else was strongly influenced by the American game of football – both based on English Rugby – and by the middle of the 20th century was being called 'Rugby-Football' and then just 'Football'. It is still different from the American game but over time the differences seem to be diminishing. This is yet another example of Canadians' deference to everything American – especially in sport.

for people of the opposite sex were very limited and strictly chaperoned so he said that in those days he felt increasingly awkward with girls and at adolescent social events.

According to the dates so far, he should have completed his Matriculation (Part II Leaving Certificate) in 1901 at the age of 16½ but this did not happen and his accounts of this time seem quite vague. When he reminisced with his son John, (the lead author) he talked about his childhood but always seemed to gloss over this bit. His son always assumed that he had taken 8 years in primary school and 4 years in secondary school, getting his matriculation in 1903. He had taken a short course at Model School and to make it fit, this must have taken place in the summer months and then he began school teaching in the fall of 1903. In *Hamilton Memories* he describes it this way:

“I completed my matriculation at the Bradford High School, and, after a four months course in teaching at the local Model School there secured a Third Class Teacher’s Certificate. ...”^{xx}

However, his school certificates clearly show that he finished primary school in 6 years and spent 2 years at the Beeton Continuation School. So he must have gone to Bradford in 1899. He should then have gained his matriculation in another two years in 1901. If he then went to Model School for half a year, this still leaves a year and a half unaccounted for. The answer to this dilemma is in one of the pencilled outlines which he wrote only in point form and never expanded into text:^{xxi}

“Uncle Jim – Milton – Stage to Bradford – the farm – summer holidays – Baseball –
Senior Matric – *failure*
Bradford Model School – Mr. Scarrow – search for a school”^{xxii}

This fits much better with the known facts. His Graduation diploma is dated 22nd day of November, 1901 but it is also called “Junior Leaving” which does not suggest that he had completed his senior matriculation in 1901. Evidently Will failed his matriculation on his first try in 1901 and had to repeat it in 1901-02. This also explains his great concern when his son^{xxiii} failed an Upper School Latin Authors examination many years later. Instead of being annoyed, as his son expected, Will was very understanding and took on the task of appealing the failure to the Department of Education. The appeal was

successful, largely because his son had high marks in other subjects but Bill felt it was a personal triumph – which of course it was.

So after he completed 4th form in the fall of 1901 he then must face where he was to go next. The choice was between high school teaching and another professional career such as medicine. He decided to start with teaching and science because he could use that experience whichever way he went. Again, his mother came out on his side and persuaded his father that he should pursue a professional career. Father was finally beginning to take pride in his son's accomplishments so he agreed although he would not have enough money to give much economic support. Will had to go to work to earn enough money to go farther.



CHAPTER THREE

Part I Beginnings

TEACHING IN THE QUEEN'S BUSH (1903-1907)

When I was six years of age, my father bought a farm two miles north of the village from William Banting, father of the late Sir Frederick, a few years before Sir Frederick was born. In later years, and after he has become illustrious through the discovery of insulin, we became close friends, and I spent many interesting hours on visits to him in the Banting Institute for Medical Research, so named in his honour. His tragic death, while on active service in World War II was a great loss to Canadian Medicine, and to his Canada, his Commonwealth and Empire.

William James Deadman^{xxiv}



As we discussed, Will's father was finally persuaded that his son should go farther in his career. His mother also could see the changes that were coming and she supported him in his desire to pursue a professional career. But he needed to work if he was to afford a university education.

In the newly opened townships in the Queen's Bush⁴⁹ there was a severe shortage of school teachers so teaching certificates was developed with three levels or grades, each grade requiring less

49 The Queen's Bush was an area north-west of the settled part of the Home District that extended to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. It would become the future counties of Dufferin, Grey and Bruce.

training with corresponding limitations in the scope of practice. A first-class certificate usually required a prior college or university degree. It permitted teaching at the secondary school level. A second-class certificate required training at Normal School and permitted teaching at the primary school level. A third-class certificate required a four month course at Model School and only allowed teaching in rural one-room schools where the difficulty in getting teachers was most severe.

So he decided to go to Model School. Will talked to a Mr. Scarrow who was very helpful in steering him into teaching. Mr. Scarrow taught at Bradford High School but was also in the Model School program which was run at the High School. Will enrolled in the Model School in the fall of 1902, completing this program just before Christmas. There was some delay in finding a suitable school, and Mr. Scarrow helped him with the search. By early spring he had found a school in Grey County not far from Walter's Falls. His account continues:

"I completed my matriculation at the Bradford High School, and, after a four months course in teaching at the local Model School there secured a Third Class Teacher's Certificate. For the next four years I was a school teacher in one-room rural schools around the village of Walter's Falls about 20 miles south-east of Owen Sound."^{xxv}

School-teaching in the Queen's Bush.

After the Easter holidays, he began teaching at S.S. No. 9, Euphrasia Township and continued there for two years. He described a stone school house near the hamlet of Goring, a few miles south-east of Walter's Falls. His salary was \$325 a year and he lived with a local farm family – room and board, \$2 a week. He also recalled a Methodist church which held revivals fairly regularly.^{xxvi} He then continued there until the spring of 1905.

After his 2 years at Goring, he taught for 2 years at the Blind Line School ⁵⁰ in adjacent Holland Township, at the intersection of the 1st line and the 3rd sideroad a few miles north-east of Walters Falls. He mentions Bogner, another hamlet nearby. As of 2005, the school was still standing, a substantial stone building built in 1873 in the style of rural schools of the period with the girls' entrance on the right and the boys' on the left. It has not been used as a school since the 1950s but it is well maintained and gives an idea of the typical schools of the period. From its size and layout, it probably could not accommodate more than about 25-30 pupils in the double school-desk benches of the day.

The building was closed many years ago and has been converted into a private residence. This is now located on Grey County Road 29. Presumably one of these roads was a blind line when the school was built.



Walter's Falls was a very small village south-east of Owen Sound in a part of Grey County that was entirely rural and sparsely populated. It was much smaller than Beeton and even in its heyday would not have had more than a couple of hundred souls. But from Will's descriptions, there was an active social life and many outdoor activities. He mentions trout fishing in the local river and the pond behind the mill dam. He had played football at the Bradford High School and here, he found that his skills were in demand with the local football team.⁵¹ They played games with neighbouring villages

50 **Blind Line:** Road allowances of 1 (surveyor's) chain (4 rods, 22 yards or 66 feet – about 20 metres) was left along every concession boundary or *line*. Although it varied in some townships, the *lines* running east-west were usually called 'roads' and the north-south ones were called 'lines'. Sometimes there were gaps such as would be encountered by a steep cliff or a body of water and the line came to an abrupt end or part of it did not connect with other roads in the township. These would be called *blind lines*.

51 Now called Soccer in North America.

and with larger centres such as Owen Sound or Meaford. While visiting there, he was impressed by the large “lakers” (steamships) that were plying the Great Lakes and putting in to Owen Sound.

“Teacher’s salaries in those days were not what they are today. My first year’s salary was \$325.00 and for my last year I received the better-than-average salary of \$460.00 per year. Room and board were to be had for \$2.00 a week and country life involved very little out-of-pocket expense.”^{xxvii}

In many respects his life here would be similar to life in Beeton except as a school teacher, he would have some professional status. Even though automobiles were becoming common in the cities, they were a rare sight in these rural areas and transportation was either by horse and buggy or the ubiquitous stage coach that connected the larger centres. Will used a bicycle to get around. It was of the “velocipede” style, with a chain and sprockets. But there was no “free-wheeling” or brakes, so, on the rough gravel or dirt roads of the day, it must have been a beast to ride.

Will recalled that he had pointed toes on his cycling shoes so that he could insert his toe between the front wheel and the fork to stop. If not carefully done, it could throw you over the handlebars. To slow down, you simply put your full weight on the pedals during the up-stroke. He recalled more than one header into the roadside bushes or the ditch when his feet came off the pedals while he was going downhill. They were thrashing around furiously and he could not get his feet back on to control his speed.

In winter, the main mode of transportation was horse and sleigh, or “shanks’ mare”.⁵² Otherwise, he would have stayed at his lodgings, walked to his school and ventured out only for essentials. To visit his parents on the farm, he would ride his bicycle down the township roads to the Prince of Wales highway near Markdale, then down to Shelburne, across to Alliston and down to the 10th concession north

52 An old country expression for walking.

of Beeton, a distance of close to 70 miles. He makes reference to this but one wonders how often he actually did it. It is more likely that he may have taken the stage coaches especially in bad weather.

It seems that he returned to the farm to help his father and his brothers most summers. After his last teaching year, he obtained a job with the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in the summer of 1907 laying track through Saskatchewan, but this was just before he was due to start his university career.



Nineteenth Century Bicycles

The bicycle had undergone great development in the 19th century. The original version, called the *velocipede* had two wheels the same size, and the rider sat astride it, like a horse, and pushed with his feet on the ground to make it go. Then someone thought of attaching pedals to the front wheels. To gain more speed, the front wheel was made bigger, until in the latter half of the century, the front wheel was so large that one needed very long legs to reach the pedals. This design was referred to as the “*penny-farthing*” because the enormous front wheel and the tiny rear wheel reminded them of a large English penny and a quarter penny, called a farthing, which was smaller than a Canadian 1¢ coin. The contraption was difficult to ride and even more difficult to mount.

A Career in Medicine.

By the time he had taught in one-room schools for a few years, he was encouraged by the village doctor in Walter’s Falls to consider a career in medicine because doctors were in short supply in the country. He had been considering a university career to become a high school science teacher so, with the doctor’s encouragement he also investigated medicine. Then, as now, you needed high marks to get in and some background in medicine was always helpful. The doctor suggested a compromise. He writes:

“I had at first thought of aiming to be a High School Science teacher. However, having formed a friendship with the son of local doctor, I learned from him of the course in Biology and Physics which led into Medicine, and decided to enrol in it so that if, at graduation in Arts, Medicine had no appeal, I could follow my original plan.”

xxviii

...and from a later draft:

“Over the four years I managed to save nearly \$1000.00 which carried me through the most of my university course, for at that time, a year in Arts cost about \$250.00 and a year in Medicine \$400.00 – approximately one tenth of the cost today.”^{xxix}

By the time he entered the University of Toronto in 1907 ‘boom’ times were here. These good times lasted until 1913, when another world economic collapse began. The agricultural depression had been more persistent than the general depression which had lasted throughout the 1870s with some relief in the 1880s becoming worse again in the 1890s. By the time of the Boer War, the agricultural economy was improving and by 1907, there had been almost a decade of higher farm prices and general buoyancy in the mood of people in the rural areas. This was a heady time to be entering on a new career. In the summer of 1907, he helped his father on the farm. He had only seen his family infrequently during the previous four years and there was a lot of catching up to do. It was another time when Will felt that his world was opening up in new and challenging directions.

The Early 20th Century – Social and Economic Visions.

As we have noted, the same issues that dominated debate at the close of the 19th century continued into the early years of the new century. Reciprocity was politically divisive. The Second Boer War (1899-1902) divided French and English populations – the English

being very supportive of their place in the British Empire, whereas the French were more isolated and still threatened by the dominant English majority. But the Manitoba Schools question continued as a festering sore right up to the onset of the First World War.

In the general election of 1896, Sir Wilfred Laurier became Prime Minister. His Liberal government lasted through elections in 1900, 1904 and 1908. In the election of 1911 he was defeated by a Conservative administration under Sir Robert Borden. By that time the world was within a few years of the cataclysm in Europe, the Great War (1914-1918).

While the Liberals had a newly confident leader in Wilfred Laurier, who began the Liberal policy of seeming to promise one thing, while having no actual intention of pursuing such a policy. In the campaign he denounced the Conservative plan for the Manitoba Schools issue as giving too little to the French language in Manitoba, but once in power he gave even less, in order to settle the issue and get it out of the spotlight. By 1896 also, the Liberals had quietly abandoned their quest for free trade with the Americans, and spoke only vaguely about the need for freer trade in general. The new Liberalism had been born, which was to make the 20th century largely a Liberal century in Canada.

In the first national census of 1871, Canada had a population of about 3.6 million facing 38 million Americans. It could be described as an uncertain experiment in semi-independence. By 1901, although the Canadian economy was now finally booming and immigration was at last fulfilling its promise and the West was being filled with settlers, it was a nation of only just over 5.3 million now facing 76 million Americans. Only within the Empire could Canada hope for anything more than banana republic status for the foreseeable future. Within the Empire, however, Canada could see itself as a growing influence in its own turn strengthening the Empire, whose population and international stretch, both politically and economically, was far greater than the United States.

This new prosperity was reflected in the overall rise in per capita income from an average of 1% per year up to the late 1890s, to an average of nearly 3% per year from then to 1912.⁵³ There was still flow-through migration to the U.S. where wages historically remained higher on average than in Canada, but the U.S. was full, so to speak, with virtually no cheap land and cities already marked by enormous size, stark contrasts between poverty and wealth, and massive corruption to match. Canada seemed prosperous enough and a kinder, gentler place in all.

In 1901 Canada produced roughly 55 million bushels of wheat; in 1912 this figure was 231 million. By 1911, Ontario and Quebec accounted for four fifths of manufacturing in Canada. While Nova Scotia had had much manufacturing during the early railway age, this was now ended, as the Maritimes were now experiencing their long, slow decline relative to the rest of the Dominion. In 1911, the Borden Conservatives defeated Laurier at last, over a Liberal proposal for reduced tariffs on trade with the U.S. Unfortunately for Borden, the economic boom came to an end at about the same time – prices for Canadian commodities fell, investment in Canada declined – and the new railways did not produce enough revenue to become profitable; too much of a good thing meant too many railways in proportion to the population. But, the Canada that was to exist for another generation was in place.

Fin de Siècle – The Apogee of the Victorian Age.

The new century not only marked the end of the Victorian era, it also marked a dramatic change and decline in the old European order that had been in place for many centuries. The fourteen years from the end of Queen Victoria's reign until the beginning of the Great War has been captured by Philipp Blom in his book: *The Vertigo Years*^{xxx} and also by Margaret MacMillan in a series of books

53 The Canada census from 1871 shows a population of 3,689,257. The census from 1901 shows a population of 5,371,315. In 1911 it was 7,206,643.

such as *The War that ended Peace*.^{xxxii} The period was marked by the rapid advances in science and corresponding changes in culture and society. It saw the breakdown and eventual collapse of aristocracies and imperial powers. It saw dramatic power realignments not only between nations but between social classes and political systems. In the cataclysm of the first World War that followed, it was sometimes considered as a peaceful time and a time of social advance but as Blom points out, it would not be seen that way by the people who lived through it. As one studies the events that took place in those fourteen years, one concludes that the war that followed became inevitable. But as viewed from the colonies in North America, it began to take on the appearance of a Greek tragedy. In the United States, it spawned a strong move to isolationism that persisted well into the Second World War. But in the closing years of the Victorian era, none of this could be imagined or anticipated. The British Empire seemed strong and Canada depended on it for its strength and protection.

The tensions between French and English were to underline the insurmountable difficulties of imperial union within Canada, the senior dominion. While the British were quite willing to create an Empire Council and push for imperial free trade, they rightly insisted this also meant a sharing of the hard slogging, in this case an official contribution to the war from Canada. French opinion in Canada made this impossible. Laurier was to be forced by public opinion to equip a force of 1000 volunteers to be sent to South Africa. His French cabinet members opposed this.⁵⁴



54 Despite this, a contingent of Canadians signed up to fight in the war. They were virtually all from the Anglophone community – those who had British backgrounds. William would have been 14 at that time so too young to go to war but he knew many people who did.

The Alaska boundary dispute also served in the long run to build a national feeling in Canada. The Americans had purchased Alaska from the Russians in 1867 and the boundary in what is now called the Alaskan panhandle was decided by an older treaty between Russian and England, signed in 1825. The terms were confusing however, but caused no problems until the Klondike gold rush of the late 90s. Canada hoped for a resolution which would give unfettered access to the sea from the gold fields. The dispute dragged on until 1903, when a commission, composed of three Americans, two Canadians and one Brit, gave the Americans most of what they wanted, not as much inland as they claimed, but Canadian access to the goldfields from the sea was blocked. This produced an enormous anti-British backlash in Canada, and also caused many Canadians to regard the U.S. with suspicion from that time, with the overall impact of changing Canada's thinking away from imperial or continental ties and towards an autonomous nationality. It was obviously not the sole reason, but was a significant factor.

The period of prosperity in the decade or so before the First World War, ushered in at the turn of the century, got the Liberals to thinking about railways again. Laurier saw the political advantages in constructing a new transcontinental line. The Grand Trunk was the principle system in the East, and in the West, private promoters were building a western regional line, the Canadian Northern.⁵⁵ These great projects, still costly for a small nation, were eventually to be completed,⁵⁶ but were not to prove financially viable when the

55 The two were combined into the Grand Trunk Pacific that ran from Winnipeg to Vancouver. It was built north of the Canadian Pacific line and opened up northern communities in Western Canada.

56 In small part with the added labour of William, who had a summer job with the Grand Trunk Pacific in 1907 laying track at the end of line in Saskatchewan.

boom ended. ation, were eventually to be completed,⁵⁷ but were not to prove financially viable when the boom ended.

This boom of the first decade was dependent on a confluence of favourable factors: a drop in ocean transportation rates which favoured the export of Canadian agricultural and mining products, a rise in prices for raw materials, the recovery of the British economy and subsequent influx of investment capital into Canada (75% of monies invested in Canada in this period came from Great Britain) and hugely increased rates of immigration, much of it from eastern Europe and Great Britain, bringing in needed agricultural labour and skilled manufacturing workers at the same time. For this decade at least, there was a net increase from immigration. There were huge investments in infrastructure in the period 1896-1910 in the order of 5 billion 1900 dollars, a sum incalculably more in modern dollars. This was, in fact, a degree of investment in roads, sewers, railroads, electricity, buildings etc. etc. never before and perhaps never to be seen again. Many immigrants still left Canada but now there was a net gain – more stayed than left. In 1901 Canada's population was 5.3 million, ten years later it was 7.2 million and half the increase had settled in the West. Population had begun to shift to towns and cities also. In 1871, only 20% of Canada's populations lived in urban areas; by 1911 40% did. In 1871, the English & French comprised 92% of the population; in 1911 83%. The remainder were Germans, Scandinavians and Ukrainians and a whole list of other nationalities in small proportions. Yet, an often ignored fact was that the British formed the single largest group of immigrants in this decade. Rather than farmers for the finally opening West, they came as already experienced factory labourers for the prosperous establishments – many American branches – in the East. A valuable lesson was taught then, though perhaps not learned, that improvements in productivity brought increased domestic investment in the economy

57 In small part with the added labour of William, who had a summer job with the Grand Trunk Pacific in 1907 laying track at the end of line in Saskatchewan.

and caused foreign investment and immigration to follow, creating a cycle of prosperity.

His Teaching in the Queen's Bush, Continued

As we said, Will had taught, first at Goring for two years and then at the Blind Line school not far from Walter's Falls. He also recalled a Methodist church which held revivals fairly regularly. He mentions trout fishing in the local river and the pond behind the mill dam. He also played football with local teams and entered into the social life of the community. They played games with neighbouring villages and with larger centres such as Owen Sound or Meaford. He was impressed by the large "lakers" (steamships) that were plying the Great Lakes and putting in to Owen Sound. These experiences gave him more confidence and a feeling of being a professional rather than a farm labourer.

A few years ago, the lead author visited Walter's Falls and asked about the local schools. At first no-one we asked seemed to know but when we saw an older grey-haired man, he resonated and was able to give directions. The school is a substantial stone building built in 1873 in the style of rural schools of the period with the girls' entrance on the right and the boys' on the left. I recalled my experience at S.S. #14 Nelson. We were not able to get in but a woman in the farm house across the road came to our aid. She was converting her old house into an art gallery. She said that the schoolhouse had not been used as a school for some years but some people had bought it and were converting it into a residence. It was locked but we were able to peer in the windows and get an idea of the typical schools of the period.

We have described Will's experience with his bicycle and the difficulty in riding these early machines. In winter, the main mode of transportation was horse and sleigh, or would walk. Otherwise, he would have stayed at his lodgings, walked to his school and ventured out only for essentials. To visit his parents on the farm, he would ride his bicycle down the township roads to the Prince of Wales

highway,⁵⁸ a distance of close to 70 miles. It is more likely that he may have taken the stage coaches especially in bad weather. In the summers he returned to the farm to help his father and his brothers. He obtained a job with the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in the summer of 1907 laying track through Saskatchewan, but this was just before he was due to start his university career.



58 Now Highway #10. The road that ran from Shelburne to Owen Sound still is a main thoroughfare for the area.

PART I BEGINNINGS

CHAPTER FOUR

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO (1907-1911)

"I have not, I think, ever had a thrill, comparable to that which I experienced when I finally walked through the famed Norman doorway of University College, to register as an undergraduate Arts student in . I had looked forward to that day since passing my Entrance examination ten years before."

William Deadman, in his handwritten memoirs



The agricultural depression was long past by the time William entered the University of Toronto. It was well into the Edwardian age and Canada was in its first burst of real prosperity. Manufacturing concerns were opening in eastern cities, principally Hamilton, Toronto and Montreal. Rail lines extended over much of the landscape moving goods and people, and connecting the country from east to west. The prairies were rapidly filling with farms and farmers, many of whom were immigrants from the wheat-lands of the Ukraine. Canadian researchers had developed a new strain known as Durham wheat that would grow in the short and dry growing season on the Prairies. In the east, manufacturers were often American branch plants, but there were many home grown industries that were doing well.

University College

William entered the course in Biology and Physics because if he completed the 4 year course in the Faculty of Arts he could get advanced standing to complete his medical degree in two further years and if he changed his mind and reverted to high school teaching, he had all the credits to become a science teacher. Curiously to modern eyes, his undergraduate career in Biology and Physics was offered in the Faculty of Arts, and gained him a B.A. in Natural Science, rather than today's usual B.Sc.⁵⁹ The degree also gave him all the prerequisites for advanced standing in medical school at Toronto, which also awarded a degree different than today's, the M.B., or Bachelor of Medicine. Because there was no requirement for Pre-Meds in those days, this was an undergraduate degree as it was in Britain and in Europe. Some American universities were beginning to offer a doctorate degree, but schools like Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania were still offering an M.B. until well into the 1930s.

By this time William, now known by his friends as Bill, had begun to appreciate the tremendous changes that had occurred in his life. A whole new world was opening up for him and for many others who were entering university in the Empire of Edward VII. He recalled later that the university had been on a building campaign and the McLennan Physics Laboratories and a new Convocation Hall had just opened in 1907. In an earlier version of his memoirs, he writes:⁶⁰

59 In classical academia the *Arts* included philosophy, logic and mathematics – the very basis for modern science. Until well into the 19th century, the physical sciences (physics, chemistry) were known as *Natural Philosophy*. Later, the Faculty of Arts at Toronto became known as the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The theoretical sciences remained in the Arts Faculty whereas the “School of *Practical Science*” gave degrees in Engineering.

“I have not, I think, ever had a thrill, comparable to that which I experienced when I finally walked through the famed Norman doorway of University College, to register as an undergraduate student in Arts. I had looked forward to that day since passing my Entrance examination ten years before. I had at first thought of aiming to be a High School Science teacher. However, having formed a friendship with the son of local doctor, I learned from him of the course in Biology and Physics which led into Medicine, and decided to enrol in it so that if, at graduation in Arts, Medicine had no appeal, I could follow my original plan. I did however continue and graduated in medicine with the class of 1913.

“In 1907, the fortunes of the University of Toronto, after a half century of comparative penury, were in the ascendant. The Ontario Government of Sir James Whitney had allotted to the university for its maintenance, half of the succession duties of the province. A brand new Physics building had been built, and, as well, a new Convocation Hall both of which opened in 1907. Then, too, there was a brand new president, who, for the next quarter century, guided the now expanding University well along the road to its present preeminent position, among the great universities of Canada, of North America and, indeed, of the English-speaking world. Sir Robert Falconer, now passed to his reward, must be accorded a place among the great university presidents of his time.

“Maurice Hutton, of Eton and Oxford was principal of University College. He was said to have worn, in the true

60 This appears to have been delivered at some point as a speech, probably to a Hamilton audience. It is typed and set up in an address format. At some later date he tried to incorporate it into his autobiography but many of these details were left out. Date uncertain but probably written in the 1940s.

Eton fashion of the times, the lower button of his vest unbuttoned. The quip was that when any member of the staff pointed to a vest with an unbuttoned bottom button with the query, "Eton?" the answer was "No, drinkin'". Whether the principal ever made such a retort is not on record.

"One of the striking figures on the campus in those days was Professor St. Elma De Champ, a member of the staff in French, over 6 feet tall and the possessor of a long black spade beard with the inevitable cigarette protruding, a veritable fire hazard. As a freshman, I remember sitting in one of the classrooms of the East wing waiting for our lecturer in French, when, by mistake, Professor Ed Champ entered the room. After a few minutes pause, foot scraping, as practised by students in those days, began. The sternness of the Professor's gaze, gave pause to the class, and, as stillness reigned, he said "In my country, we hear such sounds in stables only" and turning on his heel left the room.

"Professor W. J. Alexander was head of the English Department. I have never forgotten his lectures to us in the third year, on 6 plays of Shakespeare. It gave me a love of Shakespeare which grows with the years. Professor Van Der Smitten, head of the German Department, crossing the campus, made a lasting impression on the freshman mind, with his moustache, his monocle and his dachshund."

"Professor Ramsey Wright, head of the Department of Biology, impressed me as one of the best lecturers. He had an amazing ability to illustrate his subject matter with coloured chalk. As the lecture traced the course of the development of the embryo from a single cell, the drawing progressed in perfect timing with the development of the subject in the lecture. I have seen but one other speaker with such facility.

Professor F. B. Kenrick, later head of the Department was our lecturer in inorganic chemistry. He was dour, with, to us, on apparent sense of humour, and marked absentees from the lecture by the numbers he could see painted on the front of the seat backs. One day, he was lecturing on catalysts and observed the agitation sometimes initiated (by) the change from liquid to gas. To illustrate this he left on the desk a glass bottle half full of ether, closed by a glass stopper, promising to agitate it at the time of the next lecture. This he did. The glass stopper was expelled from the bottle, and, turning end on end, rose a foot and a half and then dropped back exactly into place in the bottle. The applause was deafening and the professor had to smile.”

Bill had many other recollections of his days at University College. He remembered the old Norman Gothic building with its creaking wooden floors and worn stone staircases. He remembered the Croft Chapter House and the Junior Common Room. He lived in a room on Huron Street for at least part of his university career and got 21 meals at a local restaurant for \$2.10. The social life was much more than he had been used to in the rural atmosphere where he had grown up. He remembered social events called *Conversazioni* in which you did a grand march around the ballroom. Later there was dancing but the ubiquitous chaperones kept a wary eye.

There were far more men than women in his courses and this restricted some social activity. But he had little money for such things and found that he felt awkward in the increasingly sophisticated social life around him. Perhaps his unusual name and his country background now trying to cope with the big city may have increased those feelings. By 1911 when he graduated in Arts, he was becoming much more comfortable with such things. His friends always said that he had a way with people. His affable style was the same for royalty as it would be for the shoe-shine boy.



He became very involved with sports. His previous football experience at high school and Walter's Falls stood him in good stead and he played for both the University College and Faculty of Medicine teams. In his first year in the Medical course, 1911-1912, he was a forward on the Senior Meds team that won the Interfaculty Association Football Championship.⁶¹ He also had further associations with sports and with Hamilton, the city where he was destined to spend a great deal of his subsequent professional career. He writes:

“My first visit to Hamilton came in 1910, when I was in the middle of my course at university. In 1908, Lord Grey, then Governor-General of Canada, had donated a cup to be emblematic of the Dominion Championship in Rugby-Football which was then purely an amateur sport. The only professional sport at the time was baseball, and Toronto and Montreal had professional baseball teams in the old Eastern League, later the International League. Toronto's home games were played in a stadium on Toronto Island, and the pleasant voyage on the Island ferry was an added pleasure, albeit a little time consuming. Rugby however, was still amateur, and the two leading organizations were the Intercollegiate Rugby-Football Union and the Ontario Rugby-Football Union. The Dominion Championship was decided by a play-off game between the respective champions of these two groups. Competition for the Grey Cup began in 1909, and for the first three years the University of Toronto team won the championship. In 1910, the deciding game was played at Hamilton between the Hamilton Tigers and the University of Toronto team, Varsity winning by a score of 16 to 7. It was on this occasion that I first set foot in Hamilton.

61 As mentioned previously, football is now known as soccer. Rugby or rugby-football, derived from English rugby, is now known as football.

“We students came up by special Grand Trunk train arriving at the old Stuart Street station, a collection of low shed-like buildings. A patch of lawn carried a row of whitewashed stones which spelled out the name “Hamilton”. This recalled to our minds the stage joke which we had heard at Shea’s Vaudeville Theatre at Toronto, popular with students on Saturday afternoons. The skit consisted of a scene showing a mother and her small son looking out of a passenger coach window at the row of whitewashed stones, and the son’s plaintive query, “mother, is Hamilton buried there?” Hamilton was wont to respond to such comments by applying the sobriquet “Hogtown” to its big neighbour.

“These were banner years for Rugby at the University. It was the era of Hugh Gall, Jack Newton, “Bull” Ritchie, Charlie Gage, “Red” Dixon and the redoubtable, Smirle Lawson the “Big Train”. Gage and Dixon were classmates of mine in Arts. Gage was an all-round athlete and was the University’s heavyweight boxing champion. Ewart Dixon entered the legal profession and became a leading citizen of Hamilton. The Hamilton Tiger team was no mean opponent. Men like Ben Simpson, afterwards principal of Delta Collegiate, “Chicken” McKelvey, and Sam Manson ⁶² shed lustre on the team and on their city. The home games were played at the “Cricket Grounds” of the Hamilton Amateur Athletic Association on Charleton Street West. Cricket however had given way to tennis, football and other sports.

Medical Education in Canada

William entered the third year of the medical course in the fall of 1911. There had been tremendous chances to medical training since

62 Sam Manson’s Sporting Goods operated a store on Wilson St. near James St. N. until the 1990s.

William Osler had been in medical training some four decades before. For most people today the conditions of medical education and practice in the early-mid 19th century would be impossible to imagine. From our vantage point in the early 21st century, we like to remark on the great scientific and educational advances of the 20th century as if they were somehow unique. But the profound changes which took place in the 19th century in every area of medical work were even more startling than those of the 20th – particularly if one compares conditions at the beginning of each century with those at the end. Some 80 years ago Dr. A. H. Wright observed: ^{xxxii}

“It is difficult or impossible for the observers of public matters in Ontario to-day to form a correct opinion as to the conditions in Upper Canada from 1820 to 1860. The game of politics was more strenuous one hundred years ago than it is at the present time. The medley of questions pertaining to higher education, land and money grants, the diversified opinions of the various religious denominations, the alarming situation in politics, and the rebellion of 1837, created conditions quite extraordinary, associated with almost endless controversy of the bitterest kind.

“The educational difficulties began with an attempt to establish a university organization on purely British lines, which were not acceptable to the majority in Upper Canada.”

By the mid-late 19th century, medical and scientific research in Britain and Europe had made tremendous strides and many of the famous schools of medicine were undergoing similar changes. Academic students from North America found that they had to go to Europe for the best education. The United States was trying to keep pace. Established medical schools such as the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard and Yale had tightened their admission requirements and developed formal curricula to replace the apprenticeship system that was prevalent elsewhere. In the 1870s, Mr. Johns Hopkins had endowed a new university and medical

school in Baltimore which was to blaze the trail to modern medical education. Despite this, most medical education in the United States was unregulated with no formal admission requirements or curriculum. Even at the turn of the 20th century, it was still possible to get mail-order diplomas to become a physician.

In this period, Canada was lagging far behind. The only medical school that could match the education found in the U.S. was at McGill University in Montreal. Founded in 1829, only 8 years after the university itself, it was Canada's oldest medical school by far. Most others were so-called proprietary schools, often run by one or more practicing physicians and largely depending on an apprenticeship model with few lectures and little laboratory experience. There was no regulation and each school could set its own curriculum if it bothered with a curriculum at all.

These problems resulted in the establishment of colleges of medicine who would have the power to regulate the various practitioners who had a wide variety of training and scope of practice. A College of Physicians and Surgeons of Upper Canada was incorporated in 1839 but the charter was disallowed in 1840. The College of Physicians and Surgeons of Lower Canada was created in 1847. Finally in 1869 the Ontario Medical Act was passed and a new College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario was incorporated under the Act. These colleges were controversial at first but the need for regulation in the profession finally led to their general acceptance. It was increasingly recognized that medical education and regulation of the profession had lagged far behind the tremendous scientific advances and increase in knowledge about public health, human disease and its treatment.

Sir William Osler

William Osler, probably Canada's most famous physician, had a major role in changing this state of affairs. He was born in Bond Head, Tecumseth Township, only a few miles from Beeton on July 12th, 1849 and grew up in Dundas, Canada West, an old town now

part of Hamilton, Ontario. After attending Trinity College School in 1866 and Trinity College, Toronto in 1867, he enrolled in the Toronto School of Medicine, a proprietary school not connected with the University of Toronto. He completed his medical training at McGill in 1872 and studied in England and Europe for two years at a time when post-graduate training was very unusual. He then returned to McGill as a professor of medicine in 1874, at 25 perhaps the youngest physician to hold that post.

In 1884 he was appointed Chair of Clinical Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, America's oldest school. In 1889 he became Chief of Staff at the new Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore where he became one of the four founders of a new medical school. They became known as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. The four founders were William Henry Welch – pathology, William Stewart Halsted – surgery, William Osler – internal medicine, and Howard Kelly – obstetrics and gynecology. In 1905 Osler was appointed to the Regius Chair of Medicine at Oxford University where he remained until his death in 1919. The events of that period, in which Osler was so centrally involved were indeed apocalyptic and changed the course of clinical medicine in England, the United States and Canada in the 20th century. It is not surprising with all the geographic and educational connections that Bill Deadman chose Osler as his role model.

The training of physicians in the first decade of the 20th century had undergone tremendous changes and more were in store. Osler had introduced the widespread use of the microscope and the pathological autopsy to improve diagnosis in medical practice. He also was in the forefront of the establishment of standard curricula and direct laboratory experience in the training of physicians. In his day, most doctors were still being apprenticed to a practicing physician or were trained in proprietary medical schools set up by physicians with little formal regulation. Throughout most of the 19th century, McGill University in Montreal was the leading centre in Canada but the University of Toronto was not to close the gap until 1903.

Toronto Medical Schools

The first medical school in Toronto was the Medical Department of King's College, completed in 1844.⁶³ Kings College had been established by Bishop John Strachan in 1827 but because of political and other issues did not admit students until 1843. The Medical Department began admitting students only a year later. There was considerable controversy about the exclusiveness of the charter so other colleges and universities moved to create medical schools of their own.

The Upper Canada Academy of Cobourg was created a university in 1841. It later was known as Victoria University. Trinity College, Toronto became a university a few years later. Others followed. All these new universities were moving to establish schools in Divinity, Medicine and Law. King's College was abolished by the Hincks Act of 1853. University College, the beginning of the University of Toronto was created in the same year.

Others were moving into the medical education vacuum that had been created. The Upper Canada School of Medicine was established by two Toronto physicians, Drs. Hodder and Bovell and were joined by associates, Bethune, Hallowell, Melville and Badgley. Meanwhile Strachan had obtained approval for a church institution, the University of Trinity College ⁶⁴ and plans were made to incorporate the medical school into it but these efforts were ultimately unsuccessful.

63 This was the building that was to become University College when the University of Toronto opened in 1853.

64 The original building of Trinity College was located on Queen Street West near the boundary with the village of Parkdale. It had classical Gothic architecture. When it relocated to the University of Toronto campus some years later the new building was an exact copy of the original.

The lead author recalls walking along Queen Street in the 1960s and being surprised to see the building that he knew on Hoskin Avenue come to life before his eyes



Proprietary schools were developing. John Rolph's School of Medicine started in the 1840s and was incorporated as the Toronto School of Medicine in 1851. John Rolph was believed to have had something to do with the Act of the Hincks government that had killed the King's College Department of Medicine in 1853. The dissention between faculty members resulted in Rolph losing the charter which was taken over by several "retired" faculty members. They claimed the name which was awarded to them in court. Meanwhile, what was left of Rolph's School of Medicine was reorganized and functioned as the Medical Faculty of Victoria University but without a formal affiliation.

The Women's Medical College of Toronto was organized in 1883 largely because of the negative attitudes of other schools towards women students and physicians. Other schools came and went; some were established by physicians who advertised to take in a few students in an apprenticeship but gave few lectures or laboratory training. Most of these proprietary schools did not have degree-granting powers so students had to seek their degrees from an established university even if they had taken their training somewhere else. Many graduates of the Toronto School held medical degrees from Victoria University in Cobourg.

The Medical Faculty of Trinity College was established in 1871 but its relationship to the University of Trinity College was unclear. Finally in 1877 it was granted a separate charter under the name of Trinity Medical College. Trinity and the Toronto School of Medicine continued in friendly rivalry, sharing patients and other resources at the Toronto General Hospital. Meanwhile Victoria University at Cobourg was entering into federation negotiations with the University of Toronto and it was unclear how the Medical Faculty of Victoria would be incorporated into the new federated university or into the various medical schools in Toronto.



In 1887 the Senate of the University of Toronto appointed a committee to consider the offer to be made to the various affiliated medical schools by the university. It included a number of prominent names of the day and was chaired by the Vice-Chancellor, William Mulock.⁶⁵ However, the matter remained unresolved until 1900 and an amalgamation of the schools finally won approval in 1903. Trinity and the Toronto schools were merged into the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Toronto. Other proprietary schools either were merged into this faculty or passed out of existence. This was just four years before Bill Deadman was an eager freshman in Biology and Physics.

Faculty of Medicine

Bill graduated from Biology and Physics in June of 1911. His parents proudly attended the ceremony in the four year old Convocation Hall. He was already granted advanced standing in the Faculty of Medicine so it meant that he could enter the 3rd year of the medical course in September. Any doubts he may have had about his future career had evaporated. He was now determined that he wanted to follow in the footsteps of Sir William Osler, originally from Bond Head but now the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University. But his money was running out and he sought the help of his father to finance the final part of his university career. By now both his parents were bursting with pride, so this was forthcoming.

At that time medicine was divided into basic sciences and clinical medicine, the latter mostly crammed into the third and fourth years. The basic science curriculum still included anatomy, physiology, biochemistry but the wider availability of the microscope enabled

65 He was later knighted as Baronet William Mulock. He was Postmaster General in the Laurier government and Chancellor of the University for many years. In 1938 the University Senate put on a special dinner to honour Sir William in Hart House. William Deadman was the Master of Ceremonies.

histology, or microscopic anatomy to be added. Anatomy was taught by dissection of a cadaver but formalin had replaced alcohol as a preserving agent so the extremely repugnant conditions of the 19th century ‘dead rooms’ had improved somewhat. The new Department of Anatomy building was immediately behind the Medical School of 1903, facing onto the front campus next to the University Library and south east of the original building, University College. Both the old Medical School and Anatomy buildings were demolished when the new Faculty of Medicine building was constructed in the 1980s.

When Bill graduated from Biology and Physics in 1911, he began his clinical medical training with lectures on medicine, surgery and midwifery. ‘Materia medica’ was now called pharmacology but physicians were still required to prepare and compound medicines – a task now exclusively reserved for pharmacists.⁶⁶ Because of the influence of Osler, Pathology was now an important subject. By this time there was increasing laboratory work with students studying urine analysis, measuring haemoglobin and counting blood cells. New tests were emerging in the new field of Pathological Chemistry and Immunology. In the clinical years, usually the third and fourth years of a four year course, they would be spending much time on the wards with their clinicians. William tells of his medical training and some of his teachers in the medical years.

“Professor I. H. Cameron was head of the Department of Surgery. He was a cultured classical scholar and his lectures were masterpieces of English. He had a particular aversion to what he called “bastard” words such as “appendicitis”, part Latin and Part Greek; the term for which he insisted should be “epityphlitis”. His clear diction, his careful dressing, and his goatee impressed his personality deeply on his students.

66 Medicines and drug compounds were originally called ‘physic’. Physicians compounded and administered physic, whereas surgeons performed surgery.

“His colleague, Dr. Wallace Scott, was noted for his intimate knowledge of anatomy, of which he was a demonstrator, and for his ability as a teacher of clinical surgery. I recall, in my first clinical year, a clinic which he gave at St. Michael’s Hospital, to a group of six of us. We were shown a patient with a sore throat and were instructed to take the history, do a physical examination, and have a diagnosis for him when he returned to the ward in ten minutes. One of our number was a young man of artistic temperament, fond of music, and a great reader. He had evidently been reading tropical medicine for, while the other five of us diagnosed such things as tonsillitis or pharyngitis, he came up with a diagnosis of idiopathic sprue. Dr Scott’s face darkened, and after a half minute of tense silence on our part, his fist banged the bedside table and he said earnestly: “Gentlemen! Gentlemen; – damn it gentlemen; always remember that common things are common and uncommon things are damned uncommon.” I, for one, never forgot the lesson.

“Dr. Alexander McPhedran was professor of Medicine, and was an excellent teacher. I recall one clinic at the old Toronto General Hospital on Gerrard Street East, the case being one of aortic aneurism in a man of 38 years. The professor, to emphasize a point, had a habit of striking his right clenched fist into the palm of his left hand. In the discussion of this case he accompanied the gesture with these words: “always remember gentlemen; aneurism under forty – syphilitic; aneurism under forty – syphilitic.” I dare say none of us ever forgot this lesson.

“In our first clinical year, our clinic of six was most fortunate in our clinicians. In surgery we had Dr. Malcolm Cameron and in medicine, the late Doctor Harry Hutchison. We liked these men so well, both as teachers and as friends, that we applied for and were granted

permission to remain with them for the full year, rather than lose them in the mid-year rotation.

“In the year 1910, the Department of Physiology was divided into the Department of Physiology under Professor Brodie, an outstanding English physiologist, and a Department of Biochemistry under the late Professor A. B. MacCallum who had previously been head of the Department of Physiology. That year his newly organized Honour Course in Physiology and Biochemistry came into being. At mid-year the 26 of us who were in the Honour Course in Biology and Physics were given the option of transferring to the new course with equivalent standing and 22 of us transferred. No group at the University ever got a more intensive course in the basic medical sciences. We had 2½ years of Biology and Physics and a final 1½ years of Physiology and Biochemistry.⁶⁷

“Professor MacCallum was at that time one of Canada’s most erudite scientists. He and the late Professor A. P. Coleman of the Department of Geology were among the first, if not the first Canadians to be elected to membership in the Royal Society. I well remember my first oral examination in Biochemistry from Professor MacCallum. He had a rather high somewhat falsetto voice and when I entered the room he greeted me with the query, “your name is Deadman?” Admitting this, I was next asked; “Have you ever taken any steps to ascertain the origin of your name?” My negative reply brought this comment: “Well! Well! Do you know that I have heard of people who spent all their lives within the sound of Niagara Falls and never knew what made the sound?” A rather inauspicious introduction to an oral examination in Biochemistry.

67 Physiology and Biochemistry was the course that his son JCD enrolled in when he entered the University of Toronto in 1949.

“Professor MacCallum was later Professor of Biochemistry at McGill, and he spent the last years of his life at London, where his son, Professor A. B. MacCallum was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Western Ontario. On my annual visits to London in connection with the examinations of the Medical Council of Canada, I used to call on him at his small laboratory in the medical school and I remember, on the last such occasion he said to me; “I still try to burn a little incense on the altar of science.”

“The Department of Pathology was headed by the late Professor J. J. Mackenzie, beloved of all his students, who, like Professor Van der Smitten had a weakness for dachshunds. The then sub-department of Bacteriology was headed by the late Professor J. G. Fitzgerald, who, in 1912 left to go to Leland Stanford University in California. His place was taken by Professor Duncan Graham, who gave us the balance of our course in Bacteriology. Professor Graham proceeded overseas in 1915 with No. 4 Canadian General Hospital to Salonica and before the hospital left Salonica in the summer of 1917 had written a paper on the bacteriology of dysentery which was rated by the British consultant of the British Salonica Force as the best publication on the subject which the war produced.

“We had in 1911-12 and 1912-13 all of our clinical teaching at the old Toronto General Hospital on Gerrard Street East. It was there I saw my first case of leprosy in a Chinese patient. It was there in 1912 that I first saw Sir William Osler, whose text book was our bible, and who had then for 8 years been the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford. It was one of the thrills of the year to see the great man and to listen to his words of wisdom.

“Those were halcyon days for the University of Toronto. The devotion of one half of the succession duties of the

province to the financing of the University facilitated an era of growth and expansion, which received a memorable fillip from the work of Sir Frederick Banting and his associates and which has placed the university and its medical school among the greatest of such institutions in the English-speaking world.”



Bill was on a strict budget. A year in Arts was about \$250 so the \$1000 which he had saved from his school teaching years was enough to get him through the B. & P. course. But in Medicine his costs were about \$400 a year so even with the augmentation of summer jobs he needed considerable help from his father to complete the course. He had different jobs each year and mentions that one summer he worked on the Grand Trunk Pacific Line through Saskatchewan. This would probably have been the summer of 1907 because by then the track was moving across the prairies toward Saskatoon. He recalled that he lived in a dormitory car at the end of track and only got to see the parts of Saskatchewan where he was actually working. He was paid \$1 a day for a 10 hour day and a six day week. There was very little to spend money on so he was able to save most of what he earned. He would have made as much in 8 or 9 weeks in the summer as he had made in his first year teaching school four years before.

It seems he spent a summer working in the mines at Falconbridge. He did not like that job and said little about it. One of his father's brothers, Charles, is recorded as having died in Falconbridge in 1906 so there was some family there and this may have been the reason he went there. He also mentions New York and it seems his Uncle Jim⁶⁸ had got him a job one summer. Alberta is also mentioned but the job is not. It is possible that he had another summer building the

68 James M. Carruthers was Isabella's younger brother. Bill's father also had a brother James Henry, but little is known of him.

Grand Trunk Pacific which by 1909 was working through Edmonton and in 1910-1911, into the mountains at Jasper and the Yellowhead Pass. But this is not recorded.



PART I BEGINNINGS

CHAPTER FIVE

A CAREER IN PATHOLOGY (1911-1914)

Some people are so open-minded their brains fall out.

(Used by Dr. William Deadman)

Anonymous



Internships

After graduation with an M.B. in June of 1913, he sought an interneship. Internships prior to practice were not mandatory in

Ontario until 1957⁶⁹ and most of his classmates would have gone directly into general practice. He could have returned to Beeton or any other smaller community for that matter and had an instant practice in the area, but he was not that interested in general practice. He felt that he wanted to do more. Besides, he commented once that he shared the anxiety of most graduating medical students that he really knew very little compared to all there was to know and he needed more experience before setting out on his own. He tells of his efforts to seek an internship.^{xxxiii}

“I had in the meantime, graduated in Medicine, and that year (1913), had made application for internship to a number of Canadian hospitals. The Toronto General Hospital indicated to me that my class standing did not justify appointment there. However the Public General Hospital at Saint John, New Brunswick accepted me at a stipend of \$50.00 per month, and the Hamilton City Hospital accepted me at nothing a month. I knew nothing of the Saint John hospital, but I had heard something of the Hamilton through my classmate Doctor Claude McClenahan who had an outstanding career in the Ontario Hospital Service,⁷⁰ and now living in Burlington. I

69 Internships and residency training was only required for specialty training in those years. Most graduating doctors went into general practice and then, when they found themselves interested in specialty practice, went back to take the required training. There were two main specialties in 1913, Medicine and Surgery. Other specialties were recognized in Europe and increasingly in the better schools in the United States but formal specialty recognition in Pathology did not come in Canada until the late 1930s.

By the time that a junior internship was made mandatory before embarking on general practice in 1957, most graduating physicians were doing internships anyway, so it was simply a recognition of established practice. It took effect in time for the graduating classes of 1958.

70 Claude McClenahan was Superintendent of the *Ontario Hospital, Penetanguishine* including the *Hospital for the Criminally Insane* (later

discussed the matter of a choice with my father, who said, "Son I think I would go to the Hamilton City Hospital. I'll let you have \$100.00 for your year's expenses." I decided on Hamilton and reported for duty on July 1st, 1913. on City Hospital through my classmate Doctor Claude McClenahan who had an outstanding career in the Ontario Hospital Service,⁷¹ and now living in Burlington. I discussed the matter of a choice with my father, who said, "Son I think I would go to the Hamilton City Hospital. I'll let you have \$100.00 for your year's expenses." I decided on Hamilton and reported for duty on July 1st, 1913.

"Once again, I saw the old Stuart Street Station with its whitewashed stones. Finding my way up Barton Street, I walked in the front gate of the hospital, past the ornamental iron fountain, which graced the front lawn which isn't there anymore, and found my friend Dr. Donald Warren in the superintendent's office, Dr. Langrill having taken the holiday. I had known Dr. Warren since my freshman days at the University, having first met him during a clash between a parade of student freshmen of which I was one, and one of the august sophomores of which Don Warren was the organizer and leader. Don had just completed his year's internship at the City Hospital and had taken over, for the day, to welcome, on behalf of Dr. Langrill the superintendent, the six new interns who were reporting for duty. I was registered, issued with a white suit and shown to the intern quarters on the third floor of the central main building which housed on the ground floor, the hospital offices, on the second floor, rooms for patients, and on the third floor, interns' rooms."

the Oak Ridge Division), from 1940 to '46.

71 Claude McClenahan was Superintendent of the *Ontario Hospital, Penetanguishine* including the *Hospital for the Criminally Insane* (later the Oak Ridge Division), from 1940 to '46.

In a later version of his autobiographical writings, he described his internship at the City Hospital that he remembered in 1913: ^{xxxiv}

“In 1913, the Hamilton City Hospital was already 70 years old. It was the oldest municipally operated hospital in Canada. It was a general hospital in every sense of the term. Its Training School for nurses had been established in 1890 by the then superintendent, the late Doctor Ingersoll Olmstead. Dr. Olmstead lived in a large house on the corner of Markland Ave. and Bay Street that still stands.

The lead author (JCD) recalls:

“I remember the house well because as a young child, I accompanied my parents on their annual pre-Christmas visit to the home. By this time Dr. Olmstead would be mostly bedridden. I have a vivid recollection of one of these visits. Everyone was sitting in the parlour very formally having tea and biscuits. I was bored and restless but my mother told me to be still. I then asked to go to the bathroom and was directed by Mrs. Olmstead upstairs. I must have opened the wrong door because I realized I was in a bedroom and there was an older man lying in the bed. I quickly tried to withdraw but he spoke to me and invited me in. We had a brief chat and then in some embarrassment I quickly went downstairs as if nothing had happened. I was probably about 5 at the time. I never did find the bathroom.”

Bill's recollections continue:

“There were some 40 nurses-in-training. For the year 1913-14 there were six interns, each of whom rotated through six intern services of two months duration each. That year there were three graduates of the University of Toronto, and three graduates of the University of Western Ontario. From Toronto came myself and two of my classmates, Dr. Ernest McCulloch, later a prominent

Toronto physician, and Dr. Frank McLay,⁷² later a leading practitioner in Grimsby. From Western, came Dr. Frank R. Clegg, afterwards Professor of Obstetrics at his Alma Mater, Doctor W. A. Bodkin, now a senior Burlington physician and the late Doctor Frank Overholt, who, after 4 years overseas service, returned to Hamilton to become the Medical Director of the Hamilton Centre for the Discharged Soldiers Civil Re-establishment Department, which later became the Department of Veterans Affairs.



“My first a Career in Pathology (1911-1914) service as an intern was that on the Isolation Wards of the hospital, and in the City Laboratory as assistant to the City Pathologist. The City Laboratories served jointly as hospital clinical laboratory and as the Public Health Laboratory. Clinical laboratory work in those days was relatively simple, consisting mainly of urinalysis, blood counts, surgical pathology and a few autopsies. Public Health Laboratory work consisted mainly of the bacteriology of infectious diseases, particularly that of diphtheria, typhoid and venereal disease, and that of milk, food and the city water supply. Milk was not yet pasteurized and water was not yet chlorinated. Three quarters of the work passing through the laboratories was for the City Health Department.

72 Dr. Francis James McLay also was overseas in WWI with WJD and at the end of the war married a Belgian woman, Jeannine Tchiderere and brought her back to Grimsby when he returned in 1919. WJD remained very close to his friends and when ‘Jimmy’ died by suicide in the 1930s, WJD continued to support Jeanine until his death in 1965. After the death of her husband, she moved to Toronto and then to Montreal where she was a French tutor for English students until her death in the early 1970s.

The first City Pathologist was Doctor William Titler, a graduate of the University of Toronto. He organized and equipped the City Laboratories using funds from a generous grant by an interested citizen. He vacated the position after one year, and in 1911, Doctor Edward Fidler became the City Pathologist. Dr. Fidler vacated the position in 1912. He later was assistant Professor of Physiology at the University of Toronto. The third City Pathologist was Doctor Fred Bowman, who had after graduating from the University of Toronto, spent several years as a research bacteriologist with the United States Public Health Service in the Philippine Islands and who came to the position fresh from a post-graduate year in pathology at the relatively new Johns Hopkins Medical School in Baltimore. He was City Pathologist when I was allotted to service in the City Laboratories on July 1st, 1913.

"I had no sooner got into my white uniform than there came a call from the isolation ward that a patient was waiting to be admitted to the diphtheria ward. With some trepidation, I wended my way down to the ward to find a very sick looking patient lying on a stretcher in the horse-drawn police ambulance of the day. Calling for a tongue depressor and a clinical thermometer, I, mustering a professional air, inspected the throat, noted the odour, counted the pulse and took the temperature. I pronounced it a case of diphtheria to be admitted immediately.

Returning after a short interval to administer the antitoxin, I found the nurse in charge to be Miss Mae Belle Sampson, a native of Collingwood in my own County of Simcoe. She had graduated with that year's class and would complete her three-year period of training in a few weeks. She was a charming young woman and a most capable nurse. She very sympathetically and

diplomatically introduced me to the mysteries of filling a syringe with the requisite dose of antitoxin and of persuading the syringe needle to penetrate the skin of the patient's arm with a minimum of apprehension and pain on the part of the patient. We became fast friends and when, in the autumn of 1914, she enlisted and went overseas with the First Canadian Division, I was not to see her again, for in June 1918 she lost her life in the submarine sinking of H. M. Hospital Ship Llandoverly Castle. A plaque to her memory adorns the wall of the rotunda of the Hamilton General Hospital."

He described the hospital of 1913... ^{xxxv}

"The Hamilton City Hospital at the time of my internship was an institution of 250 beds. It had its training school for nurses, a staff of six interns, operating rooms, an embryo x-ray department with Dr. Leslie Hass in charge, and on the second floor of the Victoria Avenue wing ⁷³ (called the Billings Wing) was the City Laboratories presided over by the City Pathologist Dr. Fred Bowman. The Central Main Building was of three stories and a mansard roof, similar to the one that graced the old Court House on Main Street, now demolished and replaced by a larger modern type of building. Wooden passageways connected the main building with two brick two storey wings, one on either side and both running forward towards Barton Street. Each wing had two large wards of 40 beds each.

73 This wing was the location of the 'Lab' throughout WJDs entire tenure at HGH. By the 1950s when he retired, the Lab. occupied the entire second floor and most of the basement where the autopsy rooms were located. The building was not demolished until the mid-1980s when the entire hospital was rebuilt. It was on the site of the present multi-level parking garage.

“The east wing housed medical patients and the west wing surgical patients. Each ward had two fireplaces, back to back, after the fashion of English hospitals of the period. As a medical officer in the Royal Army Medical Corps, on the staff of the Cambridge Military Hospital in Aldershot, England in 1916, I worked in wards of a similar type, without, of course any central heating such as the City Hospital enjoyed. Extending northward from the level of the west wing was a two-storey wing for private called the Jubilee Wing, from its having been erected in 1897, the year of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee. This wing housed private patients, and, as well, an operating room and an emergency room. Extending northward from the central Main Building was a three-storey brick wing, opened in 1905, and named the Queen Alexandra wing after King Edward VII’s Queen, Alexandra. This wing provided a suite of major operating rooms at the north end of the third floor, the remainder of the floor being used for rooms for private patients. On the second floor were semi-private rooms for medical patients, and on the ground floor were rooms for semi-private medical patients.

“The Main Building and the Q.A. wing, as it was called, were serviced by the Hospital’s only electric elevator,⁷⁴ manually operated by the redoubtable Charlie Kemp. Charlie was a close associate of the interns, for he had had his whole breastbone surgically removed on account of tuberculosis by one of the leading surgeons, Doctor Sam Cummings, and was consequently of considerable clinical interest. Charlie would periodically appeal for a

74 When the hospital was first built, the three floors were connected by long ramps which would accommodate movement of patients on stretchers or wheel chairs. The lead author recalled that these wings were half a floor level different from the main building so that the ramps did not have to be as long.

loan of “a quarter” to be repaid “next pay day”. After the passing of several pay days, I said to Charlie on his next appeal, “What about last pay day, Charlie”. He responded with an injured look, ignored my query, and struck me off his list of future potential creditors.

“The basement of the Q.A. wing housed the hospital kitchens, the nurses’ dining-room and the interns’ dining-room with Edith Batchelor in charge, as well as an emergency room and an admitting room. At the north end and completely separate was a room without refrigeration or equipment which was designated as an autopsy room. Autopsies were rather infrequent in those days. The Diet Kitchen, in charge of Miss Lillian Burke, for private patients, was in the basement of the Jubilee Wing, and interns on night duty used to enjoy a midnight meal there with private duty nurses, under the watchful eye of Miss Torrey, the night supervisor.

“The out-patient department was housed in a short two-storey wing on Victoria Avenue,⁷⁵ sharing the ground floor with the hospital pharmacy. There was no hospital pharmacist then; dispensing was done by the interns on a two-month rotation basis. A large room on the second floor of this wing housed the City Laboratories, and here the City Pathologist, Dr. Bowman, held sway. His staff consisted of an intern, fresh every two months, a nurse-in-training, changed each month, and the half-time services of a technician who “doubled in brass” for the X-ray Department as well. Charlie Gray was the technician. In 1914 he enlisted for overseas service with a military hospital organized by Queen’s University, and after the war remained with Queen’s in the Department of Pathology, then in charge of my good friend, the late Professor James Miller.

75 This is the Victoria Avenue Wing referred to earlier.

“To the north of the outpatient wing was a driving shed where the doctors parked their horses and buggies while in the hospital, for there were probably not more than a half-dozen automobiles in the City at that time. At one end of the driving shed was the hospital ice house, where blocks of ice cut from the bay in the winter time were stored in sawdust for summer use. At the back of the grounds was the four year old Southam Home for Tuberculosis patients, named for its donor. Next to it was a brick building which housed the maternity department, and an adjoining building housed the engine room and the heating plant. At the front, facing Barton Street, was the relatively new Hendrie Nurses Residence, built in 1902 and enlarged in 1911, the gift of the Hendrie family and largely due to the enthusiastic efforts of Mrs. William Hendrie.”

...and the history of the hospital with some personal experience: ^{xxxvi}

“The City Hospital had been owned and operated by the City of Hamilton for about 70 years. It had its origin in sheds built near the harbour in the 1840’s for the accommodation of cholera patients from immigrant ships, at a time when European immigrants were arriving in Upper Canada in considerable numbers. It was operated by a Board of Governors appointed by the City Council and consisting of a number of prominent citizens and some members of the Council. In 1913 the Chairman was Mr. T. H. Pratt, who owned and operated a departments store at the corner of King William and James Streets, just across from the old City hall. Mr. Pratt was a somewhat irascible gentleman who spent endless time and energy in the interests of the Hospital, and who, on occasion, would cross the street to meetings of the Board of Control to demand the things which he knew the Hospital needed. I, on occasion, incurred his anger. On one occasion I proposed to the hospital Board a salary scale for the

laboratory staff, and he took umbrage at “the impudence of the young pup”. However, in later years and after his retirement, he was one of my very good friends. On the occasion of my marriage in 1923, he came up one day to the laboratory to convey his good wishes, and he said to me, “Doctor, in the course of your life here there will occasionally be difficulties and unpleasantnesses. But keep your troubles here in the hospital; don’t take them home to your wife”. It was good advice and I never did.”

...local hospital politics, ...^{xxxvii}

“Doctor Langrill⁷⁶ had been medical superintendent then for eight years. He had previously been Medical Officer of health. His successor in that office was the late Doctor James Roberts. There was a certain amount of rivalry between the two departments, since there was a certain overlapping of function. The Hospital operated the isolation wards. The City Laboratories served both, and the budget was a charge on the funds of both. I, as City Pathologist, occasionally found myself in an uncomfortable position when there was controversy, as there periodically was. However the City of Hamilton never had more faithful efficient service than was rendered by these two capable, dedicated officials. I counted both among my best friends, and their friendship and support contributed very materially to any success I may have had in the discharge of my duties as City Pathologist.”

...other doctors, ...^{xxxviii}

“The hospital’s medical staff consisted of about 25 of the leading medical men of the City. There were then less than one hundred physicians in the City of some 90,000 population. Dr. Ingersoll Olmsted was then at the peak of

⁷⁶ Dr. Walter Langrill became a very close friend of WJD throughout this period.

his career, and he was rated as one of Canada's best surgeons. His associate was Doctor Sam Cummings, who later moved to Toronto, and his young assistants on the surgical service at that time were Doctor J. K. McGregor, fresh from postgraduate work at the Mayo Clinic, and Dr. John R. Parry, fresh from postgraduate work in Europe. The work of these men placed Hamilton and its City Hospital in the front rank as a Canadian surgical centre. The medical service was headed by Doctor J. A. Bauer and Doctor F. E. McLochlin, the latter taking considerable interest in the young X-ray Department. Dr. Griffen and a young associate, Dr. Douglas McIlwraith, were in charge of Obstetrics. Dr. John P. Morton was the only Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat specialist at that time, although his successor, Doctor P. B. Macfarlane, settled in Hamilton in 1931. paediatrics as a specialty was then in its infancy, and the only representatives were Dr. Charles Carter and Dr. Herbert Jones, the latter of whom died on active service in France. On his return from war service in 1919, Doctor Crossan Clark entered the paediatric field. These physicians, and most of the others in the City then, made their rounds by horse and buggy, for the automobile was still a novelty.

"The Hamilton Medical Society in 1913 had a membership of less than one hundred. It was then 12 years old. Among its members were many physicians whose careers shed lustre on Hamilton and Canadian Medicine. Among there were Dr. James Leslie, whose son, Norman, followed in his father's footsteps and became a leading Hamilton physician; Dr. James White, whose son, Thomas, in now a leading Hamilton physician; Dr. Malloch, student of Lister, whose son, Archibald, was for many years Librarian of the new York Academy of Medicine and an authority on the History of Medicine; Doctor Mullin, whose son, Heurner, was Hamilton's Chief

Coroner for many years, and Dr. Douglas Storms, whose son, Harold, attained high standing in the field of physical medicine in Costa Rica. Also, there were Dr. Cockleburn, an outstanding surgeon, Dr. Bough, Dr. Philip, Dr. McCabe, Dr. R. Y. Parry and others whose names live in the annals of Hamilton Medicine. Dr. Howard Holbrook was the young medical superintendent of the Mountain Sanatorium which had opened a few years earlier with Doctor Alex Unsworth as superintendent. Doctor James Edgar, who had been Superintendent of the City Hospital for nine years after Doctor Olmsted's retirement, and who had taken post graduate studies at the then new Johns Hopkins Medical School was a leading West End physician. He was an excellent surgeon and a well-trained internist, and his ability and personality soon gained for him the leading society practice in Hamilton's West End.

"The suburban centres, too, had their outstanding personalities. Stoney Creek had its Dr. Green, whose son, Lloyd, became director of the Hamilton Clinic of the Ontario Cancer Treatment and Research Foundation. Ancaster had its Doctor (George) Devey Farmer, who organized and took overseas in World War I, No. 5 Field Ambulance, Canadian Expeditionary force, and whose son, Richard, took overseas in World War II, the Fifth Field Ambulance, Canadian Army Service Force, the direct descendent of the World War I No. 5. Field Ambulance.⁷⁷ Dundas had its Doctor Arthur Rykart, who had a distinguished career in World War I, and whose son is now a prominent Toronto internist. Waterdown had it

77 The *Fifth Field Ambulance* has survived in the modern Canadian Army as the 23rd *Medical Company*. In honour of its illustrious past, it was recently renamed the 23rd *Field Ambulance* and has on its Senate the late Dr. Richard Farmer, a resident of Ancaster and the son of the World War II Commanding Officer and the grandson of its World War I C.O. Dr. G. D. Farmer.

Doctor McGregor, father of Dr. J. K., who played so prominent a part in Hamilton Medicine, and Burlington had its well-loved Medical Officer of Health, Doctor A. H. Steers.

...and the Hamilton Medical Society, later the Hamilton Academy of Medicine.^{xxxix}

“The Medical Society then held its meetings in the old Royal Hotel at the northwest corner of Merrick and James Streets. The Royal was Hamilton’s leading hostelry and social centre. The Medical Society’s meetings culminated with the serving of beer and sandwiches, a custom which was interrupted in 1916 by the advent of the Ontario Temperance Act.⁷⁸ When I returned in 1919, the meetings were being held in the new Royal Connaught Hotel on King Street East, but without the beer and sandwiches. The interns, however, enjoyed it while it lasted, as they did the “Bock” beer when it was on draught in the spring at Hanrahan’s Hotel on Barton Street.”

He then describes events in the city and in the hospital in 1913:^{xl}

“The summer of 1913 had two outstanding features. The centennial of the founding of the City on farm land owned by the Hamilton family in 1813⁷⁹ was marked by a week of revelry in August. In September one of the periodic investigations into the administration of the City hospital was staged, and this, for

78 **Prohibition.** WJD referred to this in other writings. Among other things it was the rise of the bootleggers and organized crime in Hamilton. There are a few references to Rocco Perri. Also, alcohol was still available for medical purposes on doctors’ prescription. WJD refers to weekends in Muskoka with doctor friends in which it was asked who had ordered the ‘oleo resini’ or medicinal brandy. Frequently patients would pay to have their doctor write a prescription for medicinal alcohol. Many doctors were criticised, even censured for too liberal ordering of medicinal alcohol.

79 Hamilton was first founded as a town in 1813. It was incorporated as a City in 1846.

the interns, carried a good deal of interest. For some time the administration of the Hospital, in spite of the efforts of the Chairman, the Board of Governors and the Superintendent, had been under criticism, the common lot of publicly-operated institutions. Hamilton's leading newspaper, the Spectator, had taken up the hue and cry, demanding an investigation, and finally one was ordered, with Judge Snider in charge. It was held in September of that year in the old City Hall. Sessions were held in the evening from 8 to 10 p.m., and continued for some three weeks. Interns not on duty were fairly regular attendants, and it was, for them, an evening's entertainment to sit in on the hearings and listen to the evidence of nurses and supervisors with whom they were daily associated on the wards as they outlined their version of the events and happenings under study. It was a most trying time for the Chairman and the Superintendent. In the end, however, the Judge's report showed that there was nothing wrong with the administration of the Hospital that could not be corrected by more generous appropriations on the part of City Council. It recommended certain improvements in the buildings, physical equipment and staffing of the Hospital. This report initiated a programme of expansion which raised the Hospital to the front rank of non-teaching hospitals in Canada.

“The superintendent of nurses was Miss Kate Madden^{xli}. She was a capable administrator, of likeable personality, albeit a firm disciplinarian. The nurses in training, to the number then about fifty, used to refer to her a “Maw”, and to Doctor Langrill as “Paw”, an indication of the respect in which each was held. The night supervisor was Miss Torrey, one of the early graduates of the Training School. Many life-long friendships were formed with the graduates of the School and of other schools who were on private duty at the Hospital. The nurses' tour of duty was a 12 hour one, and the remuneration not more than Five Dollars per day. How times have changed!

“The Health Department was housed in two rooms in the southwest corner of the ground floor of the old City hall. Dr. Roberts was health Officer and he had a small staff, consisting of Doctor Shain, a veterinarian, Aubrey Shain, his son, Mr. Gomph, the Sanitary Inspector, and a few others. The public health nurse had not yet come on the scene. The responsibilities of the Health Officer and his Department were heavy in those days, for infectious diseases like diphtheria, scarlet fever and typhoid could not, as yet, controlled by immunization measures. Diphtheria and scarlet fever were rampant, and the summer of 1913 saw the medial wards filled with typhoid cases from an epidemic in the Crown Point area. Two thirds of the work passing through the laboratories was for the Health Department in the form of the bacteriology of infectious diseases, the routine examination of milk supplies, as yet not pasteurized, and the daily routine examination of the City water supply from the laboratory tap. Chlorination had not been introduced.

....and the City of Hamilton in 1913.^{xlii}

“The City itself was already a busy industrial centre, justifying the motto on its crest, “Commerce, Prudence, Industry”. Its population was about 90,000. Sherman Avenue was the eastern boundary, and a wooden trestle bridge was under construction to link the western limit with what later became Westdale. The area of Westdale was called the McKittrick survey, and the bridge, the McKittrick Bridge. The bay was the northern limit and the mountain the southern limit. Only a few hundred people lived on the mountain, but they were served by two incline railways, one at James Street and one at Wentworth Street.⁸⁰ Roads up and down the mountain face were rather primitive. The old City Hall was then

80 These were similar to the funicular railways in many parts of Europe.

about 30 years old and was a good example of the architecture of the period. The only sky scraper was the Bank of Hamilton on the corner of King and James streets. It housed the offices of Overholt and Kappele, Dentists, and I frequently visited them in company with my close friend and fellow intern, Frank Overholt, son of the dentist. The old Court House on Main Street was another of the City's architectural adornments, and it too, like its fellow, the City Hall, has given place to a more modern structure.

"The old Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo railway station was then on the level at James and Hunter Streets, but the Hunter Street tunnel had been put through a few years before.⁸¹ Hamilton was then the hub of an electric radial railway system, with lines running to Beamsville, to Oakville, to Dundas, and to Brantford, and with a central station and office building on the south side of King Street East, adjoining the Waldorf hotel. Directly behind the Radial Station building and extending to Main Street was the Temple Theatre, a vaudeville theatre in the same circuit as Shea's in Toronto, and like Shea's, a favourite Saturday afternoon haunt of off-duty interns. It was termed "Bennet's Theatre" by the natives. The old Grand Opera house at James and Gore Streets, now being demolished, had been and was then the dramatic centre of the Hamilton area in Ontario, and its boards had been

Author's note: I remember them as a young child. My father always was going to give me a ride on them. Then in the depths of the Great Depression they were closed and later dismantled so I never got my ride.

- 81 The level crossing on James Street South was a problem for traffic as often there were trains across the street. In the 1930s, an overpass was constructed and a new station in the Art Deco style was built to replace the old one. It now houses the GO transit trains that come regularly to Hamilton.

trodden by many of the world's theatre greats of the period. The Savoy Theatre on Merrick Street was a going concern. Moving pictures, like automobiles, were in their infancy, and the Red Mill on James Street North was the leading "nickel show" as they were termed, from the price of admission. They were the progenitors of the Loews and Pantages moving-picture theatres which emerged during the War on King Street East, and which are still doing duty as the Capitol and the Palace. In summer, at the head of the Wentworth Street Incline Railway, was Summer's⁸² stock open air theatre which provided relief and entertainment during the long and hot summer evenings of downtown Hamilton.

"Burlington Beach in those days was Hamilton's summer resort. Many of the leading families of the City had summer residences there, such as Elsinore, the Sanford family summer home. Transportation was provided by the Oakville branch of the radial system, and by a commuter branch of the Grand Trunk Railway which ended at the ship canal. The Royal Hamilton Yacht Club had its club-house at the Canal, and one of the pleasant memories of my first month as an intern was being taken there for Sunday dinner by Dr. Heurner Mullin. The Clubhouse was burned during the War and was not rebuilt on the old site, but was later located on the south shore of the bay at the foot of James Street, where it now is.

"The Hamilton Golf and Country Club had not yet moved to Ancaster, but occupied the site presently used by the Chedoke Civic Golf Club. Entrance to the City from the

82 The text spells this as "Summer's" but clearly it was referring to the Somers family who operated the theatre for many years. Their name lives on in 'Somers Lane' at Hamilton Place.

east was still up and down hill past the Valley Inn.⁸³ The bridges were not completed until the nineteen twenties, and the cement Toronto Hamilton highway had not yet been planned. The leading dancing academy was Hackett's on Barton Street, across from Hanrahan's Hotel, but formal affairs were usually held at the larger I.O.O.F Hall on Gore Street.

"The centennial of the City's founding was an event which stands out in the memory of the 1913 interns. It was signalized by a whole week of celebration in August of that year, during which a carnival atmosphere enveloped the City. Hundreds of old Hamiltonians returned; there were receptions and dinners by the City Council; there were military parades, athletic events, aquatic sports on the bay, fireworks at night, and , generally speaking, a week of frantic gaiety. I remember my chief, Dr. Bowman, coming down to the laboratory on the day of a military parade, "booted and spurred". He was Medical Officer with the 77th Regiment, of Dundas, and in those days all officers were expected to be equestrians. Never having had any military connections up to that time myself, I was secretly envious. On another day in the eastern part of the City, a brick house was "built in a day", and was auctioned off in the evening. It was a thrilling week for all, and particularly for the six new interns at the hospital. The century old City of Hamilton relived many of its earlier days."

He then returns to his own work in the hospital and his interest in laboratory medicine:^{xliii}

"My work in the laboratory intrigued me from the beginning. What had been in college simply another subject with an examination at the end of the course came alive when it was possible to relate the laboratory

83 An historic plaque marks the site.

findings to a sick patient in the hospital. When one could examine a smear of a throat culture with a microscope and see the diphtheria bacillus, and then go on the ward and see the sick individual; when one could learn the history of the patient whose inflamed appendix had arrived in the laboratory, or that of the patient whose blood culture revealed the presence of the typhoid bacillus, one could realize the real significance and the value of the laboratory in diagnosis and treatment. I found the microscopic study of cancer or of tuberculosis fascinating. The Wassermann test for syphilis which was new at the time was, to me, a marvellous procedure. Doctor Bowman was assiduous in instructing me and, at the end of the first two months, he asked me if I would like to take another two months on the laboratory service. My friend and classmate, Doctor Frank McLay, was willing to exchange with me, and so it was agreed that I should remain on the laboratory service for another two months. At the end of October, Doctor Bowman accepted an appointment with a medical clinic in Buffalo, and resigned from his position as Hamilton's City Pathologist.



“Having had three City Pathologists in three years, Doctor Langrill came to me in distress. He said to me, “you seem to have learned a good deal about laboratory work, will you carry on until I can secure another pathologist? We will give you \$50.00 per month.” Being, by then, intensely interested in the work, willing to help out the superintendent, and not unwilling to have a stipend of \$50.00 per month in place of interns' pay at nothing a month, I agreed, and assumed the role of “stand-in” for a future City Pathologist yet to be appointed. I carried on the work until the spring of 1914.

“In April Doctor Langrill came to me and said that he was corresponding with a young pathologist and was thinking of appointing him. He told me that the applicant had graduated from another Canadian University in 1913, and that he had been spending the year in post graduate work in pathology in New York City. I discussed the matter with the Superintendent, telling him that as I had assumed that he would be getting an experienced pathologist I had not applied, but that if he was thinking of appointing a relative amateur, I would like to apply. He said to me that he didn’t think there was much future in this line of work and that practice would be much better, but that if I really wanted to continue in this field, he would prefer to recommend me for the appointment.⁸⁴ I must, however, agree to stay for a reasonable length of time, for he was sick and tired of annual changes. He asked me to give the matter serious consideration for two weeks before deciding. Before the two weeks were up I had made up my mind, and I informed him that I would like the appointment, which had to be approved by both the Board of health and the Hospital Board....”

Hamilton’s City Pathologist:^{xliv}

“...I was appointed City Pathologist in April 1914, on the understanding that I would take six months post graduate work in pathology as soon as it could be arranged, and that I should agree to remain in the position for a reasonable time thereafter and not vacate it in a matter of months as had my predecessors. Doctor Fred Bowman

84 This indicates the attitude towards branches of medicine which were more academic and less involved with direct care of patients. There was little interest in the medical profession in these pursuits and this is still true today. The lower levels of pay could be both a cause of this disinterest but it is also a consequence.

who had recently come from Johns Hopkins Medical School in Baltimore wrote to the professor of Pathology there on my behalf, and I was accorded a six months' appointment there from July 1, 1914. The "reasonable Period" of tenure of the appointment to City Pathologist ran to forty-two years.

"With my \$50.00 per month as acting City Pathologist, I invested in a dress suit with accessories, which I purchased in the Semi-Ready Men's Shop on James Street North, between Gore and King William Streets. I was then prepared for any social occasion, and one turned up in the spring in the form of a ball sponsored by the Medical Society, and held at the I.O.O.F. Hall on Gore Street. I asked by friend, Miss Mae Belle Sampson, now graduated and engaged in private duty nursing in the City, but she regretted very much that she would be out of town all week. Miss Mackintosh, who had in December been by assistant in the laboratory, had now graduated, so I asked her and she accepted. In the most approved fashion I sent her a corsage the day of the ball, engaged a carriage and pair from Temple's Livery, which was a block away from the dance hall, called for by lady, drove her to the I.O.O.F. Hall and returned the carriage to the livery, to be taken out again when the ball was over.

As I prepared to check my coat, it came to me that I had left by dancing pumps in the carriage at the livery stable, with an apology to my lady, I trudged back to the livery and secured them, returning to the hall in time for the opening waltz. I saw a number of nurse and doctor friends there, and, somewhat to my astonishment and chagrin, I saw my friend, Miss Sampson, dancing with my friend, Doctor Don Warren, who had come in from Dunnville, where he was in practice, for the occasion. A dignified silence directed toward them was preserved for

several dances, but, at intermission, the somewhat frigid atmosphere thawed to some extent, and the explanation emerged, it appeared that my friend, Mae Belle, had indeed been out of town for most of the week, but had returned a day early, and Don Warren, who had known her longer than I, had telephoned her and persuaded her to accept his invitation. We then laughed at the whole matter for the four of us were good friends, and Don and I have many times since recalled the incident.”

Johns Hopkins Hospital:

He then talks of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Baltimore:

“On July 1, 1914, I arrived in Baltimore and reported to the Assistant Professor of Pathology, Dr. Milton Winternitz, afterwards Dean of Medicine at Yale University. Baltimore in 1914, with a population of about 300,000, was about the size of the Toronto of that time. Its chief claim to medical fame was the then 25 year old Johns Hopkins Medical School and Hospital, which already overshadowed the older Medical School of the University of Maryland. The thrill, to me, of entering the front door of the Broadway entrance to the Johns Hopkins Hospital was comparable to that of walking through the Norman doorway of University College in Toronto when I registered as a freshman. The memories of my four months at Hopkins are still green and my recollections of my stay in Maryland, just over the Mason and Dixon Line, are still vivid and pleasurable. The street names of Baltimore, and the place names of the whole State of Maryland bear silent but powerful witness to the love of the pioneers for the Motherland from which they had departed. The summer in Baltimore was hotter and more humid than that of Hamilton and a sail in the evening

down Chesapeake Bay past Fort Sumter was most refreshing. My living quarters were about six blocks from the hospital. The walk home in the afternoon took me past several beer parlours, where the large 15 ounce glasses of American beer looked very inviting indeed. On Saturday afternoons I occasionally took in a baseball game at the park of the Baltimore Club of the short-lived Federal League.

“I enjoyed my work in the Department of Pathology at Johns Hopkins, where I worked under the direction of the assistant Professor, Doctor Milton Winternitz. The senior resident that year was Doctor Ernest Goodpasture, afterwards Professor of Pathology at Tulane University, New Orleans, who had a distinguished career in virus research. My immediate associate was Doctor Ben Kline, afterwards pathologist at Mt. Sinai Hospital in Cleveland and the originator of the well-known Kline-Khan precipitation test for syphilis. Before I left Hopkins at the end of October, Professor W. H. Welch,⁸⁵ head of the Department of Pathology, and the last of Hopkins’ original “Four Horsemen”, returned from a summer abroad. The other three, Halsted, Kelly and Osler had retired from the scene. I had the privilege of attending a clinical pathological conference at which Osler’s successor, Professor Janeway, and “Popsy” Welch were the principal contributors.

“When I had been at Johns Hopkins for about two months, Professor Winternitz came to me one day and said that he had an opening for a demonstrator in pathology for the coming year, which he hoped I would take. The stipend was \$50 per month plus full maintenance. The offer was an attractive one, for it would

85 William Welch retired in 1916. He was the last of the “Four Horsemen...”

have introduced me to the topmost circles in Pathology in America. I explained to him, however, that I was on leave of absence from my hospital in Hamilton and felt morally obligated to return. He told me that my progress in a city without a medical school would be slow and unsatisfactory, whereas at Hopkins progress in the specialty could be rapid indeed. He gave me two weeks to think about it and decide. I had, however, already decided to honour my word to Dr. Langrill that I would stay with him for a reasonable time, and informed the professor that I was indeed sorry not to be in a position to accept the position. He was somewhat aloof for a week or two, but I think in the end respected by for my decision.

This must have been a difficult decision. But Bill was always a man of his word and a loyal friend, often sacrificing what would be seen as his best interests to honour a commitment he had made. But ultimately, the decision was taken out of his hands. In August, 1914, war was declared in Europe. Bill decided he would carry on with his training because everybody was saying that the war would be over in 6 months. Baltimore had a large German population and much of the discussion of the war had a strong pro-German slant. With his British background, WJD found this offensive. He decided in October to return to Canada and enlist. His narrative continues:

“War was declared on August 4th. It was disturbing to me, for my father had brought me up to have pride in our British traditions. I used to go down Baltimore Street to look at the news bulletins of the Baltimore Sun, and these, during my remaining three months, were continuously discouraging. The Baltimore population then was about one-third German in origin, and the comments which one heard from these citizens were somewhat hard to bear. Then, too, one of my fellow boarders at the house on Jackson Place was Max Broedel, at that time the leading American medical illustrator, whose work was appearing

in many American Medical textbooks of that era. Max was a thorough-going German sympathizer, and our dinner-time arguments were sometimes hot and acrimonious. Had he not left to do some work in New York City, I would have had to change my living quarters. His place, however, was taken by a young Dr. Flexner, a nephew of the famous Dr. Simon Flexner, at that time Medical Director of the new Rockefeller Institute, whose views were pro-British, and so the boarding-house atmosphere was improved. I finally, however, wrote up to Hamilton to my friend, Captain D. A. McClenahan, who was an officer in the Canadian Army Medical Corps, asking him to let me know when the next Officers' Training Class would be recruited. I was informed that none were in prospect, for there were more medical officers than could be utilized. Since we all believed in 1914 that the war would be won in about six months to a year, I decided that if I were to make any contribution to it, I had better get back to Canada, and so I terminated my stay at Johns Hopkins at the end of October, and returned to Hamilton."

William was a harbinger of the future of medical practice in Canada: he eschewed general practice (for a variety of reasons) and entered the new world of laboratory medicine. The chance fashion in which this comes about tells us much about the degree of a kind of informality, or should we say, a lesser degree of bureaucratization than exists in medical education today. Added to this is the fact that the formal training in pathology is not a long programme by modern standards. One could study for 6 months or 18 months and would still be considered qualified in pathology.

The newness of his field – and perhaps its relative importance at that time in medical thinking – was not high, allowing a very junior man to assume a position of responsibility early in his career – in fact at its very start. The fact was that most graduating physicians were eager to get out into practice and felt that they had already learned all they needed to know. Since the Laboratory at HGH had

been formed, there had been 4 directors in 4 years and one had left the position under a cloud. Dr. Fred Bowman, who had introduced WJD to the work in the HGH lab was eager to complete his tenure and get out into practice. As a result, public health, laboratory and pathology/bacteriology positions were hard to fill and those interested had many opportunities open to them.

The Great War was to provide another important chapter in the life of a budding pathologist. Even though he had abruptly ended his training at Johns Hopkins, his war service added equally valuable experience under much more adverse conditions. This is the story of the next chapter.



Part II Battle

CHAPTER SIX

THE GREAT WAR: ENGLAND AND EGYPT – 1914-1916

*“For it's Tommy this an' Tommy that an'
‘chuck him out, the brute!’
But it's ‘Saviour of ‘is country’ when the guns
begin to shoot.”*

Rudyard Kipling. (1865-1936) “Tommy”



It is difficult for the modern reader to appreciate the climate of the times in the early 20th century. With the benefit of hindsight, we can appreciate the effects of two devastating world wars, the debilitating tension of a forty-three year Cold War between two competing political ideologies, and the subsequent increase in political and social disorder that marked the Post-Cold-War period. These cataclysmic events have left many of us with a cynical scepticism of jingoistic nationalism and patriotic calls to arms. But in 1914 these events were yet to come and the 19th century with its Eurocentric nationalism and the heady days of the Pax Britannica were familiar to all in the British colonies and dominions. European wars were considered noble contests between competing armies and ordinary people were only marginally involved unless they had the misfortune to live near the battlefield.

But even in 1914, as war clouds gathered, there was some recognition that this contest might be different. For one thing, the days of foreign mercenaries were long gone. The Boer War was largely won by indigenous volunteers from England and the colonies. And Canada

had a tradition of locally raised militias going back to the War of 1812, the Riel Rebellion and the Boer War. There was a strong identity with the 'Mother Country' and a tradition of citizen involvement in the Empire's wars. No political party would have the temerity to even suggest that strong support of this looming conflict was not the right thing to do. Anything less than full support for the war effort was disloyal, even seditious. The prevailing view was still of a sports contest in which there were rules of war with avid fans gathered on the sidelines to cheer on their heroes and respective teams. There was

somehow a feeling that after the conflict, both sides could go out

together to have a drink and talk about old times.⁸⁶

As Bill Deadman returned from his training at Johns Hopkins in Baltimore to Hamilton, he became aware of the very different attitudes in Hamilton as compared to Baltimore. In Baltimore, there was a strong pro-German sentiment but also an overall air of detachment, much as one would view a sporting contest in which one was not personally involved. However in Hamilton, everyone seemed to be involved and it seemed that all the military age men were eager to join up. Almost the entire 1914

86 On Christmas Day, 1914, the Allied and German forces on the Western Front declared an impromptu cease fire and greeted each other in no-man's land to toast the holiday season. As the bloody war dragged on, such shows of camaraderie ceased and were never repeated.

and 1915 graduating classes in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Toronto had applied to join the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Many could not be accepted because all positions for physicians were taken so many doctors were joining as privates or looking for other units to join. By contrast, at the time of the Second World War there was still strong patriotism but nothing like the same enthusiasm. In 1940 and '41 there was a severe shortage of medical personnel in the early years of the war and Bill wrote papers and gave several addresses urging young doctors to join up.^{xlv}

About the Great War he writes:^{xlvi}

“Hamilton was astir with war fervour. The militia units were actively recruiting. There was talk of the organization of a Field Ambulance, to be recruited in Hamilton. My friend, Frank Overholt, had taken a position as assistant to Dr. Farmer of Ancaster, and I saw him at the hospital almost every morning, and we considered ways and means of getting into military service. Finally, the news was out that Lieut. Colonel Farmer had been appointed to organize No. 5 Field Ambulance, Canadian Expeditionary Force, recruiting men and officers from the Hamilton area. We knew there was no chance of an Officers Training Course for perhaps a year, so we approached Colonel Farmer to take us on the strength of his unit. He agreed. He told us that, of course, we would have to enlist as private soldiers, but that he would promote us to the rank of sergeant when we got to training camp. We enlisted forthwith at the end of October 1914. I then informed Dr. Langrill that I had enlisted and that I would shortly be leaving for camp.

“I should have applied to the Board for leave of absence, as Dr. Langrill informed me afterwards. He told me that the Board was annoyed with my action, but since we then thought that the war would be of short duration, perhaps six months or a year, they relented and gave me an indefinite leave of absence. My absence ran to nearly four and a half years. The unit was being recruited mainly in Hamilton, and until recruiting was completed, we did our drills in the evenings at the Armouries, and I carried on in the laboratory during the day. But by the first week in November, officers and men had been assembled, mainly from Hamilton, but also partly from Toronto and Owen Sound, and No. 5 Field Ambulance moved off to its quarters at the Exhibition Grounds in Toronto, there to spend the winter in intensive training.”

This period is well described in *Stretcher Bearers at the Double*, a book written by Frederick Noyes and several other former members of the 5th

Field Ambulance about the history of the unit and their experiences during the war.^{xlvii} It describes the general confusion and problems of any new unit, the ill-fitting uniforms, the non-commissioned officers from “over ’ome” who barked unfamiliar orders in heavy English or Scottish accents. The hyperbolic griping found in the military is well described:

“Of course, the bulk of the equipment had been produced under time pressure and, in consequence, had suffered considerably in quality and design. The red army-boot was a cross between a moccasin and a sponge. It had blotting –paper soles and insoles of spikes, whose business ends pointed invitingly upward – earning for the Minister of Militia the sobriquet “General Sham Shoes.” (This was a slighting reference to General Sam Hughes, who seemed to be in charge of military procurement, along with everything else.)^{xlviii}

A note in Bill’s diary from 1915 reflects the problem with shoes:^{xlix}

Monday, Jan 4: “Was excused from the church parade because I had no shoes. My second pair are almost worn out. Wrote some letters and went to dinner at 1 o’clock. In the afternoon went round the camp with Dr. Overholt’s friends. Stayed in in the evening and wrote some letters. Bed at 10.30.”

They went to the Toronto Exhibition Grounds for initial training and were housed in the cow-sheds. There are numerous references to Stable 36.

“Those early days in the old frame cowsheds shall always linger in our memories. The barrel stoves, straw palliasses, wooden-slatted double-tiered bunks, tin wash basins and crude tub showers all helped to convince us that we were ‘in the army now.’”¹

There are a few references to Staff-Sergeant Deadman, the first of them on page 7:

It is impossible, too, to forget that bitterly cold winter’s night when the whole unit was taken violently ill with stomach cramps and acute dysentery, and dozens of our men collapsed in their bunks or outside in the raging blizzard. For many hours all the available doctors in or near the camp worked frantically over the poisoned men, and it was only because of this prompt attention the attacks didn’t prove fatal. Staff-Sergeants Overend and Deadman, Sergeant Overholt and several other experienced “rankers” also rendered valuable assistance.”^{li}

Bill goes on to describe the unit and his first experiences with it.^{lii}

Lieut. Colonel G. D. Farmer⁸⁷ was Commanding Officer; Major D. P. Kappele⁸⁸ was second in command. Other Hamilton Officers were Major Herbert Jones, Captain Silcox, and the quartermaster, Captain Fred Clarke. Frank Overholt and I were promoted to the rank of sergeant shortly after we were settled in Toronto, and two other medical graduates who joined us in Toronto were also made sergeants. Other Hamilton sergeants were John Williams, Frank Alden, Jock Gardner and Charlie Camps. We sergeants were housed in one to the residences of horses during exhibition times, Stable 36. It isn't there anymore. We settled into camp with a large number of other units, which included the 19th and 29th Battalions, largely recruited from Hamilton's two regiments, the 13th Royal Regiment, or Royal Hamilton Light Infantry, and the 91st Highlanders, now the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders.

Bill started a diary in January 1915. Some of the entries reflect the general boredom of routines in camp.^{liii} It seems that at this stage in the war, there was a somewhat casual attitude towards discipline, attendance and leave. There were suggestions in other places that many of the troops regarded all this as a bit of a lark. This is somewhat reminiscent of his description of his first trip to Hamilton to see the rugby-football match in 1910.

Saturday, Jan 2: "Drill in the forenoon. Off in the afternoon. Barracks were closed. It was a rather dull afternoon.

Sunday, Jan 3: "Roll call at 7. Church parade at 9.30. It is very tiresome standing in church. The band plays hymns before service and ragtime after. In the afternoon the barracks were thrown open at 3 o'clock so I went out to Sherbourne St. for tea. Got in about 11 o'clock.

Monday, Jan 4: "Roll call. Many men not back yet. Drills and exercises as usual. Nothing startling happened.

87 Dr. George Devey Farmer.

88 Dr. Daniel Paul Kappele.

Monday, Jan 11: “Drill as usual. At 10.30 we went on a route march up Dufferin to Queen St. along Queen St. to Dundas, up to corner of Dovercourt & College where we stopped and visited the Y.M.C.A. returned via Dufferin St. In the afternoon we were paid at 3 o’clock. Everyone seemed more or less pleased at this function. Visited my Aunt Mary’s in the evening and we went up to see Mrs. Scott.”

It is interesting to contrast the contemporary account in Bill’s diary with the more formal recollections in his autobiographical writings some 40 years later:^{liv}

“Frank Overholt and I entered enthusiastically into the business of learning the drill, and before we left for overseas in the spring, we were very efficient in infantry drill. The officers made full use of us as lecturers in first aid to the troops. The other two medical men developed themselves along other lines of field ambulance training.”

In the 1915 diary he records:

Tuesday, Jan 12: “Drill today much as usual. In the morning we had physical drill then a little squad drill and then some company drill down by the lake. During the second period we started to teach the use of the roller bandage. Some of the men did well. In the evening I stayed in and wrote some letters and did a little reading. Helped to make arrangements about a theatre party “A” section intend to hold.”

Recreational duties included theatre parties:

Wednesday, Jan 13: “Routine drill. Spent some time in the afternoon working to arrange for a theatre party for “A” section tomorrow night. The Colonel decided to have us go in sections. We are to go to the R. A.⁸⁹ and are to have a special car on the street Railway. In the evening S. Sgt. Lelin complained of the unseemly conduct of “A” section while on the supper parade.”

Thursday, Jan 14: “Drill. Spent most of the day working and worrying about a theatre party for “A” section. Went on a route march at 2 3 up to the hill in North Toronto. The party was a fair success. Several of the fellows got drunk, but on the whole everyone enjoyed himself. The officers occupied a box.

By mid-month, discipline was beginning to tighten up:

Friday, Jan 15: “Roll call at 7. Drill at 9 o’clock. Was recalled at about 10 o’clock to give evidence against private Baxter who left the party last night and didn’t get in until 4 am. He was admonished. In the afternoon we arranged to have a mess with the A.S.C. and the Bakers.⁹⁰ I hope it is a success. I went through the greater part of the stretcher drill.

Thursday, Jan 21: “Another day of routine. Pretty cold today. Stayed in in the evening. We had one defaulter who was given extra drill. It will probably do the corps good....”

He is still in correspondence with Johns Hopkins. There had been an expectation that the war might be over in six months to a year and he was keen to resume his training as soon as possible:

89 A glossary of military abbreviations and acronyms may be useful: R.A. stands for *Recreational Activity*. S. Sgt. Is *Staff Sergeant*.

90 There were two companies in this camp, referred to as “A” Section and “B” Section. In voice communications, all letters are assigned names. In both the First and Second World Wars, ‘A’ became *Able*, ‘B’ became *Baker*, ‘C’ became *Charlie*, ‘D’ became *Dog* &c. The meaning of A.S.C. is unclear. It could refer to ‘A’ Section. ‘Baker’ is probably ‘B’ Section.

Tuesday, Jan 19: “Took the morning parade and drill in the absence of Serg’t (Sgt) Williams who was orderly sergeant. Gave a little talk on water supplies in the second period. Stretcher drill in the afternoon. At night went out with “B” section and Overend and I went to Shea’s Hippodrome. A good show. Had a nice time. Lights turned off when we got home. Got a letter from Baltimore today.”

Wednesday, Jan 19: “Got up and had a shave and rolled my coat. We had a route march up to North Toronto and back at 9.30 arriving home at 12.00. Stretcher drill and routine in the afternoon. Stayed in the evening and wrote letters.

Thursday, Jan 21: “.....Pay day tomorrow. No letter from Balto.”

The routine in Exhibition Camp continued in much the same manner until mid-April. At that time they received orders to go overseas. Other units were also going and this gave a much broader perspective to the whole war effort. It is noted that the 1915 medical graduates from the University of Toronto who had joined up were going overseas as privates. This underscores the tremendous contrast in attitudes about war and its consequences a century ago and today.

On the 14th of April the diary resumes giving a contemporary account of the trip overseas:

Wednesday, Apr 14: “Rumours that we are to leave tomorrow. They loaded some of the stuff on a box car this afternoon as I guess it looks a little like business. The weather is fine and time hangs heavy on our hands. I shall be glad when we get away.

Thursday, Apr 15: "A fine day. We are to leave today. All is hustle and bustle. The men are busy packing up and getting ready. We are packing up ourselves.

There was very little drill today. I was busy after dinner getting some sheets signed for Capt. Jones.

I got packed up however in time and we boarded the train about 6.30. There was a band and somewhat of a crowd. We have a sleeping car and a tourist converted into a diner. We are very comfortable. I sent a letter home from Trenton. I went to bed about 10.30.

Friday, Apr 16: "I woke up near the province of Quebec. The country is somewhat uninteresting. The(re) are plenty of houses along the sidelines. We arrived at Montreal about noon and changed cars. Saw Dr. Roberts. We left about 2.30. Played Rummy in the afternoon. Went to bed in New Brunswick. We are getting good meals.

Saturday, Apr 17: "Awoke in N.B. The country is getting more interesting. Nova Scotia is rather pretty. At Moncton N.B. we got off the train and had a walk through the town for half an hour, headed by the band. The streets were muddy. After dinner we played rummy again.

At Newcastle we saw a large wireless station. At Amherst we got out and had 15 mins physical exercise – arriving at Halifax 7.30 pm. Had half an hour in the town – don't think much of it.

Sunday, Apr 18: “Stayed on the train last night. At 10 o’clock we fell in at the station and marched up to St. George’s Church founded in 1806 by the Duke of Kent. It is an old fashioned place but historic. Heard a short sermon and marched back to the train. As soon as we got back we gathered up our belongings and marched to the boat, the Northland. We had dinner on the boat. We had second class accommodation. The men have poor accommodation. We left Halifax at about 4 o’clock. It was raining and misty.

Continued from Sunday (on next page).

Halifax harbor is long and winding. There are batteries with very large guns all the way along. The guns look quite large, even from the ship. We headed for the open sea about 7 o’clock. Felt pretty well and went to bed early. Didn’t just feel so very well you know.

Monday, Apr 19: “In bed sick all day. Feel rotten.”⁹¹

91 Mariners are very familiar with the sea-sickness of the first day out on the ocean. It is very different from the experience on the calmer inland waterways. Bill’s experience was typical.

Bill's autobiography describes the next events:

"In April 1915 we heard rumours of our going overseas, and about the middle of the month got our orders. We went by train to Halifax, and boarded a troop ship which was called H.M.S. Northland,⁹² and which originally had been a German ship called the Leeland. There were a number of units on board, one being No. 2 Casualty clearing Station recruited in Toronto, under command of Lieut. Colonel J.E. Davey of Hamilton, and recruited mainly from the 1915 class of the University of Toronto, Faculty of Medicine, who had enlisted practically as a body, and who had been given their medical degrees by the university, while the College of Physicians and Surgeons had given them their licenses. A few became non-commissioned officers but the great majority remained in the ranks as privates until we reached England.^{iv}

92 Glossary: H.M.S. – *His (Her) Majesty's Ship*. Warships and other ships used in the conduct of his Majesty's official business would be designated this way. This would distinguish them from commercial shipping: M.S. – Merchant Ship. S.S. – Steam Ship.

Bill's autobiography continues:

We were convoyed by two British destroyers across the Atlantic, and a few days out from Bristol, one of the destroyers signalled to us a message regarding the Canadian casualties in the first gas attack at Ypres. We felt relieved when we drew into Bristol Harbour in the darkness of a night near the end of April. Next morning we embarked on one of the, to us, tiny English trains, and were taken across England to our camping area at Sandling near Folkestone. May 1, 1915 gave us our first chance to enjoy a perfect spring day in England, complete with the songs of skylarks.”^{lvi}

The Diary continues:

Tuesday, Apr 20: "Felt miserable all day. Went up on deck at 1 o'clock and stayed up till nine o'clock. Had nothing to eat since Sunday – didn't want anything. Had some biscuits just before going to bed.

Wednesday, Apr 21: "Got up at 8.30 and had a little breakfast. Felt fairly good. Spent all forenoon on deck and improve in feeling all the time. The sea was very smooth. Some of the fellows are pretty sick. Roll call at nine o'clock. Felt fine in the afternoon and had a hearty dinner at 7 o'clock.

Thursday, Apr 22: "Up at 9 o'clock. Felt fine and the weather was nice. There were the usual games and sport on board ship. Time is getting heavy on our hands at times. I have a good appetite for meals now.

Friday, Apr 23: "Up at 8 o'clock. An uneventful forenoon. About 11 o'clock a ship appeared on the horizon - at 12.45 the Grampian pulled up alongside. We cheered. In the afternoon another ship appeared which went in between us. It seemed to be empty and the propeller was partly out of the water. She made no sign. I saw two whales in the afternoon blowing.

Saturday, Apr 24: "A fine morning. We had fire drill in the morning, "A" section being allotted to No. 2 station on the starboard side of the boat. After noon there was a medical inspection of the men on board the ship. It is reported that there are some infectious diseases on board. At night there was a concert given by the sergeants and officers. It was very good and \$76.00 was collected for the mine sweepers' fund. We went to bed about 12 o'clock.

Sunday, Apr 25: "Up at 8.30. Church service at 10.30 am a very good discourse. After dinner a cruiser presumably the Cumberland came alongside. A boat was lowered and an officer came aboard. They then rowed away and went over to the Grampian which was only a short piece away. The boat later rejoined the cruiser and then we all sailed off in a line the cruiser leading them, the Northland and then the Grampian. There was service on the deck for the men in the afternoon. We are travelling much faster now.

Monday, Apr 26: "Up early. Nothing much doing in the forenoon. In the afternoon played some deck billiards. We begin to see some birds and sea gulls. We saw a small sailing vessel in the forenoon. In the afternoon we saw a great smoke on the southern horizon but the boat did not come into view.

Tuesday, Apr 27: “Up at 8 o’clock. After breakfast we had life boat drill and all went off pretty well. Then I read a little till dinner time. After luncheon I gave the boys a little physical drill after roll call and Captain Kenney took some snap shots. Then I played deck quoits nearly all afternoon. In the morning the cruiser fired 3 shots and in the afternoon they swung out our life boats. They say we are going to Bristol.

Wednesday, Apr 28: “A fine morning but a little foggy when I came on deck. There were two torpedo boat destroyers the Boyne and the Foyle accompanying us. At 10 o’clock the Cumberland left us presumably for Queenstown. The Boyne signalled to us our destination near Lundy Island.⁹³ We came abreast of the island at 6 o’clock. We sailed up the Bristol Channel pretty well surrounded by destroyers. We anchored near Avonmouth at 12 o’clock till 4 am. Then we docked.

Thursday, Apr 29: “Woke at 7 o’clock in dock at Avonmouth. We disembarked at 9 o’clock and went on board one of the dinky little English trains. We left about 9.30 and got to London about 1 o’clock. We passed through the outskirts of London and came on to Shorncliffe arriving here about 4.30. We had to walk a mile and a half after we left the train. The camp⁹⁴ is nicely situated and apparently new. The country all along the road was very beautiful and it was a very pleasant trip. We can see the ocean from the camp. Folkestone is the nearest village. I must have a look round tomorrow.

The account of the Atlantic crossing in *Stretcher Bearers at the Double* places more emphasis on the hardships and privations of the voyage. It notes the cold wet weather and the seasickness and the rough and tumble of military life. The unfairness of bumping and favouritism is described at length. When they boarded ship in Halifax, quarters had already been assigned – or so they thought:^{lvii}

“The method of filling the ship was that the upper decks (cabin accommodation) were occupied by the first units to embark. The lower portions were occupied by the units following. Several other units had already gone on board before us and we were assigned some cabins above the “glory hole,” and also some bunks in the “glory hole” and steerage quarters. In the cabins the accommodation was all that anyone could ask – good bunks and ample room for four persons.

93 Lundy Island is in the mouth of the Bristol Channel off Barnstaple Bay.

94 Sandling Camp.

“We had just settled down on our quarters when the rumor spread that we were to be shifted to the lower “glory hole” – to make way for the 2nd Casualty Clearing Station, the members of which were largely medical students, some of whom had their commission papers, although nominally only privates or ‘noncoms’. The 2nd Casualty Clearing Station was the last unit to come aboard and, following the plan adhered to by the other units, should have occupied the “glory hole.” These meticulous wearers of the khaki, however, were able to convince those in charge that they should not be expected to put up with the foul air and dismal gloom of the “glory hole.” And so, before the Canadian shore had faded into the distance, the “Fifth Field Animals” were ordered to vacate their quarters and move down into the “glory hole.”

The disgusting conditions of the “glory hole” right above the bilge are described in graphic detail. Then to add insult to injury...

“Then occurred a regrettable episode: The officer in charge of troops aboard ship had allotted a certain number of vacant berths to the Fifth Field Ambulance. For some reason it had been decided that these berths should be given to the medical students of the unit, the great majority of whom had joined just prior to our departure from Exhibition Camp. This in itself was enough to cause dissatisfaction on the part of those who had been with the unit from the start. Complaint was accordingly laid – a soldier’s privilege – and the explanation given was that “these boys came from good homes.” That was heaping insult on injury! From that time on, the college students or “Rah Rah Boys” were dubbed “the boys who had a home.” The old song, “They Say We’re Going Over the Ocean,” gave place to a new song:

They say that they're medical students —
From great university schools;
They call themselves medical students —
But we call them medical fools.

This appellation, fairly or unfairly, stuck with these students throughout the war. In both his diary and his later autobiography, Bill makes only passing mention of the conditions and instead is focussed on the excitement of his first glimpse of the English coastline and his sense of a great new world opening up for him. *Stretcher Bearers at the Double* also describes the Atlantic crossing and the excitement of seeing the shoreline of the Bristol Channel, as well as the train ride to Sandling Camp. But again it describes the privations in detail, the fact that no lavatories or food was provided during the whole train trip and the gruelling 2 mile route march from the railway station to the camp. However it mentions that conditions at Sandling Camp, once they got there, were good. There is an interesting contrast between Bill's perception of the great adventure and the men's perceptions of privation and unfairness.

Bill's diary continues:

Friday, Apr 30: "Up at 6.30 a.m. Roll call and signalling – was appointed President of the Mess Committee. Was busy ordering stuff in the afternoon. Went to Folkestone on the 7.30 train at night. The trains are certainly cute. We got down about 8 o'clock. We couldn't see much of the town on account of the English fog and the lights being darkened. We had lunch in a fairly sporty restaurant where French girls and Belgian soldiers were. The girls smoked and we got home at 10.30. The fog was still thick.

Saturday, May 1: "Fall in and physical exercise until 10 o'clock. After dismissal spent the remainder of the forenoon on the mess account. After dinner, pay until 3 o'clock when we went down to Folkestone. We wandered around the town and saw several Belgian officers and men. The place was full of soldiers. We had dinner at the Café Maestrau and then fooled around the streets. We came home at 10.30 and slept on our boards. We saw lots of women smoking and drinking and several bar-maids. Saw an aeroplane at noon today.

Sunday, May 2: "A beautiful day. Church service at 10. An excellent short sermon. After dinner we walked to Cheriton arriving at the pub too late thereupon we took a bus to Folkestone. We went down to the pier and saw a hospital ship crossing. Saw some mud larks picking prawns in the harbor when the tide was out. Paid 2/10⁹⁵ for dinner. Saw lots of Belgian and French people. Missed train and took a bus to Southgate. Driver put us off a mile from the station. Train was an hour later than we expected. Got home at 11 o'clock. Saw the Canadian hospital on our way to Cheriton – a white building on the left. There are lots of camps in the vicinity.

Monday, May 3: "Got up at 6 o'clock and took 30 men over to the shower baths. Ordered stuff for the men's mess. Physical drill signaling and drill in the morning. Off from 11 – 2. Section drill in the afternoon, dismissed at 4. After supper went down to Folkestone on the train. Saw a tombstone dated 1683 in an

95 British currency was in pounds £, shillings and pence. It would be shown as 1/1/1 (One pound, One shilling and one penny). For smaller amounts, only shillings and pence would be shown (2/10 was 2 shillings and 10 pence. At that time the exchange rate with Canadian \$4.80 to the pound. Decimal currency was not introduced in the UK until the mid-1960s.

old churchyard. Saw some typical old English squares and butcher shop with two beautifully carved pigs in front of it – beautifully done. Came home at 10.09. One of the Italians told a funny story about getting lost in Folkestone. Came nearly getting hell because the men had no butter for supper.

Tuesday, May 4: “Drill. Saw an aeroplane at noon. Saw another in the evening. Stayed at home in the evening and straightened up my effects and wrote a few letters. Went to bed fairly early.

Wednesday, May 5: “Up and had physical drill in the morning. In the morning had to see the Colonel about the men’s rations. After drill we had company drill. Saw Col. Fotheringham – said we were sure of commission. In afternoon had company drill then squad drill by corporals. Went to Folkestone after supper and roller skated for the first time. Did fine, then went down to the dancing pier. A destroyer passed during the evening. Came home in a corridor car after 10.09.

Thursday, May 6: “Woke up or rather was woke feeling sore. However, carried on drills & parades as usual. Gave the new squad instructions in first aid. After dinner took some company drill. Felt very tired in the evening and took a sleep.

Friday, May 7: “Inspection by GOC⁹⁶ McDougall, a tiresome forenoon standing. Saw several aeroplanes during that time. Drills as usual after that time. Another spiel to the new men. Afterwards I had a bath in the showers which are very good. Walked down to Hythe in the evening. Saw a fine old castle and churchyard. The country is beautiful. Hythe is not such a big place. Heard of the sinking of the Lusitania. Got home at 9.30.

Saturday, May 8: “Drill in the morning. Slept in the afternoon. After supper went on the train to Sandgate by way of Hythe. A nice little trip which takes about 20minutes. We walked along the shore to Folkestone. The beach is nice – we tried to see Sandgate Castle but it was occupied by a guard. It was built in 1539. We went to the Pleasure Gardens Theatre in Folkestone and saw a very good vaudeville show. Bus to Hythe and walked home.

Sunday, May 9: “Up and went over to the Sir John French Club to service. There wasn’t any so we had the day off. After dinner we went down to Hythe. We went through the Saltwood church and castle taking views. We examined Hythe Church and its crypt with the bones. It was all very interesting. We walked home and attended Saltwood Church. Got home early and went to bed early.

Monday, May 10: “Routine. Were issued with identification tags and knives in the morning it was very warm. Stayed in in the evening. After we had gone to bed we saw the funniest event of the campaign. S. Sgt. Smith had the lights on and Sgt Clark with only a shirt on undertook to turn them off. They

grappled and had a wrestling match in a bucket of water which they upset on the floor.

Tuesday, May 11: "Routine in the morning. Stayed in in the evening, played football a little while and then studied some French. Went to bed fairly early. Saw some aeroplanes clearly. They have a base belvue (*bellevue*) over the hills from here.

Wednesday, May 12: "A fine warm day. Routine in the forenoon after dinner we went away on a route march down through Saltwood and to Hythe and back. It was most enjoyable we got back about 4 o'clock. After supper we went down to Folkestone and there I ran across my old friend (Dr. Leeming) Carr. I went out with him to his barracks at St. Martin's Plain and walked home from Cheriton – got home about 12 o'clock. Saw several aeroplanes today.

Thursday, May 13: "Raining. Ascension Day. No parade. Lecture by Major Kappele at 10.30.

Moving in the afternoon, very muddy and disagreeable. We moved into a very nice hut however. Was busy all afternoon till 6 o'clock when I caught the train to Folkestone. Met Carr at 7.30 and we fooled around town and went to a picture show. Afterwards we came home fast. Raining all the time.

Friday, May 14: "Misty and cold. No parade. Cleaning up the rooms. Lecture at 10.30. Route march down to Queens Canadian Military Hospital and back. I was real tired and I stayed at home.

Saturday, May 15: "Routine. Went round with the S.M.⁹⁷ who left in the morning and left me in charge. We had a pay parade at 12 o'clock finishing at 1.30. Muster parade called off in the afternoon. Went to Folkestone and saw "S' Nice" at the Pleasure Gardens Theatre. Came home on the 10.06 train. A bunch of the men had got drunk and broke a door.

Sunday, May 16: "Church parade at 9. Half the unit went to Presbyterian and Methodist Church. Sgt. Camps laid a charge against Sgt. Smith and Allen and 78 men for sleeping in. had an argument about it. Went out for a walk in the evening. Went to see the adjutant and tried to fix the case up. Went to bed early. Have an interesting week ahead of me.

Monday, May 17: "Up early everyone up. Orderly room at 9 o'clock. Sgt. Smith and Alden up and the men. Got hell for not

97 Glossary: S.M. – Sergeant Major. R.S.M. – Regimental Sergeant Major.

having them there on time. They got extra drill for an hour in the mornings. Rained in the morning and the

Tuesday, May 18: “Up in morning. Raining, men dismissed after roll call until their lecture. In p.m. we went out for a route march over the hills to the north of the camp. We saw the water system. Coming home the Colonel raised hell with the men for straggling. All the sergeants had to report to him in the morning. An interesting day.

Wednesday, May 19: “Up at 5.45. Misty but not raining. Early drill as usual. Orderly room went off pretty well. Route march in the forenoon and then a lecture. Regulation drills in afternoon. Stayed in in the evening. A fairly smooth day.

Although the Canadian forces seemed to have a surplus of doctors, this was certainly not true for the Imperial forces. His autobiography continues:

“After about three weeks in camp in the Folkestone area, orders came down from the War Office to all colonial units that if they had any medical men without commissions, the Royal Army Medical Corps was very short of officers and would welcome them and give them commissions with the rank of Lieutenant. The four medical sergeants in No. 5 Field Ambulance responded to the call, as did the medical graduates in the ranks of No. 2 Casualty Clearing Station. On May 27th we went up to London, reported first to the Canadian Director-General of Medical Services, General Carleton Jones, received his blessing and advice, and went over to the War Office to enrol in the British Army Medical Service.

“Again I had one of the thrills of a lifetime. Frank Overholt and I, and the two other physician sergeants, found our way over to Whitehall, past the window from which Charles I walked to his death, passed the world famous Scotland Yard, and entered the awe-inspiring portals of the British War Office. There we were documented, issued with our equipment allowance, provided with a list of the equipment required by an officer of the Royal Army Medical Corps, and given our choice of several Officers Training Camps. Frank and I elected to go to one at Torquay, the other two chose Bournemouth.

“We were given a week’s leave in London to secure our uniforms and equipment, and issued a railway warrant to Torquay. We registered at the Strand Palace Hotel, and from there as a base, we ordered our uniforms in Conduit Street,

visited our bankers, Holt & Co., purchased our officers' equipment and spent the rest of the week sightseeing in London.⁹⁸ We found Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly Circus, Regent Street, the Strand, the Embankment, the Tower of London, ate in the Trocadero, in Simpson's in the Strand, and in the Cheshire Cheese, and saw Buckingham Palace and the Changing of the Guard. One week later, resplendent in new uniforms as Lieutenants in the British Army, Frank Overholt and I took the London and Southwestern Railway to Torquay."^{lviii99}

The reader is impressed that despite desperate fighting in France and Belgium across the channel only 100 miles or so away, life in the English capital seemed to be proceeding more or less as usual. Obviously there were some wartime privations but these are hardly mentioned. This is in sharp contrast to the conditions in the Second World War when Londoners were experiencing Hitler's blitzkrieg war.

"On the way down the porter was taking orders for tea. We had heard of the English afternoon tea custom, but Frank would have none of it. I, however, ordered tea and crumpets, and enjoyed the refreshments while Frank looked on. It was not too long, however, until Frank was enjoying his afternoon tea as well as the rest of us. We arrived in Torquay to find that the Officers Training Camp had a few days before being moved back to Salisbury Plain. We wired the War Office for instructions and were told to proceed to Salisbury Plain by tomorrow's train. We spent the night at the leading hotel in Torquay, and arrived at the Camp at Salisbury Plain the next day. Here we spent the next six weeks, taking an excellent course of instruction for R.A.M.C. officers, a good deal of which

98 Bill bought all his uniform and equipment in London. There are bills from Goodall & Graham for a dress uniform at £9|3|6. Austin and Williams provided a wrist watch at £2|7|6. Downie & Marshall provided spurs at £0|16|6.

99 There is also a handwritten service record that all officers were required to keep. In it were recorded all service postings and other information. The War Office directed him to draw his pay from Messers Holt & Co., Army Agents. There is also a long list of articles of uniform required by officers in the Royal Army Medical Corps. (RAMC). There was a letter of introduction from the Canadian Department of the Interior and a certification from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario that he was a physician.

we had had as sergeants of No. 5 Field Ambulance. In July Frank got orders for France, and I got orders for Gallipoli, along with a new found Canadian friend, Lieut. Arthur Lomas, R.A.M.C., of Montreal, who, like us, also had been transferred to the Royal Army Medical Corps.”^{lix}

Once in the Royal Army Medical Corps, life for Bill seemed to take on a more serious demeanour. This is his first mention of the Gallipoli campaign. In April 1915, the Australian and New Zealand troops posted at Alexandria and Port Said in Egypt had made landings on the Gallipoli Peninsula. They were supported by British and French troops that landed at Cape Hellas on the southern tip. The Turkish troops on the peninsula had had time to prepare and the positions were well defended. The Anzacs suffered heavy losses and could not even reach their primary objective, the village of Krithia.

By this time, the Royal Navy battleships had also had heavy losses and the casualty clearing stations were overloaded with the injured and dying. Casualties were being moved back to Egypt as rapidly as possible and the base hospital at Port Said was filled to overflowing. By this time the need for medical personnel and treatment facilities on this front had eclipsed the heavy demands in France and Belgium. The Eastern Mediterranean theatre of war was hence very important in the early years of the war but got scant attention by Canadians who were mostly focussed on the Western Front in France:

“Lomas and I had orders to embark at Devonport with a contingent of *(re)*inforcements¹⁰⁰ for the Gallipoli campaign. We spent the night at the Queen’s Hotel there, and next morning went to the Hoe at Plymouth, to see the spot where Drake bowled while awaiting the Spanish Armada. In the afternoon we embarked on the good ship H.M.S. Canada with a group of young Australian, New Zealand and Canadian Medical Officers in the Royal Army Medical Corps, bound for service in various areas in the Middle East. Among them was one of my friends, the late Dr. Leeming Carr, Jr., who had been a sergeant in No. 2 Casualty Clearing Station and transferred to the Royal Army Medical Corps on arrival in Britain. Leeming went to Gallipoli, and was the last man off at the evacuation.

“We sailed that evening, crossed the Bay of Biscay, passed the towering Rock of Gibraltar, saw the incomparable blue of the Mediterranean with its flying fish, spent a day in harbour at

100 The typed text reads “the reinforcements” which would seem to be a transcribing error.

Malta, and arrived outside the harbour at Alexandria one afternoon three days later, anchoring off shore for the night. Disembarking next morning, we took (the) train for Cairo, and after registering at Shephard's Hotel, we reported to the Headquarters of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force. We were given three days leave, and during three extremely hot days in July with temperatures running around 110° F., we did some sightseeing, visited the Sphinx and pyramids at Gizeh.¹⁰¹

"Reporting back to Headquarters, Lomas and I were sent up to Port Said at the Mediterranean end of the Suez Canal, to organize a Convalescent Camp for casualties from Gallipoli. Lomas was returned to Cairo within a week, and eventually a Captain Redpath, whose Field Ambulance of 250 men had been sunk by torpedo in the Mediterranean when nearing Port Said, was sent with a dozen of his surviving personnel to join me, and we established the Convalescent Camp, which by February 1916 when Gallipoli was evacuated, had grown to have 600 beds...." lx

There was another big campaign in August which failed to meet objectives. The casualties were appalling and all were descending on the base hospital and the convalescent camps around Cairo. This continued throughout the autumn and early winter of 1916 when a decision was finally taken to cut further losses and evacuate the peninsula.¹⁰²

The autobiography continues:

"...It was then wound up and Redpath and I were sent to Cairo, where I was attached to a British General Hospital as Assistant Bacteriologist. Three months (later) I contracted smallpox, having studied at close range for purposes of diagnosis, what turned out to be the first British Army case of smallpox. I nearly died, but spent most of the summer in the Egyptian Fever Hospital, and during convalescence was sent back to England, by H.M. Hospital Ship, Essequibo...."

Bill never talked about this part of his life very much. The author described conversations with him some 30 years later in which he talked about this in more detail. He said that he had been vaccinated in his youth,

101 There are many photographs and pictures on file. Bill took most of them in the Cairo and Port Said area. There are some taken at Ghiza with Bill on a camel.

102 It was Bill's service in the Convalescent Camp and the Base Hospital that entitled him to wear a Gallipoli Veterans pin even though he never set foot on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

using the older injection technique commonly used at the time although the newer 'scratch' method was recognized as more effective. He got the usual pustular scab and scar but in retrospect he felt that it had not "taken" properly. Smallpox was endemic in Egypt but all military personnel had been vaccinated so the single case of a soldier with a pox-like disease was of great clinical interest.

When he first became ill, the diagnosis was not clear. It was a colleague in the British General Hospital, Philip Manson-Bahr (later Sir Philip) who made the diagnosis. By this time he was so sick that he has little recollection of the next few weeks except that the Australian nurses were wonderful. When the crisis passed and he became more aware of his surroundings, he was so heavily pock-marked around his face and upper body that at first he did not recognize himself in the mirror. He carried these marks to his death, but by then they had faded to a faint pebbly appearance. But when he returned from the war in 1919 he was still very conscious of this and said he was rather shy and withdrawn for many years.

Philip Manson-Bahr was the son of Sir Patrick Manson, the founder and patron of the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. Bill was in contact with Philip during the rest of the war and visited Sir Patrick when he was in London later in 1916. Bill became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in 1934 and always maintained his connections with British medicine and pathology. He continues:

"...After a short stay in King's College hospital, I reported to the War Office and was given six weeks' sick leave. During this time I managed to get home for a week, and paid a visit to Hamilton. My friend, Dr. Ingersoll Olmsted, tried to get my discharge from the Royal Army Medical Corps, but, in due course, I returned to London, reported to the War Office, was placed on home service, and assigned to the staff of the Cambridge Military Hospital at Aldershot. I remained there as Pathologist for the next 10 months.

Again, Bill was faced with a conflict of duties. This seemed to be a recurring issue for him as he was first invited to take a fellowship in pathology at Johns Hopkins Hospital which he turned down because of his promise to return to the Hamilton General. He was invited to join the Colonial Tropical Medicine Service after the war but again turned it down for the same reason. Because of his sense of duty to the war effort, he was not willing to pursue the opportunity to seek a medical discharge from the R.A.M.C. in 1916. He was very weak for 6 or 8 months and his convalescence from smallpox was slow so he would have been entitled to seek such a discharge.

The autobiography continues:

“I was eventually boarded fit for overseas service again in August, and got orders to go to France. I was quite keen to get to France after my sojourn in the Eastern Mediterranean, but it was not to be. A few hours before I was to have crossed the Channel for France, a wire from the War Office cancelled my orders. A week later, during the first week of August 1917, I got my orders to proceed to Southampton for an overland trip across Europe as a reinforcement for the British Salonica Force. At Southampton I found my classmate and fellow intern of the Hamilton City Hospital, Doctor Frank McLay, to be a member of the party. Also, there were two of our Toronto friends, Dr. Tom Cumberland and Dr. “Mike” Gorman. All four of us had joined the Royal Army Medical Corps about the same time. The four of us spent the next three weeks on the way to Salonika.¹⁰³

There are several very good books that describe conditions in the military during WWI from the personal experience of the writer. One is the story of the 5th Field Ambulance *Stretcher Bearers at the Double*. Another is *The Great War as I Saw It* by Canon F. G. Scott.¹⁰³ These books demonstrate that the horrors of war were fully appreciated at that time and were well documented. But historical revisionists of the mid-late 20th century seem to have made a new discovery that war is horrible and decried the patriotic jingoism of the period asserting that it represented a form of denial and a total distortion of reality. These and other contemporary accounts belie that interpretation of history. People in the trenches were only too aware of the horrors of war but in their view it was necessary to protect their country and their way of life. Others at home were protected from the very worst of war’s horrors but certainly were all too aware of it.

Bill’s son recalls:

“During World War II, my father told me about his days in Egypt and Macedonia. I replied that I wished that I had been a few years older so that I could have joined up in the Second

103 Canon Scott was a military chaplain with the First Canadian Division, Canadian Expeditionary Force on the Western Front from 1914 to 1918. The book is dedicated to the officers and men of that unit and has some rather graphic descriptions of the horrors of war. Canon Scott found many of them very challenging to his faith in the basic goodness of humanity and the compassion of an Almighty God. Yet despite this he continued to regard the war as necessary to protect the values society and his religion espouses.

World War. Dad remarked: “No, John, you are lucky you are too young to be in it.” Having heard some of his patriotic speeches, I was very surprised by this comment and said so. Dad commented that he would have *expected* his son to join up but he wouldn’t have *wanted* him to. From this I learned that duty is different from desire.^{lxiii}

The people of those days were very aware of these things. But perhaps people in each generation have to discover this for themselves. That could be why the attitudes to the Great War were very different at the end of the war than they were at the beginning. And the strong anti-war attitudes in the second half of the 20th century were undoubtedly fixed by the experience of two devastating world wars only 21 years apart in the first half of the century. There was far more denial of reality in the closing decades of the 20th century than there was during either of the wars or in the immediate post-war period.



PART II BATTLE

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GREAT WAR: MACEDONIA (1916-1919)

*It is not enough that we do our best; sometimes we must do
what is required*

Winston Churchill (1874-1965)



By the time Bill was posted to Macedonia, the war for the allies on the Western Front had turned into a bloody stalemate. Trench warfare had produced no gains that could be sustained by either side. Casualties were horrific. By contrast, the Eastern Front was more dynamic but by 1916 the main fighting was in northern Macedonia on the Bulgarian border. Bill refers to two battle sites, the Struma and Doiron (now spelled Dojron) Fronts. He had a field laboratory that could be moved on the back of a truck. He describes times in Salonika (Thessaloniki) and in the field hospitals behind the lines. Again he provides a picture of warfare as he saw it.

This chapter is part of Bill's autobiography and is based on a series of talks he gave after the war. There is a note in *Stretcher Bearers* at the Double relating to the Fourth Reunion of the unit held at the Walker House Hotel in Toronto on Saturday, April 14, 1928. ^{lxiv}

“...The feature of the evening was an illustrated lecture by ex-Staff Deadman. His wartime experiences in Mesopotamia were the subject of his address. During his long stay in the East he took hundreds of photos, covering a wide range of territory and

activity. These pictures were thrown on a screen and rounded out a very fascinating and informative lecture.”

This was written when the book was published in 1936 so they got the location wrong – it should have been Macedonia, not Mesopotamia but otherwise it is a favourable review.



**THE REMINISCENCES
OF
A MEDICAL OFFICER IN MACEDONIA – 1917-18.** ¹⁰⁴

**An Address
at
Hamilton, Ontario, October 1928**

**William J. Deadman, B.A., M.B.
Captain, Royal Army Medical Corps (Retired)**



Macedonia, like other Balkan states, has had a turbulent history. Under Philip, it assumed control of the Hellenic states, and under his greater son, Alexander, it conquered the whole of the then known world. Dissensions, however, were rife, as they have been even up to modern times. Over that period, Macedonia has been periodically devastated by wars, and has been ruled and despoiled successively by Roman, Slav, Bulgur, Turk and Greek. History has left its mark on

Biographer's Note: The original address is typed and is a separate document tucked into the file containing drafts of the biography. It is dated 1928 and appears to have been delivered in Hamilton but the venue is not stated. The last few pages are missing from this original typewritten document but were completed from subsequent drafts which were written sometime later. It was obviously WJD's intention that this would form part of his autobiography.

a population which racially speaking is one of the most mixed in Europe.

Macedonia has been the most malarial region in the world, and this feature, added to the periodic devastations, inevitably produced an un-progressive population quite unable to maintain its independence among the other racial entities by which it is surrounded. Some authorities attribute the decline and fall of ancient Hellenic ascendancy to the ravages of malaria. A Medical Officer, spending some time among these people, and noting, at the same time, that, each year, there were more admissions to British Army Hospitals for malaria, than personnel in the British Salonica Force, is inclined to believe it. Modern sanitation, as we know it, was almost non-existent in Macedonia, and indeed, it must be admitted, that, up to the time of the 1914-1918 Great War, the setting up of efficient anti-malarial measures in this area would be a matter of extreme difficulty.

However, since the region now seems to be more or less firmly under the aegis of modern Greece, with which it has, racially and historically, considerable affinity, and since Greece appears to be rapidly assuming its place as a progressive modern nation, the future for Macedonia, as to political organization and the application of modern public health measures, appears to be much brighter. The military operations of the Allied Forces, during the 1914-1918 war, in this area, while not as consistently active as were those on the western front, had a tremendous value in barring the Central Powers from the Eastern Mediterranean, even though their submarines infested the sea itself, and in preventing Greece from throwing in its lot with them. As events proved, the initial break-up of the Central Powers came on the Salonica front six weeks before the final armistice on the Western front.

The writer¹⁰⁵, a captain in the Royal Army Medical Corps, who had already had service in Egypt, with a base unit of the Gallipoli forces, and service in England while recovering from a serious illness contracted in Egypt, was boarded fit for overseas service in July 1917. In August I received War Office orders to proceed to Salonika, to join the British Salonica Force. I was pleased to find there, three old college friends, two of them classmates and all on their way to Salonika. All three, like myself, had taken commissions in the Royal Army Medical Corps since the Canadian Army, at that time, needed so few extra medical officers. During the war 418 young Canadian physicians served with the R.A.M.C.

After a somewhat turbulent channel crossing, we arrived at Cherbourg, an old fashioned French seaport town, with streets were still paved with cobblestones. We marched through the town and to an old chateau on the outskirts, which with its grounds, had been utilized for the first of a series of four rest camps on the overland route from Cherbourg to Taranto in southern Italy. This route, across France, through the Alps and down the Adriatic coast of Italy to Taranto had recently been established on account of the steadily increasing threat of enemy submarines in the Mediterranean. The old chateau and its grounds had been turned into reasonably comfortable accommodation and we spent two days there.

We then embarked on a French troop train and proceeded across France, south of Paris and in the direction of the city of Lyons (*now Lyon*). Near Lyons, at a small French village, St. Germaine, we paused at the second rest camp for a day, which as yet, had not been completed. Leaving St. Germaine camp the next day we approached the Alps and, on the second day, passed through the Mont Cenis tunnel, emerging in Italy at a small town named Modane. We entered the tunnel in August weather, dressed in light drill clothing.

105 The author of this part, WJD used very inconsistent references to himself – sometimes in the first person singular or plural and sometimes in the third person. Because this was originally a speech in which he would have undoubtedly used the first person singular, these have been changed to the first person wherever the sense required.

When we emerged high in the Alps, everything was covered with snow and icicles hung from the rocks. We shivered in our light summer clothing. However, a few hours later the train had descended to the lower levels of the north of Italy, and as we passed through Turin and Milan, the summer heat returned greater than ever.

Our next rest camp was located in a lovely little Italian town, Faenza, which even then enjoyed a world-wide reputation for the production of beautiful ceramics. Here we were welcomed by a snappy little major of the Indian Army, dressed in jodhpurs and carrying a riding crop. We were instructed, in his clipped words, as to what we could and could not do, while in camp. To me he seemed the acme of efficiency, and the general air of discipline and efficiency about the camp bore out this impression. Officer's accommodation was not yet ready and we were assigned to a small but excellent little hotel, the Albergo Vittoria, where we remained for two very pleasant days.

We then travelled by train down the east side of Italy, in sight of the Adriatic for a good part of the way, crossed over through Bari to Taranto at the foot of Italy, and arrived at the last rest camp of the route near Taranto. This camp, too, was in the process of construction and organization. The area was dusty, rations were short and the Maconochie (tinned meat and vegetables) had to be stretched with water to make it go round. We spent five days in this camp. On the 3rd day, I was delighted to run across, camped nearby, the rear guard of No. 4 Canadian Hospital on its way back to England from Salonika, commanded by Major C. S. McVicar. This party had ample rations, including a good supply of canned Canadian fruit and other items, which for us were delicacies. For the remainder of their stay in the rest camp, these four medical officers made nightly visits to Major McVicar and shared in his good food.

At this rest camp, we witnessed the arrival of shiploads of Egyptian labourers bound for the Italian front, and of Annamites, natives of the French colony of Assam, imported as labourers by the French Army. Finally we were pleased to learn, that, in the evening,

we were to embark on H. M. S. Aragon, to complete our journey to Salonika. The Aragon had served as Headquarters Ship at the Dardanelles during the operation at Gallipoli. Nasty minded critics were wont to say (unfairly) she went aground there on bottles.¹⁰⁶ On her next trip she was torpedoed and sunk in the Aegean Sea. We sailed in the evening and next morning arrived at the harbour of Candia, capital of Crete, where we spent the day at anchor. Knowing something of the Minoan civilization,¹⁰⁷ of the Minotaur and of the palace at Knossos, I would have liked to go ashore, but no shore leave was granted. We sailed at dusk, and next morning found ourselves anchored in a bay at the island of Skyros, an island mentioned in the *Odyssey* as conquered by Achilles. We remained there for the day, sailing in the evening. The next afternoon we arrived outside the harbour of Salonika. The inner harbour was protected by a boom which was opened daily about 4:00 p.m. The ship cruised around for about an hour in full view of the masts and part of the hulk of a ship which had been recently torpedoed outside the harbour. My feeling of relief when we were admitted to the inner harbour can better be imagined than described.

In spite of the fact that the city of Salonika had, since we left England, been ravaged by one of its periodic devastating fires, accentuated by the inflammable character of so many of the buildings and the almost total absence of fire protection the view from the harbour is an impressive one. The white roofs of the houses and the numerous white minarets of mosques strike the eye. The original city was surrounded by a wall, much of which is still in good condition and can be seen coming down to the bay on the eastern side. It is easily outlined as one gazes upon this "Pearl of the Aegean", lying comfortably on the mountainside as it slopes down

106 The meaning of this is unclear. The handwriting could be read as 'battles' but careful observation of other 'a's and 'o's suggests that this reading is correct. The word 'bottles' could have referred to the drinking habits of the crew.

107 Bill had a great interest in history, culture and old civilizations that will become more apparent later.

toward the harbour. Some miles back of the city rises Mount Hortiach, with an altitude of some 2000 ft. and near it are located a number of British military hospitals. In the foreground is a long stretch of quay, sections of which have been allotted to the various allied forces. The quay and the harbour are dotted with the small sailing boats of the Greek Islanders, who here find a ready market for their wine, fruits, vegetables and fish. To the right where the old city wall approaches the bay, one sees one of the outstanding features of the city, the White Tower, or as the French term it, "La Tour Blanche". Beyond the White Tower and to the right, following along the bay shore, is a more or less modern extension of the city which ends in a suburb called Kalamaria, and in this area are located a number of British hospitals. To the left of the city, one sees the valley of the Vardar River and its marshes.

Macedonia

Upon disembarkation, the Medical Officers were detailed to the various British hospitals. The writer was assigned to the No. 52 General Hospital at Kalamaria. As I travelled through the cobblestoned streets of the city in the hospital's Model 'T' truck, I learned that the hutments of No. 52 were those recently vacated by the No. 4 Canadian General Hospital. The walls of the room to which I was assigned, carried the signatures of a number of the personnel of the hospital, among them that of Doctor Gordon Cameron, later a graduate in medicine of the university. I was also much interested in the stage on the grounds, modelled on ancient Greek lines, with an open air amphitheatre. I had no doubt that my No. 4 Canadian General Hospital colleagues had here presented many of the masterpieces of Euripides and of Aristophanes, for the edification of patients and staff.

Here I renewed acquaintance with Colonel C. M. Wenyon of the London School of Tropical Medicine, then the leading protozoologist in the English-speaking world. After the war Wenyon became Director of the Wellcome Bureau of Tropical Research in London. I had met Colonel Wenyon while in Egypt in 1916, while attending a

short course on protozoology,¹⁰⁸ given by him in one of the British military hospitals in Alexandria to new coming pathologists to the Middle East, for the diagnosis of amoeba histolytica and its cysts, the cause of some of the cases of dysentery among British troops in Egypt and elsewhere in eastern theatres of war. He had been appointed Consulting Protozoologist to the British Salonica Force.

Also I met Colonel L. S. Dudgeon, the Consulting Bacteriologist to the British Salonica Force, who was in peace time Professor of Pathology at St. Thomas's Hospital Medical School in London. I had met Colonel Dudgeon in Egypt in 1916 while serving as Medical Officer at a Convalescent Camp at Port Said, set up to handle casualties of the Gallipoli campaign, then in progress. With the end of that campaign the camp was closed and I was transferred to Cairo. While I was at Port Said, all medical units in the Near and Middle East had been inspected by a commission of leading experts in tropical medicine, consisting of Colonel Andrew Balfour of the Royal Army Medical College, Colonel Ledingham, then director of the Lister Institute in London, and Colonel L. S. Dudgeon of St. Thomas' Hospital in London. As a result of their report, Colonel Ledingham was appointed Consulting Bacteriologist for the Mesopotamia area, while Colonel Dudgeon was appointed Consulting Bacteriologist for the British Salonica Force. Colonel Dudgeon knew that I had had some training and experience in pathology and bacteriology and I was detailed to him as a bacteriologist. He assigned me to No. 52 General Hospital as assistant bacteriologist.

In charge of the laboratory at that time was Major Charles Singer, R.A.M.C. of Oxford University, author at that time and since of many authoritative works on the history of medicine. He was keenly interested in the ancient history and archaeology of the Salonika area, and he and I made visits in our spare hours to the ruins of the old Basilica of St. Demetrius, virtually destroyed by the recent fire. The clearing up of the ruins revealed some fantastically beautiful

108 Notes and a notebook that Bill used during those lectures are preserved in the archives.

mosaics on walls and floors. This church, named for the patron saint of Thessalonika, had been erected as a Christian church in the 5th century A.D. It had been converted to a mosque when in the 16th century the Turks took over Salonika, and a minaret had been added. All Christian symbols, at that time, had been removed, plastered over or otherwise concealed, and the mosaics on remaining walls and floors came to light after the fire of 1917. Major Singer made visits to many monasteries in the area, including those at Mount Athos, some fifty miles away, where there was a wealth of ancient documents.

During my sojourn at No. 52 General Hospital I heard many complimentary things about the work of its predecessor, the No. 4 Canadian Hospital. The late Professor J. J. McKenzie was very popular, and Major (afterwards Professor) Duncan Graham's paper on the bacteriology of bacillary dysentery came in for high praise. Colonel Dudgeon considered it the best he had seen on the subject. The excellence of the equipment, staff and work of the hospital made for it an enviable reputation.

The Consulting Physician to the British Salonika Force Medical Services was Colonel James Purves-Stewart of London (afterwards Sir James). During the succeeding weeks, he organized a course of lectures on tropical medicine with special stress on dysentery and malaria for the newly arrived medical officers and any others who cared to attend. He and Colonel Wenyon became noted for the quality of the bridge they played, though they doubtless later¹⁰⁹ became excellent players. I attended a meeting of a newly formed Salonika Medical Society, whose membership included the medical officers of the area, and heard interesting presentations on the tropical diseases common in Macedonia.

109 The word 'later' in this context sounds enigmatic. It could be a facetious suggestion that their dominance of the local bridge scene was because of their rank and authority.

After a month at No. 52 General Hospital, I received orders to report to No. 26 Mobile Bacteriological Laboratory as assistant bacteriologist. It was sited with a Casualty Clearing Station near the Greek village of Lahana about 2 miles back of the Struma Front. I left No. 52 by returning motor ambulance on October 1st at 4:00 one morning. We breakfasted at an outpost of the Royal Engineers about half-way, and proceeded the rest of the way in a T model Ford van from the Casualty Clearing Station, arriving at the No. 26 Mobile Laboratory about the middle of the forenoon, a few miles beyond Kilo 70 on the Seres Road. Here I was to spend five busy and interesting months.¹¹⁰

The Seres Road followed the course of an old Roman road north-east from Salonika to the town of Seres, built in the 3rd century A.D. Parts of it were still in passable shape. It had been metalled¹¹¹ by the Allies, and as far as Kilo 70, served as the main line of communication with the Struma Front. It was subjected to a heavy volume of traffic but stood up remarkably well, thanks to the ministrations of the Royal Engineers and native labour parties. For part of the way it was supplemented by a narrow gauge railway (called a Decauville railway) upon which Ford cars adapted to travel on rails pulled trains of small cars behind them.

The officer commanding the laboratory was Major A. L. Urquhart R.A.M.C., a regular officer who had gone to Europe with the “old contemptibles” at the outbreak of war. He was a very fine gentleman, with a great sense of humour, and his tales of the retreat from Mons were thrilling. Having had training in pathology at the Royal Army Medical College, he was in 1916 transferred to the British Salonica

110 Bill had taken many photos in Egypt but only two are preserved from Salonika. One shows a person seated at a laboratory table in a tent. It does not look like Bill but the quality is poor so it could be.

111 The term ‘metalled’ has been used in road-building in Britain for centuries. The Latin word *metallum* was translated as either ‘mine’ or ‘quarry’ – products from the mine would be metal ores, from the quarries, stone and gravel. “Road metal” referred to the compacted gravel material that was used for road surfaces.

Force, and placed in charge of No. 26 laboratory. After the war, he retired from the R.A.M.C. spent a year in pathology with Professor Dudgeon and then received the appointment of Professor of Pathology at the Egyptian Kesr-el-Aine Medical School at Cairo, at about the same time that Sir Sydney Smith was taking up his forensic medical work for the Egyptian government. Association with Major Urquhart made the work and the activities of the laboratory very pleasant and very profitable indeed for a young pathologist and bacteriologist.

The work in the laboratory was largely concerned with bacteriology, serology, protozoology and parasitology. The laboratory diagnosis of malaria and dysentery accounted for 90% of the work. Specimens for examination were delivered from the medical units in the area, by ambulance, by motorcycle runner, and by the lab's own Ford truck. Reports were returned by the same means, by Despatch Rider Letter Service (D.R.L.S.) which used motorcycles, or by army telegraph when available. On occasion, I did autopsies on problem cases. I had one on an Army Service Corps driver who, caught in the hills in the dark, closed up the truck with tarpaulins, lit a charcoal brazier, and lapsed into permanent sleep. On another occasion, a soldier who had had repeated attacks of malaria fell from a truck and ruptured his greatly enlarged malarial spleen.

In January, Major Urquhart was transferred to the Central British Army Laboratory in Salonika as Officer Commanding, and he was succeeded at No. 26 Laboratory by Major R. R. Elworthy, in peace time, pathologist to the West London Hospital. Major Elworthy was a keen experienced pathologist and bacteriologist who before the war had demonstrated that a case of anthrax, a cattle disease which can infect human beings, had been caused by the bristles of a shaving brush which had not been properly sterilized. They had several cases of a disease called relapsing fever and Major Elworthy diag-

nosed a case of Balantidiosis ¹¹² and intestinal diseases caused by a rare type of parasite. Attached to the laboratory at that time was Capt. T. S. Hale, R.A.M.C., in peace time Assistant Professor of Physiology at Cambridge University and later Master of Emmanuel College there. He was presently engaged in a study of the blood sugar changes in the blood of malaria patients using the then new blood chemistry technique for that purpose.

The laboratory was housed in a large oblong tent ¹¹³ with a window set in the south wall, before which I and my colleague, Captain Hale worked. Looking out of the window, we could, on any clear day, see Mount Olympus in the distance (about 100 miles) with its snow-covered top. I could not help reflecting that the Olympian gods had chosen a rather chilly spot for a residence, and had placed a rather high premium on inaccessibility.

The routine daily examination of dozens of slides for malaria and of dozens of specimens for dysentery was of work was relieved by occasional trips to units on the Struma front, and by periodic visits from enemy aircraft to a Royal Flying Corps station. Occasionally bombs would drop on the C.S.S. compound, and on those occasions when the siren sounded we had recourse to an underground air raid shelter with a rather narrow entrance. Since Hale and I each weighed in the neighbourhood of 200 lbs, it was not possible for both to enter at once, much as we occasionally had the urge to do so.

Among the interesting features of the countryside was the profuse crop of mushrooms, fostered in a soil which had been grazing land probably since the times of Alexander the Great. Up to the time of our arrival at Lahana, no use had been made of these

112 Balantium Coli is the only protozoa with cilia known to parasitize humans. It is common in tropical and semi-tropical regions, especially where public hygiene standards are low. Bill had had very limited experience with these kinds of parasites—rare in Hamilton but well known in tropical medicine.

113 An old unclear photograph shows someone, possibly WJD, working on lab materials in a tent.

delicacies. Securing a frying pan, a primus stove and a tin of Danish butter from the canteen, I was able to demonstrate by biological experimentation upon myself that they were not only edible and harmless, but in addition a very succulent delicacy, and as long as the fine weather lasted we enjoyed them. Colonel Wenyon and Colonel Dudgeon from the base occasionally spent a week end with them, and as my bridge was less than mediocre, I was usually assigned the duty of providing the bridge party with a mushroom supper in the course of the evening. The Lahana mushroom parties became widely known on the Struma Front.¹¹⁴

Hale and I cultivated the acquaintance of the local Orthodox Greek priest of the village (the Pappas) and from him we learned much about the manners and customs of the native population. We were once invited to attend a wedding and this turned out to be a very festive affair, with plenty of wine, food, folk singing and dancing. The priest's church, like many others, had once served as a Turkish mosque and had had a minaret added, and we were accorded the privilege of mounting the minaret. Hale had a flair for collecting Ikons and sent many to his home in Cambridge.

Winter came on in December with much fog and with considerable snow. Christmas was as festive as could be made under the circumstances. Turkeys had been secured from some of the natives and on the whole it was quite a cheery occasion, much of the cheer being provided by the Expeditionary Force Canteen in Salonika. About the end of January, Captain Hale was transferred to the Central Laboratory at the base, and shortly after, Major Urquhart followed him as Officer Commanding the Central Laboratory. He was succeeded by Major R. R. Elworthy who in peacetime was pathologist to the West London Hospital at Hammersmith. He was somewhat ascetic in type, and had little respect for colonials or for Americans, who had come into the war that spring. His strictures on Americans

114 The lead author recalls his father telling this story about the mushrooms to some friends. Apparently while he was cooking mushrooms he heard someone talking outside the tent in a broad British accent: "Do you know what that bloody colonial is doing? He found some fungus and he is going to eat it!" (personal recollection)

were also criticisms of colonials in general. On one occasion when he was particularly critical of Americans, I undertook to defend them as usual. I said to him, "I think you are very unfair to Americans; the United States is as yet but 150 years old, and one cannot expect them to have accomplished the things it took you people 1000 years to accomplish." His answer was unexpected and somewhat devastating. "Of course I don't," he replied, "but to hear them talk one would think they had done it." However we got along fairly well for the two months he was with us.

I had one week-end leave to Salonika. As we crossed the Llangaza Plain on the way down, I had the thrill of seeing more thousands of grey wild geese than one would ever have believed possible. Each spring they came down in their millions from Russia to feed upon the Balkan plains. They rose in clouds as the truck crossed the plain, settling down behind them. They kept out of gunshot range however, and it was almost impossible to get near enough to shoot one. Their numbers exceeded anything I could have imagined had I not seen them.

On this leave I was quartered at the No. 52 General hospital and in the mess one evening, I met Sir Ronald Ross of malaria fame, who had recently arrived from England over the route by which we had come in August. Sir Ronald's ship however, had been torpedoed in the Aegean Sea, not far out from Salonika but it was beached, and all on board rescued, completing the journey by rail. Sir Ronald regaled the mess with a very colourful description of his experience.

In February I received orders to report to the Officer Commanding No. 27 Mobile Bacteriological Laboratory, located just back of the Doiran front at a little village called Janis,¹¹⁵ near which there was also a Casualty Clearing Station. The O. C., Major Warnick, R.A.M.C., was going on leave to Athens, leaving me in charge until his return. To reach Janes we had to return by the Seres road to "Piccadilly Circus" on the outskirts of Salonika and then take the

Monastir road up to Janes which was a few miles back of the Doiran front.

Major Warnick was a genial Irishman on his return from leave. I remained as assistant until the end of February. The work in the laboratory was of a type similar to that at Lahana, but the volume was not as great. Here we were less subject to enemy air-raids, but we could hear the booming of the artillery and, at night see the glare of the Very lights. Daily we could watch the anti-aircraft guns firing at enemy planes when they came near the area. My daily strolls in the countryside sometimes brought me in sight of the ruins of an ancient castle, said to have been built by the Saladin as a country villa. The Doiran front, was, ordinarily, not quite so active as the Struma front, but the last great push in September, 1918, sounded the knell of Bulgaria as a combatant, and of the Central Powers, who capitulated six weeks later.

To maintain morale, each of the divisions – the 10th, 26th, 27th and 28th – organized a dramatic company. The improvised theatres were generally within a mile or so of the front. One of these theatres was between Janis and the front, and I went one night and saw a splendid show, with players from the active service men of the division, and with appointments of a London theatre as far as they could be improvised. It was interesting to go out during the intermission and hear the artillery in action on the front line. This theatre was eventually broken up by a long distance shell which landed on it, fortunately when it was empty and theatrical activities on that front came to an end. Later while in Salonika, I went to see an excellent production of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Mikado" at one of these theatres back of the Struma front.

About the end of February, I received orders to report for duty to the Central B.S.F. Laboratory in Salonika, in charge of my old Lahana friend, Major Urquhart. This laboratory served the British Salonika Force in fields of laboratory activity not undertaken by the hospital laboratories, and as well, the other allied forces when they requested it. The Central Laboratory had been organized in 1916, and its first Officer Commanding was a Major Twart, R.A.M.C., then

well known as an associate of D'Herelle in the work connected with the discovery of bacteriophage. At this time the Central Laboratory was under the direction of another old friend of Lahana days, Major A. L. Urquhart. I was to succeed Captain Wilkin R.A.M.C. as bacteriologist and serologist, for he was to take up similar duties with one of the larger hospitals nearer the front. The Central Laboratory and its staff were under the general direction of the consulting pathologist, Colonel Dudgeon, and under the immediate direction of Major Urquhart. Captain Ferrie was the chemist. Captain John Ramsbottom, in peace time mycologist to the Natural History Section of the British Museum, was the protozoologist and paracytologist. Captain Hale, of Lahana days, joined them as a research associate. They had several good technicians in charge of a sergeant, who was, in peace time with one of the London hospitals. The staff all told numbered 10, and the officers' mess had a strength of 6. The laboratory was housed in a sort of apartment house near the centre of the city. The basement was used for a laboratory, the first floor for messing and the second floor for sleeping quarters, and on the third floor, a small unit of the Royal Engineers for sleeping quarters. It had the advantage of electricity, running water, and, for most of the time a gas supply.

My predecessor, Captain Wilkin, R.A.M.C. had been with the laboratory for about a year. During this time he occasionally had a call to render laboratory service for the household of King Peter of Serbia, then domiciled in the city not far from the laboratory. On one occasion King Peter, who was asthmatic, sent over to the laboratory, a case of "jujubes" which had regularly come from a drug house in Paris, and which consisted of small medicinal cubes usually of a regular cubical shape. This shipment had come by way of a French ship which had been torpedoed but not sunk, and the jujubes had suffered from the water so as to distort their cubical shape. The King refused to use them until they had been restored to their original shape and Captain Wilkin undertook the restoration. Shortly thereafter, King Peter, in gratitude no doubt for many services rendered, conferred on him a decoration, the White Eagle of Serbia.

But his friends in the British Salonica Force insisted that he had won his "White Eagle" as a reward for "squaring King Peter's jujubes."

The laboratory was a very pleasant place to work, and the personnel were congenial. The work covered some pathology and histology, a good deal of bacteriology and serology, and thousands of malarial blood slides. I got an occasional trip up to the medical units on the two fronts, to consult on some case of unusual difficulty. I was shortly nick-named "the bloody boy" being the junior, and was elected mess secretary. This entailed the duty, of drawing rations, solid and liquid, and searching through the town for any delicacies, or food accessories, not yet covered by the rations. Once a week the mess had an issue of Australian rabbit. Aside from rations, the choice of food materials was limited for the civil importation of food from abroad was almost non-existent. It was a difficult job to provide the mess with much variety of diet. Fish could always be obtained, and if the members had liked squids (octopus) they were available. The native Thessalonians seemed to like them, to judge by the numbers one could see on day on streets or trains.

The work in the laboratory was varied and interesting. It served the British Army and, on occasion rendered laboratory service to the Serbian and French Armies. We did a good deal of bacteriology, Widal serum tests for the various types of dysentery, and for typhoid and paratyphoid fevers. We carried out about 75 Wassermann tests a week for syphilis, as long as the supply of guinea pigs could be maintained. These were obtained from Egypt about once a month, but before the end of the war, the supply of guinea pigs failed, and the lab had to give up the test. We studied atypical strains of the dysentery bacillus, and isolated a strain of *Bacillus Paratyphosus* which they called Paratyphoid C. it was my part of the work, to make a quadruple vaccine incorporating the four organisms (T.A.B.C.) and to list the antibody response of the human body to the vaccine. I needed volunteers. Colonel Dudgeon consulted the Officer Commanding an internment camp for Russian prisoner-of-war (after their revolution) and a dozen volunteers were secured. These were inoculated with 3 doses of the T.A.B.C. vaccine a week apart, and

samples of blood for testing were secured 3 weeks later. Widal serum tests showed that there was a fair immune response to the Paratyphoid C. part of the vaccine. I then prepared a supply of the quadruple vaccine to have on hand in case it should be needed.

We had for diagnosis one case of anthrax, a cattle disease which sometimes infects the human being. My colleague, Major Elworthy at Lahana, had before the war in London, shown that a case occurring there had come from a shaving brush, the bristles of which, had not been properly sterilized, and carried the organism. We also had one case of Glanders, a disease of horses, which may infect the human being. A member of the veterinary corps inoculating donkeys which had been secured for transport purposes with a live glanders vaccine when he accidentally inoculated himself. Prompt surgical measures save his life, but I was instructed to prepare a supply of glanders vaccine in case it should be needed. We did not have a case of plague but I was always on the lookout for it. However I had the task of making cultures for plague on the bodies of all rats found dead in the harbour, and these were always unwelcome visitors at the laboratory.

The final push on the Doiran, and later on the Struma front, came in September and the British hospitals in the Kalamaria and Hortiach areas were crowded with wounded. At the same time, the wave of the world wide influenza epidemic struck¹¹⁶ Armistice with a cessation of hostilities with Bulgaria came on September 30th. This did not lessen the congestion in the hospitals for soldiers by the hundreds had to be brought down from the fronts, suffering from influenza. The mortality rate was very high. I was allotted the task of making a bacteriological study of lungs from diseased influenza patients at No. 52 General Hospital, who came to autopsy in order to determine the relative parts played by the influenza bacillus and by the streptococcus. Appropriate media for the growth of these organisms was prepared and until the final armistice on November 11th, 1918 I worked on this problem. After Armistice Day, however,

enthusiasm for research waned somewhat for many of them began to think of home. Cables having been received during the late summer enquiring when the City Pathologist of Hamilton could be released. The work I had done, however, tended to show that *Bacillus Influenzae* could be cultured from but a few of the cases, but that a strain of *Streptococcus Hemolyticus* could be isolated in practically all cases. The killer seemed to be the *Streptococcus*.¹¹⁷

Life in Salonika was very colourful. The presence of British, Indian, French, Italian and Russian troops (interned after the revolution), gave an extremely cosmopolitan air to the city. The Russian detachment was taken in charge by the French, who rationed them and assigned duties to them. During the summer, Saturday afternoon concerts were given by the Royal Italian Military Band, which rendered selections from grand opera in excellent style. The French Army maintained a “Cercle Militaire” or Officers’ Club, which extended its privileges to British and other allied officers, which served excellent wines, meals and “aperitifs” without political repercussions from Paris. It was near the end of the war when the British Army established a similar centre in a commandeered residence of a Turkish Pasha who had some time earlier prudently retired to Constantinople, discretion proving to be the better part of valour, and it was officially named the British Officers’ Rest House.

117 From an epidemiological point of view, this is fascinating. The Spanish Flu was a worldwide phenomenon which lasted for several years with a very high morbidity and mortality rate. The virus aetiology of influenza was little known in those days (viruses had only been discovered a few years before) and the cause of influenza was believed to be *Bacillus Influenzae* – hence its name. This work by WJD was never published but it contributed to the research into viruses that began after the Great War and eventually led to a better understanding of viruses and other intra-cellular causes of disease. WJDs final conclusion was probably correct. The very high death rate may well have been due to secondary infections by streptococcus, rather than to the virus alone.

Salonika had a Greek garrison of sorts consisting of a detachment of Euzones, or as the troops called them “Greek Highlanders”. Their costume was almost as picturesque as that of the Scottish Highlanders. French Colonial troops from Africa lent another hue to the already variegated military picture.

The civil population was equally colourful. There had been, in Salonika a Jewish colony for nearly 400 years. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, a large number of Spanish Jews, driven out of Spain by persecution, made their homes here and became a prominent factor in the business life of the city. Greeks made up the greater part of the population, but there were a goodly number of Turks and many Serbian refugees. Moslem, Orthodox Greek, Christian and Jew, distinguished largely by their various national costumes, mingled freely.

The small shopkeepers set their prices according to what they thought the customer could pay. The only answer to protests was “C’est la guerre”. Although the money of many European, Asiatic and African countries was in circulation, the Greek drachma was the official standard of currency. The production of tobacco and cigarettes was an important industry for the best tobacco in the world was grown around the town of Cavalla, some fifty miles to the east of the city. Floca’s Restaurant, which was to Salonika what Groppi’s was to Cairo or the Trocadero to London, was destroyed during the fire, but was reopened early in 1918. Here one could secure a very good meal at a reasonable price. The White Tower Restaurant was also well known. When spring lamb produced in Macedonia was in season, a meal in one of these restaurants seemed to me to be the finest food I had ever tasted. Even before the war the excellence of the spring lamb was well known. Macedonian peasants had been producing it since the days of Alexander the Great. At the local Opera House, I occasionally would hear grand opera rendered in Greek by an Athens opera company and though I couldn’t follow the words, I enjoyed the music. Two billboards were prominent reminders of Canada. The Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada occupied one, undertaking to assure the future of the Thessalonians,

and, on the other, Hiram Walker and Sons offered Canadian Club as an aid to their enjoyment of the present.

The most famous street of the city was the “Via Ignatia”, or as the French call it, the Rue du Vardar, a somewhat narrow street paved with cobble-stones. It ran across the city from the east to the west and had formed part of a Roman road constructed from Byzantium to Durazzo as a line of communication between Rome and Byzantium. Near the eastern end of the Via Ignatia is a stone arch gateway, the Arch of Galerius, erected by that Roman Emperor and inscribed with records of his exploits. At its western end, there was, originally a stone arch gate, erected in the first century AD, but this was demolished in 1867 to repair the city’s wall. Its site is now occupied by a plaza into which poured the traffic from both fronts, and the ‘Tommies’ called this “Piccadilly Circus”, the most traffic congested area of the city. A little beyond Piccadilly Circus, on the Monastir road was the Expeditionary Force Canteen, from which it was Bill’s duty as mess secretary to secure rations.

Along the waterfront ran the only wide avenue of the city, the Rue Reine Olga. It faced directly on the harbour and before the fire, was lined by modern business buildings. The main cross-town street was the Rue Venizelos on which were located, as I remembered, Stein’s Department Store, Floca’s Restaurant and the remains of the Orosdi-Back large general store. The “Tour Blanche” dates from the days of Venetian rule in the 15th century, and it is the most striking object in the city. It was originally surrounded by ramparts, which were destroyed during the later years of Turkish domination. In close proximity are the White Tower gardens, the White Tower restaurant, and the White Tower music hall. A competing music hall, the “Skating Rink” was a block away across the street. Music halls in the east exist primarily for the sale of liquid and other refreshments. The artistes attract patrons by their presence rather than by their art. Their chief function is to mingle with the patrons and to encourage the sale of liquid refreshments at scandalously high prices. The “Tour Blanche” Music Hall was a rendezvous for soldiers and civilians of many nationalities, and on the night of Sept. 30th,

1918, when the armistice with Bulgaria was announced, was the scene of a wild celebration.

Most of the churches of the city had alternately served as Christian churches and under Turkish domination, as mosques. The Church of St. George was of circular form but the Turks had added a minaret. Excavations in the neighbourhood of the church brought to light an altar, thought to be the one from which St. Paul preached to the Thessalonians. The Church of St. Demetrius, built as a Christian church about the 3rd century A.D., was the most perfect form of the basilica known. It too had a minaret added by the Turks. It was named after the patron saint of Salonika, and was almost totally destroyed by the 1917 fire. The mural and floor mosaics were excellent, and the clearing up of the ruins after the fire revealed others of equal excellence which had been obscured at the time of its conversion to a mosque.

The surrounding country was full of points of interest. Back of the city, Mount Hortiach rises to 2000 feet above the sea, on top of which was an old Roman reservoir which fed water to the city through a stone aqueduct. Now, probably 17 centuries after they were built they still deliver fresh water to the city. A small village to the east, used as a camp for Serbian refugees, is built on the site of some Roman baths, which took advantage of the warm springs in the neighbourhood, the original city derived its name Therma from the presence of these springs. I and my colleague John Ramsbottom used to take the laboratory Model T. Ford on Sunday afternoons and picnic in these outlying places. In the neighbourhood were numerous monasteries, examples of which were scattered all over Macedonia, the most important ones being at Mount Athos about 50 miles away. We used to pass through a small village, thirty five miles to the west, which was on the site of the ancient Pella, the capital of Alexander the Great. Nothing now remains but some tumbling ruins and a simple fountain, like many others in Macedonia, a land of springs, placed there by the Turks to water the horses of their

cavalry and the sheep of the shepherds from whom came the tribute gathered annually. "Sic transit Gloria mundi."

The armistice with Bulgaria came on Sept. 30th 1918, but the general armistice on Nov. 11th 1918, came six weeks later. All the allied troops had an air of expectancy and all were dreaming of being soon on the way home. Yet the work still had to be carried on for now the hospitals were overflowing with influenza casualties who were coming down in numbers from both fronts, and the research problems continued in the study of the bacteriology of the lungs of patients dead of the disease. A group of British Officers including myself, arranged with a French officer, who had been a teacher of English at the Sorbonne in Paris to give an hour lesson in French to us three times a week. These classes continued until the afternoon of November 11th when the news of the armistice reached us in class at Salonika. The teacher with Gallic emotion exclaimed, "Mes amis, la guerre est finie! L'école est aussi finie." We thanked him and, like him, turned our attention to the matter of an early discharge.

Naturally everyone wanted to get home and just as naturally it was impossible to let everyone go. The thousands of British troops in Macedonia were going to have to be on duty for weeks or months, and we had to have medical services particularly in view of the raging influenza epidemic. However, I had been sufficiently long on service without leave, to apply for it and with the backing of Colonel Dudgeon, I applied to G.H.Q. for leave to "Blighty" and, after an expected interval it was granted.

By the end of November, evacuation of British troops was under way via the now well established overland route by ship and rail across Europe. I paid my farewell to old Thessalonica on November 27th, and with a number of other medical officers embarked on a troop train leaving that day. the route by rail took us southward near the Aegean Sea coast, across the plains of Thessaly, through the Vale of Tempe, past the foot of Mount Olympus, near to the famed pass of Thermopylae and to a Grecian village called Brolo on the hither side of the Parnassus range of mountains. There we spent a couple of

days in a well-organized tent rest camp and one morning set out by truck up and over the Parnassus range and down to another small Greek village on the Gulf of Corinth called Itea. Here in another well-organized British rest camp, we were to spend the next six days, awaiting the arrival of naval transport to take them across the Adriatic to Taranto in Italy.

The camp at Itea was well organized and was reasonably comfortable. It was two miles from the village and we would walk down to the village in the afternoons. The site of the far famed Oracle of Delphi was some six miles away across a valley and we learned in the village, that a French outpost here had a detachment at the village near Delphi and that a truck delivered mail and rations there every 3rd day. So four of us journeyed to Itea one afternoon, and called on the French Headquarters with the idea of getting a ride to Delphi with the French truck. Since I had a little more knowledge of French than the others, I was delegated to make the request. We entered a large building which had evidently been a fine residence and was told by the sentry that the office was on the second floor, up a wide stairway. We proceeded up the stairway and at the landing met a dapper young French officer. Drawing on my reserve of French expressions I asked him if we might have a ride to Delphi and back with the “camion a poste”. He smiled and replied in perfect English, “Gentlemen, you are too late. The post went yesterday and will not go again for 3 days.” We all laughed and, in conversation with him learned that he had before the war, spent 10 years in the United States.

The next day, although the weather was dull, the four of us decided to walk the six miles across the valley to see the Oracle. We started directly after lunch, and the weather was cloudy and threatening rain. Most of the way led across a large olive orchard. Due to the war and the influenza epidemic the olives had not been picked and were ripe on the trees. I tasted one but didn't like it for it was extremely bitter. After a couple of hours we reached the other side of the valley and stopped for a few minutes at a small tavern and had coffee and cognac. The proprietor told us that it was still

two miles further to the Oracle and that the weather was darkening and looked like rain. We decided not to go further but to retrace our steps before the rain should come. It was dark when we got back to the rest camp, having failed to visit one of the most historic spots in Greece.

We spent a couple more days at the rest camp and finally got orders to embark next morning on H.M.S. Bermudian which was to take them out of the Gulf of Corinth and across the Adriatic to a rest camp at Taranto. The Bermudian had been built for the New York – Bermuda passage. She was somewhat narrow for her height and when we got out into the Adriatic, she tossed about considerably in the stormy sea, so that many were seasick. However in about 24 hours we arrived at the Port of Taranto and were taken by lorry to the rest camp which was now completed and much larger than when I was there in August 1917. It was congested with troops returning homeward and a battalion of West Indian coloured troops was on the point of mutiny, at the delays in forwarding them on their journey. The night was tense, but next day the Indians were entrained and the camp assumed a more peaceful atmosphere. After two days another troop train arrived and I and another medical officer were detailed to accompany it as medical officers. We travelled up the Adriatic side of Italy to the rest camp at Faenza where we spent two days. We then proceeded across the north of Italy through Milan and Turin, again through the Mont Cenis tunnel through the Alps and down into the plains of France, spending another day at the rest camp near Lyons. The next day we arrived at Cherbourg and boarded a channel steamer which landed them at Southampton. The crossing was a rough one and again there was considerable sea sickness. We arrived at Waterloo Station in London on Christmas Eve, 1918, and went to the Strand Palace Hotel for the night.

Christmas day in London was as usual merry but not for me. I knew nobody in London and there was no time to contact friends in other parts of England. However, it passed, and next day I transferred to the Thackeray Hotel near the British Museum. There I

met an old Hamilton friend, Captain Binkley also on his way home to Canada, and before we got orders for embarkation, he was to spend a month at the Thackeray.

After a couple of weeks, Binkley and I got a little tired of London and decided to register for a period at lady Allen's home in Devon which had been turned into a rest home for Canadian officers on leave. We arrived just before the dinner hour and after some aperitifs, sat down to dinner. In the middle of dinner, an orderly brought me a telegram from the War Office instructing me to report next day to the transport office in Winchester in connection with arrangements for embarkation and return to Canada. So I packed up, took the night train back to London, and next day reported at Winchester. I was then instructed to be in Liverpool the next day to embark on H.M.S. Grampian for the trip to St. John, New Brunswick. I went to Liverpool the next morning and in the afternoon embarked on the Grampian for the trip home, after nearly 4 years of service abroad.



The End of the Presentation



Bill returned from the Great War much older and wiser than he had been four years before. He was 34 years old in 1919, probably a decade older than many of his peers emerging from medical school to begin practice. This was the fate of many who had had to work to earn money for medical school and it was the fate of anyone when necessary war service intervenes at critical points in one's training. But this worked to his advantage in the new role he was to assume at the Hamilton General Hospital. Even though he had only four months of training in pathology and bacteriology at Johns Hopkins, his war service added a further three years of training and valuable

experience under much more adverse conditions. He was now well suited to the demanding role he was to assume.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Part III Murder

HAMILTON CITY PATHOLOGIST: THE ROARING TWENTIES (1919-1929)

*Courage is what it takes to stand up and
speak; courage is also what it takes to sit
down and listen*

Winston Churchill (1874-1965)



After the War

Bill returned to Hamilton in the late winter of 1919 to find that his friends from the 5th Field Ambulance were also returning to their practices and re-establishing themselves in civilian life. The “*War to end all Wars*” was over but not forgotten. The 5th Field Ambulance veterans got together regularly. In 1926, Bill presented on his experiences in Macedonia at a meeting at the Walker House Hotel in Toronto.

Even after the 1939-45 conflict, they never referred to it as “*World War I*”, or “*The Great War*” or even “*The*” war. It was just the war. Bill was a Captain during the last years of the war. As a Major, and later a Lieut. Colonel, he was Commanding Officer of the Hamilton Medical Company (5th Field Ambulance) in the early 1930s. As a young child, I can remember going down with my mother to visit him at the summer camp at Niagara-on-the-Lake. Father continued

in the Militia until 1945. The reserve unit still functions as the '23rd Medical Company.' In 2003 they were able to change their name to the '23rd Field Ambulance,' honouring the old name.

Every November the 11th, Bill would be on parade. Even after he no longer could get into his uniform, he still wore his medals. His closest friend was Daniel Kappele, who had been C.O. of the 5th Field Ambulance in France at the end of the war. There was Dick Farmer (the son of the World War I Colonel), Crossen Clarke, Leeming Carr, among the others. Another friend, Jimmy McLay, brought back a war bride from Belgium and set up practice in Grimsby. He suicided in the late 1920s and Bill and Helene kept in touch with his widow, who moved to Montreal in the mid-1930s.

Meanwhile, Back at the Ranch!!

Bill returned from the war to find that his father John William was very depressed. He had had four boys, which would be every homesteader's dream. Yet at this point, his oldest (Bill) had embarked on a city career; the next (George) was killed in a barn-raising in 1914; the third (Albert) suffered from tuberculosis and was not well enough to do much work and the youngest (John Eric), the farmer, had a birth injury and John knew that he could not run the farm by himself. To make matters worse, there was a farm depression in the 1920s and the price of crops was very low. It must have seemed like a horrible nightmare. He rented the second 100 acre lot to another farmer and he and Eric tried to keep the first lot going. He soldiered on until he was over 70, but then was persuaded that he must sell the farm and retire. With Bill's help, the family was moved from the farm on the 10th line, Tecumseth Township into the town. It included John and Bel, her sister Christine and sons Albert and John Eric. In 1928, Albert was readmitted to the Hamilton Sanitarium, where he had surgery to collapse his lung.

By this time, Bill was settled into his career. There were many trips from Hamilton to Beeton. John died in 1929. Bel died in 1931. Christine and Eric were left in the house.

Social and Family Life

Bill was also very involved in the social whirl in Hamilton. He was very involved with his doctor friends, most of whom had been overseas with him in the First World War. But his concern about the disfigurement of the smallpox scars from Egypt was a serious impediment. Later they had faded to a pebbly look, something like the surface of the moon – only noticeable if looked at closely. But in the early '20s they were still red and splotchy and made him look like he had some strange tropical disease. He recalled his shyness when he first met Helena Trenaman, his future wife. Helena's remark later was: "I loved him. I wasn't concerned about his complexion." They were married in Hamilton at All Saints Anglican Church in 1923.¹¹⁸



The Trenamans

Helena came from a prominent Hamilton family. Her father had a prosperous business in household cleaning and maintenance supplies. Her lineage went back to the Norman Conquest. The name Trenaman was derived from "Twentyman".¹¹⁹ Ancestors had come over to New Brunswick early in the 19th century. Robert Trenaman was a Midshipman in the Royal Navy. When his ship docked in Saint John New Brunswick he jumped ship and stayed with a family in Saint John.¹²⁰ The story goes that when the Royal Marines came looking, he was dressed as an old lady sitting in a chair and was not discovered. There was another Robert in the family, either son or

118 An engraved announcement is in the archives.

119 The name Trenaman is a corruption of Twentyman, a name that appears in the Domesday Book and is traced back to the Battle of Hastings when one of Harold's men slew twenty Normans with a battle axe and dagger. According to tradition, he was knighted by Harold on the field but this is highly speculative because Harold did not win the day and died on the battlefield leaving no records of the event.

120 Jumping ship was desertion, a crime punishable by death.

nephew, who lost his first wife and children in a boating accident on the St. John River. He married again in 1841, to Elizabeth Jane Dykeman, and had six children, three born in New Brunswick, and three after the family had moved to Upper Canada (Canada West) in about 1849.

They moved around a bit, but when Helena's father, Joshua Dykeman Trenaman, was born in 1856, they were living in Blenheim Township near the village of Drumbo. Joshua's mother, Elizabeth, must have died when he was a child, because Helena said that he barely remembered her. Robert married again to someone called "Julia A". Joshua and his siblings could not abide Julia, and would not even go to visit their father. Robert apparently became bitter, and cut his children off without a cent of inheritance. He and Julia moved to the United States. He died in 1885 – the same year Bill Deadman was born – and is buried in Marlatt Michigan.

Joshua moved to Hamilton, and in 1884, married Ida Jane Pingle. The Pingle (Pingel) family had settled near Markham in the so-called Berczy Settlement. In the early part of the 19th century, William Berczy led a group of German settlers from Schlesweig-Holstein to settle in Genesee County, New York. Things were not going well for them in upstate New York, and Berczy read a notice that land was opening up in Upper Canada near the town of York (now Toronto). He obtained a tract of land in Markham Township, northeast of York which became known as the Berczy Settlement.

The Berczy cemetery is on the east side of Kennedy Road, south of Major Mackenzie Drive and just north of there, in a farmer's field near the road, is the Pingle burial plot with a white stone monument. Time had weathered the names so that they were barely decipherable, but the name Pingle could still be made out when we last visited it before Helene's death in 1979. In the book *"William Berczy Co-Founder of Toronto"*, our family name is spelled the German way "Pingel".^{lxv}

Ida Jane and Joshua had six children, including two sets of twins, but only three survived childhood. Harry Clifford was the oldest,

born 31st of January, 1886, but the family never talked about him; he was considered a “black sheep” by all the family. Next born were twin boys who died in their beds at an early age from what was thought to be coal gas poisoning.¹²¹ Madeline Jane was next, born 22nd of January, 1889, and she had a twin who died at birth. Like almost everyone in the family, she married late to Walter Cecil Fletcher, known in the family as ‘Ces’. They had a daughter Jane. Helena Pingle was born 13th of August, 1899 when her mother was about 39. Known as Helene, she always considered herself a menopause baby. Because the health and medical standards of the day were much lower than modern standards, this would not have been all that unusual at that time.

Joshua built up a business, *Hamilton Domestic Specialties* making and selling cleaning powders and stove polish.¹²² The business was doing well enough that in 1899 he built a big house on Blake Street, near Sherman Avenue, in what was opening up as a new better district in the east end of Hamilton. He had a glass panel cut with the Trenaman coat of arms and put it into a small window in the front hall of the house. The escutcheon shows a battle axe and dagger crossed on a field. As a child, I remember my mother explaining it to me. I envisioned knights in full armour, jousting matches and great banners flapping in the breeze. The house still stands, little changed from its glory days. When I remember it, it had already been converted into a duplex. My grandmother lived on the ground floor

121 I can remember a few homes in my youth which were lighted by gas, and when electric lighting came in, early in the 20th century, the electric wires were pushed through the old gas pipes and light bulbs were hung on the old gas lighting fixtures.

122 People younger than 60 don’t know what stove polish is because they usually can’t remember cast iron wood burning stoves and kitchen ranges. But the stoves turned black from the smoke and soot and rusted and the whole kitchen was impossible to keep clean. So stove polish cleaned it up, removed the rust, and gave the stove a clean black finish which wouldn’t burn off as paint would.

and Aunt Madeline, Uncle Cecil and my cousin Jane lived on the upper floors.

Mother's Recollections

Helene loved to reminisce about her early years. Apparently her mother considered her a sickly child, thin, and prone to every affliction that came along. She must have gotten over this later, because I always remembered her as robust, energetic and healthy. She remembered that one year for Christmas she got a new sled. She tried it out on a nearby hill. The sled suddenly stopped and as she fell off, she ripped all the buttons off her new coat when they got jammed between the slats. She told me that she was afraid to go home, so she was in trouble both for ruining her coat *and* being late for supper.

The first automobile she saw on a Hamilton street belonged to a friend of her father. It was literally a “horseless carriage”. It was open, with a curved leather dashboard in front, large spoked wheels, and a tiller to steer. There was no radiator. The engine was air-cooled and was under the seat with a chain drive to the rear wheels. One day the engine ran out of oil, overheated and caught fire. Pedestrians shouted and waved at the driver, pointing to the flames under the seat, but he ignored this and drove serenely on, until the engine seized. At this point he was feeling the heat, and he jumped off. The whole car burned. He later complained: “they told me to put gasoline in it, but didn’t say anything about oil.”

Helene was sent to “Kingsthorpe”, a small private girls' school near her home. She had several friends from school with whom she kept in touch all her life.¹²³ The school was organized something like the English public schools and had six forms in the junior school and six in the senior school. She loved languages, but also did well in

123 One of them, Jean Christie, lived to be 98. Her daughter, Barbara is a close friend, living in Huntsville.

mathematics. Science was not taught to girls, so it was not offered at Kingsthorpe¹²⁴.

The First World War broke out on almost the day of her 15th birthday. She remembers that her older brother Harry went overseas and spent time in England. His wife, Jessica (née Cuttriss) had two very small children, my cousins George and Harry Junior. The “Great War” was seen as a heroic venture in 1914 – most people thought it would not last more than a year – and so my mother’s sister, Madeline and Jessie went to England to be with older brother Harry. I think that Jessie took George, but not Harry Junior. My mother looked after him for a while. After less than a year, as the war dragged on, they decided to come home. Cousin Mary, the youngest, was born in December 1917. She died in 2018 at the age of 101.

Helene got her matriculation at Kingsthorpe, in the last year of *‘the war to end all wars’*. That was a very good education for a woman in those days. People were returning from the war and returning to civilian life. It was expected that she would stay home and help with the family until she got married. But she loved music and had her heart set on a career. From 1918 to 1922, she studied violin and voice at the Toronto Conservatory of Music. She reminisced about her good times in the big city. Toronto at that time was 522,000 people whereas Hamilton was just 114,000 in the 1921 census. She recalls the theatres and the music scene in the immediate post-war period. It really did seem like the war to end all wars.

By the war’s end in November, 1918, Joshua was ready to retire and wanted to turn the family business over to his son Harry, who had survived the war somewhat better than most. The parents then took an extended vacation to Jamaica in 1919. Madeline must have

124 Sometime in the 1930s, Kingsthorpe became part of Strathallan College for girls. It is now part of Hillfield-Strathallan College which is co-educational.

gone with them because she talked about this later, especially about her stay at the old Myrtle Bank Hotel in Kingston.¹²⁵

When Uncle Harry took over *Hamilton Domestic Specialties* he had ambitious plans for it. It had provided a comfortable income for the family and during the war years had received several large government contracts. Harry decided to expand. He negotiated a large loan from the bank and began making plans to open branches in several neighbouring cities. At this point Joshua and the family returned from Jamaica. Grandfather was furious, largely because he had been proud of doing it on his own, never running up debts and having a solid if somewhat conservative image in the community. He ordered Harry out of the business, cancelled the bank loans and the other plans. He spent most of the rest of his life paying off the resulting debts.

Harry's reaction was not recorded. By this time he had three children, Harry junior, George and Mary and he moved his whole family to Burlington. There was little contact between Harry and the rest of the family until the mid-1920s when he apparently left his wife and family and took off with his secretary for parts unknown. Jessie (ne. Cuttriss) went back to her family in Toronto, taking the youngest, Mary with her. George and Harry Jr. came to stay with Aunt Madeline and with Bill and Helene. This was such a shame to the family that it was not even mentioned until many years later when he pestered his mother about the "black sheep". Then she finally told him a little bit. By this time, he was an adult. He recalls:

"I was told, in the euphemistic terms of those days that Jessie had 'died of a broken heart'. Somehow that made more sense to me than

125 The lead author recalls: "Just because I remember my aunt talking about it, we stayed at the Myrtle Bank for a few days in 1964, when we were on vacation in Jamaica. It was long past its glory days by then, definitely a faded and crumbling dowager, but I could imagine its grandeur in 1919. I read in the paper that it burned down a few years after we were there."

the Greek and Latin terms doctors use nowadays. But because I didn't know all this as a child, I had trouble figuring out how "Frankie" (Frances) and Vic (Victor) Mueller were cousins of mine. In fact, Frankie was Jessie's sister, and this family had helped out with the children, my cousins, during the time of crisis. She had another sister, Nina. "I was told, in the euphemistic terms of those days that Jessie had 'died of a broken heart'. Somehow that made more sense to me than the Greek and Latin terms doctors use nowadays.

But because I didn't know all this as a child, I had trouble figuring out how "Frankie" (Frances) and Vic (Victor) Mueller were cousins of mine. In fact, Frankie was Jessie's sister, and this family had helped out with the children, my cousins, during the time of crisis. She had another sister, Nina. Many years later, I worked with a social worker, Mr. Jim Carson, who was related to us on the Mueller side. "As a child, I was not too aware of things which did not directly impinge on me, and my mother took some pains to protect me from much of this.

Afterwards, I thought it was a real disadvantage, because, after I got married at the age of 27, she told my wife, Fran the whole story about the family "Black Sheep" and also incidentally, about the suicide of a wartime doctor friend of my father. I had never been told the details of either of these. I confronted mother on this and she said that when I was young, she felt that I shouldn't know, and when I was older, she didn't tell me because she thought that I already did know. It was very puzzling for a child. I always wondered why my cousins did not have a mother or father, and were living with us. But I knew better than to ask. These things were simply not mentioned in nice families.

The Roaring Twenties

The 1920s was an exciting time to be young. It was the days of the flappers, cloche hats, running boards and rumble seats, and a heady optimism about the future. In the arts and architecture, the "Art Nouveau" movement was giving way to what later was known as

“Art Deco”. In Germany, the Bauhaus was producing furniture and household interior designs which were revolutionizing the whole concept of modern life. George Bernard Shaw was replacing Oscar Wilde, who had died a decade earlier, as the “*infant terrible*” of the literary world.

In music, the musical comedy had evolved from the operettas of Offenbach, and Gilbert and Sullivan to the more sophisticated, if equally frothy, musical comedies of Franz Lehar. And new names were appearing, George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern. In the automotive world, the Model T Ford had put North America on wheels, but now everyone was looking at the streamlined Pierce Arrow, the Auburn with *sleeve valve engine* and the Stutz Bearcat, the first real American sports car.

The wireless, now called “Radio,” was evolving from the primitive crystal set, into something which the whole family could listen to. And moving pictures had evolved from the peep shows and nickelodeons of the turn of the century to the comedy of the Keystone Cops, Charlie Chaplin and the epic drama of “All Quiet on the Western Front”. In industry the production line, pioneered by Henry Ford, was producing goods in every larger quantities at ever lower prices, so that many believed that Nirvana had arrived.

Yet this had an ugly underside which did not escape notice. The gulf between the rich and poor was widening. Industries were booming and anyone could make money in the stock market, but, as portrayed by Charlie Chaplin in “*Modern Times*” working conditions in industry were poor, often dehumanizing. High living always on the edge of disaster, had become a way of life for many, as described by F. Scott Fitzgerald in “*The Great Gatsby*”. But everyone was having such a good time that they did not reflect on these things until the inevitable stock market crash came in October 1929.

Canada also instituted Prohibition at the same time as the United States, but it only lasted until the mid-twenties in Canada – fully a

decade before it ended in the U.S.¹²⁶ This was a great opportunity for the bootleggers and rum-runners. Border towns were especially vulnerable and many cities on the Great Lakes, especially Hamilton, became centres for underworld activity. This invariably increased the crime rate and Bill found himself very much involved in inquests and murder trials. As well, there was a burst of medical research activity around the World. Knowledge was advancing and the City Laboratory was an excellent venue to participate in this research. Bill took full advantage of this. He published extensively and the “Lab” became a training centre for pathologists and laboratory technicians. The “Roaring Twenties” earned their reputation.

Helene’s family spent summers in Port Dover, a small summer resort town on Lake Erie, about 40 miles south of Hamilton. Her parents had a cottage on 2nd Avenue, two blocks from the lake. The young people were at parties or over at the resort hotels for dances. It seemed they never stopped. Friends from Buffalo, the Lindsay’s, spent their summers there. Gladys Lindsay was about Helene’s age, and she married a Buffalo lawyer Nathaniel Norton, about the same time as Helene married my father.

She recalled dances at the Orchard Beach Hotel with the inevitable ‘Mickey’ of rye being passed around under the table so the chaperones wouldn’t see (it was Prohibition time in the US and Canada) and talking with the other girls about the boys who might ask them to dance. When she first invited my father to the family cottage, it was with some excitement that she took him to one of these dances. I remember my mother’s voice grew soft and wistful, and sometimes she would pause for a moment before she continued.



126 There was an exception to the prohibition law that allowed physicians to order brandy or similar drinks ‘for medicinal purposes’. This led to a great demand from patients for their doctors to order alcohol. On the prescription, it was shown as ‘olio riscini’ and often Bill or Dan would order it for their own use.

Meeting My Father

Helene recalled a party in Hamilton where she met a young pathologist, Bill Deadman, who had just come to the Hamilton General Hospital. She recalls thinking to herself: “With my luck, I will end up marrying a man with a last name like that.” He was shy and seemed self-conscious about the pock marks on his face which he said were from smallpox he caught in the war. Sometime later, he told her he had tickets to a new musical which was playing in Toronto. It was called “Chu-Chin-Chow” (Oscar Ashe and Arthur Anderson). It was the latest hit from New York and London. It was in the traditions of Franz Lehar and Johann Straus Jr.

She was very keen to see it, but because he was so vague in his approach, she wasn’t sure if he had really asked her to go. She was asked to go out on the same evening by another man of her acquaintance, and in a bit of a huff about the vagueness of the prior invitation, when he called to confirm, she told him she was “busy”. When she realized afterwards how heart-broken he was, she felt terrible and broke another date to accept his invitation the next time – and the next time.

Before long it was time to take him home to meet her parents. She was embarrassed to discover that, because her older sister, Madeline was unmarried, her parents were trying to push the young doctor towards her sister. He didn’t call for a while after that and she became very concerned that he would lose interest in her, but eventually he did. It took a bit of persuasion for her parents to accept that she should be married before her sister. Finally they did accept it, and a large wedding was planned for October 16th, 1923 at All Saints Church in Hamilton. The reception was held at their home at 99 Blake Street.

Helene had many friends who had parties in both Hamilton and Toronto. Bill knew most of the physicians in Hamilton many of whom had been in the 5th Field Ambulance during the war. Helene remembers that the first paved highway appeared in Ontario

between Toronto and Hamilton, the Toronto-Hamilton Highway, which soon became Highway Number 2.¹²⁷ She had first driven her father's car in 1918, and considered herself a good driver at that time. There were no formal driving tests or driver's licenses until almost ten years later.

In 1926, Helene had a trip to England. She went by herself because Bill was busy and couldn't take the time for a holiday. (This was his mantra throughout his life.) She went on the Canadian Pacific Lines and her old album of pictures showed scenes of London, ancient monasteries in Yorkshire and lots of other places. Towards the back of the album were pictures of a side-trip to France where she saw the railway coach in which the Armistice ending the "Great War" had been signed. In her pile of books were guide books to London and Ripon which date from that trip. Helene made a scrapbook that is still in the family collection.



Family Life - Marriage

After their marriage, they settled into life at 91 Delaware Avenue. The 'Lab' was very busy and several new staff were hired. During the 1920s, it expanded into the largest, non-teaching pathology department in Canada. Father was in Toronto to meetings on a regular basis, there were parties and receptions. In the summers, the Trenaman cottage at Port Dover was a busy social whirl. Bill and Helene were learning to play golf, which was all the rage in those days. They joined the Hamilton Golf and Country Club located in Ancaster, a small town west of Hamilton. Bill stated that he had worked hard to get to where he was and he wanted to enjoy the social events and his involvement in a great many things.

As a result, they postponed having children for a few years, and when they did decide that it was time, Helena had several

¹²⁷ Ontario never had a highway number 1 although the Queen Elizabeth Way, built in 1939 was sometimes assigned that slot.

miscarriages. When a son was born, father was pleased as punch, and would come home early from the lab to see him. In the box of old pictures were some shots of son John in a carriage beside the house. There was snow in the ground and he was probably only a month or two old. There was nothing else on that film so it appears that Bill took the whole roll of film at one time. This seemed a terrible extravagance for those days but indicated how he felt.

The Motor Car

It is hard for young people to appreciate the difficulties of driving in the early years of the century. There were very few hard surface roads, and most of the others turned into quagmires after a day's rain. Cars were very unreliable, and so were the tires. Father considered that he was doing very well to travel 50 miles without a puncture. When the Toronto-Hamilton highway was paved in the early 20s, there was one lane of concrete with gravel on both sides. If you met another car, you passed each other with the left wheels on the concrete and the right wheels on the gravel. If it was raining, and the gravel turned to mud, this could easily drag the car down into the ditch.

Helene recalled going to Port Dover to start the season in Bill's Model "T" about a year before they were married. They were all elegantly dressed for the occasion, her mother with a large flowered hat, sat up on the back seat with her two Pomeranian dogs, and two budgies in a large cage, as well as suitcases, hat boxes and whatnot. Helene had a large hat and a duster, and sat beside Bill who was driving. He was wearing his new blue serge three piece suit, with white shirt, starched collar and tie.

Punctures were a problem in those days, because changing a tire on the side of the road was very difficult. It often meant taking the tire off the rim and putting a patch on the inner tube, then putting the whole thing together again. The Model "T" had demountable rims which made the whole thing somewhat easier, and Bill had two

spares on the back, which ordinarily would be enough to get to Port Dover and back. However, between Hagersville and Jarvis, he had had to use the second spare so if there was another puncture, he would be patching inner tubes on the side of the road.

After they went through Jarvis, the oiled gravel surface gave way to clay, and as there had been recent rain, they were churning through wet clay which engulfed the tires most of the way. They got stuck about 3 miles south of Jarvis, and the more they spun the wheels, the deeper the car dug itself in. Finally, Bill got out, and asked Helene to drive while he pushed. When the car lurched forward, he fell on his knees in the mud and the spinning wheels threw even more mud on him. Helene said she was going to stop, but he kept shouting: *“Keep her going. Don’t stop! Keep her going ‘till you’re out of the mud.”* She recalls that the suit was ruined. Even with the new “Dry Cleaning” process, it never regained its shape. And Helene said that throughout the whole event, her mother sat, like Queen Victoria, on the back seat and never said a word.

She remembered driving back from Toronto on the Dundas Highway (Number 5 Highway) after they had been to a party in Toronto. In those days, they still had the Model “T” which Bill had purchased in 1919 when he returned from the war. It had a high windshield with a section which could be opened, and planetary gears controlled by pedals on the floor. Sometimes they did not get home until 2 AM, but he still had to be into the “Lab” early in the morning.

Cars

It seemed everyone was on wheels in the roaring ‘20s. The Model T was the first to be popular but soon others entered the market. The Model T was followed by the Model A, a roadster with a collapsible top and a rumble seat. Packard had a Twin 6 roadster. Willys Overland had the Whippet. Nash, Hudson, Essex and Studebaker had roadsters and touring cars. In England, Rolls Royce developed luxury cars that were preferred by Royalty.

Dodge Brothers brought out a line of trucks and later a car. Ford had truck models that were used in the First World War. The roads of the day were gradually improving with gravel replacing mud and concrete paving on the busiest ones. In the U.S.A. touring became popular with the development of better roads. The Lincoln Highway, built in 1912-13, ran from New York City to San Francisco and by the late '20s it was paved all the way. When Bill replaced his Model T, he bought a large Essex sedan that appears in several pictures taken in that era.



Hamilton City Pathologist

For Bill in 1919, it was back to his position of City Pathologist and Director of Laboratories. He continued in this role until his retirement at the age of 71 in 1956 – a total of 37 years, not counting his 4 years of military service. The immediate post-war years were marked by the Spanish Influenza Pandemic that lasted until 1922 and killed millions of people worldwide. There were many deaths in Hamilton. Businesses shut down and public meetings were banned. Even church attendance was restricted. It was a busy time for the City Laboratories and the pathology service. He never did return to Johns Hopkins to complete his training in pathology. He always said that the training he had received in Egypt and Macedonia working with the best British medical people was probably better than he would have received there.

Diabetes and Insulin

Langerhans described the islets in the pancreas that produced Insulin in 1869. Insulin controls the metabolism of sugar in the body – if it is not metabolized it causes diabetes that in severe cases was usually fatal. Several researchers were trying to extract and purify the hormone and by 1921 several were getting close. Bill's friend,

Frederick Banting¹²⁸ was working on this at the University of Toronto. The Professor of Physiology, J.J.R. MacLeod offered them laboratory space. Banting worked with a medical student, Charles Best and a biochemist James Collip and in 1922 had produced the hormone that was first tried on a human subject in January 1922. After it was further purified it eliminated the symptoms and the patient recovered.

Quantity production became a problem. Private pharmaceutical firms could dominate the research, take out patents and Banting and Best would lose control. A compromise solution was found. The patent was assigned to the U. of T and steps were taken to set up the Connaught Labs to produce it at low cost. It was also agreed that any further research by anyone else had to be freely shared with the U. of T.

In 1923, Banting and MacLeod were awarded the Nobel Prize in medicine. The prize was shared with Best and Collip. Other researchers who had done much research on the topic before Banting started were incensed and there was controversy and bad feeling in the research community for years afterwards. Bill was thrilled and complemented his friend, inviting him to make presentations in Hamilton. This he did several years later.



Back at the Lab

The laboratory service in Hamilton covered hospital pathology, clinical laboratory services and public health lab services.^{lxvi} Bill described this as the first Canadian lab service to serve both hospital and public health needs. The Director ranked as a city department head such as the hospital superintendent and the Medical Officer of Health. It was organized in 1910 and had a succession of physicians

¹²⁸ Frederick was the son of William Banting, from whom the Deadmans had bought the farm north of Beeton.

before Bill Deadman accepted the post in 1914. In 1922 they moved into new quarters on the second floor of the Victoria Avenue Building the staff totalled eight in all. They were very busy with clinics for diphtheria, doing throat cultures and giving immunizations to children. Cholera was also a big killer. Bill encountered it shortly after he started as an interne at the Hamilton General. By the mid-thirties diphtheria and cholera had virtually disappeared in Hamilton.^{lxvii}

Marion Hutchison

Bill realized that as the work piled up he needed secretarial assistance. He got an increase in the budget and hired Marion Hutchison who organized the work and was of invaluable assistance to the lab and the pathology service. She was an excellent typist and also took dictation so Bill was able to eliminate numerous handwritten reports. In the days before photo copiers she retyped reports. Bill asked her to use carbon paper for all his correspondence and other important documents. This proved invaluable in doing the research for this book because we have both sides of some pretty important conversations.¹²⁹

Bill continued to develop the lab with his chief technician Frank Elliot. They established a training program for medical technology that attracted students from all over Ontario. This work continued through the 1930s and '40s. He and Frank were instrumental in setting up the first professional organization for training standards in Canada. The Canadian Society for Laboratory Technology, more recently known as the *Canadian Society for Medical Laboratory Science* kept their offices in Hamilton even though much recent

129 Bill kept in touch with other pathologists, nearly all of whom were in teaching hospitals. Although the Hamilton General Hospital was non-teaching, Bill got an appointment at the University of Western Ontario and later at the University of Toronto. He had interns from both at the HGH.

development was shifted to centres with university medical programs. In 2016 the CSMLS announced that it was divesting itself of responsibility for accrediting training programs. It still has offices at 33 Wellington St. North in Hamilton. The Society has honoured Frank as a founder of the CSMLS. This will be discussed in later chapters.

He was a regional expert in forensic pathology and established the Forensic Pathology Program at the Hamilton General Hospital – probably the first formal program in Canada. He continued to lecture and train interns and had teaching appointments at both the University of Toronto and the University of Western Ontario, the first non-teaching hospital in Canada to do this. The first interne was Dr. R. C. Riley from Calgary but over the years he had some 75 internes and residents working with him. When he retired in 1956, a group of former internes took him out to dinner and presented him with a fine gold watch which was one of his treasured keepsakes.¹³⁰

Bill was close to all the Regional Coroners in the area from Niagara to Waterloo and was involved in inquests and several criminal trials. He got to know the Provincial Coroner in Toronto Dr. Smirlie Lawson. This was to stand him in good stead when he retired in 1956 because he was appointed as a consultant to the Provincial Forensic Pathology Laboratory known locally as the ‘Crime Lab’ and he continued there until his death in 1965.



Bill was elected President of the Hamilton Academy of Medicine for the years 1928-29. He was host to the Convention of the Ontario Medical Association in Hamilton in May, 1929. He recalled that he

130 Several letters are of significance. In 1924 Dr. W. L. Robinson at the Toronto General Hospital wrote to Dr. F. B. Mallory at the Boston City Hospital to introduce Bill and have visiting privileges extended to him. Dr. Elliot Ballantyne at UWO wrote to him giving his experience in pathology and asking for a position at HGH. Subsequent discussions are not in the file.

had a difficult year over the issue of fee-splitting. This was a very bitter controversy that still arises in medicine from time to time.

By this time the Lab was offering a wide range of services including an allergy lab and a blood transfusion service. Bill had done 59 post-mortem examinations (autopsies) in 1919 and the number continued to increase in subsequent years. His output continued into the 1930s and '40s. He appeared at inquests for many of these and discovered many medical issues that had not been previously studied. In 1926 he presented a case of Phenacetin poisoning resulting in death. The Hamilton Spectator reported on a lecture on Bacteriology given in 1926 where he discussed his experience in the First World War. He had concluded that it must be a virus but little was known of them at that time.

Research and Public Speaking

Bill became very active in research on many public health issues. He spoke to local groups about health issues at every occasion. He spoke on other issues including the pasteurization of milk, childhood tuberculosis, cancer and many other topics. With the help of his secretary, many of these papers were published as monographs. This work continued throughout his whole time in the lab. He did not retire from HGH until 1956.

The Great Depression

The Great Depression on October 29th, 1929 was not unexpected as there had been many indicators of trouble in the stock markets for a long time. Everyone was interested and as stock prices went up, more and more people bought shares. Many less-affluent people bought them on margin, that is, they had a loan in which the stock was their security. In 1929 margins could be as low as 10%.

During the immediate aftermath, the Dow Jones Industrial average dropped from 381 to 198 in the next two months but continued down for several years, reaching 41 in 1932. This ushered in a period of deflation that meant that the whole economy stalled.

This had an effect on everybody but the people at the bottom of the income ladder suffered the most. For many images of soup kitchens and people living on the streets were the most striking. Many took off for parts unknown.

This was quite common during the *Great Depression*. Men were traveling the length and breadth of the country looking for work, and seldom finding it. They traveled long distances “riding the rods” on the railway. This expression arose in the “Dirty Thirties” because men would climb on the reinforcing rods underneath the old wooden box cars and go wherever the train would take them. It was highly illegal and very dangerous, because if you lost your grip, you didn’t stand much chance under the freight train. The image in the United States was captured in the book “The Grapes of Wrath” by John Steinbeck.

Bill had some stocks but not too many and was able to survive. But in Hamilton, not only was there an immediate cut in salaries by the new Mayor Sam Lawrence but threatened cuts in staff had to be vigorously defended in City Council. Fortunately Bill had some friends on Council who spoke up for him but it was a time of high anxiety. And to add to this, in 1930 Helene was expecting with a due date in December. After several miscarriages, they were thrilled but also worried for the future.

The depression created another problem. Bill’s younger brother Albert was in the Hamilton Sanitarium with tuberculosis. Bill had purchased a small farm near Aldershot for Bert to live when he had improved enough to leave the San. When Bert died, the family had used the farm as a summer escape from Hamilton. Also Bill’s father John Deadman, had been persuaded to give up the farm in Tecumseth Township and move with family into the town of Beeton. Bill’s father died in 1928 and his mother died early in 1931 so only his brother Eric and his Aunt Christine remained. Bill was paying the bills for this and he now could not cover the costs. As a result, he decided to move them to the Aldershot farm and sell the house in Beeton. Real estate prices were very low so he didn’t get very much for them. In 1933 our family moved from the house at 91 Delaware

Avenue to the Aldershot Farm. Bill was concerned that the City wanted all its employees to live in the city. So he did not sell the house on Delaware but rented it out. This gave them some extra income that was very helpful.

His doctor friends in Hamilton were mostly in private practice and their practices shrank when many people could not afford the fees. Many were forced to accept whatever their patients could give them. A number of collection agencies sprang up to service the physician services but doctors were reluctant to call them because it meant that many patients would not get care. Everyone was struggling but Bill felt fortunate that he was in a salaried position and didn't have to worry about a stable income.

CHAPTER NINE

Part III Murder

HAMILTON CITY PATHOLOGIST: THE GREAT DEPRESSION (1929-1939)

Scottish physician Alexander Fleming first noted the anti-bacterial properties of penicillium moulds in 1929 but there was little interest because it was so difficult to isolate. But Fleming treated several patients who recovered after one or two doses. Bill's observation was 'Frank and I are journeymen but Fleming is a perceptive genius'.

Bill Deadman's observation when he read this.



Hamilton City Pathologist

Bill was increasingly busy at the Lab, the autopsy room and making presentations to internes, and to professional organizations. He presented on tumours of the adrenal medulla, pathology of cancer, fatal air embolism, streptococcal infections, among many others. He was active in the Ontario Medical Association and the Hamilton Academy of Medicine. In 1935 he presented at the Canadian Medical Association in Vancouver. Helene went with him and they visited Seattle and also the Edward Prince Ranch in Alberta.¹³¹ On December 22, 1933 he was appointed by the Medical

¹³¹ Edward was the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII for a short time. He was forced to abdicate in 1938 over his marriage to an American divorcee.

Council of Canada as an oral examiner at the University of Western Ontario.

Bill also was very conscious of research into medicine and pathology that affected his work. He was constantly trying to improve problems in the techniques and procedures at the lab. One thing he observed was that the agar plates that were used to culture the bacteria that they were studying sometimes had moulds develop on the surface and the bacteria would not grow. He and Frank Elliot tried many things to control any moulds in the air or on equipment and reduced the problem significantly.

When Bill started his work in the hospital, he was Chief Pathologist and Director of City Laboratories. The laboratories were in the Victoria wing on Victoria Ave. N. The autopsy room was in the basement. On the ground floor was the Outdoor Department where out patients were seen by their physicians. On the second floor was the Lab and Bill's office. The Laboratory technician was Frank Elliot and he had one untrained technician working with him. Bill was to change all that.

He arranged to get a secretary with an office next to his. He also began to hire more technicians and when he could not get people with sufficient training, he and Frank Elliot set up a training program that became recognized across Canada. It still exists but was taken over by the Institute for Medical Technology that still has offices in Hamilton. Bill then emphasized clinical research. He remembered the work he had done in Macedonia, and began to study cholera and other epidemic illnesses that so dominated work in those times. After dealing with a cholera epidemic and

Scottish physician Alexander Fleming first noted the anti-bacterial properties of penicillium moulds in 1929 but there was little interest because it was so difficult to isolate. In 1940 Howard Florey at Oxford succeeded in making a concentrated broth that proved effective in clinical trials. Fleming treated several patients who recovered after one or two doses. Bill's observation was 'Frank and I are journeymen but Fleming is a perceptive genius'.

Other Activities

He was also very interested in politics and was a staunch conservative. He got to know all the important people in Hamilton and Toronto. He was President of the Hamilton Academy of Medicine in 1929 and continued on its board. He was an active member of the Rotary Club of Hamilton and met many business people there. Frank Elliott and he set up training programs for clinical technologists and were active in the setting up of the Canadian Society for Laboratory Technologists and the offices are still in Hamilton. It soon was a nation-wide enterprise.

Bill worked long hours and was in the lab every day of the week even Sundays. Then he would go in to check if any autopsies were booked and after that go by the Hamilton Connaught Hotel that had a news stand with papers from all over North America. He would bring home Sunday copies of the Philadelphia Enquirer or the Montreal Standard but avoided the Toronto Star Weekly because he was Conservative and it was a Liberal paper.

I never knew him to go to church although later when he was retired, he began to go with my mother. It reminds me of the old joke about the Church of England in Canada. The C. and E stood for Christmas and Easter, the only two times that most Anglicans went to church.

There is another story that I remember from those days. Sunday School was held at 3 O'clock on Sunday afternoons. If the parents didn't go, certainly the children must go. And anyway, there wasn't anything else to do. So off we tramped, somewhat reluctantly. Since my parents didn't go, to the grade we went to the local United Church with a neighbour who was one of the teachers. It was well attended and divided into classes that corresponded to our grade in school.

On this particular Sunday, we studied the confessional. We were to confess both the ones we had done and the ones we had failed to do. That pretty well covers the waterfront. They've got you both ways. As the teacher explained it, I asked the teacher: "But what if I

did not sin last week?” The teacher replied: “John, we always sin. We are born in sin.” So I replied: “Well then, what’s the point of promising God that I will do better next week?” The other kids in the class had been snickering before but now they were laughing. The teacher called over the superintendent of the Sunday School and I was driven home in silence.

When I got home my mother seemed very alarmed and asked me: “John, what did you do in Sunday School? They phoned to say that I had done something awful.” When I explained, my father said: “John, that’s a perfectly reasonable question. I think you should go to the Anglican Sunday School in Burlington.” And so it happened.

Family Life and Death

As we described in the previous chapter, Bill’s father, his mother, his aunt Christine and his brothers Bert and Eric had been living in the house in Beeton for several years. Also, Bill had bought a farm property in Aldershot for his brother Bert, who was to be released from the Hamilton Sanatorium after he had a collapsed lung and was feeling better. But he grew worse and died in the San so he never got there. The farm then became a summer escape from the city for the family.

John William Deadman died on July 29th, 1929. He was 79. This left his wife Isabella (Bel), his sister-in-law Christine and youngest son Eric in the house. Also Helene was expecting, and the stock market crash in October 1929 had shaken the economy. By the time their son John was born in December 1930, Bill’s salary had been cut and he was supporting three houses in Hamilton, Aldershot and Beeton.

When Bel died on the 26th of August, 1931, The Great Depression was at a low point and Helene recalled that son John was only about 7 months old. She had taken him to Beeton to see his grandmother shortly before that and Bel was thrilled to see him. Helene also recalled that on one of those trips, she had skidded off a bridge with one wheel in the Caledon River and a local farmer had used a team of horses to haul the car back onto the bridge.

Bill was concerned that his aunt Christine was making trips to Toronto where she had friends, and entertaining them in Beeton that cost a lot of money. He sold the house in Beeton and moved Christine¹³² and Eric to the farmhouse. It was sold to Mr. James Feaver. The farm depression was very severe and Mr. Feaver told Bill that he could not pay the mortgage. In a letter dated October 19th 1932, Bill told him that he understood and that Feaver should pay when he could.

Shortly after this, he decided to rent the house at 91 Delaware Avenue and move the family to Aldershot. They moved enough furniture and other things to furnish the house. When Christine and Eric moved from Beeton they brought another load of stuff from the house there. By this time it would probably be 1934 or '35.



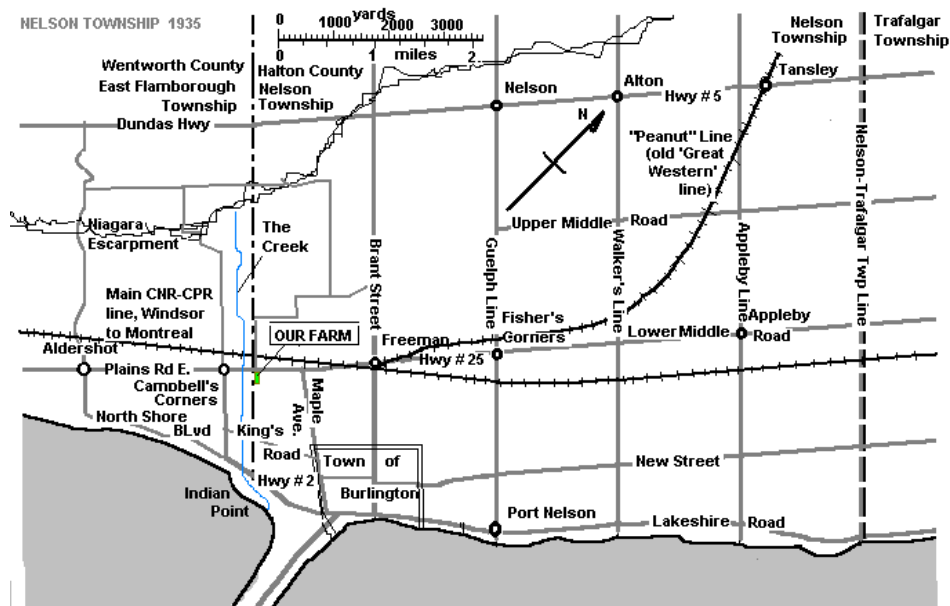
The old Farmhouse

The old farmhouse was on three acres of land just over the county line between Wentworth and Halton Townships. The house had been built in the 1860s by Mr. Bell for his parents who were retired. The Bells had large farm holdings on Maple Avenue in Burlington but they extended west to the county line. When the parents died Bell decided to sever the property and sell it. My parents bought it in the early '30s just after the Great Depression had started to bite. The property was just east of the county line between Wentworth and Halton.¹³³ There was a road allowance on the west side but no road. But there was a road on the north side of Plains Road that went up to the escarpment about a mile or two north of the house.

132 As we described earlier, Christine had total nerve deafness, probably caused by the Spanish flu in the early 20s. She was an excellent lip-reader so she could communicate quite well.

133 In the 1960s the county lines were changed. The former township of East Flamborough became part of Burlington (Halton) but the town of Waaterdown above the escarpment remained in Wentworth.

Our family used it as a summer retreat for a time but when Bill sold the house in Beeton, he moved Christine and Eric to the house where he could keep a closer eye on them. Christine was not at all happy about the move. Having her nephew checking up on her was too much. She kept to her room much of the time after that. She often came down to the kitchen to make cookies and whatnot. Our housekeeper, Theresa disliked the invasion of her domain but Christine was deaf so talking did not work. Theresa referred to her as ‘your sainted aunt’ and stayed out of her way.



Even though the farm was in Halton, the post office was in Aldershot. The address was R.R. #1, Aldershot Ontario. Rural mail was delivered every day but the people in Burlington had to go to the post office on Brant Street to pick up their mail. Door-to-door delivery was not introduced until sometime later.

The house was typical of farmhouses of the period. It was storey-and-a-half with a veranda around three sides. The first floor had a small bedroom in front with a stairway to the second floor on the west side. Behind it was a small parlour that looked as if it was only used if the minister came to call. Behind it was the dining room that

went the width of the house. Behind that was a large kitchen with a screened-in summer kitchen on the west side. The kitchen was the centre of all family activity. The large wood-burning stove would be lit throughout the colder months but in the hot weather, the summer kitchen was in a screened-in porch and it was used to escape the heat. It had its own stove.

The second floor had three bedrooms. The master bedroom was at the front with a bedroom and bathroom next and a third bedroom and behind that, over the kitchen was a large open balcony. Christine was in the master bedroom in front and she had a good view out to the gardens. Eric was in the next one and the rest of the family were temporarily crowded into the third bedroom.

The basement was very low and seemed to be used as a cold room or root cellar. Heat was provided by fireplaces in the parlour and the stove in the kitchen. A furnace was installed sometime later. Helene could not wait to get on with the renovations that she was already forming in her mind.

The Barn and Chicken Houses

Behind the house was an old barn that was probably built at the same time as the house. There was a stable on the ground level that was later used as a garage. The beams were hand adzed with some bark on them and the rafters were smaller trees flattened on one side only. There was an extension on the west side with an open second level that was used as a workshop. A steep ladder went down to the main level. On the east side was another low shed that had been a stable. On the back there was an extension that was lower than the main barn. The floors were uneven and the weathered barn boards on the outside would have been the envy of a modern decorator.

Further back there were two low chicken houses with screened runs behind. There with four units to the west and one unit to the east with a passage way between to give access to the orchard and fields beyond. When cousins George and Harry were living with us,

they ran an egg and poultry business but they lost money. 500 chickens was not enough to pay the bills so Bill helped Harry get a job in the Dominion Foundries and Steel Corporation where he worked for many years. George was less enterprising but got a job with the Bray Chick Hatchery, the one that had provided the day-old chicks for their poultry enterprise. After WWII with the help of his brother he acquired a farm near Milton.

Eric worked the farm. There was a small orchard with apples, pears and cherry trees, and behind that a large asparagus patch. There were several fields that would produce the vegetables that got us through the winter. Every spring, Eric would have the fields ploughed by our neighbour to the west with his horse and plough. After harrowing (breaking up clods) it was ready for planting. The asparagus was always the first thing up. Often heads would begin to emerge when the frost was barely out of the ground. By June there would be peas and beans and soon after potatoes and root vegetables. In September and October, the women were busy preserving. Canned goods were available but were expensive when you had your own fresh produce.

In a great pot on the wood stove water was boiling to sterilize the large jars. The vegetables were cooked for a long time before they were placed in the jars. Rubber sealing rings and glass lids completed the process. The steam would push all the air out. As they cooled, there would be negative pressure inside so they would not leak in storage, then it was into the root cellar. Large root vegetables like turnip and squash were stored dry on a shelf. Potatoes were placed in burlap bags and kept cool near the floor. With luck there would be food to get the family through the winter.

We describe this for the modern reader because most people would have no idea of life on the farm in those days. It was hard work and more hard work but it had its rewards. Frozen foods did not appear until after the Second World War. Nowadays fresh produce is brought in from warmer climes in the winter and spring. But fall preserving is still done in many farming communities.

Theresa

Theresa was our housekeeper. She often talked about her family. She was Irish, born to Irish immigrants who had settled near Campbellford Ontario, a village just east of Peterborough. She talked about her mother who was “*as Irish as Paddy’s pig*”. Her last name was Brunner. The name didn’t sound very Irish, but she told us that she had been married to a German man, who in the early days of the depression, like many of the unemployed, had taken off for parts unknown.

This was quite common during the *Great Depression*. Men were traveling the length and breadth of the country looking for work, and seldom finding it. They traveled long distances “riding the rods” on the railway. As we described earlier, this expression arose in the “Dirty Thirties” because men would climb on the reinforcing rods underneath the old wooden box cars and go wherever the train would take them. It was highly illegal and very dangerous, because if you lost your grip, you didn’t stand much chance under the freight train. These men were also referred to as “hobos”, or “tramps”. They often came begging a meal at our back door, which Theresa usually gave to them. She was sympathetic to people who were down and out.

Helene had hired Theresa as a housekeeper while at Delaware Avenue. She had two daughters, Kathleen and Helen. Kathleen had two daughters, Theresa and Helen. She died in a motor accident. They had a very old car and one day when rounding a corner, the passenger’s door flew open and Kathleen fell out, hitting her head on the curb.¹³⁴ She was dead by the time they got her to the hospital. Her husband had left her shortly after that and Theresa moved into a small semi-detached house on Young Street in Hamilton in an area

134 The ‘car accident’ was one of those freak accidents which would never happen nowadays. It was an old car with a wooden body on a steel frame and not in the best of repair. Also, the double latch doors were yet to come as were many other things that we take for granted nowadays such as hydraulic brakes and synchro-mesh transmissions.

known as Corktown. She had her daughter Helen and two granddaughters Theresa and Helen. She tried opening a restaurant, the *Tam O' Shanter* but it failed in the depression and she had no means of income.

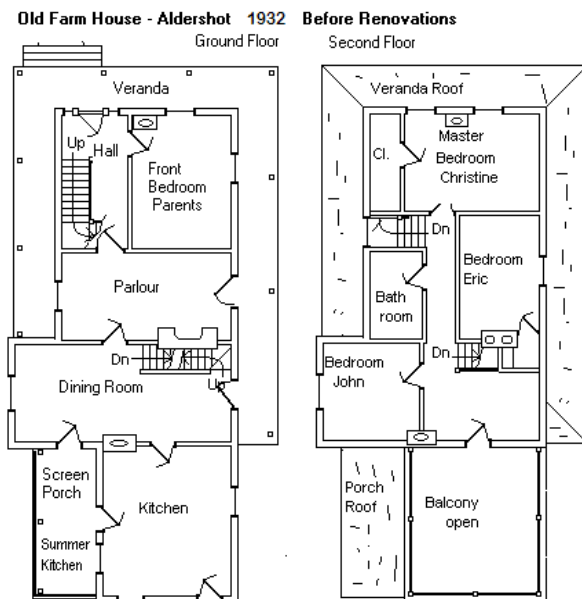


One day as Bill was coming up from the autopsy room his secretary, Marion Hutchison told him he had a visitor. It was Theresa who had come for her old job back. She also explained about her daughter and two granddaughters. Her daughter Helen was working and stayed in their house in Corktown but she was planning to be married and at some point Theresa would want to bring the granddaughters with her. Bill explained that they were now living in Aldershot and had very limited space but they were planning to expand the house and she could come if she was willing to put up with makeshift quarters in the meantime. They then closed in the summer kitchen and this was her temporary home for a couple of years.

Renovations

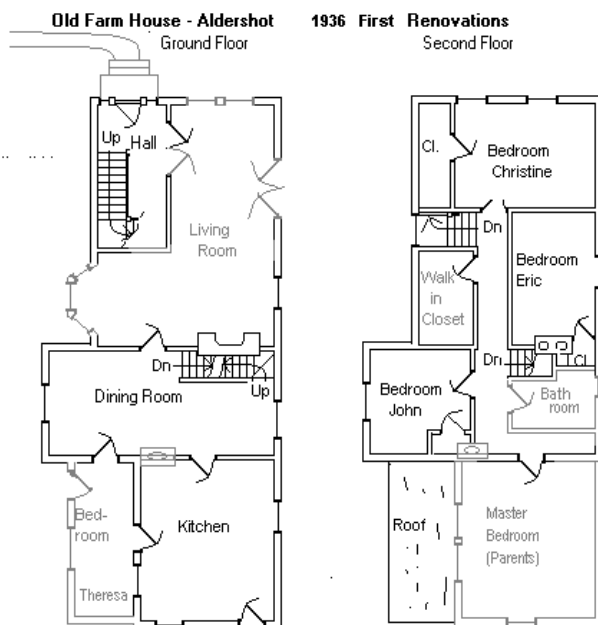
The big renovation started in 1936. Helene had used a local architect to draft blueprints to reflect her ideas. The parlour was expanded to the front of the old house to make a sizable living room. The old front door was closed. The old dining room became the front hall with a new entrance on the west side with steps down to the driveway. A new staircase to the second storey was built on the south side of the hall. The old kitchen was converted into a dining room.

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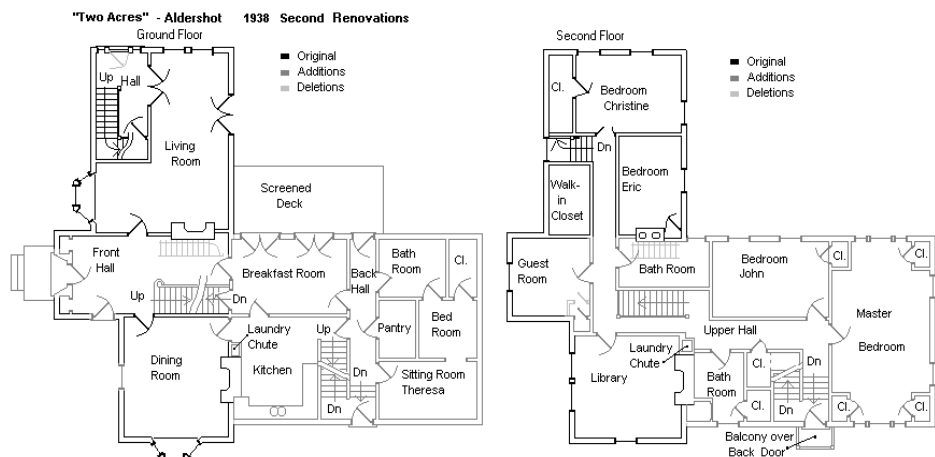
The old front door was closed. The old dining room became the front hall with a new entrance on the west side with steps down to the driveway. A new staircase to the second storey was built on the south side of the hall. The old kitchen was converted into a dining room.

They then built a large wing extending to the east from the main house. It was to be a full two stories so they planned a flat roof to bring the profile down to the roof of the old farmhouse. This more than doubled the size of the house. It contained a new modern kitchen, a breakfast room to the east of the front hall with a screened flagstone deck to the north. The back stairs were to the east with a landing half way. The east end contained a small apartment for Theresa and her girls.



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On the second level, the old bathroom was moved over the breakfast room. The old bedroom became a library with bookshelves



and a fireplace for Bill but it became a sitting room for the family. There was a new chimney for the furnace with fireplaces in the dining room and the library. It also had a flue for a wood stove in the kitchen. Over Theresa's apartment was a master bedroom that went the width of the house. John had a bedroom over the breakfast room that was very large compared to what he was used to. The new bathroom over the kitchen was a modern style with a bathtub and separate shower compartment. Every spare space was turned into a closet. But the construction extended through the winter of 1936. During that time the end of the house was largely open with the heavy tarpaulins inadequate to keep the heat in.



In the kitchen an electric range was used for several years. It was always a problem so as WWII approached, Bill ordered an Esse Storage Cooker from England, fearing that in wartime electricity might be in short supply. The Esse Cooker was low profile. There was a firebox on the left with a small oven beside it. There were three burners, one over the firebox and two others covered by insulated lids to keep the heat in. they were popular in England but not so

much in Canada. During the war the special coal was hard to get and sometimes the fire would go out overnight. If this happened, it took several hours and a brisk fire to

get the stove up to temperature again. Sometimes we had cold meals all day. After the war, we replaced it with a more modern electric stove.¹³⁵

The small porch that had been Theresa's home for a few years was torn off so that construction on the new dining room could proceed. Bill arranged with his regiment to have a large army tent on a wooden platform set up in the back yard and Theresa slept out there through most of one winter.¹³⁶ She had a large bed with a heavy feather tick and was comfortable enough when she was in it but it was very cold coming and going. It was cold for all of us at that time and the furnace went through mounds of coal that was delivered from Hamilton by a large truck with two navies who were the colour of coal. The old barn was also renovated. The side and back wings were stripped off. The openings in the upper level loft closed off. The barn was moved back about 20 feet unto a concrete pad and turned into a three-car garage. This gave a much better space for parking and turning.

Finally in late 1937 it was finished. A raised terrace surrounded the front of the house and the lawns covered the entire area around the house including the side and back. With landscaping it was Helene's dream come true. Furniture that had been stored in the

135 Modern cook stoves have developed a lot from those days. The old stove stood on four legs with an oven to one side and four burners beside it. The burners were ceramic with coils of resistance wires set into spiral recesses. The wires were open to the air and could give a nasty shock if touched. Also spilling liquids into the grooves would often cause them to burn out and the whole element had to be replaced. Heavy switches gave a choice of low, medium and high. And they used a lot of power.

136 It is not clear where the two girls were during this time. They probably stayed with Helen and her new husband, Ron Poustie.

barn was placed, much had to be purchased and we were moved in. but there was still lots of things to do in the new house. There was a large pile of earth in the back yard from the basement excavation that took several years to disperse. Some of the furniture from the old house in Beeton remained in the loft for years. At that point construction on the new four lane highway from Toronto to Niagara was beginning. War talk was threatening in Europe and the King and Queen planned a visit for 1939. It was decided to call the new highway the Queen Elizabeth Way.

Cars

By the 1930s cars had become much more sophisticated and more reliable. The old Model T had gained the sobriquet: “Get out and get under”. Now there were more familiar names such as Buick, Chevrolet and Cadillac. The Chrysler Corporation had been formed and bought Dodge Brothers for their trucks. It had Plymouth, Dodge and DeSoto. The Chrysler Airflow was a sensational design in the mid-30s. Bill bought a DeSoto Roadster to replace the Essex. The lead author (JCD) recalls as a child that he and his friend, Peter Kappele played in the car and put the top up and down so much that it had to be replaced.¹³⁷

In 1936, Bill bought a Graham, made by Graham Paige to replace the roadster and at the same time bought a Willys 77 for his brother Eric because he was away so much that the family needed a second car. It was the economy model. It had mechanical brakes when almost all the other cars had gone over now the new hydraulic brakes. But it was the workhorse at home for many years.

137 Bill had a bad habit of riding the clutch. He said it was due to learning to drive on the Model T. There was no gear shift. Instead there were 3 pedals on the floor, low, reverse and brake. He said that one always kept a foot on the pedals in case it was necessary to change gears. But on the newer cars, this habit tended to cause the clutch to slip and wear out prematurely. He was replacing his clutches every 25,000 to 30,000 miles. A careful driver usually got at least twice that on a clutch.

In 1939, as war became more imminent, Bill realized that this war could drag on for at least 4 years and the Graham was showing its age. He decided to buy an Oldsmobile to replace it and this served us throughout the war. In June 1939 the Canadian Medical Association had their annual meeting in Montreal. They planned to have a motor trip that would take them through New York State and up to Montreal and after the meeting to spend a week in Quebec City. This was my first motor trip. My mother recalled I was sitting in the back seat and driving the car just as hard as my father by pulling back and forth on the window winder.

While in Quebec City, the Caribbean Fleet of the Royal Navy was in port and we went on board. Bill talked to one of the Officers and was told that the RN was very concerned about the outbreak of war and wanted Canada to come in and support them if necessary. After that we went to Ste. Anne de Beaupre and toured the new basilica that was still under construction. When they returned home, I could not stop talking about it.

Family Life

Life in the country continued. Helene was concerned about my schooling. She found a kindergarten in the neighbourhood on the Guelph line run by Ann Peart, a relative of the Peart family who lived across the road. I was enrolled in September 1935. I recalled that it was on a dairy farm, in the farm house. I got to know their son, Peter Peart who was a friend for years after. In September 1936, Helene applied to have me admitted to the local public school just down the road. She was annoyed to discover that to enter 1st Form, I had to be 6 by the end of November. It was back to the kindergarten for another year.

I started school at School Section #14, Nelson Township just down the highway from our home. It was typical for the time, a square building with two entrances, Girls on the right and Boys on the left. There was one teacher. Helene was pressed by her friends in Hamilton to take me out of that terrible school and enroll me in a

city school but Bill insisted that this was the type of school that he had attended so she did not object. When I started there in 1936, there were 4 forms with two years in each just as it had been in Bill's schooling days. However when I was starting Junior Second, the government changed the system to eight grades. There was a 15 minute recess mornings and afternoons. John came home for lunch most days and tried to fit in with the other kids in the class.



Pathology Work Continues

During this time Bill was very busy. He worked long hours and was often away at an inquest in Niagara or Guelph and was not home until late. Theresa always saved dinner for him so he could have a warm meal when he got home. I somehow felt that he did not care for me and became much closer to the women in his life. I said:

I lived in an adult world. I always said that I had three mothers. I felt that Aunt Christine somehow disapproved of me and I often said nasty things behind her back. My mother chided me about this but Theresa came to my defense so mother became the arbitrator or mediator. It was not until I was in school that I had male friends but that was later during the Second World War.

The Great Depression got worse in 1937 and Bill's salary remained very low. On December 9th 1937, Bill received a letter from the Ottawa Civic Hospital, offering him the position of Director of the Department of Pathology at a salary of \$6500.00. He wrote back saying that he was considering the offer. Then he went to the HGH Superintendent and Board to say that he would prefer to stay in Hamilton if they could match this offer. The Board chair said that they would match it but it would have to be done over several years. He decided to stay and declined the offer from Ottawa. However it was many years before he got his salary increase.

Bill's research grew rapidly. He remembered his work in Macedonia and it inspired him to present and publish some 12 articles between 1930 and 1939. these are shown in Chapter 15, **Publications and Accomplishments.**

Bill was working every day in the lab but he also got very involved in the political and social whirl of Hamilton. He was invited to a reception to meet the High Commissioner for Australia at a private home on Bulls Lane. He attended the Annual Armistice Dinner of the No. 5 Field Ambulance where he made the introductory remarks. A typewritten copy of the remarks is in the archives.

Speeches

Bill was invited as the guest speaker at the Saint George's Society Festival Dinner at Christ's Church Cathedral in Hamilton. In October, 1937 Sir Frederick Banting was giving an address to the Canadian Army Medical Corps Officers' Association. He sent Bill a copy, urging him to keep it confidential. Bill had known Banting since his days on the farm and had kept in touch over the years. Later, in 1939 Bill asked to use his name as a reference for a professional submission. Sir Frederick quickly replied and they continued in contact. Bill wrote a letter to Col. R. M. Gorseline who had just been appointed as Director of Medical Services at the Department of National Defense.

Bill wrote many papers on medical-pathological topics and gave talks at local venues on his pathological findings. He also was called as an expert witness at inquests and trials. He was a staunch Conservative and got to know many politicians. He was friendly with Ellen Fairclough, a local Hamilton MP.



War Again

There was a threat of war as the National Socialist (Nazi) Party under Adolph Hitler invaded the Ruhr Valley with little response

from Britain and France. Then in 1938 he invaded Austria. The British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain complained but Austria was a German Ally so there was little reaction. Then in early 1939, Hitler claimed that the Sudetenland that was part of Czechoslovakia was German and invaded it. He claimed that Germany needed 'lebensraum' so Chamberlain met with Hitler who claimed that this was the end of his territorial ambitions. When Chamberlain returned saying "peace in our time" it was not believed by most in the west and he was roundly criticised in Parliament. Britain moved to a war footing.

Unfortunately WWII started in September 1939 and because of wartime restrictions Bill had to wait until after the war for his salary increase and by that time salaries had increased so much that it was not until he retired in 1956 that things got better.

On September 1st 1939, Hitler's armies invaded Poland and simultaneously, the armies of the Soviet Union invaded from the East. Mortal enemies to that point they reached a non-aggression pact but Poland was destroyed. The remains of the Polish Army were able to get out and fled to Britain, where they were greeted warmly. Because of a formal alliance between Britain and France, both declared war on Germany. At that point Britain was rapidly mobilizing and Winston Churchill was appointed as First Lord of the Admiralty – a post he had held in the First World War. Bill had always admired Churchill and he followed his career very closely. Our library contains copies of most of his writings, sharing space with those of Sir William Osler.



British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain resigned and there was a strong movement to appoint Churchill to the post. There was much dispute as Churchill had switched from Conservative to Liberal and back to Conservative over the years between the two wars. But he was finally appointed in early 1940. Bill was thrilled. He had admired Winston Churchill in the First World War and again in

the Second. Over the years he bought almost all the books that Churchill wrote. They are still with the family.

The long grinding battle has been documented well. Meanwhile Bill's work in pathology continued but under more difficult circumstances. The Federal Wartime Prices and Trade Board introduced rationing including gas rationing and Bill was only assigned an A Book. Since he was driving to inquests throughout the region, he used this up in about 3 months. Then he had a long hassle to get it upgraded to a D Book which was the most generous one. Even this was not enough so he took the bus or train to Niagara or to Waterloo many times. The Willys got an A Book, later changed to AA. Bill sometimes used that book if he was desperate.

Our lives slipped into a new routine. Bill was still in the militia and he volunteered to help in the war effort. He was assigned to the Hamilton recruitment centre and served there until nearly the war's end. At that time he formally retired from service after some 30 years.



CHAPTER TEN

Part III Murder

HAMILTON CITY PATHOLOGIST: WAR AGAIN (1939-1945)

“Anyone who has looked into the glazed eyes of a soldier dying on the battlefield will think hard before starting a war.”

Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismark (1815-1898)



After Hitler had invaded the Ruhr Valley in 1937 and Czechoslovakia in 1939 with little response from the Allied Powers, the British Government warned him that any further aggression would mean war. Hitler decided to ignore this and on September 1st 1939, Hitler’s Armies invaded Poland and simultaneously, the armies of the Soviet Union invaded from the East. Poland tried to fight back but was easily overpowered. The whole country was destroyed and many were killed or simply ‘disappeared’. Britain and France declared war on Germany.

Fortunately Britain had anticipated war for several years and was building its armaments. They had developed aircraft, notably the Spitfire, and an early version of radar that was still top secret. Winston Churchill was appointed as First Lord of the Admiralty and immediately set about building warships and refitting older ones from WWI. He also fortified the big naval base at Scappa Flow. He

was aware that Germany had a strong submarine fleet and prepared defenses against them.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain resigned and Churchill was appointed to the post. He soon declared a unity government with the Labour Party under Clement Atlee. Then nothing happened for a while.¹³⁸ During this period, the German Navy had so-called 'Pocket Battleships' with the speed of a cruiser and the gunnery of a battleship. They were marauding the oceans. When the Royal Navy detected the Graf Spee in the southern Atlantic, they gave chase. The Graf Spee took refuge in Montevideo Harbour in Uruguay, a country that was officially neutral but was known to favour Germany. Eventually the Graff Spee was forced out of harbour but as it reached international waters it was scuttled and sank. This became known as the battle of the River Plate.

In early 1940, Germany's Wehrmacht invaded Denmark and Norway. It was well planned and British efforts to prevent it were unsuccessful. Then in May 1940, the Wehrmacht invaded Belgium, threatening France. France called on Britain for help but Britain was bracing for invasion, so could only offer a small force. Germany then invaded France and over the next few months it was apparent that France would fall. This left Britain standing alone and Churchill gave a series of speeches that inspired the nation to fight back and "never surrender".

Bill followed this with great interest and concern. His family could see how worried he was and he threw himself into his work with redoubled vigour. His work in pathology continued but under more difficult circumstances. He still had to cover a wide area when many co-workers were overseas or employed elsewhere. He kept in touch with his friends. His friend Philip Manson-Bahr wrote back that he understood Bill's concerns because they were under direct attack and yet his offers to contribute were rebuffed. He said: "We all here

138 This became known as the Phoney War.

are champing and fretting too – but we are just too old & we are out of it. They just don't want us & say that, quite frankly, there is nothing whatever for us old fogies to do.” Philip also commented that he had had similar letters from other old friends. So he was trying to be supportive. He commented further that his son-in-law¹³⁹ “had been sent to a place that no-body knows about and I, physically fit as I am, just sit here & carry on.”

Bill signed up to return to active service but he was too old for regular duties so he was assigned as a Recruiting Officer for the Hamilton district. He served in this capacity for the duration and retired in 1945. He got a letter from Colonel Gorssline, Department of National Defense in Ottawa to express his appreciation for Bill's presence at a meeting of senior officers of the service. He thanked Bill for making the point that age was not necessarily a bar to useful service. In 1941, Bill wrote to the Director-General of the Royal Army Medical Services in London. No reply is recorded.

In February 1942, Bill received a letter from Professor Gallie, Chair of the Senate's Committee on Medical Studies at the U of T. Attached was a Report on medical studies with proposed changes. Bill had been on the University Senate for many years. He replied that due to pressure of work, he could not attend. In 1943, Bill had extensive correspondence with Dr. William Robinson, the Director of the Banting Institute in Toronto. They compared notes on many issues including filing systems.

Bill had remained in touch with Frederick Banting, the co-discoverer of insulin.¹⁴⁰ During the war, Frederick had been

139 The son-in-law would be Greville Spencely. He was an architect and worked on several secret projects.

140 There had been ongoing research into insulin for many years. Research had identified that insulin was produced in the islets of Langerhans in the pancreas. Diabetes was a disease with early onset and an inevitably fatal outcome. Those who suffered from it had little or no insulin production.

employed in secret work with the Department of Defence in Ottawa and the British War office. On February 21st he died in a plane crash off Musgrave Harbour, Newfoundland. Bill was shocked and saddened by his death. Just before this he had invited his friend to speak in Hamilton to a medical group and this had to be cancelled.

In June 1944, the Staff of the City Hospital Laboratory Service received a commendation from the Board of Governors. Also, Bill sent a proposal to the Hospital Building Committee for an Institute of Pathology and Bacteriology with a detailed list of what was included. They were under consideration for some time but nothing was done until after the war.

Rationing

Rationing was introduced in 1940. It included food and gas rationing. Bill was only assigned an A Book. Since he was driving to inquests throughout the region, he used this up in about 3 months. Then he had a long hassle to get it upgraded to a D Book which was the most generous one. Even this was not enough so he took the bus or train to Niagara or to Waterloo many times. The Willys got an A Book, later changed to AA. Bill sometimes used that book if he was desperate.

Our lives slipped into a new routine. Bill was still in the militia and he volunteered to help in the war effort. He was assigned to the

After WWI, research intensified and many papers were published. But the isolation and purification of insulin had eluded research so far.

Banting became interested and with the support of J. J. McLeod, the Professor of physiology at the University of Toronto, Banting had a lab and assistance. He worked with Charles Best, a medical student and James Collip, a biochemist and began producing insulin that was pure enough that it could be used on human subjects. In January 1922, the first subject recovered and soon there was demand from all over for this new miracle drug.

Banting and McLeod were awarded the 1923 Nobel Prize in Medicine. The prize was shared with the other participants.

Hamilton recruitment centre and served there until nearly the war's end. He was also the editor of the Journal of Canadian Medical Services, published by the Canadian Army Medical Corps. At that time he formally retired from service after some 30 years. Bill wrote to the Mayor of Hamilton and to the Chairman of the Hospital Board see if the terms of the agreement in 1937 could be fulfilled. The response was disappointing. He was told that it was a gentleman's agreement and could not be enforced due to the War. He gained some income from his position as a Recruiting Officer but not much.

He was working seven days a week at the lab and at inquests and hearings. He was in constant touch with his friends. The correspondence file is full. In January 1940 he wrote to his friend Philip Manson-Bahr who was much closer to the action and told him that he had received encouraging letters from friends in the U.S. who were supportive. His work as Recruiting Officer kept him busy a couple of days a week. And he continued to give speeches and publish papers, both medical and political. At this point they were mainly in aid of the war effort.

His family became concerned that his health would begin to suffer. He was a heavy smoker from his days in the First World War but he claimed he never inhaled so he hoped that his lungs were not affected. He was pictures with a cigarette in his mouth and a long curl of ash sliding down the front of his suit. The staff in the lab had a Christmas Party every year to which the family was invited. One year, he received as a gift a cigarette holder with a large spoon attached underneath. This brought a laugh from all assembled.

When he returned from the war, Bill described himself as 'painfully thin'. Pictures of him at the time showed him as trim but not too thin. He had deliberately overeaten for some time to develop a 'bay-window' as it was called. Helene called it 'stout'. His friends were the same and it was felt that those who were thin were ill or did not have enough to eat. It is interesting that today, the well-to-do are more fit. It seems that the old adage has reversed. Also during the war, his teeth had been neglected. If you complained of a tooth

ache, the Army dentists just pulled it out. So Bill had very bad teeth through most of his life. Eventually they all had to be extracted.

Other Activities

Bill was an active member of the Hamilton Rotary Club and was President for several years. On April 29th 1943 he introduced the speaker who was giving an address to the club on “Our Department of Health in Wartime”. There is a list of many members who took part that included many prominent Hamiltonians. He seemed to know everyone in Hamilton and became close friends with many important people.

In 1943 he became a Fellow in the American Public Health It was some years before he received similar recognition in Canada. It was some years before he received similar recognition in Canada..Over the next few years he joined many other American and international associations but similar honours from Canada came much later.

In June 1944, the Laboratory Services received a commendation from the Board of Governors of the hospital for their work and co-operation in a bad fire at the Moose Hall. The Blood Bank at the hospital was also recognized as an important service. Also in June, he sent a proposal to the hospital building committee for a Pathology Institute that would greatly expand their space. It was justified by the large volumes of work that strained their current facilities. It was accepted by the building committee but no action was taken.

Bill had been a member of the Senate at the University of Toronto from 1933 and was very active in alumni affairs. He was President of the U of T Medical Alumni Association from 1933 and in 1936, became President of the U of T Alumni Federation. In 1943 he was a member of the Executive of the University College Alumni Association, and was President in 1952-3. In 1944, he congratulated his friend of many years, President Henry J. Cody on his appointment as Chancellor of the university. Also in 1944, he wrote to Dr. C. J. Devins, President of the Ontario Medical Association

thanking him for his visit to the Hamilton Academy of Medicine and mentioning his involvement in alumni affairs.

Family Life

Bill's son John had started school at a one-room school just down the highway from our home. There would be about 45 pupils in the school at that time. This was a farming community so many of the pupils were farm labourer's children. There were several Dutch families who had escaped from the war and many families from the 6 Nations Reservation near Brantford. Bill found this mix a very good experience for his son¹⁴¹ and said that he was above the prejudices against aboriginal people that were prevalent at the time. John said, I got to know the children of the farm owners as well and several were good friends much later in life.

I trudged down the highway from home and back again several times a day for years. In September 1938 the teacher, Miss Huffman decided to put Grades 3 and 4 together and in effect I skipped a grade. Also this was the only school for everyone in the area. I recalled that there was a boy whom people referred to as "Mongoloid". It is now called Down's syndrome. Miss Huffman did not put him in a grade but encouraged some of the more senior pupils to work with him. A year later, he was not there and I was told that he had gone to the big hospital in Orillia. My father told me that this was the hospital for the mentally retarded as they were called then.

When the Second World War started in September 1939, Miss Huffman had a half-hour "Current Events" session each day at 9 O'clock and encouraged the kids to bring in news clippings or information about the progress of the war. John said that he still remembers these things clearly – the Soviet Union's invasion of Finland, the cavalry regiments that were mown down by machine guns in Poland, the Battle of the River Plate and the collapse of France.

141 The lead author.

Then I recalled the hunting down of the Bismark after the sudden sinking of HMS Hood by a well-placed shot that hit the magazine. They hunted for the Bismark but the weather didn't cooperate. Finally when the weather cleared, Bismark was found headed for port in the Bay of Biscay. She had suffered damage so that she was making very slow progress. Finally she was torpedoed by two torpedo planes and was scuttled just off the port. By 1941 the war had reached a stalemate with Britain holding out alone and the U. S. refusing to enter the war.

Sir William Mulock

Bill had remembered Mulock from his childhood. He was born in Bond Head just a short distance from Beeton. Mulock had been Post-Master General in the Laurier government and was well-known in Canada. In 1944, a large dinner and reception was organized at Hart House on the U of Toronto Campus to honour him on his 100th birthday. Bill was the toast master and greeted the Chancellor and President of the University and assembled guests. It was a memorable occasion. This was one of the events that cemented Bill's close association with his alma mater. He attended the Armistice Day Service at the Bell Tower beside Hart House every year. John recalled that he went with his father several times when he was old enough.

The War Continues

After the early years of the war, current events were dropped but it left a lasting impression on me and I came to share my father's interest in politics and world affairs. Things had been going badly for the Allies after the fall of France. The Mediterranean Sea was dominated by the German and Italian Navies and the Royal Navy was struggling to prevent Malta from falling. It was under constant bombardment. The North African Campaign started in June 1940 and drove the British back gradually until by 1942, they were stopped at El Alamein.

When Germany's attempts at an invasion of Britain were called off, the Wehrmacht invaded the Soviet Union, and Stalin immediately declared war on Germany, putting him on our side. Churchill was suspicious of Stalin throughout the war. But he also felt that this would help the Allies. He and others began to remind people of previous attempts to conquer Russia, and mention Napoleon's experience in 1812. Germany had much initial success, pushing the Soviets back to Leningrad and Stalingrad. They came close to Moscow but there as winter approached, the Wehrmacht became bogged down. The war dragged on.

German submarines caused heavy losses on the North Atlantic even when a convoy system was instituted in 1940. The Royal Canadian Navy entered the war with very few ships but they began producing Corvettes that played a big part in improving the losses. Britain was entirely dependent on these cargoes to feed the population and maintain the war effort. It was not until 1943 that the heavy shipping losses began to decline.

Churchill had become very close with the U.S. President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. He had made overtures for more help but Roosevelt was controlled by an isolationist Congress. However he was able to negotiate a 'Lend-Lease Agreement that provided some help. Then on December 11th 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour in what Roosevelt characterized as a sneak attack. They lost much of their Pacific fleet but Congress immediately declared war on Japan and Germany. Japanese forces made rapid advances in the South Pacific and soon important bases, such as Baatan in the Philippines and Hong Kong and Singapore were lost. But as the industrial might of the U.S. was cranked up, the tide began to turn.

It is said that when great momentous events happen, most people can recall where they were and what they were doing. I recalled that I was walking from the Dining Room to the Kitchen to have lunch when I heard about it on the radio. Now we were at war for real – and as many were worried that Britain might fall, there were rapid

moves to protect vital industries in Canada. In Ontario, the big hydroelectric generators at Niagara Falls were the main source of power for industry in Southern Ontario. If this generating station was attacked, the whole industrial base would shut down. The station was closed off and the road that ran along the Niagara River and across the top of the station was completely enclosed in barbed wire and motorists were stopped and questioned by military personnel before they were allowed to cross.



Home Defence

I recalled that in my walks around home, I noticed construction was underway just north of the house. I walked up there and found guards patrolling the site. I asked one what was happening and the guard told me that they were bringing power from the Gatineau Region so that if Niagara was attacked, alternate power would be available for Hamilton's heavy industries. This was the beginning of what was to be a network of transformer stations across the province.

Bill's work as a recruiting officer continued in Hamilton and had to be fitted in to his very busy schedule. Because of the war, there was a shortage of people to do all the work. He found himself covering a larger area and working longer hours. The Lab was also busy but the recruiting and training of laboratory technologists continued.

Cousin Harry Jr. enrolled in the Navy but when he went to Halifax to take basic training, it was discovered that because of rheumatic fever, he was not accepted for health reasons. Very disappointed, he returned home and was immediately hired by the Dominion Foundries and Steel Corporation in Hamilton. By the end of the war, he was a supervisor and highly regarded. George had several health problems and contributed to work on the farm at home.

Mary had trained as a nurse at the Hamilton General. She enrolled as a Nursing Sister and served in England throughout the war. In 1944 she married a Canadian soldier from Thunder Bay. He was part of the D-Day force and several months later, was reported as 'missing in action, presumed dead'. Mary was heartbroken and when she returned to Canada it was clear that she was very depressed. She stayed with us for several years at Two Acres.

The War Continued

By 1942, things were looking up for the Allies. The Wehrmacht was bogged down in the Soviet Union and were suffering heavy losses. The North African Campaign under General Erwin Rommel had reached El Alamein but long supply lines and Allied attacks on the North African Ports prevented reinforcements from coming. Churchill was heard to say: "Before El Alamein we never had a victory. After El Alamein we never had a defeat." The British General in charge of North Africa was replaced by General Bernard Montgomery and this raised morale. Churchill had sent large shipments of tanks and armaments around the Cape of Good Hope because it was too dangerous to send them through the Mediterranean. When the army was resupplied, they started an offensive in November 1942 that pushed the Germans back and by May 1943, they were in Tunisia and the Germans had retreated to Sicily.

In the Pacific, the American forces had their first success in the Battle of Midway. The Japanese Navy lost four aircraft carriers and because of limited resources were unable to replace them. The American Air force carried out their first raid on Tokyo. Everywhere they were being pushed back but the fighting from island to island was fierce and losses were heavy. Churchill was concerned that the Americans would not be as active in the European Campaign. He persuaded Roosevelt to appoint a top general to take overall command of the war against Germany. General Dwight Eisenhower became supreme commander.

Plans for the invasion of Europe were well underway. An abortive raid on Dieppe in August 1942 suffered heavy losses and convinced the Allies that the invasion could not succeed against a French port. Plans for the invasion were planned for a more lightly defended beach and a floating harbour was designed. The whole plan had the code name 'Mulberry'. The plans for June, 1943 were moved back to June, 1944 and on June 6th a huge armada headed out for the Normandy Beaches. Losses were very heavy but the invasion of Europe had begun.

Things happened in succession after that. They will not be repeated here. Finally on May 5th, 1945 the war in Europe was over. The invention of the Atomic Bomb sped up things against Japan and they surrendered on August 15th 1945. Again I had a way to remember this. The date was circled on the calendar at Two Acres because friends were coming for a visit. When Murray Peart saw this, he asked I who glibly replied "Oh, that's when the war will be over. Murray scoffed but when it happened, he didn't say anything.

The rejoicing over final victory was world-wide. In Britain, everyone was in the streets and beginning to contemplate the massive job of cleaning up and rebuilding the war damage. In the Soviet Union, Stalin had tightened his grip on Eastern Europe. Borders were changed so that all countries that were occupied by the Soviets had direct contact. Churchill said "The hot war is over. The cold war is about to begin". Other countries were trying to get back to normal. John remembers that in Burlington, people were riding up and down the street and even on the sidewalks. The joy and relief was quite evident.

Back Home

The One-room School that John was attending was slated to be closed in 1944. Miss Huffman was married in the summer of 1942 and married women were not allowed to teach in those days. They hired a retired high school teacher Mrs. Gray. At that time there were about 10 in Grade Seven but only 3 pupils in Grade Eight. Mrs.

Gray put the two classes together and by June, 10 including me, were recommended to high school without writing the entrance exams. Of the others only one failed. Mrs. Gray was a crackerjack teacher as well. She taught English and I said that his love of language grew from there.

He added: I attended Burlington High School for Grades Nine and Ten. My marks were mid-range and Bill was concerned that I would not be able to enter medicine unless my marks improved. That is when he decided to enroll me at Trinity College School in Port Hope for the Fall term in 1945. the rest of my education is described in Chapter Eleven.

In 1945, Britain was recovering from the long battle. During that year, Princess Elizabeth was marrying Philip Montbatten and we were allowed to stay up late so that we could listen to the ceremony from London. This was the days before video transmission across oceans was possible so the CBC took videos from the BBC, loaded them into a plane and developed them en-route. In Canada, we were able to watch them about 12 hours after they were taken, a feat that put us ahead of our neighbours to the south, who waited a couple of days after the event. When I went home, I was able to watch it on our black and white television.



And Bill was trying to get things together at home. As a doctor, he was entitled to a new car. He bought a Plymouth for \$1500 but it had wooden bumpers and various other missing parts that were supplied later. He sold the '39 Oldsmobile for \$800, despite its slipping clutch and a lot of other problems.

Things gradually settled down to a peacetime routine. Rationing was ended and the troops were on their way home. The heavy industries were changing over from producing war materials to domestic products. The Wartime Prices and Trade Board disbanded and inflation became a new threat. Over the next 5 years, prices for all goods doubled.

And Bill's research continued. He published a further 20 articles between 1939 and 1945. some of these were reprints of articles published earlier.

Bill had brought the Hamilton General Hospital Laboratory Service through the war and they were busier than ever. Suddenly there were many people looking for jobs and for professional training and his teaching and research activities expanded. There were more pathologists available and Bill was anxious to hire an assistant. He also approached the hospital board about the salary increase he had been promised in 1939. All kinds of excuses were given but the upshot was that it was not forthcoming. Bill mentioned that the Chairman had told him that they had promised, but there was no formal commitment. It was not until he reached retirement age in 1970 that he finally got it.

He was offered an assistant. He interviewed several physicians with training in pathology and finally hired a younger man with some experience. Bill spent considerable time training him up to the standard that he expected but it became clear that he would not be able to take over the Laboratory and pathology service when Bill retired. But the Lab continued to operate effectively, partly due to the medical interns that he had through the University of Western Ontario and the University of Toronto.

These issues become the subject of the next chapter.



CHAPTER ELEVEN

PART IV – ...and Sudden Death

LATE CAREER AND RETIREMENT (1945-1956)



The war in Europe ended May 5th, 1945. Japan surrendered on August 15th 1945. The rejoicing over final victory was world-wide. In Britain, there was rejoicing in the streets. Pubs reopened and people tried to contemplate a new world. There were still shortages of food and most other things so rationing in the UK did not end for several years. In France, conditions were probably worse. The destruction was vast and recriminations against ‘collaborators’ caused much civil unrest. Both countries were beginning the massive job of cleaning up and rebuilding war damage.

Troops from the war in Europe were asked to sign up for a further period to aid the Americans in the South Pacific. But the war ended just a few months later so this was cancelled. The troops in the UK were being demobilized but it was a slow process. In the Soviet Union, Stalin had tightened his grip on Eastern Europe. Pre-war borders had been changed so that the map of Eastern Europe was dramatically changed, prompting Churchill’s famous phrase: “The hot war is over. The Cold War is about to begin”.

President Harry Truman invited Churchill to speak about his concerns at Westminster College in the president’s home town in Fulton Missouri. Truman would introduce him. The speech was given on March 5th, 1946. It created quite a stir as many Americans thought that when the war was over, they could go back to their

peacetime lives. But others had pointed out that the Soviet Union had taken over most of Europe east of Berlin and now saw this as part of their territory. Good old 'Uncle Joe' was not the benign leader that he was made out to be.

Grim Reminders

When Germany collapsed, the allied armies found some of the death camps that Hitler had set up as part of his 'final solution'. He intended to eliminate 'non-Arians', mostly Jews. There were six camps, mostly in occupied Poland. All were on a similar plan, low buildings in an enclosed area with a perimeter fence and guard towers. The central building was the gas chamber, the method of death for all.

The allied occupying force came across shocking scenes of emaciated corpses crudely stacked in open pits because the retreating Germans had not had time to bury them. Before the days of television, these grisly scenes appeared in movie newsreels but were so distressing that before long they had disappeared from the screen and we did not see them again until the Nuremburg Trials that started late

in 1945. Germany was accused of war crimes and cultural genocide. Twenty one of the surviving leaders of the Third Reich were on trial and most were found guilty. This was unorthodox for the time but it led to the concept of 'international criminal law'.

Other countries were trying to get back to normal. There were celebrations across Europe and many other countries. In Canada, there were celebrations in major cities, accompanied by marching bands and cheering crowds. in Burlington, people were riding up and down the street and even on the sidewalks. The joy and relief was quite evident.

The devastation in Europe and the far-East was massive. Although the Allies had demanded 'total surrender' the American Government instituted the Marshal Plan in Europe that provided money and help to Western Europe. The Soviets had similar supports in Eastern Europe. It was a salvation for many countries. But most people wanted to return to normal and forget about the war. They wanted to get married, have a family, buy a house and settle down. I remember a film from that era that showed dramatically how American troops: 'The Best Years of our Lives'.

Cars

The auto industry took a while to shift from producing war munitions to building cars. When they did, they were mostly 1942 models, sans parts such as metal bumpers. Packard and Nash were soon gone. Willys produced the Jeep but their other models disappeared. The Detroit 'big three', General Motors, Ford and Chrysler made 1942 models for several years. Graham Paige had been bought by the Kaiser Corporation that had built Liberty Ships during the war began producing cars. The Kaiser Fraser was popular for a few years then finally faded from the market. So did Graham Paige and some other makes.

General Motors and Chrysler were turning out cars as fast as they could but often trim and other parts were unavailable. Willys survived because they had produced the General Purpose vehicle (Popularly known as the Jeep) and this market continued for many years. None of the other models were produced. Packard and Studebaker survived but the competition was becoming stiffer. Packard slowly faded. Studebaker brought out a new model in 1947 that had a pointed nose like a fighter aircraft. It continued to be produced for many years. Nash was gone.

People had more money to spend so the economy models of the depression were less popular and styling became a dominant force. In Europe, car production took some time to recover. The British auto industry was producing a wide range of makes and models and they began exporting to Canada by 1947 but they were relatively expensive and did not sell well. The Volkswagen in Germany brought out a pre-war model but it was not exported to North America until 1949. Reliability was a problem for all makes and repairs were expensive and spare parts were hard to find.

The U.S. protected their own brands and constricted their imports for years. But it was an exciting time for everyone. The Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto was held from mid-August to Labour Day every year and people rushed to see what was on display in the Automotive Pavilion. Everyone was trying to get back to more normal times.

Back Home

Bill Deadman was very busy during the war but as peace returned, he found that he still had a heavy workload in the Lab and many of his colleagues had not returned from the war. He retired from his military career and concentrated on his work. As a doctor he was on the short list for a new car. He bought a Dodge Special Deluxe from Virtue Motors in Burlington but it was hardly deluxe. Many parts were unavailable; the bumpers were wooden, to be replaced when metal ones became available. Other parts were gradually replaced over the next year. The Willys 77 was also in poor shape but Uncle Eric drove it so little that it was used for local trips. It was also the car that I used to learn to drive. I got my driver's licence at age 16.

Bill was very involved in his son's education and he was not satisfied with the education at Burlington High School. We discussed it and he decided to apply at Trinity College School in Port Hope. I would be starting at Trinity College School in September. It was a busy time for all. I recalled that in the remainder of the summer at home, they were busy preparing me for school. I remember that father bought me two suits at Eaton's because the school required it. As I recall, they cost \$39 each. I also needed white dress shirts and a lot of other things and mother was busy sewing name tags in all of them.



Trinity College School

When it was time to go, we packed all my things in a large steamer trunk that had travel labels on it that made me think of mother's trip to Europe in 1923. We were planning to drive down to the school but we sent the trunk by express because it would not fit in the car. I was in the dormitory on the 3rd floor of Bethune House and my room-mate was Donald Gilley from Toronto. When my trunk arrived, it was unpacked into a wardrobe area at the end of the dorm and all trunks were stored in the basement.

In Second Year I was assigned to a 4 man room just down the hall from the dorm. There were two beds and a double bunk. My room-mates were Don Gilly, Richard Hogarth and Charles Bronfman, a Jewish boy from Montreal. Jews were not accepted in those days at TCS but Charles had attended Selwyn House School in Montreal where the Bronfmans' were very influential. His father, Samuel was the owner of Seagram's Distillery and had a small fortune so money was no object. We saw them a couple of times when they came to visit Charles in their big Cadillac but they always took him out so we never met them.

The year did not go well. When I came that year, I took one of the beds but when the others arrived, I was forced to give that up and take the lower bunk. Richard got the other one. I was forced into the upper bunk with the idea that Richard and I would switch at Christmas. This never happened and he decided to lie on his bunk and kick me at night until the springs began to give out.

When I went home for Christmas holidays I was so upset because I felt that no-body liked me and I asked my father to take me out of the school. He replied that he would do that if I insisted but he wanted me to finish the year. He also asked if I had other friends at the school. He added that there must be other boys at TCS that were shunned and I should seek them out and that way I would be in the room only at night. I found a group that met regularly in one of the senior boys' room on the ground floor and was warmly greeted. The year went much better after that.



The house master, Rev. Bagley, had asked me if I wanted to be moved after the disastrous experience the year before but I told him about my discussion with my father and he understood. In my third year he put me in a 2 man room and my room-mate was Stuart Morgan, from the

family that had Morgan's Department Store in Montreal and we got along fine.

The next ye was even better. I roomed with Bill Carroll, whose father was Leo G. Carroll, a famous character actor in Hollywood. In 6th form, we studied in our rooms and by Speech Day I won some prizes for my work. After that most students went home but those writing the Departmental exams stayed on for an extra week. When the results of the exams came in later in the summer, I had excellent marks in maths and sciences, but had failed Latin Authors. My father was upset and decided to appeal. The appeal was granted on the basis of my good marks in science subjects.

University College

I started in the fall of 1949. It was a very heavy course with 6 hour days¹⁴² any of my colleagues at TCS went to Trinity College on Hoskin Avenue, Toronto. Father and I discussed this and decided that I should go to dad's old college and take a course that was equivalent to the one that he took. And so that was what I did. I registered at U of T and payed my tuition and registration fees in cash. I had never seen \$100 bills before. I moved into the men's residence at 73 St. George Street and met several people that were in Physiology and Biochemistry as I was and we got acquainted. My meals were at the Hart House cafeteria and in my first year they cost 45 cents for lunch and 55 cents for dinner, a total of \$1.00 a day. I had breakfast in my room. The price was raised later but only by a bit.

142 This was in the faculty of Arts. But science and mathematics were there. The faculty was later renamed Arts and Science but that was after my time. Most courses in the Arts program had 5 or 6 subjects, an average of 4 or 5 hours a week. The Physiology and Biochemistry course had full days, with about 30 hours a week, about double the amount in other courses.

We had a histology course at 8am every morning so it meant that I was up at about 6, had breakfast and headed across the campus to the Anatomy building just beside the Medical School. I remember the famous lecture in the Physics Building (next to Convocation Hall) by Professor Satterly on catenary curves. When we entered the lecture hall, there was a stream of water from the physics counter arching over everybody to a receptacle in the top tier of seats. After the lecture, he turned the tap off slowly and the stream of water came down through the students under it.

I have another recollection of our studies on electricity. We were to set up a circuit that would allow us to measure the heating effect on water over a set period. Everyone had started but my partner was slow in setting up so I didn't check his circuit. It was a dead short and when he turned it on, there was a loud scotch and all the lights went out. There was no time to start the experiment again so we were not popular in the class.

.It was a long trek to the Anatomy Building, especially in winter. Other courses in the day were in the same area so I was out for the day, arriving back at the residence to pack books and go for dinner. In the second year, we took physiology at the Best Institute on College Street and botany at the Botany building on College Street. Physical chemistry was in the Chemistry Building, also on College Street. It was a very heavy year and we were tired at night so I concentrated on too many subjects, leaving Physical Chemistry to the last. I took a couple of bennies and di an all-nighter and the next day I blew the exam.

Failing an exam in an honours course meant that you could not continue in the course. I talked to my father who was sympathetic and supported me in continuing in the General Arts Course. I could still complete the pre-requisites for medicine and still enter with advanced standing.

University Naval Training Division

I enrolled with my friend Burf Kay at the Naval Reserve barracks on Front Street and we were duly signed up as cadets. I would go to Stadacona in Halifax in the Executive Branch. Burf had glasses so he went to the Supply Branch in Esquimalt BC. The first summer we had training every day and a two week cruise on a navy frigate. At the end of the summer, we returned home in time to register for the next year in our courses.

I applied to the University of Toronto in Medicine. However, in 1948 the veterans from WWII were granted priority for university admissions and I found that my chances of getting into Medical School at U of T were not good. I decided to repeat 6th form to try to improve my marks. I had a room with Bill Carroll, the son of Leo G. Carroll, a famous character actor in Hollywood. Bill brought many insights about life in California and a world traveller that I found had broadened my world. We often lay awake nights talking about all these things. In the Departmental exams in '49, I improved my marks but not that much so over the summer, my father and I discussed how to approach this.



Dad recalled that when he went to medical school in 1909 he had been unable to get into medical school so he took Biology and Physics that gave him advanced standing and 2 years credit allowing him to complete his training in 6 years instead of 4. He suggested that I do the same thing. Medical schools had 6 years, 2 years in Pre-meds and 4 years in medical training. The equivalent course to Biology and Physics now was Physiology and Biochemistry, a 4 year course that would give advanced standing into medicine. I decided to take Physiology and Biochemistry and I enrolled in University College and booked into the residence on St. George Street. It was on campus and very close to everything I needed. I found the work in P & B very demanding. We were in lectures or labs from 8:00 in the morning until 5:00 at night. I was very tired and I know that I didn't study as much as I should, so in Second Year, I pulled an all-nighter and blew the exam in physical chemistry. In an Honours Course, this meant that you had to repeat the year or transfer to a Pass Arts Course. I chose the latter and enrolled in the 4 year course.

Back to UC

The Arts program was much less demanding than P and B. I decided to take a range of subjects including Political Science, Anthropology, English, Organic Chemistry and a couple of other subjects. The English course was given by Dr. Claude Bissell who was also the Dean of residence so I had met him before. There were essays assigned every term and I, being a procrastinator, left them to the last night and then went to the Library to pull something together. In my third year in the course, I found the topic particularly interesting so I spent much more time on it and I got an A-. Mrs. Grey would have been proud of me. My love of the English language has been strong ever since.

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I joined the student governing body at UC and took part in campus politics. In my fourth year, I ran for 4th year President and won. My father was the President of the UC Alumni Federation so at the Graduation Banquet, we sat side by side as father gave his speech on what we could expect as we ventured into the wider world. Afterwards we had Dinner at the University Club on University Avenue and I invited several friends. It was a great occasion.

The Dick Trial

The story of the Evelyn Dick trial was described in detail in the Prologue. It was an important part of Bill's reputation as a forensic pathologist but he never regarded it as a high point in his career. His testimony was excellent and could not be questioned by the defense but the prosecution's case fell apart in the Appeal that was heard In April, 1947. It is not clear what Bill's feelings about it were, but he always thought that another case that he did many years later while with the Attorney General's Lab in Toronto was better.

Presentations and Speeches

Bill began his speaking career in the 20s and 30s but these were mostly issues related to public health. In 1940, he addressed the Lions Club about tuberculosis, a serious, often fatal disease that was

inadequately treated. During the war, he gave speeches supporting the war effort. He had an article in the *Globe and Mail* (G&M) arguing that Canada was not supporting Britain strongly enough at a perilous time. He gave an address to the annual meeting of the Ontario Association of Pathologists on the same topic. In a letter to the *Globe and Mail* in December 1941, he pleaded for Canada to provide medical officers to Britain where they were badly needed.

Bill published an article in the G&M entitled 'Canada and the Commonwealth' in which he argued that the Commonwealth was the strongest defence against totalitarian powers. Always an anglophile, Bill also recognized that Canada had close relations with the USA, but he considered that the position of Americans was very changeable and he suspected that many still regarded Canada as their 14th colony. The Commonwealth was much more reliable. He gave talks on this topic to several groups. Another article argued that Canada should have a population of 50 million people over the next few generations and that immigration must be encouraged.

At the reunion of the 5th Field Ambulance In 1948, Bill replied to the Toast to fallen comrades. He stated that the war was only over for a few years and we have to be aware that it is still a dangerous world. Brigadier G. W. D. Farmer, C.O. of the RCAMC responded. He stated that we must not relax our guard. Members must be prepared to take responsibility and meet the challenges that are coming. This was Bill's theme for many years. It was only confirmed in his mind and the minds of many others when the Korean war broke out in 1950.



In April 1948, the U of T Alumni in Hamilton organized a rally to which Sidney E. Smith President of U of T was the honoured guest. They became close friends over the next few years. Bill's wife Helene poured tea and assisted in the proceedings. The President announced a fund raiser for \$6 million to be used for expanding the campus. Bill had known Dr. Smith through his membership on the Senate.

In November, 1948, Bill had a letter in the G&M stating that the Royal Canadian Navy needed to tighten their discipline, more like the Royal Navy. He called it 'the Nelson Touch'. The reaction of the RCN

was not recorded but many were unhappy because of their exemplary record with the North Atlantic convoys in WWII.

Bill wrote to Dr. Harvey McCullouch, the Crown Attorney in Hamilton to enquire about problems with consent or authority to perform autopsies when there is no coroner's order, or when there is no next of kin available. On September 25th, he received a reply from C. A. Magone, the Deputy Attorney General giving a range of tests that they expected regional pathologists to perform. Bill was invited to a meeting of the Association of Regional Pathologists in Kingston on October 26th-27th. In attendance would be Dr. W.L. Robinson, Pathologist at the Toronto General Hospital, Dr. Nobel C. Sharpe, Prof. Joslyn Rogers and Dr. Ward Smith at the A. G.'s Medical Laboratory in Toronto. These were people whom Bill would work with after his retirement and move to Toronto.

University College

I started in the fall of 1949. It was a very heavy course with 6 hour days¹⁴³ any of my colleagues at TCS went to Trinity College on Hoskin Avenue, Toronto. Father and I discussed this and decided that I should go to dad's old college and take a course that was equivalent to the one that he took. And so that was what I did. I registered at U of T and payed my tuition and registration fees in cash. I had never seen \$100 bills before. I moved into the men's residence at 73 St. George Street and met several people that were in Physiology and Biochemistry as I was and we got acquainted. My meals were at the Hart House cafeteria and in my first year they cost 45 cents for lunch and 55 cents for dinner, a total of \$1.00 a day. I had breakfast in my room. The price was raised later but only by a bit.

We had a histology course at 8am every morning so it meant that I was up at about 6, had breakfast and headed across the campus to the Anatomy building just beside the Medical School. I remember the famous lecture in the Physics Building (next to Convocation Hall) by Professor Satterly on catenary curves. When we entered the lecture hall, there was a stream of water from the physics counter arching

143 This was in the faculty of Arts. But science and mathematics were there.

The faculty was later renamed Arts and Science but that was after my time. Most courses in the Arts program had 5 or 6 subjects, an average of 4 or 5 hours a week. The Physiology and Biochemistry course had full days, with about 30 hours a week, about double the amount in other courses.

over everybody to a receptacle in the top tier of seats. After the lecture, he turned the tap off slowly and the stream of water came down through the students under it.

I have another recollection of our studies on electricity. We were to set up a circuit that would allow us to measure the heating effect on water over a set period. Everyone had started but my partner was slow in setting up so I didn't check his circuit. It was a dead short and when he turned it on, there was a loud scotch and all the lights went out. There was no time to start the experiment again so we were not popular in the class.

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The second summer, we had a cruise to England on HMCS Swansea. We visited Portsmouth and the big naval station there. We had 48 hours leave and visited London and had an overnight with the Spencelys and the next morning, we drove to Putings and met Sir Philip Manson-Bahr. It was a rush to get back to the ship by noon but we made it. Then it was north through the Irish Sea to Lamlash on the

Isle of Arran where we had a flotilla regatta. Then it was on to Belfast where we had a brief visit to the Festival of Britain site. The next day we sailed to Londonderry where we refueled and headed home. I had lost my sea legs by then but we went through the tail of a hurricane that quickly brought them back. We arrived in 'Slackers' and HMCS Stadacona. In early September, we took the train to Toronto and back to school.

Back to UC

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U of T Faculty of Medicine

I was accepted in the school because the flow of veterans had slowed somewhat by that time and I had a good record at UC. The class had 150 students but few women. Dean Macfarlane believed that with the expense of a medical education, only about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the cost was paid by tuition, it as a waste to have many women who would drop out to have families and practice part-time or not at al. after that. Our class was unusual as there were 13 women, slightly more than some previous years, and all of them practiced close to full-time throughout a long career.

The lectures in psychiatry were given by Professor Aldwyn Stokes. He had slides that showed an early version of the bio-psycho-social model, a concept he had brought with him from the Maudsley Hospital in London where he had trained and worked for years before coming to Toronto. This model was new to North America but soon became popular here.

Junior Internship

I applied at Toronto Western Hospital where I had done some work as a medical student. I started in June. There were four rotations of 3 months each. The first rotation was in surgery and in the Emergency Department. There were two interns assigned so it was 28 hours on and 20 hours off. When I was not there, I was expected to cover private surgery for my staff-man. I began to understand why the internship was so brutal – also, why juniors so often made serious mistakes during surgery. This problem was not fixed until many years later when working hours were limited and pay was increased.

The second rotation was Obstetrics and Gynecology. Three internes were assigned so the pace was much easier. The third rotation was Internal Medicine. At that time, the old Western Hospital had open wards with 30 beds down each side. There were two interns on this

rotation and they were so busy that they only had time to follow the head nurse on her daily rounds and complete other tasks. The fourth rotation was on the Hospital Blood Bank. In those days, donors were paid for their blood and interns made a bit of extra cash by acting as a donor.

Senior Internship.

I had applied to Veterans' hospitals in Montreal and Vancouver. The Montreal placement came through first, so I was off to Queen Mary's Veterans' Hospital on the first of June 1958. I had the old Vauxhall that I got from dad and it was not in good shape. Even so it was slow going. This was before the 401 had been built so most of the way was on the old Hwy #2. When I got near Cornwall, I ran into a huge traffic jam. Cars were stopping beside the road and climbing the embankment at the top. I was told that this was the day that the St. Lawrence Seaway was flooding the big reservoir behind the Cornwall dam and everyone wanted to see the huge flood of water. I did not get to Montreal until almost 9 o'clock and everything was closed. Another intern let me into the residence, got my key. I collapsed without even unloading the car.

The next day, I joined my colleagues for a tour of the hospital. There were only senior interns at the veterans' hospitals and the pay was \$200 a month, a nice increase from last year. Three rotations of four months each with choices: Internal medicine, neurology, psychiatry and chronic care at the chronic care centre at St. Anne de Bellvue.

In my first rotation I worked with veterans many of whom had been gassed in the First World War. I recalled that my father had been a heavy smoker after his war service so I understood that soldiers all smoked heavily. The second rotation was with two of the top neurologists at McGill. The quality of research seemed much better than I had seen at U of T. I remembered several incidents.

That winter there was a call that a veteran had had a heart attack at home and I would accompany the ambulance to pick him up. It was one of those classic Montreal walk-ups with an outside spiral staircase. We struggled on the icy steps to get the stretcher to the second level and when I examined him, he had classic signs of a heart attack. We strapped him onto the stretcher and then tried to struggle him down the icy steps. The ambulance attendants kept saying: "Careful, I'm slipping" and "Damn, don't push" If he had not had a heart attack before, he would have had one then. The fourth rotation was to the

chronic care centre at St. Anne de Bellvue. I did not want to go there so I arranged to be transferred to psychiatry. On March 1st, I started his psychiatric career.

Other Activities

Bill was the President of the University College Alumni Association so he was involved in discussions about the building of a new men's residence on St. George Street. Apparently the provincial government had promised funding but it was not forthcoming and Mr. Justice J. A. Hope of the Ontario Supreme Court invited Bill to a meeting to discuss it.

Dr. Levinson at the American Academy of Forensic Sciences wrote to Bill and to Ward Smith inviting them to arrange a symposium on these topics for the Canadian group. Bill said that his work was too heavy for him to do this and suggested that Ward Smith be the chair and he would serve on the committee. Ward Smith also declined for similar reasons and suggested that there be regional committees in several parts of Canada. This was accepted.

In January 1953, Bill sent a sample of blood to Prof. H. Ward Smith from an autopsy that showed that the deceased had a carbon monoxide level of 22% and was probably the cause of death. We do not know if an inquest was called. Bill often had to decide these cases without one.

Bill had written to Prof. R. M. Janes, Professor of Surgery at the Banting Institute requesting that he meet with son John about a career in pathology. He replied that he would not be professor at that time but his replacement would certainly be interested. As it turned out, the replacement was to be Dr. John Hamilton. I spent the year 1959-60 as a resident at the Banting. This is discussed in later chapters.

Citizen of the Year

Bill's work in the Hamilton Laboratory Service and Hamilton Public Health was commended in the Hamilton Spectator in 1949. He was nominated by the Advertising and Sales Club as Hamilton's Citizen of the Year for 1949. At the annual Gala, held on January 9th 1950, Bill was praised for so many contributions to Hamilton over many years. In his acceptance speech, he declared that he wasn't sure if he deserved it but it was the greatest honour he had ever received. He said many people had helped him but the only one he would mention was his wife and

helpmate. He said “She has praised me and blamed me and is responsible for everything I have done over many years”. The evening and the speech was recorded by radio station CKOC on ’78 records and these are treasures in the family collection.

The Spectator article went on to describe the many honours and important posts that he had held from WWI and WWII as well as scientific research, clinical teaching and public affairs. It also described the standing ovations that he got as his accomplishments were told to the audience. The article showed a picture of him in the Lab seated at his desk with the microscope that he used throughout his career. The microscope is in our treasures at home along with many other items that he used. Pictures of Lab staff working in the Blood Bank and in the Pathology Museum were also shown.

He was a strong conservative but as a public servant he eschewed direct political involvement although he was approached once or twice to run for parliament. He was well known as a public speaker and after the war he sent his paper entitled “Canada’s Fundamental Reconstruction” to Prime Minister Mackenzie King who acknowledged it politely.



Family Affairs

Cousin Mary had gone overseas as a Nursing Sister in 1942. While there, she had met and married Lieutenant Styffe, from Port Arthur. In 1944, just after D-Day, he was lost in action, presumed dead. His body was never recovered. Mary was very depressed after she returned home in 1945. She stayed with her Aunt Madelaine in Hamilton for a while and then stayed with us at Two Acres. Bill never took holidays from the Lab but he did attend conferences in many places. His idea of a holiday was to add a few days onto his conference time in an interesting city and take the family along. Our trip to Montreal and Quebec in 1939 was a typical example.

In 1949, he planned to attend a forensic conference in Washington D.C. He took the family including Mary with the idea that when in Washington, he would be at the conference while we toured the city. We drove the Plymouth, staying overnight in Harrisburg and we toured the sites of the American Civil War. The next day we arrived in Washington and stayed in a downtown hotel near the White House. We

toured the Mall, the Capitol Building and the Smithsonian Institute. Helene was teased because she referred to the Congressional Library as the 'Transgressional Library – a slip of the tongue, no doubt.

When the conference was over, we still had a few days in hand, so we drove to Colonial Williamsburg. It was a big tourist attraction and was crowded but we managed to visit several buildings and then it was 'hit the road' to be back to Washington for a late dinner. On the return trip, we went to Harrisburg and then took the newly opened Pennsylvania Turnpike to Pittsburgh and stayed overnight. At that time the steel mills produced so much smoke and dust, we were cautioned to keep our windows closed in the hotel. The next day, we drove to Buffalo and then Home. It had been a good trip.

Later in 1949, Bill was looking at the English cars that were being imported. He decided on a Vauxhall from Hamilton Motor Products because he had bought cars from them before. The Vauxhall had an overhead valve 6 cylinder engine that went back to the 1920s. It was much more efficient than the flathead engines that were common in American cars. General Motors bought the company to get the patents for the engine that they would use in the Chevrolet models. It was interesting to see a bigger version of the Vauxhall engine in a Chevrolet.

The Miss Canada Pageant

In 1955, Bill was approached by the organizers of a new pageant that was organized for the summer of 1955. They persuaded him that this was not a cheesecake affair. The contestants would not wear revealing costumes and would be carefully chaperoned. Bill was well-known in Hamilton and would add considerable prestige to the event. The pageant would be held at the Brant Inn in Burlington with a selected audience. The distinguished musical critic Deems Taylor was to be one of the judges. He stayed at our house, Two Acres and I met him.

This was great news for me and my friends who would help to entertain the contestants while in town. They took them to local sites and went swimming in a nearby lake. They also were invited guests to the pageant. The event was planned to be held again in 1956. At that point some of Bill's friends got to him and persuaded him that he should not be associated with this kind of event. They were very

critical and with some embarrassment Bill resigned. He never referred to it again.



Keeping in Touch

Bill had active correspondence with many old friends, people like Philip Manson-Bahr. He also received several letters from various friends about the good times they had when visiting Two acres. One letter complements them on having a cottage in Haliburton. Bill wrote to Professor S. Beatty congratulating him on his selection as Chancellor of the U. of Toronto. He received a pleasant reply from Beattie saying that his main duty would be to gain the affection of the graduating students as they made their way in the world. Bill also asked him if he would introduce the members of the Class of 1903 which is honoured that year.

Bill received a letter from the Principal of University College, F.C.A. Jeanneret, thanking him for the loan of a book which he had enjoyed. Bill was invited to address the members of the executive and supervisory staff of the HGH School of Nursing on the retirement of Miss Constance E. Brewster. He praised her for her many fine qualities and her hard work in making the school one of the best in Ontario.

The Hamilton Department of Pathology had been accepted by both the U. of T. and the University of Western Ontario as training placements for pathology residents, one of the only non-teaching hospitals to be so recognized. There were two placements each year. Over the years, Bill had worked with many residents from all over Canada and he kept in touch with them as they qualified in pathology and took positions all over the world. In July 1954, Bill received a letter from an interne at the Toronto East General Hospital asking about openings at HGH for 1954. Bill offered an interview.

Bill had many friends in politics and was a strong supporter of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. He knew Ellen Fairclough, the MP for Hamilton East, quite well. In December 1956 she wrote to him about the leader of the party, George Drew, who was forced to retire due to illness. This was a blow to the party that otherwise stood a good chance of replacing the Liberals in the next election. She also raised the point as to whether they should drop the name 'progressive' and go back to the original name Conservative Party.

Bill replied that he was very busy with his new job in Toronto but later he met with Ellen and said that there were many PC Party groups across Canada and changing the title would not be advisable. He also supported the appointment of John Diefenbaker as the new leader. Bill sent out his speech 'For Whom the Bell Tolls' to many friends and got positive responses from all of them.

He was active in many areas of life. Besides his work as a pathologist and a medical examiner, he presented and published many articles on pathology, and had started on his memoirs which still remain in his inimitable hand on the backs of old voters' enumeration forms which he used as scratch paper.

He was for many years a member of the University of Toronto Senate. During the Second World War he was the editor of the Canadian Army Medical Journal and retired from his involvement with the reserve military at the end of the war when he was 60. He was a Rotarian and a Mason of the Scottish Rite. At the time of John's graduation from University College in 1953, John was the President of the graduating class and he was the President of the U.C. Alumni Association. Both were at the head table at the graduation banquet.



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Retirement

In January 1950 he reached age 65 and by Hamilton’s pension rules he was required to retire. Unfortunately, there was no replacement in sight and the City and the Hamilton General Hospital had been advertising for over a year. My father was trying to persuade the city officials that the salary of \$12,000 was grossly inadequate but it took hard experience to persuade them that this would not be considered a princely salary. The attitude among bureaucrats—and most working people—of any stripe throughout history has been:

“If he is paid more than I am, he’s paid too much. And if he is paid a lot more, he’s got to be ripping off the system.”

They asked Bill to stay on for a year, and he only agreed if they would pay him the same amount as they were offering to prospective replacements and give him his city pension as well. The pensions in Hamilton were a matter of some contention. During the Great Depression, Mayor Sam Lawrence had declared that everybody must contribute to the pension fund but the pensions at retirement were to be capped at \$3,000 regardless of one’s final salary. Sam figured that in

the '30s this was a very good wage and no-one should get a pension that was more than that.

As a result, Bill came into a salary of \$15,000 (\$12,000 plus \$3,000) which was increased as the salary offered for the position was increased. By the time his replacement was finally hired—at a salary of \$18,000 to be increased to \$21,000 after a year – Bill was advanced also to \$21,000, far more than he had ever earned in any year previously. Of course there were some mutterings at City Hall about double-dipping, but they were so relieved to have a new pathologist for an increasingly busy service that these notions were quickly suppressed.

These were great years for the family. After Bill had missed out on the trip to Mexico in 1958, Helene was able to persuade him to go to the Carribean and to Bermuda where they had not been since their honeymoon. Then Bill arranged to go to an international meeting of pathologists in London, England and they toured the British Isles and saw many old friends.

In subsequent years, they went to France and Italy, back to the UK and to the Lesser Antilles. This was a real change for a man who seldom took a holiday during his professional life.

Planning for retirement, Helene had the house divided into three apartments. They planned to live in one, and rent the others for some extra income. By this time Bill had already taken a position with the Ontario Medical Association as Director of the Erythro-blastosis Foetalis project. They set up a Task Force in Toronto and Bill was an active member for a year. He commuted from Two Acres during that year, but it was quite stressful, so they moved to Toronto and he resigned his appointment at the Hamilton General. This will be discussed in the next chapter.



CHAPTER TWELVE

Part IV – Continued

SECOND AND THIRD CAREERS

Some people are so open-minded their brains fall out.

*(Used by Dr. William Deadman)
Anonymous*



Bill's next job was a two year contract with the Ontario Medical Association to develop a program for the treatment of *erythroblastosis foetalis*, a condition which developed in babies in the womb who had a different Rh blood factor than their mothers. These babies could die shortly after birth and the mothers could develop incompatibility reactions and become very sick. The only treatment in those days was an exchange transfusion for the newborns of a compatible Rh type. My dad travelled all over the province to set up facilities for these exchange transfusions in major hospitals in every region. During that time he commuted from Aldershot every day to Toronto, often having to stay over for evening meetings. He would have been 72 when they asked him to stay on for a third year to complete the project.

They had moved to Toronto in 1957 and had rented a duplex in Moore Park. I was working at the Banting Institute at that time. We visited them regularly and when Peter was born, Bill took him to the garden and had a great time. Two years later, we took Stephen and Richard to see them and he doted on them as well.

It was on the second floor of a building on Lower Jarvis St. and it was the perfect job for him. He was half-time so he planned to arrive at 10AM, work until noon, take a 2 hour lunch, usually with colleagues, then work until 4PM. It was great. He was working with H. Ward Smith, Jocelyn Rogers and Noble Sharpe. The Chief Coroner for Ontario, Dr. Beatty Cotnam was a regular visitor. He eagerly looked forward to his days there. He also enjoyed time with friends at their duplex in Toronto. And Bill and Helene continued their trips abroad.

Family Matters

Fran and I were married on August 2, 1958. Our first year was in Montreal and they travelled around the city and surrounding countryside at every opportunity. Hugh and Joan were getting married on October 4th, 1958 in Windsor and I was Hugh's best man. It was a rush. We flew to Toronto and got a ride to Windsor with my parents who were also invited. We arrived on Friday evening just in time for the rehearsal. The wedding was in the Walkerville Anglican Church and the reception was at the Windsor Golf and Country Club. This was very much the old world, old money ambiance that they had always associated with Hugh. Everything was done properly and with style.

I recall: Jeannine Maclay¹⁴⁴ invited us to her apartment for dinner and we had a very good time. We invited her back to our simple apartment a couple of times throughout the year.

My parents came to Montreal two weeks after Thanksgiving and took us out on the town. During that weekend, dad said that the daughter of a close friend in Hamilton had married about the same time as we had and was living in Montreal. They were Mary and Ed. Krucker. To our surprise, when we checked their address, we discovered that they were in the same building as we were, on the floor below. With my dad we went down and knocked on the door.

144 We talked about Mme McLay in earlier chapters.

We were greeted warmly if a little hesitantly at first and we exchanged visits throughout the year.

As I recall, Mary was not working at that time, but Ed, a man originally from Switzerland was the pastry chef at Ruby Foo's Restaurant – probably the most prominent Chinese restaurant in Montreal at that time. We toured many restaurants that year and finally got to Ruby Foo's as well.

Montreal Winter

The winter was harsh with huge amounts of snow that lasted from the last week of October until well after Easter. I usually drove the car to the Hospital but Fran had to take two buses to the downtown and it was really cold. Fran had her problems too. She had a long bus ride with two changes. It took over an hour to Place d'Armes. One very cold day she got the backs of her legs slightly frostbitten.

Spring

It seemed like the winter would never end. We had had continuous temperatures below freezing since November. Sally was feeling it and required a couple of more bouts in the shop to thaw out. In spite of stuffing cardboard in front of the radiator, the heater still could not get the frost off the inside of the windows. Finally in late March we had a day when the sun came out and the temperature crawled up to 40°. But it was only a respite. Fran's parents came down for a few days from the Sault.

By the Victoria Day weekend we planned another trip to New England. By this time the snow was all gone in Montreal except for a small grubby pile in the Côte de Neige and Queen Mary Road Park. The grass was turning green and we were feeling much more optimistic about our year in Montreal. On Saturday we drove through the Eastern Townships to the New Hampshire border and down to Portland Maine. I remember a lobster dinner at *Theodores*

Restaurant on the waterfront. We got back to our apartment in time for a late supper.



As the weather became warm, we were much more active socially. Mr. Geddes, the office manager at Fran's law firm invited us to a barbeque and told us how much she would be missed. There were several parties with people from the Vets and again I realized that we were very much part of the group. They were all encouraging me to stay in psychiatry at McGill. We were almost beginning to regret our return to Toronto.

Plans for our return were by now well under way. I had saved a week of my vacation until the end so that we could have some time in Toronto to find an apartment and get moved in before I started my first residency year in pathology.

Back to TO.

The trip back to Toronto was uneventful. We stayed with my parents for the week and were able to find a one bedroom apartment at 220 Eglinton Ave. E. that suited our needs. We then arranged for the moving company to move our stuff in and we spent a good part of July getting settled. I settled into a routine at the Banting Institute and Fran found another job with a law firm in Toronto that had close associations with the one she had been at before.

Fran was glad to be back with her friends. We visited regularly with Martha and Herb Rogers who had just moved to a new development in Etobicoke and were proud to show it off. Alice Briggs was completing her specialty training in allergies. Robin and Barbara were with us a lot. Robin was working with the Attorney General's Department of Ontario.



Residency in Pathology

When we got back to Toronto we stayed with my parents until we could move into our new apartment. I reported for duty at the Banting Institute on Dominion Day, 1959 – a Wednesday as I recall. There were about 6 assistant residents, half assigned to the Department of Pathology and half to the Toronto General Hospital.

We met Professor Hamilton and our immediate supervisor, Professor John Barrie and had a tour. First year residents were assigned to the autopsy service and our whole year centred on doing the autopsies from the Toronto General Hospital each of us in rotation, taking specimens in formalin, preparing and studying microscopic slides and presenting our findings to the group at the weekly rounds. We covered weekends also on rotation so this was not onerous. Dr. Barrie supervised us closely in the first few weeks until he was satisfied that we knew what we were doing.

John Barrie was an interesting man. Born in China of missionary parents, he went back to England for most of his education and came to Canada after extensive experience in Europe. He was an interesting raconteur with a subtle wit and a keen mind. He also was very much the old school in pathology. We were trained to rely on our powers of observation, deduction and intuition, using histology and chemical analysis to support or disprove our theoretical formulations, not as a fishing expedition in the hopes of getting lucky.

Weekly rounds were a bit of a trial for some of us. After we had prepared our specimens and our microscopic slides we presented the case to Dr. Barrie and other supervisors together with the research fellows and sometimes the attending physician of the deceased patient. I can remember one presentation on which I had laboured for a couple of weeks. The path chemistry and the histology was complex and I spent some time in the library trying to

understand it. When I was finished, Barrie's voice came out of the darkness: "Deadman, you clearly do not understand the difference between haemochromatosis and haemosiderosis. Present it again next week." With that the lights came on and Dr. Barrie walked out. My colleagues were polite enough not to snigger – each of them probably thinking: 'There but for the grace of God go I.'

My first weekend on duty was punctuated by a call at home from the Deaner.¹⁴⁵ He said an autopsy had been ordered that could not wait for Monday and we were doing it first thing Sunday morning. He would meet me there at 8 o'clock. This was early rising for me on a Sunday so I left Fran in bed and proceeded to the Banting, letting myself in through the back door with the key provided. I had arrived before the deaner so I proceeded down the stairs to the sub-basement, flipping on lights as I went. The morgue was at the far end of a long hall and you could smell the formalin long before you got there. I could imagine Dr. Frankenstein's lab or all the creepy horror films I had ever seen. I unlocked the morgue door and reached in to flip on the light. The whole floor moved and slid sideways. Within a few seconds there was not a cockroach to be seen.

Cockroaches

As I was struggling to recover my composure the deaner arrived behind me, giving me another start. "Oh!" he said "cockroaches. They are the bane of my existence. They are into everything. Every so often we get the fumigators in and they all run through the tunnel to the hospital. Then the people over there call in the fumigators and they all run back again. So we just live with it." Dr. Barrie was more philosophical. He said that they were clean, did not carry infection and had been part of human experience since the time of the pyramids and before. And they are interesting critters too. He went

145 In English tradition, the senior morgue attendant was the Deaner. He was responsible for the proper functioning of the morgue in all respects.

on at some length to reassure me that I should not worry about them. When I told Fran, she was worried that I would bring them home so I was very careful to remove my lab coat and shake it out before I went home.

When the tape recorder that we used for dictating stopped working one day, the deaner opened the bottom and shook half a dozen cockroaches out of it and it resumed working. We would find them in the drawers of our desks. We were sitting around having coffee one morning when Dr. Hamilton's secretary, Miss Boyd told her cockroach story. She was an older woman, very refined and stylishly dressed – unlike most of us who had shunned our shirts, ties and suit jackets for more practical garb in this environment. She said:

“My niece was getting married and I walked over to Eaton’s College Street store to buy a pair of long white gloves and other things for the wedding. It was all going fine until I reached into my purse for the money and two cockroaches jumped out. I was so mortified, I left without the gloves; I almost left without my purse.”

The rest of the year continued with a fairly standard routine. Each autopsy required a gross examination with the taking of samples for microscopic examination. When the histology slides were back, we examined them and completed the report that we had earlier dictated on the funny little tape recorder in the autopsy room. Then there was the presentation at weekly rounds. Gradually I became more efficient and the autopsies that took 3 or 4 hours in the beginning were now taking about 2 hours.

Brain Slicing

Dr. Robert Pos was the newly appointed chief psychiatrist at the Toronto General. He was a Scot with a sharp wit and an encyclopedic knowledge of the brain. Starting in January, Robbie would come over on Friday afternoons and we would slice brains that had been in formalin for a couple of weeks to fix them and firm them up. Robbie

was a good teacher and we learned a lot. One thing which he always pointed out was how damage or pathology to one part of the brain seemed to affect other areas in consistent patterns.

We became familiar with the various fibre tracks and bundles that connected all parts of the brain. One brain had been taken from a patient who had had lobotomy several years before death.¹⁴⁶ Not only was the prefrontal area atrophied, but significant other areas in the parietal and occipital lobes were atrophied as well. The extent of this damage was really astounding and yet in the early 1960s, lobotomies were being done at a rapid rate in most of the old mental hospitals. This information stood me in good stead in later years when the research began to indicate what a bad and destructive procedure this really was.

Decision Time Again

By the end of August, the professor was setting up appointments to discuss with us what areas of pathology we were interested in as the courses were now more specialized each succeeding year. As I prepared to meet with him I was in turmoil. I had no idea what I wanted to do, but I was pretty sure it wasn't pathology. I must have been a sad sack at home because I noticed that Fran seemed on edge and was after me about the smallest things. I finally started to talk to her about it.

¹⁴⁶ Prefrontal lobotomies, or leucotomies were a treatment used in the 1940's and '50s to cure serious mental illnesses such as schizophrenia and obsessive-compulsive disorder. It was a very crude procedure in which a burr hole was made in the forehead and a thin knife was inserted to cut off the prefrontal area of the brain. There were so many done in the mental hospitals in the '40s that often the cut was wider than expected, leaving the patient incapacitated for the rest of his-her life.

Dr. Pos was demonstrating how damaging these were to the whole brain, not just the damaged areas. In the 1950s, there was much research done that showed that, not only were they damaging, they were also quite ineffective and by 1959, they were abandoned across Canada.

After listening to my tirade and all my worries for what must have been some time, Fran said: “John, you have been fussing about this as long as I have known you. The only time I saw you really happy was when you were in psychiatry last spring.” I had to acknowledge that she was right and we began to talk about it. I had enjoyed the work, the camaraderie on the psychiatric unit and it seemed to me that this was a new and growing field. But the downside was that it was seen as unscientific, even unprofessional ‘snake oil’ stuff by many physicians.

The Toronto Psychiatric Hospital was the seat of the Department of Psychiatry. It was just behind the Banting Institute on Surrey Place. I phoned and got an appointment with the professor, Dr. Aldwyn Stokes for the next week. He greeted me warmly and provided me with all the information about the program. He also acknowledged my training in Montreal. That night Fran and I discussed this and the decision was made.

I approached the interview with John Hamilton with trepidation. He was a close friend of my father. He was dedicated to pathology and was very pleased that Bill Deadman’s son had decided to go into his field. I felt like some kind of traitor to the cause. But I couldn’t back out now, the die was cast. Dr. Hamilton greeted me warmly and asked me what sub-specialty area I was interested in. I can’t remember my exact, somewhat stumbling reply but the message was that I wanted to switch to psychiatry.

Dr. Hamilton didn’t bat an eye. He said, “John, I wish you had come to me sooner. Last month, we had a resident in psychiatry who wanted to switch to pathology. We could have made a straight switch. As it is, you will have to finish the year here and switch next year. He added in the course of our discussion that loyalty or family tradition was not an issue for him. The issue was that a student was in the right field that he could do well at. He didn’t want students in the program who were not dedicated to pathology. I felt a great sense of relief and more confidence in my decision.

But I still had to face my father. I phoned mother and discussed it with her. She was upset but said that she understood and it that is what I wanted she would support me. But she added: "You have to tell him". It was arranged that I would go over for supper that night and have a private talk with dad. After supper, we retired to the sunroom and dad seemed thrilled that I was in pathology and began talking about my future career. I can't remember exactly what I said next but it probably came out as: "...Dad, I'm thinking of going into psychiatry."

It took a moment for this to register, but when it did, he was flustered and obviously upset. He went on about how unscientific the field was and how unhappy I would be in psychiatry. I told him about my experience in Montreal. I also said that I could understand his concern about the scientific part. I said that when he went into pathology, the whole field was opening up. The scientific advances in the late 19th century had made it a very fascinating field. I mentioned Semmelweis, Morgagni and Ball. But I added that I had overheard two clinical fellows at the Banting who had just acquired a new electron microscope, arguing about whether there were two or three layers in the sub-lamellar membrane of the glomerulus. To me this sounded like medieval arguments about how many angels could dance on the head of a pin.

I then added that my experience in Montreal had convinced me that psychiatry was opening up in the way pathology had been after the First World War. I added that the field was changing rapidly and was now becoming more scientific. After a brief sputtering minute or two, dad finally said: "John, you must talk to Claude McLenahan. He will put you straight on this psychiatry business." Before I could stop him, he was on the phone dialing a number. I only heard one side of the conversation but I could imagine the rest.

...after a pause... "Hello...Oh is Claude there?" ...pause... "Hello, Claude ... Oh I'm fine ... and Helene is too ... Say, my son John is thinking about going into psychiatry. ... Would you talk to him? ... Are you there tonight? ... I'll send him right over." He hung up the phone and I knew I had my marching orders.

Dr. Claude McLenahan was a classmate of my father. He was the superintendent of the O.H. Penetanguishine during the Second World War. When I was going to Camp Kitchikewana back in 1942 and '43 I had stayed with them and had come to know the whole family. I remember Mrs McLenahan as a plump pleasant blonde woman who must have been a real beauty in her prime. Her daughters carried on the genetic tradition. There was an older boy whom I never met and a girl Mary who was the one to pick me up after camp.

After his retirement after the war, the family moved to Burlington and bought a big house on Indian Point which was just south of Two Acres. I drove over to the house in Burlington and was greeted by Mrs. McLenahan who said "John, Claude is in the study. Just go down the hall, he's expecting you." I went into the study and Claude greeted me warmly. He said: "John, I understand you are thinking about psychiatry." I said: "Yes, I am." He said: "You lucky dog, I wish I were 30 years younger."

That did it. He offered me a drink and we chatted about his experiences in the old mental hospital system. He was impressed by the strides that had been taken in psychiatry since the war and since his retirement. I left feeling buoyed up in my decision. I never did find out about the subsequent conversation with my father but the next time I met with dad, he seemed consoled about my choice. I will never forget his comment to me on that occasion:

"John, I don't care what you do in life, just don't be a hack."



First Rotation: General Hospital Psychiatry

On the first day at St. Mike's I met the chief, Dr. Arthur Doyle and Dr. David Lewis, our staff man. My compatriot was Dr. Leo Levinskas also in the diploma course on his first rotation. It was a busy ward of some 30 beds. The main treatment seemed to be ECT (Electro-

convulsive Therapy.) Dr. Doyle specialized in depression and that was the best treatment for depression at the time. The treatments were given at lunch time on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and most patients received 6, 8, or even 12 treatments.

Besides our ward work, we were asked to do consultations throughout the hospital for our staff man. We also had a day a week in the out-patient clinic. St. Mikes was in the inner city so we got to see some pretty sorry examples of humanity from time to time and some terrible social and living situations. My colleagues had a lot of trouble with this at first but somehow my experience with my Indian classmates in the one-room country school had prepared me for this and more. Despite their outward appearance I realized that they were people with problems just like everyone else. And their mental illness only made it harder to cope with their lot in life.

More on the Crime Lab

Bill had settled in to his job and was now assigned more duties. When a steamer trunk from Toronto arrived unexpectedly in St. John's Newfoundland, it had developed a strong peculiar odour. When opened, there was the body of a woman who had been dead for at least 10 days. They contacted the Crime Lab for help and Bill was despatched to deal with it. The victim had several blows to the head that was the cause of death. This became a criminal issue and a murder investigation. Bill spent almost a week there with the autopsy and follow up. The husband was the suspect and he was finally found in the U.S.

Bill always regarded this as his best case and he was pleased to tell anyone who asked. He said that, by comparison, it far exceeded the Evelyn Dick case, even though that was the case that made his reputation. When he returned, the husband had been charged and at the trial, he gave his usual exemplary evidence.

Back at the lab, Bill was praised by others and his reputation secured. There are pictures of the party they had with all the staff and a cabinet with rifles and other evidence on the wall behind.



New Arrival

Fran and I had had much discussion about having a family. I had always wanted children but not until I had completed my medical training. Fran had wanted 4 or 5 – two of each and a spare just in case. While we were in Montreal, the Cold War was at its height. A hydrogen bomb had been exploded on Bikini Atoll in 1954. The U.S. was building the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line of radar stations across Canada's Arctic. The Soviets were making nuclear threats and testing atomic and hydrogen bombs in Siberia. We both read Neville Shute's book *On the Beach*, a novel that described an Australian family's coping with nuclear annihilation.

By this time, Fran was convinced she didn't want children at all because we would be leaving them a terrible world – or possibly no world at all. When she missed a period then, we were in a panic because neither of us wanted children at that time. Her periods returned to normal the next month and we both heaved a sigh of relief.

In February 1960, Fran missed a period. She had had some irregularities before so at first we were not sure but by March when she missed another, we realized she was pregnant. She went to the family doctor, Dr. Porter who was able to confirm this, and based on her dates, gave an expectant date of October 5th. At that time there was no universal health care in Canada and we had a plan through the OMA called *Physicians Services Incorporated* and we had just taken out a Blue Cross plan that covered hospital only. There was a waiting period of 8 months for obstetrics but that would click in on September 1st so we felt it was alright.

Fatherhood

As the summer wore on, Fran became more and more pregnant. By this time we had moved to a 4-plex in Leaside. Dr. Porter, our family doctor was managing the pregnancy but over the summer he

was in Muskoka and did medical work there. He assured us that he would be back well before Fran was expecting at the beginning of October.

August was hot. Fran had always hated the heat but this was worse. She complained of not having a comfortable night's sleep. She gave up her job at the law firm in early August and we spent the time getting ready for our new arrival. We had bought a crib and highchair and a lot of that other stuff you need at such times. I had raided the barn over at Two Acres and found some furniture for the larger apartment and the baby's room. I found an old dresser from my childhood that would do just fine. I also found a rather dilapidated sideboard. We managed to get it over to Toronto and I set to work scraping years of accumulated chicken manure off it, fixing the broken door on the front and then refinishing it. I did all this work in the baby's room which became quite a mess.

On August 31st before dawn Fran woke up with cramps. We were both pretty inexperienced with this so I timed the contractions and they stopped after a while. Then they started again and I decided we should go to the hospital. We arrived at about 7:30 and Fran was taken up to the delivery area at the Wellesley Hospital. I remember phoning Dr. Doyle at St. Mikes to explain that I would not be in that morning. He was most upset because it was an ECT day and I was needed. David Lewis got on the phone then and he was more understanding.

As it turned out Dr. Porter was still in Muskoka so Fran was delivered by the intern with some supervision from the resident. Peter was born at about 12:30 so the labour was not too long for a primipara.¹⁴⁷ Today, I would have been allowed into the delivery room. In those days babies were carefully protected by the nurses from all alien forces – like mothers and especially fathers. I reflected that the intern who delivered Peter probably had no more experience than I did. But in this case I was only a father. I had to sit

147 Primipara: first pregnancy, first live birth.

out in the waiting room with all the other expectant fathers. Oh well, c'est la vie.

Finally I was ushered in to Fran's room. The baby looked awfully small and fragile. And it made a lot of noise for its size. Fran was very tired so presently the baby went back to the nursery and she went to sleep. I went home for a bit and then went over to the parents' place for supper. I must have lost track of the time because I suddenly realized I would have to get a move on to get back to the hospital before visiting hours were over. I rushed in to Fran's room to find her crying and very upset. I seem to blow those prime moments in my life.

There was another reason she was crying and I was not there to help her with it. Peter had a large lipoma in his hand between the index finger and the next one. It made his hand look as if it had two thumbs and three fingers. We talked to the doctor who was a bit too offhand about it, especially for anxious parents. However we were referred to the surgeon who explained that this was not uncommon and could be repaired when the baby was about a year old. At that time he had the surgery at the Hospital for Sick Children by Dr. Bob Salter, probably the leading paediatric surgeon in Toronto at that time.

Fran and Peter were in the hospital for 5 days. I was frantically trying to finish Peter's nursery and get the place cleaned up and presentable before they came home. Also, since Peter was born in August, before our health coverage clicked in, I had to come up with the money for the hospitalization. The doctor's bill was OK because of professional courtesy. In those days before universal health care, doctors did not bill other doctors or their families. But it was a frantic 5 days.

I made it – barely. Fran may not have been too impressed with my housekeeping but everything was ready for the new baby. Over the next few months we dealt with one problem after another. But by Christmas time, we had parents and friends in for holiday

celebrations. I have pictures of Peter with his grandparents and crawling around the floor with various Christmas wrappings and toys.

My last few months at St. Mikes proceeded apace. I remember some fascinating clinical experiences, such as the patient who was convinced that Dr. Wilder Penfield was directly controlling her brain by mental telepathy from Montreal. She was so convinced and convincing that I almost began believing it myself. Another was David Lewis's preoccupation with Lilliputian hallucinations. He had several schizophrenic patients who saw little men. I mean little people about six inches tall. He had written papers about it.

When one of his patients was admitted to the ward, he came under my care. I remember one morning when I asked my patient how he was, he replied "terrible!" Apparently his father and several of his friends had appeared to him in miniature form and taunted him from across the room. He became angry and shouted at them. They then came and beat him up as he lay in his bed. He said "They really beat the shit out of me. My chest is still sore."

I examined him but could find no signs of injury. I then was aware that hallucinations can seem very real to patients but there is no substance to them but I thought I should examine him anyway. However since he had not improved after a few days, we decided to use ECT. I sent him down for an electrocardiogram as part of the workup for ECT. The report came back "recent myocardial infarction". I phoned the cardiologist and asked him "How long ago is recent?" He replied "about four or five days". I observed that that was when he had hallucinated that his father and friends had beaten him and he had a sore chest. It was really a heart attack. So hallucinations are not always completely off the wall.



Second Rotation: Mental Hospital Psychiatry

This rotation was at the Ontario Hospital, Toronto – the famous ‘999 Queen St. West’. It was the original Provincial Asylum opened in 1850. The new wings were added on the back in 1878. An admitting hospital was added along Queen Street in 1954. It at least partially concealed the old asylum behind, but the famous dome was clearly visible as you came down Ossington Avenue. It was fashioned on the dome of the Hôpital Salpêtrière in Paris, the hospital where Phillipe Pinel struck the chains off the lunatics in the 1790s.

Officially all interns and residents started rotations on the first of July and January. But at government institutions, were closed on stat holidays and I reported on July 2nd. The next day I was issued a white lab coat and assigned to one of the Male Units under Dr. Josep Grodzinsky. Dr. Howie Trupp was the senior and there was one other first year externe assigned. We had about 250 patients in total on about four wards. The hospital was divided exactly down the middle with male patients on the west side and female patients on the east side. Overcrowding was terrible. They even had a ward in the base of the dome which had to be accessed by a precarious curving staircase.

The admitting ward for our unit was in the new building on Queen Street. There were about 50 patients in a ward that today would hold about 30. Back in the old building there were two wards so tightly packed that the dormitory had 27 inch beds down both sides, two beds together separated by a small bedside table, and an additional row of beds down the centre of the room so that you almost had to walk sideways between the beds. The day room was a long room about 12’ wide with a 10’ ceiling with two rows of chairs facing each other along the walls. This arrangement discouraged conversation or social interaction. It was too far to talk to people across the room and you had to twist around to talk to the person next to you. The nursing station was almost like a guard tower at the far end. The movie *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* was filmed at the

Washington State Hospital and when I saw it I felt like I was back on that ward at 999 yet again.

Another ward for very chronic debilitated patients was behind the main ward in the so-called new wings from 1878. It was even worse. The smell of urine, feces, unwashed bodies and paraldehyde was nauseating. Patients wandered aimlessly around in various states of dress or undress. Some hung around the locked doors, hoping to get out when a staff person opened a door. Sometimes they succeeded and ran down the hall but soon seemed to be unsure what to do next and were corralled and herded back to their ward.

Externs were on duty about once a week. It was a harrowing experience. You had to make rounds about every hour or so and you could be called to a ward by a paging system of flashing numbers on panels in most hallways. Entering the ward was a challenge. You had to open the door slowly with a large skeleton key on a huge heavy ring watching closely for patients hanging around the door who might jump out at you. By comparison, the cockroaches at the Banting were downright friendly.

I remember I was quite discouraged and was again asking if I had made a mistake to go into psychiatry. In retrospect I was probably clinically depressed. I remember talking to Dr. Grodzinski about it and he reassured me that things would get better. He also told me that the World Congress of Psychiatry was having its second international meeting in Montreal in the early spring and many staff people from the OH Toronto were going. When these people returned from the meeting they were very enthused and this helped all of us to feel better.



Third Rotation: Forensic Psychiatry

In July I started my rotation at the newly created Forensic Psychiatry Clinic of the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital. TPH had an in-patient service with a few beds under the direction of Dr. Kenneth

Gray who was both a physician and a lawyer. In 1956 the sexual assault and murder of three young children in Toronto by a 17 year old man, Peter Woodcock raised the issue of sexual violence and murder by persons with presumed mental illness. The clinic was set up in 1956 as a result of this.¹⁴⁸

Dr. R. Edward Turner was the director with Johan (Hans) Mohr as research director. It was a very interesting place to work and all the externes wanted to go there. I went to the clinic on Queens Park Circle on my first day and was introduced to the whole group. I was particularly interested in the research program led by Johan (Hans) Mohr. They were studying sexual deviations, now known as paraphilias. When their book came out in 1964 I purchased a copy which I still have.

Fourth Rotation: Child Psychiatry

On January 2nd, 1962 I started at the Children's clinic on Grosvenor St. just a few blocks east of the forensic clinic. It was winter and my father had loaned me his big Pontiac to use in bad weather. There was limited parking there but I usually found a spot. It was also a very good rotation. They had a strong psychology group and we received a series of lectures on Learning Theory and related subjects. This started with Pavlov's dogs, on to operant conditioning and animal studies on how rats learn to run mazes. We learned about Thorndike, Hull, Skinner, Olds and Mowrer.

Joseph Wolpe had pioneered new psychotherapy techniques that he called 'reciprocal inhibition'. Harry Harlow was famous for his work on surrogate mothers. He used rhesus monkeys that were still nursing and found that they would attach to a terry cloth model of a monkey with a nipple of a nursing bottle exposed. John Bowlby, working with orphans who had no attachment to a consistent caregiver, found that they developed psychological problems and were

148 At Woodcock's trial in 1957 he was found 'not guilty by reason of insanity' and confined to the Oak Ridge Division of the O.H. Penetanguishine on a Lieutenant Governor's Warrant (LGW).

never able to relate to consistent adults in their lives. Conrad Lorenz and Nicolaas Tinbergen had studied instinctual behaviour and created a new field called 'Ethology' Jean Piaget studied and began to explain the cognitive behaviour of young children. The whole field of psychology was opening before us.

At the Child and Adolescent Service I worked with children too. The parents worked with a social worker. Often we would meet together to discuss a child's development. I remember one child who played on the floor but paid no attention to me. We call this 'parallel play' and Piaget had described this in very young children. I wondered if he was mentally retarded (the term we used then) but when I spoke to the mother, she said that he had taken his (mechanical) alarm clock completely apart and put it together again – and it worked. This was my introduction to Autism. I remember another occasion when I was reassuring a mother that her child would be well treated in the clinic when from the next room came explosive out bursts of swear words, "shit, fuck" and other offensive words. The mother was not impressed but this was my introduction to coprolalia, part of the Tourette syndrome.

This was a rich and rewarding experience for all of us. I was sorry when it ended in June. But I was then to take on a senior externe position at the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital. That fall we had the diploma exams and we studied for them. I remember that my examiner was Dr. Griff McKerracher who had made his name in Saskatchewan. I apparently did well and this helped me in my new position.

Senior Externe at TPH.

The pay was very poor for people in training. I remember as a junior interne in 1957-8 I received \$45 a month. At the Queen Mary Veterans' Hospital this was increased to \$200 a month so we could not have survived without Fran's earnings at the law firm that were about \$265 a month. As an assistant resident in pathology I received

\$250 a month so when Fran became pregnant and stopped work we had to dig into bonds that my uncle Eric had left me in his will.

I started the year with high hopes. I was supervising a couple of junior externs and working with my roster of patients, most of them on the third floor which was a research floor. The Chairman of the Department and director of HPH had a pet project there so he was on the ward frequently. The assistant director was Dr. Mary Jackson and she worked with women. The men's ward was directed by Dr. Alex Boncalo who gave us a course on phenomenology, a field that seems to be neglected nowadays. The director of the women's ward was very interested in hysteria, that erstwhile diagnosis that had survived from the 19th century and Dr. Charcot at the Salpetriere Hospital in Paris. I seemed to spend my time there dealing with threatened or attempted suicide and there were some really scary incidents.

There were Grand Rounds in the auditorium every Wednesday and all the externs and others were expected to attend. I got to know just about everybody in psychiatry. I remember a classmate Dr. Alan Davidson gave a Grand Rounds, complete with audio-visual effects on the topic of brainwashing that came out of the Korean War. Also we had Professor William Sargent, whose brother was Malcolm Sargent, the famous conductor. His topic dealt with the revolution in psychiatric thinking around the world and it inspired us to think about all the changes that were happening at that time. I remembered my father's concerns about psychiatry being unscientific and this reassured me. But this canard is still raised today by physicians and others.

We were so short staffed that I became the interim director of the women's ward for a while but I found that attending team meetings, covering duties elsewhere and trying to keep up with my studies was exhausting. In the spring they hired Dr. Phillip Melville to take over the research unit and to assist me on the women's ward. Phil was an experienced clinician who had much experience in community psychiatry that had become a current buzz-word. I got to know him very well over the next few years. He took on some very difficult

tasks such as becoming Medical Director of the newly formed psychiatric hospital in Timmins at South Porcupine. I remember visiting him there when I was a consultant with the Ministry.



Junior Staff man, at the Day Care Centre

When I ended my training in the Diploma Course, I was hoping that I could get a teaching appointment with the Department but that was not to be. I first went to the Day Care Centre in the old church on College Street in 1963. It was a good year. I saw lots of patients who were in various groups and learned about group therapy. I also reviewed a book: *Strategies of Psychotherapy* by Jay Haley. This introduced me to the so-called 'Palo Alto Group' at Stanford University. They had developed what they call Communication Theory and were very productive. However they fell into bad odor when Don Jackson and Gregory Bateson came up with the concept of the schizophrenogenic mother. This outraged mothers and those working in schizophrenia, and the Palo Alto group has faded from sight. It is simply not discussed these days.

I also worked closely with my supervisor in psychoanalysis, and learned a lot about psychotherapy. This was not taught at Toronto. The Chairman, Aldwyn Stokes had studied under Aubrey Lewis at the Maudsley Hospital in London and their orientation was very organic. But most other psychiatric centres in North America were oriented to psychoanalysis so this left a gap in our training. I continued my supervision when I went to the Queen Street Clinic the next year.

I was studying for my Certificate in Psychiatry that fall. I had checked with the Royal College because I had a fifth year (in pathology) so I might have written them the year before. But they decided that this year did not count. As I remember, the written exam was at Sunnybrook Hospital in September. I passed that so I

moved on to the orals, held at TPH in November. There was a panel of several eminent psychiatrists, several of which I had met before. I was asked a question about tertiary syphilis that I knew quite well but they were looking for another point and when I drew a blank, they coaxed me until finally I got it.

The results would be announced at 6 o'clock so I looked for a place to wait until then. But I was so worried about my problem that I couldn't think of anything else. Finally when I returned to TPH, they took us in one at a time to give us the results. The suspense was awful. Finally when it was my turn, I went in to be congratulated with hand-shakes all around. I couldn't wait to get home to tell Fran about it. All she said was "I knew you would pass".

I remember that my classmate Ian Hector who was one of the brains in the class had decided after completing the Diploma Course that he and his young family would study in the UK. He had a year at the Maudsley and then another year at Queens Square (neurology) and had returned home, prepared to write the exams at the same time as I was. But he was so confident that he only applied to write the fellowship instead of the certificate exams that I was doing. Amazingly I passed and he didn't. So I was a qualified psychiatrist for a whole year ahead of the class brain. But Ian and I were on good terms throughout our whole careers.

I remember one other incident that fall. The assassination of President Kennedy took place in November and this was big news for all of us. We viewed the scenes several times on our little black and white television in the basement at home. They played it over and over again until it was burned into our memories. Peter was just old enough to understand but the twins were too young but later they seemed to know about it.

I was back at the Day Hospital and told everyone there of my success in the exams. After another round of congratulations, we all settled down to work again. Dr. Bruce Quarington was the leading psychologist and he was working on the use of computers and data analysis in psychiatry. Since the data in psychiatry is soft, it required

big computers to handle and work with the data. They had been doing it by hand with a calculator and it took many hours to solve one problem. On the computer, these things only took a few minutes. I was to work with this more when I went to Whitby a few years later.

During that year, I made friends with Hugh McLeod who was a psychologist at TPH. His father was the recently retired Moderator of the United Church of Canada. We had many discussions over religion and Hugh's comment was "I'm not sure if I am agnostic or simply a doubter but I think religion is irrelevant anyway". I remembered my thoughts about religion after leaving TCS. Hugh and I set up a car-pool but because I didn't have wheels, he did most of the driving. We remained good friends for many years after that.

Towards the end of the year I asked the chairman for another appointment. This was granted but I was told it would be the last one. In July 1964 I started at the Mental Health Clinic in the OH Toronto on Queen Street West.

Junior Staffman, at the Mental Health Clinic

In July, 1964 I started my year at the Queen Street Mental Health Clinic. Donald McCullogh was the director and Farrell Toombs was a teaching therapist. Farrell was very much into Rogerian therapy¹⁴⁹ where you simply reflect back to the patient what they have just said. He also had a great library and I remember I borrowed a book and didn't return it when the year was over. A year or so later while Fran and I were attending a Toronto Symphony concert, Farrell came up to us and reminded me of the missing book. At the next concert I gave it back to him.

I was still getting psychotherapy supervision and my tutor asked me to pick a patient that we could discuss. I worked with that patient the whole year and practiced much of what I had learned with him.

149 Karl Rogers used what he called 'client-centered therapy. The therapist is a blank slate and remains silent or reflects the patients' thoughts, encouraging them to say more.

He improved considerably and I continued to work with him for a while after the year was over.

We also had regular sessions with Stan Freeman. He encouraged us to explore society around us from various perspectives. We invited people from the CBC and from other places that really gave us a rich experience. Later, when I was at Whitby, Stan was working on a newly developed project that would send pictures over telephone towers around the province so that we could interview patients in remote locations. But telephone towers had a narrow bandwidth so it meant that the screen was only refreshed every 20 to 30 seconds. This made it very difficult to see the patient's change of expression during the interview.

Another thing happened that was much closer to home. I had returned from lunch when the secretary called and said that my wife had called very upset because Stephen had fallen down the stairs and the bottle he was carrying had broken and a ragged shard had driven into his left eye. Fran was a Sunnybrook emergency and I jumped in the car and got there as fast as I could. Fran met me at the door and said that fortunately the shard had gone in beside the eyeball but had not ruptured it. He was going to be alright. But the long scar beside his left eye is still noticeable today.



Final Days.

Bill and Helene had decided that he should retire soon and so they planned to buy a small place in the country for their final days. They found a nice property in a small village just south of Guelph, bought it and prepared to move in. the house was run down and over the next few months they spent a lot of money on repairs, including a new septic tank that was leaking. They began moving furniture and other things there and seemed to be getting established. Fran and I visited as did many of their friends.

In the summer of 1964, the family had noticed that Bill was losing weight and seemed unwell. I talked to him about it and he passed it

off as if it was not significant. I asked him if he might have cancer. Apparently he had told Helene that he was too old to get cancer. Both he and I knew this was untrue but he didn't want her worrying. In February, Bill's work seemed laboured and difficult. One day in April, 1965, he went to the Crime Lab and a staff member found him sitting on the bottom step, unable to climb the stairs. They called an ambulance and he was taken to the Toronto General Hospital.

I was working at the clinic at the Queen Street Hospital then so my mother and I came to visit him every day. He was examined carefully and the attending physician said that they could not find the cause of his illness but would keep working on it. Bill had developed 'blind boils' all over his body and his weight loss was more extreme. I became convinced that he had stomach cancer because in my clinical career, I had seen other patients with the same clinical course. We had the blind boils sent away for pathology.

Before the results came back, I sat with him one day and he was straining to urinate. He struggled but nothing came. He then said that he must be in renal shutdown and that would be close to the end. I held his hand and we sat there sharing our memories and then I heard the stridorous breathing that continued for several minutes and then stopped. I called the resident who confirmed that he was gone. As they prepared him to be taken to the morgue, I told them that I must go home and get his wife to be with us. I phoned her to say that Bill was gone and she was ready when I got there.

We discussed this with the doctors and they offered condolences and discussed the next steps. In a kindly way, the doctor said: "I don't think an autopsy is necessary". Helene broke in: "Of course there will be an autopsy. You said that you didn't know the exact cause of death so we must have it. Besides, he has probably done more than 100,000 autopsies in his long career so it is appropriate".

An autopsy was done and it showed that he had cancer in the portal veins of the liver with secondaries throughout his whole body. The portal circulation was blocked at the lower esophagus and this contributed to his inability to swallow.

Over the next few days, we made arrangements for the funeral. There would be 3 days of visitations at the Blatchford and Wry Funeral home in downtown Hamilton. Then the Funeral would be held at St. Luke's Church in Burlington with interment in the Greenwood Cemetery, just south of Two Acres.

The family took turns being at the funeral home during the visitations and I even pressed my friend Peter Kappeler to help. Mother got a room at a downtown hotel because we could not commute from Toronto. Mother and I were busy contacting people to let them know and we both wrote thank-you notes to all the condolence letters that flowed in. I arranged for pall-bearers from the family and we appointed several of Bill's closest doctor friends as honorary pall-bearers. During the funeral, the church was packed and fortunately it was a nice day because many had to stand or sit outside. Rev. Heathcote gave the eulogy and I think he outdid himself.

Over the next few months, we continued to get letters and phone calls from people and this helped both of us with mourning. We visited the cemetery regularly and had a headstone and other matters dealt with. Gradually life seemed to return to normal but both Fran and I had missed his happy times.



EPILOGUE

PART V – A Man of Many Parts

DEATH AND TRIBUTES



His Legacy

Dr. Deadman died as he had lived – intense, dedicated and patriotic with strong connections to his Canadian roots. Even in his last hours, he was concerned about his friends and his legacy. After his funeral, the tributes and messages from old friends flowed in. He was recognized some years later by a Medical Prize in forensic medicine that was set up through the Hamilton Civic Hospitals. Dr. Rex Ferris, the forensic pathologist spoke highly of him.

A quote said: “the true meaning of life is to plant a tree under whose branches you never expect to sit”. This exemplifies much of his work. In 2014, his family set up an endowment fund through the Hamilton Health Sciences Foundation that would fund forensic pathology students through their early training.

Bill left a department that was the largest in any non-teaching hospital in Canada. He and his chief technologist, Frank Elliott created a training program to train medical technologists from

across Canada that was widely admired and it had regular visitors. The Canadian Society for Medical Laboratory Science (CSMLS) established training standards that are still in place today.

Bill's research was impressive and a long list is in the archives that are being established in the Hamilton Public Library. His list of publications and accomplishments is shown in Chapter Fifteen. It is impressive and even after his death, we were getting requests for reprints.

He also followed world affairs and in several speeches, spoke his mind about the directions of the Canadian government, mostly critical. He was named 'Hamilton's Citizen of the Year' for 1949. He was a fellow of many international medical organizations and a list of all these is in the Appendix.

After his death, the administrator of the hospital met with family members and extolled his virtues, promising to preserve his legacy. When Helene died, she gave his extensive writings and other memorabilia to the lead author and he was committed to completing the biography. When he was finally able to get at it, he went to various sources for information.

The New Forensic Pathology Unit

The Hamilton General Hospital had been completely rebuilt in the early 2000s. John found the forensic pathology unit was in a sub-basement of the new structure. He met the director, John Fernandes and other staff on the new unit. He found that the unit had been named in honour of his father but had almost no information on him in the archives. Somehow they had been lost in storage during the rebuilding.

John said that he had a lot of information and was willing to give it. He met another pathologist, David King who was retiring. When cleaning out his filing cabinet, he discovered a full envelope of press clippings about Bill's career. We concluded that Helene had found them after giving the boxes to John and must have taken them over to the lab. They covered many sections in detail that covered the

Dick trial and other activities. It was decided that the staff room would become 'The Dr. William J. Deadman Memorial Room'. John had prepared a large poster that summarized Bill's life. It also is in the archives. At the opening, we invited many people who had known Bill and the room was crowded. John Fernandes gave a speech that was very warm and people enjoyed the refreshments.

Later Developments

John Fernandes had many disputes with the Chief Coroner of Ontario, Dr. Michael Pollanen. On some autopsies, Pollanen was not satisfied with the results and when Fernandes died of cancer in 2017, Pollanen announced that the Hamilton Forensic Forensic Pathology Unit (HFPU) would be closed on June 30th and all autopsies and inquests would then be moved to the new, large Coroner's Laboratory in North York. There were many protests but Pollanen appointed a temporary director and told her that she could not be renewed. Dr. Chitra Rao was appointed as interim director with the clear understanding that she would not seek reappointment or challenge Pollanen's decision.

There were many conflicts after Fernandes' death. The newly appointed director of the HFPU, Dr. Jane Turner had autopsied a small child and had given the cause of death as bone disease. But a local expert had claimed that it was child abuse and Pollanen agreed. Dr. Jane Turner was fired and then sued the Ontario Government on the issue of the integrity of forensic pathology. She claimed that Pollanen intervened to change the cause of death to homicide. After the Death Investigation Oversight Council (DIOC) heard the case, it went to Divisional Court in 2019. The police testified that found no evidence of homicide. The battle played out in Divisional Court where it became a test of the effectiveness of the DIOC. The Divisional Court reserved judgment.

This created a firestorm of protests from local coroners from all areas around Hamilton and family members of the deceased who wanted to attend inquests now held in North York. Also, bodies for

autopsy had to be transported to North York because Pollenin was not satisfied with the results in Hamilton. The issues had been referred to the Death Investigation Oversight Council (DOIC) but the Chief Coroner, Dr. Dirk Hewer ignored their report and they proceeded with the closure.

Problems

There were many problems in the HFPU. Several pathologists had come and left shortly after, stating that they would not advance their knowledge there. The Eastern Ontario Forensic Pathology Unit stated in a letter that Hamilton is not a sought after place for pathologists to work. They cited the number of pathologists who had come and gone.

This left John Fernandes to do an increasing workload and there were complaints that he was difficult to work with and the other pathologists on the unit were not sharing the load. When Fernandes died of Cancer in 2019, the number of autopsies, already large, simply overwhelmed the remaining staff. Dr. Rao appealed to Pollinan for help in getting more staff but this was also ignored. Dr. Jane Turner, a former director, had already filed a complaint to the DIOC. Dr. Elina Bulakhtina filed her own complaint against Pollinan to the DIOC and, when this was not responded to, launched a lawsuit through Divisional Court to have the decision overturned. This is still proceeding.

After that, things seemed to settle but the bitterness in Hamilton is still there. The previous forensic program became part of the Department of anatomical pathology at McMaster and continued to do autopsies but could not call inquests. And the complaints from police and from families continued to grow. Staff Sergeant Dave Olenik who had been working with the HFPU, also questioned why nothing was done to help the staffing crisis. He said: "Look, it's inadequate. Well, it's inadequate because you underfunded and understaffed it. It wouldn't be inadequate if you had just kept it up all the time". He agreed that it had become a personality battle

between Pollinin and Fernandes. He butted heads with people like Pollinin and they didn't like it. He suggested that it was a grudge match between the two and the decision to close the unit was because of this. Dr. Rao believes that this was unnecessary but it seemed that nothing could be done at this point.

However, the struggle continues. Bill Deadman's legacy remains. The unit, with all its early accomplishments became the victim of a power struggle that played out where there were no winners and many losers. It is hoped that at some point in the future, when the present players have left the scene, that the HFPU will be restored.



CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Part IV – Continued

MEDICAL PIONEER: PUBLICATIONS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

*Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
the proper study of mankind is man.”*

Alexander Pope (1688-1744)

Publications and Presentations 1920-1965

Reprints, Articles. 1920-1935

1. Deadman WJ; Unexpected Autopsy Findings in Unexpected Deaths. *Amer. J. Clinical Pathology*, 1:2 pp127-134 March 1931. (read before American Society of Clinical Pathologists, Detroit Publications and Mich. June 1930.)
2. Deadman WJ, Graham AM; The Value of Basal Metabolic Rate Estimations to the General Practitioner. *Western Jour. Surgery, Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, Oct. 1932. (read before the annual meeting of the American Association for the study of goitre at Hamilton, 32/06/14.)
3. Deadman WJ; Findings of special clinical interest revealed at Post-Mortem Examinations. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 28, 401-404, 1933. (read at the 63rd annual meeting, CMA, Sect. Pathology, Toronto, 32/06/23.)
4. Deadman WJ, Elliott FJ; The Laboratory History of Diphtheria in Hamilton. *Can. Public Health J.*, March 1933. (read at the 21st annual meeting of the Canadian Public Health Association, Toronto.)

5. Deadman WJ, Elliott FJ; Clean Bottles, A factor in Clean Milk – A Preliminary Report. *Can. Public Health Jour. Jan. 1934*. (Presented at the Christmas meeting of the Laboratory Section, Canadian Public Health Association, Toronto, Dec. 1933.)
6. Deadman WJ; Cancer – The Pathological Aspect. *Can. Med. Assn. J., 32, 238-244, 1935*. (Presented as part of a Cancer Symposium at the C.M.A. Ann. Meeting, Calgary Alta. June 1934.)

Reprints, Articles. 1936-1946

7. Deadman WJ, Ansley HA; Preparation of a series of Brain Tumours. *Jour. Technical Methods and Bull. International Association of Medical Museums*, 15, 36-38, 1936. (Presented at the International Association of Medical Museums, New York, N.Y., April 1935.)
8. Deadman WJ, Elliott, FJ, Smith, H; The Examination of Cerebro-Spinal Fluids by Colloidal Carbon. *Amer. J. Clinical Pathology*, 7:3 May 1937. (read before the 15th Annual Convention, American Society of Clinical Pathologists, Kansas City Missouri, 36/05/8-10.)

9. Deadman WJ; Fatal Air Embolism—Case Reports. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 37, 157-160, 1937. (read before the Academy of Medicine, Toronto, 36/11/23. Also at Ontario Medical Assn. meeting, London, Ont. 36/05/29.)
10. Deadman WJ, McGregor JK; The Correlation of the Pathological and the Surgical. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 37, 1937. (Presented at the O.M.A Ann. Mtg. Toronto, May 1934.)
11. Roberts J, Deadman WJ, Elliott, F; “An Outbreak of Staphylococcal Food Poisoning.” *Can. Public Health J.*, July 1938.
12. Deadman WJ; The Bacteriological Aspect of Streptococcic Sore Throat. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 40, 113-115, 1939. (read as part of a Symposium at the annual meeting, CMA, Halifax, 38/06/24.)
13. Shaw RE, Deadman WJ; The Clinical Value of Autopsies. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 42 168-171, 1940. (as The Clinical Value of Post Mortem Examinations, read at the annual meeting, Ontario Medical Assn. Hamilton, 39/06/02.)
14. Deadman WJ, Wilson DC: Report of an outbreak of Trichinosis. *Can. Public Health Jour.* Oct. 1941. (Presented at the 27th Annual meeting of the Ontario Health Officers Association, Toronto, 41/05/22-23.
15. Deadman WJ: Scientific Aids to Diagnosis of Disease. *Proceedings, Royal Canadian Institute* 1941. (Illustrated lecture to the Royal Canadian Institute, Toronto, March 1941)
16. Deadman WJ: The Rôle of the Pathologist. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 46, 365-370, 1942. (Presidential Address at the 4th annual convention of the Ontario Association of Pathologists.)
17. Deadman WJ; Criminal Abortion. Submitted for publication to *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 1942. (Presented at the Ontario Association of Pathologists, London Ontario, October 1942.)
18. Deadman WJ: Men, Motors and Alcohol. *Can Jour. Med Technology*, 6:2 June 1944.
19. Wilson DC; Recent Advances in the Study of Virus Diseases. *Can Jour. Med Technology*, 6:4 December 1944.
20. Deadman WJ; Sudden Death. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 56, 273-277, 1947. (read at the 77th annual meeting, CMA, Sect. Medicine, Banff, 46/06/12.)

Reprints, Articles. 1956-1965

21. Deadman, WJ; Lieutenant Colonel William J. Deadman, B.A., M.B., V.D. Coordinator O.M.A Rh Program. *Ont. Med. Review*, Sept. 1956
22. Deadman, WJ: “Unexpected Deaths in Infants.” *Ont. Med. Review*, 26:9 Sept. 1959.
23. Deadman, WJ: “What about your R.H. Factor?” *Health*, October 1960.
24. Deadman, WJ: “Ontario’s Regional Forensic Pathologists” *Ont. Med. Review*, Sept. 1962
25. Deadman, WJ: The Ontario Medico-Legal System. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 89, 214-216, 1963.
26. Deadman, WJ: “Infanticide” *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 91, 558-560, 1964.

27. Deadman, WJ: The Identification of Human Remains. *Can. Med. Assn. J.* 91:Oct. 19, 1964 pp. 808-811.

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28. Article: "Lieutenant Colonel William J. Deadman, B.A., M.B., V.D. Co-ordinator O.M.A. Rh Programme" *Ont. Med. Review*, Sept. 1956
29. Unexpected Autopsy Findings in Unexpected Deaths. WJD. (typed text, 7 pp.) 1930.
30. The Co-relation of the Pathological and Surgical. JK McGregor, WJD; Read at Ontario Medical Association, annual meeting, 34/05/30.
31. Adrenal Tumour with Case Report and Autopsy. WJD. 1932
32. The Laboratory History of Diphtheria in Hamilton for the Past Twelve Years. WJD, FJ Elliott; 32/05/10.
33. Findings of special Clinical interest revealed at Post-Mortem Examinations. WJD. (typed text, 9 pp.) 1932.



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Scientific Reports, Presentations. 1920-1956

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35. Congenital Adrenal Neuroblastoma of Diphtheria in Hamilton for the past 12 years. WJD. 1932/05/10.
36. Tumours of the Adrenal Gland, with case report and Autopsy Findings. WJD, RF Hughes (clinical case report, Ham. General Hospital, 1935/07.
37. Tumours of Adrenal Medulla, with case reports. WJD, Read at Ont. Medical Assn. Convention, 1933/06/01.
38. Report of a Case of Lindau's Disease. WJD. 1933.
39. Congenital Adrenal Neuroblastoma. WJD, RF Hughes, 1933/03/28.
40. Food Poisoning. WJD, (typed, 3 pp. undated)
41. Pneumonia – The Killer. WJD, (typed, 3 pp. Undated.
42. The Pathological Aspect of Cancer. WJD, (presented at the annual meeting Canadian Medical Association, Calgary, 34/06/21.
43. The Relation of the Degree of the Histological Malignancy to the Prognosis and Treatment of Carcinoma of the Uterine Cervix. (typed, bound, Jul – 1935)
44. Findings of Special Clinical Interest. WJD, (typed, 7pp. Undated)
45. Pathology and Immunology of Staphylococcus Septicaemia. WJD, ("Property of City Laboratories Oct – 1935 Hamilton General Hospital")

46. The Pathology of the Encephalitis of Rubeola and Rubella. WJD, HA Ansley. Article Feb. 1936.
47. Fatal Air Embolism—Case Reports. (read before Ontario Medical Assn. meeting, London, Ont. 36/05/29. Also at the Academy of Medicine, Toronto, 36/11/23.)
48. Silicosis – with Case Report and Autopsy. WJD. (catalogued *City Laboratories*, 20M-5. Mar.--37.)
49. Neoplasms of the Renal Capsule. WJD, SF Penny, (read before Canadian Medical Assn. meeting, Ottawa, Ont. 1937/06/23.
50. Streptococcic Sore Throat – The bacteriological aspect. (presented at the annual meeting Canadian Medical Association, Halifax, 38/06/24. Deadman WJ; The Bacteriological Aspect of Streptococcic Sore Throat. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 40, 113-115, 1939.)
51. The Dangers of impure Milk. WJD, (typed, 2 pp. marked “*Spec. Dec. 1940*”,)
52. Safeguarding your Meat Supply. WJD, (typed, 5 pp. marked “*Spec. Dec. 1940*”,)
53. A further Outbreak of Staphylococcal Food Poisoning. JE Davey, WJD, FJ Elliott, (undated but refers to case on 41/05/09)
54. *Trichiniasis – with Report of an outbreak*. WJD & DC Wilson. Presented at Annual Meeting of the Ontario Health Officers Association, Toronto 41/05/23.
55. *Sudden Death. Typed text, (undated, with references)*
56. *The Ideal Record Librarian*. (reprint unascribed, undated)
57. Wound Infections – Ivy Poisoning. WJD, (presented at Annual Dinner Meeting of Electrical Employees Association, Toronto, 1943/02/08. (typed paper, bound. 6pp.)
58. The Menace of Venereal Disease. Typed text. (a broadcast on radio station CKOC. 46/02/18)
59. Medical Science and Crime Detection. WJD. (typed, undated, 8pp. could be a lecture or paper.)
60. Pathological Effects of Radiation. WJD, (typed with notes, undated, 8pp. could be a lecture or paper.)
61. *Twenty-Five Years of progress in the Clinical Laboratory*. Typed text (undated, probably 1945-56)
62. *City Laboratories of Pathology and Public Health serving as Department of Laboratories, Hamilton Health Department and Department of Pathology, Hamilton General Hospitals – A Brief Sketch*.

Scientific Reports, Presentations. 1956-1965

63. *Report: The Rh Program in Ontario. Conjoint Programme on Diagnosis and Management of Haemolytic Disease of the Newborn. Sponsored by OMA, Can. Junior Red Cross, Ontario Dept. of Health. 57/10/11.*
64. The Medicolegal System of Ontario, Canada. WJD, Attorney General's Laboratory. (undated, probably 1961)
65. *The Regional Pathologist System* (typed report signed by N Sharpe and WJD. Handwritten draft.)
66. The Funeral Director and the Medico-legal Autopsy. (handwritten draft)
67. Torso Identification: Handwritten draft. Undated. 7 pp. Refers to the Dick trial in 1946.
68. Autopsy Protocol – O.P.A. 33-60 (a list of questions for the expert witness. The pathologist and the toxicologist.
69. *Death from Asphyxia, 64/09/01.*



Addresses, Professional – Miscellaneous.

70. Address to Graduating Class. Notes. (undated).
71. Cancer. Address delivered in Niagara Falls 39/03/30.
72. *The Role of the Pathologist.* Presidential address to the Fourth Annual Convention of the Ontario Association of Pathologists, Hamilton, 41/09/19.
73. *The Role of the Pathologist in Crime Prevention. Address at the Meeting of the Harvard Associates on Police Science, at Toronto, 58/06 (one copy inscribed "To son John from dad")*
74. *What about your R.H. Factor? (typed text, 7 pp. with 2 drafts handwritten and lecture notes.)*
75. *A Half Century of Forensic Pathology.* Address to the Manitoba Medicolegal Society, Winnipeg, 63/04/02.
76. *Forensic Medicine as an aid to Criminal Investigation.* Undated.
77. *Infanticide.* Presentation to the Annual Meeting, Canadian Society of Forensic Sciences, Quebec P.Q. 63/09/07
78. *Unexpected Deaths in Infants. Paper;* typed, undated. (with typed lecture notes.)
79. The Coroner System of Ontario. (handwritten text, undated probably 1963 or '64)
80. A New Deal for Ontario Coroners. (part typed, handwritten, with an earlier draft.)

Lecture Notes 1920-45

81. Unexpected Autopsy Findings in Unexpected Deaths. Typed lecture notes, undated (see citation, 1931.)
82. Phenacetin Poisoning. Typed lecture notes, undated (Case dated April 1932)
83. Cancer – The Pathological Aspect. Typed lecture text, (undated but published in CMAJ in 1935.)
84. The Modern Concept of Cancer. Typed lecture notes, (undated but most recent reference is 1936.)
85. Air Embolism. Lecture notes. (see also paper read before Ontario Medical Assn. meeting, London, Ont. 36/05/29. Also at the Academy of Medicine, Toronto, 36/11/23.)
86. Scientific aids to the Diagnosis of Disease in the Seventeenth Century. WJD, notes for lecture in Convocation Hall, Univ. Toronto, 1941/03/01.
87. Pathological effects of Radiation. Typed lecture notes, (undated)
88. Recent advances in Bacteriology. Typed lecture notes, (undated – mentions sulpha but not penicillin)
89. Wound Infections. (typed headings and text. undated)
90. Bacteriological Warfare. (rough handwritten headings, undated)
91. Bacteriological Warfare. (rough handwritten notes, 7 lectures, undated)
92. Serum Amylase. (handwritten note cards, undated)
93. Pathological Lesions of Unexpected Death. (typed lecture notes, undated)
94. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. For University of Western Ontario. Faculty of Medicine, Session 1945-46. (Note: this was obviously given in several sessions over a number of years so they have been rewritten several times. The order of lectures has been changed and topics changed over the years.)
95. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture I. Death. (notes, 3 pp typed)
96. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture II. Wounds, Thermal and Electrical Lesions. (notes, 3 pp typed, with pencilled corrections for a later draft)
97. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture III. Wounds – Ballistics – Blood stains. (notes, 2 pp typed)
98. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture IV. Thermal and Electrical Lesions. (notes, 2 pp typed, overwritten on an earlier Lecture II.)
99. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture V. Asphyxia – Hanging, Throttling, Drowning. (notes, 5 pp typed)
100. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture VI. Sexual Offenses. (notes, 2 pp typed)

101. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture VII. Laboratory Investigations and their Significance. (notes, 3 pp typed. Several versions, some incomplete)
102. Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence. Lecture VIII. The Inquest – The Courts – The Medical Witness. (notes, typed)

Lecture Notes 1946-56

103. Pancreatic Apoplexy. WJD; GK Ingham; (case presentation – c. 1947. 2 copies)
104. Infections. Typed text. McMaster University 48/12/06.
105. Occupational Diseases and Infection. Typed lecture notes. (undated)
106. Medico-Legal Investigations. Lectures to Hamilton Police Training School. 4 lectures, typed 50/03/30.
107. Medico-Legal Investigations. Police Training School. Lecture I, Post Mortem Examinations. (headings, notes, typed.)
108. The Medico-Legal Autopsy. (notes, undated)
109. Medico-Legal Investigations. Lecture III. Laboratory Examinations, (Headings, Lecture notes edited from UWO lectures VII. Typed)
110. Lecture notes edited from UWO lectures VII. Typed)
111. Medico-Legal Investigations. Lecture IV. Care of Exhibits, (Headings, Lecture notes, typed)
112. The Kinship of clinical and public health laboratory practice. Typed text, (undated, probably 1950s)
113. Collagen Diseases. Handwritten rough notes. (undated, probably 1950s)
114. The Effect of the passage of Electrical Current through Man. (notes about electrocution, 1 p. Undated)

Lecture Notes 1956-65

115. Torso Identification: typed lecture notes, handwritten notes, 3 versions, undated.
116. The Investigation of Criminal Abortion. (typed, undated.)
117. *The Hospital and the Law*. (Précis of 3 lectures prepared for the University of Toronto, School of Hygiene, Dept. of Hospital Administration, for delivery in April, 1962.)
118. The Hospital and the Law. (Rough notes, handwritten. Cards for lectures 2 and 3.)
119. Lecture 2. Legal aspects. (typed, 2 pp.)

120. Lecture 3. Negligence – Liabilities – Authorizations – Banks. (typed, 5 pp.)
121. *Splenomegaly*. (rough handwritten notes – undated. 1p)
122. Seventeenth Century Medicine. Typed outline and 2 pp. text (undated)
123. Seventeenth Century Medicine. Typed outline and 2 pp. text (undated)
124. *Forensic Pathology*. Lecture notes (undated, probably 1959-63)
125. *The Ontario Medico-legal System*. Lecture notes (undated, probably 1959-63)
126. *Cancer Through the Ages*. Handwritten lecture notes (undated, probably 1959-63)



PUBLIC AFFAIRS, SPEECHES, ARTICLES (REPRINTS)

Published Reprints, Speeches.

127. A Medical Officer in Macedonia. University of Toronto Monthly, April 1931. (originally presented at Reunion of Veterans of 5th Field Ambulance, Walker House Hotel, Toronto, 1928/04/14.)
128. Deadman, WJ: *Canada... Today and Tomorrow*. Hamilton Rotary Club, Printed booklet, undated (Address to the Hamilton Rotary Club. 40/07/04.)
129. Deadman, WJ: Canadian Medicine – and the Spirit of 1914-1918. *Can. Med. Assn. J.* (submitted 41/06/10.)
130. Deadman, WJ: The Hospital Interne and the War. *Ont. Med. Assn. Bulletin*, January 1941.
131. Deadman, WJ: The Young Physician and the War. *Ont. Med. Assn. Bulletin*, July 1941.
132. Deadman, WJ: The Call of the Royal Army Medical Corps. *Ont. Med. Assn. Bulletin*, 8:5 Sept-Oct., 1941.
133. Deadman, WJ: Canada's Supply of Army Doctors. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 46: pp. 60-62, 1942.
134. Deadman, WJ: Members on Active Service. *Can. Jour. Medical Technology*. 3: 4 September, 1941.
135. Deadman WJ: Canadian Medicine – and the War Effort. *Can. Med. Assn. J.* (submitted 41/06/10.)
136. Deadman WJ; Loans to Medical Students ... A national responsibility. *Canadian Hospital*, January 1942.
137. Deadman WJ; Marion Robina Hutchison, an Appreciation. *Can Jour. Med Technology* (reprint- Undated)

138. Deadman WJ; "For Whom the Bell Tolls". *The Dalhousie Review*, 37:1 Spring (reprint 8 pp.) 56/12/03 (Address to the members of the Hamilton and District Officers Institute, at Hamilton, December 3, 1956.)
139. Deadman WJ; *Canada's Fundamental Reconstruction*. Printed booklet by *Appleford Paper Products* 1943. (Address to the Hamilton Rotary Club. 43/02/04.)
140. *The Empire at War. Canada and Canadian Medicine, list of addresses, speeches 1940-42 (some subsequently published. See citations.)*

Addresses, Speeches

141. *The Empire at War. Canada and Canadian Medicine, list of addresses, speeches 1940- (some subsequently published. See citations.)*
142. *England. Address to the St. George's Society, Hamilton, at the Annual Dinner, April 21st 1941.*
143. *Canada Calling. Address to a recruiting rally at Welland Ontario, June 27th, 1941.*
144. *WJD: The Call of the Royal Army Medical Corps. Ont. Med. Assn. Bulletin, 8:5 Sept-Oct., 1941.*
145. *Kipling's India, rough notes for a talk. Undated*
146. *Canada... Today and Tomorrow. Address to the Hamilton Rotary Club. (Printed booklet) 40/07/04.*
147. *Canada – Today and Tomorrow. Address to the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Association of Superannuated Women Teachers. (Revised, typed) 59/06/11.*
148. *Canadian Medicine and the War Effort. Address to the Hippocratic Society, Univ. Western Ontario 42/02/26.*
149. *Render unto Caesar. (Address given in several venues. Only rough notes for address remain. Undated)*
150. *A Canada Population Policy. Address to various groups. (listed on the front.) 44/05/02 & 46/07/31.*
151. *Civic Democracy. Address at the inaugural meeting of the Mayor, Controllers and Aldermen of the City of Hamilton, 52/01/07. (typed paper & earlier draft)*
152. *Noblesse Oblige. Address to 1956 Graduating Class, HGH School of Nursing. (typed, undated) 56/06/01.*
153. *For Whom the Bell Tolls. Address to the members of the Hamilton and District Officers Institute, at Hamilton, 56/12/03*
154. *Memories. Address to the Hamilton Municipal Employees' Quarter Century Club, at Hamilton, 61/11/29*
155. "Gentlemen of the Jury" Text of a speech for the Manitoba Bar Association, Winnipeg, 63/04/02. (handwritten)
156. *Fifty Years Ago. An address in Response to a Toast to The Class of 1913, Medicine, University of Toronto at the Great Hall, Harthouse, June 11th, 1963. William J Deadman, M.B., 1T3. (typed text of address, 6 pp.)*

157. *Canada – Tomorrow*. Address to the Ontario Association of Medical Record Librarians, 64/10/26.
158. *Quo Vadis*. Address to the United Empire Loyalists Association at Hamilton, 65/02/25. (Handwritten text.)

Articles, General and Miscellaneous

159. *Marion Robina Hutchison, an Appreciation*. Typed text (undated)
Note: Marion Hutchison was secretary to the City Laboratories through the '30s, '40s, '50s.
160. *William Lipsett Robinson, B.A., M.B., F.R.C.S., (C.) (Professor of Pathology, U of Toronto.) WJD*.
161. *A Tribute to Colonel F. L. S. Ford, C.M.G., V.D. Program, Complementary Banquet and Presentation at Canadian Military Institute, Toronto, 42/12/19. Appreciations and reply. (6 copies)*
162. *Canada's Youth Problem*. Report of a study of the youth problem by a committee of the Rotary Club of Hamilton. (typed. WJD text, full report) 46/05/16.
163. *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties, (MotHotTT) (typed)*, 39 pp. Part I, 1885-1919. (complete copy dated 1914-1956.
164. *Spiritual Regeneration Needed in Canada*. Reprint from G&M 44/01/20.



- i Evans, Colin; *The Father of Forensics: The groundbreaking cases of Sir Bernard Spilsbury, and the beginnings of modern CSI*. Berkley Books, New York, 2006.
- ii Blum, Deborah; *The poisoner's handbook: murder and the birth of forensic medicine in the jazz age*. The Penguin Press, New York, 2010. ISBN 978-1-59420-243-8 © Deborah Blum 2010.
- iii Porter, R; *Blood and Guts : a Short History of Medicine*. Penguin Books © Roy Porter. pp 43-44
- iv Quoted from the Toronto Daily Star, 25 April, 1946, p. 15.
- v Toronto Daily Star, 25 April, 1946, p. 15 *ibid*.
- vi *How Could You, Mrs. Dick? An Enigma in Three Acts*. First performed on April 3 1947 in Hamilton but revived several times since. It was in the 1989/90 season of Theatre Terra Nova (Hamilton). It was revived again by the Dundas Playhouse just a few years ago.
- vii On October 5th, 1991 The Hamilton Spectator had an article by Paul Wilson entitled “The return of Evelyn Dick”. He had another article May 4th 1993 entitled “Just the fax. Whatever happened to Evelyn?”
 Another article in the ‘Spec’ dated March 16th 1996 was entitled “1946 Dick murder ‘unsolved’.”
 The Elm Street publication had a large illustrated review of the case in their September 2001 issue. It was entitled “The Enigma of Evelyn Dick”.
- viii Stuart J. Wilson, “Canadian Economic Development and Factor Movements before the Great Depression” Prepared for the Canadian Economic History Conference, Kingston: Queens University, April 15-17, 2005.
- ix David Gagan. “Genesis: Settling Peel County” in A.I. Silver, ed. *An Introduction to Canadian History*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1991, p. 209.
- x Gordon Darroch, “Class in Nineteenth-Century, Central Ontario: A Reassessment of the Crisis and Demise of Small

Producers During Early Industrialization, 1861-1871.” Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens de sociologie 13, no. 1/2 (1988): 57

- xi *ibid.* page 55
- xii Rough notes from his memoirs for a proposed chapter “The Early Days”.
- xiii This journal was never published. It is quoted in the book: *Tecumseth Township: The Unforgettable Past*. pp. 24-36.
- xiv From “The Early Days” an incomplete handwritten chapter for his autobiography.
- xv From Mabel Burkholder's book *Out of the Storied Past*, as quoted in *Tecumseth Township: The Unforgettable Past*. p 155.
- xvi From “*Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties*” unpublished. This was rewritten several times over the years from about 1950 to 1960 with revisions slightly before his death in 1965. The version here was set up as an address to an unnamed group but it became so long that it may never have been delivered.
- xvii The reference to Laurier was omitted in earlier versions of his writings.
- xviii *Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties*. Handwritten draft. This was a further attempt to write an autobiography. It is similar to earlier writings but each version contains slightly different details. Probably written between 1960 and 1965.
- xix *Ibid.* “*Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties*”.
- xx *Hamilton Memories*. This was written earlier than *Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties*. but contains much of the same material.
- xxi *Memories of a Canadian Pathologist*. There are two versions. This was the second one which is incomplete. Dates uncertain.
- xxii *Memoirs of a Canadian Pathologist*. Outline for a book. Chapter headings and brief notes. Date uncertain.
- xxiii Lead author JCD.

xxiv From '*Hamilton Memories*' an earlier draft of his autobiography. The next draft was called "*Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties*". These were all probably written between 1958 and 1965.

xxv *Hamilton Memories*. Ibid

xxvi *Memories of a Canadian Pathologist*. Ibid

xxvii *Hamilton Memories*. Ibid

xxviii From *Memoirs of a Pathologist*, another of the many handwritten drafts of an autobiography.

xxix *Hamilton Memories*. Ibid

xxx Blom, Philipp; *The Vertigo Years: Europe, 1900-1914*. Basic Books, 2008.

xxxi MacMillan, Margaret; *Paris 1919* (2001). *The War That Ended Peace* (2013).

xxxii Wright, AH; The Medical Schools of Toronto. *Can Med Assoc J*. 1928 May; 18(5): 616-620.

xxxiii *Hamilton Memories*. This was written earlier than *Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties* but contains much of the same material. Pp. 6-7.

xxxiv *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties – Part I – 1910-1919*. This was one of the latest version of his autobiography, probably written in the late 1950s or early 1960s. There are several versions, some of them incomplete. This version was the most nearly complete and some gaps were filled in by reference to other versions. Obvious grammatical and context errors have been corrected; the editorial 'we' has been converted to 'I' wherever it occurs but otherwise the text is as written.

xxxv *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties – Part I – 1910-1919*. Ibid.

xxxvi *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties*. Ibid.

xxxvii Ibid.

xxxviii Ibid.

xxxix Ibid.

xl Ibifad.

xli There is a photograph showing Miss Madden.

xlii Ibid.

xliii Ibid.

xliv Ibid.

xlvi Deadman, WJ: Canadian Medicine – and the Spirit of 1914-1918. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*

(submitted 41/06/10.)

Deadman, WJ: The Hospital Interne and the War. *Ont. Med. Assn. Bulletin*, January 1941.

Deadman, WJ: The Young Physician and the War. *Ont. Med. Assn. Bulletin*, July 1941.

Deadman, WJ: The Call of the Royal Army Medical Corps. *Ont. Med. Assn. Bulletin*, 8:5 Sept-Oct., 1941.

Deadman, WJ: Canada's Supply of Army Doctors. *Can. Med. Assn. J.*, 46: pp. 60-62, 1942.

Deadman, WJ: Members on Active Service. *Can. Jour. Medical Technology*. 3: 4 September, 1941.

xlvi *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties – Part I – 1910-1919.*

xlvi Noyes, Frederick; *Stretcher Bearers at the Double*. The Hunter Rose Company, Toronto, 1936. It is sub-titled "History of the Fifth Canadian Field Ambulance which served overseas during the Great War of 1914-1918." Limited numbered edition with numerous black and white photographs.

xlvi Ibid. p 5.

xlvi From a handwritten diary for the year 1915. This diary has entries for January and parts of April and May, 1915 but the rest is blank. The diary is shown in an appendix.

- l Stretcher Bearers... Ibid. p 7.
- li Ibid. p 7.
- lii *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.*
- liii From the diary for the year 1915. Ibid.
- liv *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.* Ibid.
- lv *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.* Ibid.
- lvi *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.* Ibid.
- lvii *Stretcher Bearers at the Double.* Ibid, pp 17-19.
- lviii *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.* Ibid.
- lix *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.* Ibid.
- lx *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.* Ibid.
- lxi *Memories of the Hamilton of the Teens and Twenties.* Ibid.
- lxii Scott, Frederick George; *The Great War as I Saw It.* F. D. Goodchild Company, Toronto, 1922.
- lxiii Personal recollections of the author.
- lxiv Noyes, Frederick; *Stretcher Bearers at the Double - History of the Fifth Canadian Field Ambulance which served overseas during the Great War of 1914-1918.* The Hunter Rose Company, Toronto, 1936. p. 285.
- lxv "William Berczy Co-Founder of Toronto" by John Andre © 1967
- lxvi City Laboratories of Pathology and Public Health, May 1st, 1956. William J. Deadman, B.A., M.B. Director 1914 – 1956. Unpublished typewritten document.
- lxvii Ibid, p. 4