

# Paratyphoid Blamed On Ulster: A Nursing Odyssey

John Hedley-Whyte, Debra R Milamed

Accepted 1 December 2007

## SUMMARY

The aim of the Modicum mission from the United States was to determine the fate of the Western World, the Second Front and the Manhattan Project plans for development of atomic weapons. The Modicum mission was appointed in March 1942 by Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President and Commander-in-Chief of the US forces. The journey via the Anglican Cathedral in Bermuda, to Gander, to London, to Ulster was eventful. There was a clay-pigeon shooting contest in Gander. Generals Marshall, Eisenhower, Clark and Averell Harriman were outshot by their pilot. In Ulster, an escorting US sergeant killed a Londonderry bus driver with three shots. At a house party requested by King George VI and General Marshall, at Ashbrook, Ardmore, near Londonderry, it is alleged Averell Harriman was poisoned with *Salmonella schottmülleri*. He was delirious and 'gravely ill' for three weeks at 3 Grosvenor Square next to the American Embassy. He subsequently married his "other nurse", Pamela. Ambassador Pamela Churchill Harriman, a long-time ardent supporter of the Clintons, died in February 1997 following a stroke.

**Key words:** Enteric Fever, Paratyphoid

## INTRODUCTION

In order to try to determine the origin of the paratyphoid B, enteric fever infection of W Averell Harriman, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's expediter, we need to follow itineraries. Harriman writes in his autobiography that Hopkins and himself "were billeted at the country house of a retired army officer who lived in elegant discomfort not many miles from Balyrena [sic], the base General Marshall was visiting". "Harriman," he writes of himself, "was forced to spend three weeks in bed", "gravely ill", "feverish and at times delirious, with what doctors believed to be a form of paratyphoid, probably traceable to drinking water from the Irishman's old well"<sup>1</sup>. "The incubation period of enteric fever (typhoid and paratyphoid) is typically eight to fourteen days, sometimes twenty-three"<sup>2</sup>. Christie cites incubation of twenty-one to twenty-three days, but four to five days may suffice when *S paratyphoid B* is the infecting agent, and the vehicle a highly favourable one, such as milk or cream<sup>3</sup>. Acute onset of symptoms is common<sup>2</sup>. The course of paratyphoid B infection may be identical to typhoid, producing a clinically indistinguishable enteric fever. The incubation period of enteric fever due to water-borne contamination is almost invariably longer than infection from other sources<sup>2,3</sup>. The pathology of enteric fever due to paratyphoid B is well

described by Gadeholt and Madsen who report on 1,324 cases occurring in Norway between 1912 and 1961. Thirty-four of these patients with paratyphoid B died. All but eight of the surveyed 2,647 cases of typhoid and paratyphoid B were autopsied<sup>4</sup>.

## WAR-TIME JOURNEYS

On the 20<sup>th</sup> March 1942, Averell Harriman checked out of the Dorchester Hotel in London and flew with Lord Beaverbrook to Bermuda. From there, Beaverbrook flew to Miami and Harriman to Washington, DC<sup>5</sup>. A fortnight later General George C Marshall and Harry Hopkins and part of the Modicum mission left Baltimore early on the 4<sup>th</sup> April 1942 in a Pan-Am Clipper for Bermuda, having been given aliases in Washington<sup>6</sup>. In Bermuda the opposite approach to the secrecy was taken. The next day in the cathedral, Marshall read the second lesson at Easter Matins, Revelation 1:4-18\*, ending "have the keys of hell and of death"<sup>7-11</sup>. According to Mrs. Marshall's account, her husband read "Philadelphia" with particular emphasis, leading one Philadelphian worshipper to enthusiastically express her pride in her native city<sup>8</sup>. Marshall and Hopkins were wished God-speed direct to London, but they flew non-stop to Gander, Newfoundland to join the rest of the Modicum group. At Gander were Dwight D Eisenhower, Mark Clark and Averell Harriman. The combined party was then put on a Boeing 307 Stratoliner piloted by Otis Bryan<sup>12</sup>. The Stratoliner had to return to Gander, Newfoundland, because of atrocious weather conditions over Greenland. Pilot Bryan won a "high brass Gander skeet (clay-pigeon) shoot out (24 of 25)". Marshall was an excellent and experienced quail hunter<sup>13</sup>, but was outshot. Bryan then flew them on to Prestwick; thence to London<sup>12</sup>. Upon their arrival, Winston Churchill told Marshall he knew of his Easter lectern performance<sup>8</sup>.

\* Marshall and Hopkins knew of plans for the Manhattan Project. On 11<sup>th</sup> October 1939, in conversation about atomic bombs with Alex Sachs, an economist, President Franklin D Roosevelt said "What you are after is to see that the Nazis don't blow us up." To General Edwin M Watson, US Army, "This requires action"<sup>9</sup>. Watson and Sachs left together and action there was, and already had been. Enrico Fermi and Leó Szilárd, both then at Columbia University, and others were duplicating the German feat of splitting the uranium atom. On 11<sup>th</sup> October 1941, Roosevelt wrote to Winston Churchill proposing Anglo-American full-cooperation, and the following December, Churchill thanked Roosevelt for his letter of 11<sup>th</sup> October 1941<sup>10,11</sup>.

Harvard University, 1400 VFW Parkway, Boston, MA 02132-4927, USA.

Correspondence to Prof. Hedley-Whyte

john\_hedley-whyte@hms.harvard.edu

**PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN THIS IMMEDIATELY.**

**FOURTH SCHEDULE.**

Prescription in accordance with Regulations New Poisons Rules which came into force on May 1st, 1936.

Name of Patient.....  
 Address of Patient.....  
 Date.....  
 R./.....

*Mr Averell Harriman*  
*3 Grosvenor Sq*  
*Cod sin 1/4*  
*White 20*  
*Daniel & Daisy had*  
*38 Wimpole St.*

Prescribed by (usual signature).....  
 Address of Prescriber.....

*25. 4. 42*

Qualifications.....

NOTE.—The whole of the above particulars are essential For other details P.T.O.

*John Bell & Croyden*  
 DISPENSING CHEMISTS  
 50-52, WIGMORE STREET, LONDON, W.1.  
 Telephone: WELBECK 5555 (20 lines). OPEN DAY & NIGHT

Fig 1a. Davies followed the therapeutic regimen specified by Osler and Christian<sup>2</sup>. This prescription for codeine is the only prescription in the Harriman archives written during April and May 1942.

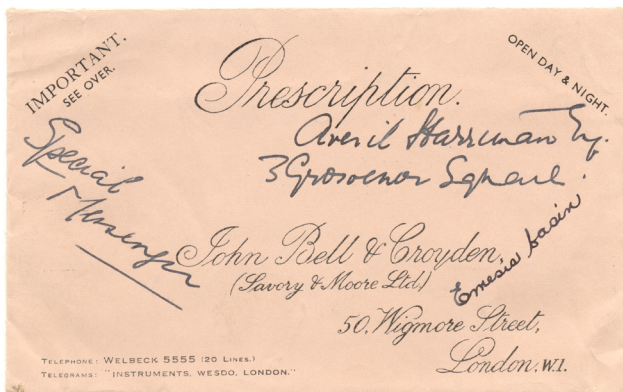


Fig 1b. A vomit-bowl had to be sent to Mrs Randolph Churchill by Special Messenger.

### BOEING 307 STRATOLINER ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

A total of only ten Stratoliners were ever built, all by Boeing. Three were for Pan Am, five for TWA and a ninth for Howard Hughes. The tenth, the prototype, had crashed, but TWA put the Stratoliner into service on July 8, 1940: the first

fully-pressurised aircraft to enter aviation service. With 33 passengers and five crew, a 12-foot wide cabin and overnight berths, it could fly 20,000 feet higher than all other airliners. A galley-kitchen was provided, staffed by two registered nurses<sup>12</sup>.

The Stratoliner's deployment for the Marshall, Hopkins, Harriman trip to London and then Ulster had national and international implications for the United States. The US War Department of which Marshall was effectively professional head, wanted control of all the Stratoliners and many other civilian airliners and helicopters: this they achieved on May 7, 1942<sup>14</sup> by Franklin D Roosevelt's presidential memorandum to the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff<sup>15</sup>. Undoubtedly the US military realised that the flight across the Atlantic at 14-20,000 feet would be manifest to the Axis and would impress US allies.

### LONDON, APRIL 1-15, 1942

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1942, FDR had written "Dear Winston, Best of luck. Make Harry (Hopkins) go to bed early, and let him obey Dr. Fulton, US Navy, whom I am sending with him as super-nurse with full authority"<sup>16</sup>. Hopkins was a long-term live-in White House advisor to the Roosevelts. In 1939 he had undergone surgery for cancer of the stomach<sup>17</sup>.

From the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> of April, the US Delegation, having arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup>, had long formal meetings in Whitehall with Winston Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff. General Hastings "Pug" Ismay took the minutes<sup>18</sup>. Having been ill and in pain after his arrival, Hopkins on April 15, 1942 addressed Westminster MP's. He suggested, records Harold Nicolson, "That we should be mad to get rid of Winston". "Somebody asks him whether America can advise us on the sort of propaganda we ought to conduct". Hopkins replied, "We are the worst propagandists in the world and you are the next worst. Why not consult someone better?"<sup>19</sup> Averell Harriman was present. Marshall had asked King George VI at luncheon earlier that day if, because of Hopkins' delicate health, while in Ulster they could stay in a private home<sup>20</sup>.

Averell Harriman, meanwhile, had moved into 3 Grosvenor Square, London, with his daughter Kathleen. Aged twenty-four, she had been educated at Foxcroft, a fashionable girls' boarding school, and Bennington College, Vermont. Number 3 was adjacent to the American Embassy on the square's south side. The bottom two floors contained embassy offices. The Harrimans, father and daughter, were joined by Pamela Churchill, the wife of Randolph who had just left London to join the Special Air Service (SAS). Harriman, Pamela and Kathleen all had separate rooms and could order food from the American Embassy<sup>21</sup>.

Six hours earlier than the US Army itinerary, for 17<sup>th</sup> April 1942, Marshall, Harriman and Hopkins flew to Limavady, near Londonderry, to inspect newly-deployed US troops<sup>22</sup>. They were met at the airport by their designated host, Major Douglas Beresford Ash DSO, DL, who had been a Royal Fusilier Captain at the Somme. He survived that blood-bath of Ulster manhood to become squire of the family estate, Ashbrook<sup>21</sup>. Pamela continued as Winston's sometime hostess. He appreciated his daughter-in-law, saying "Aren't I lucky to have such a pretty daughter-in-law?"<sup>23</sup>



Fig. 2. William Averell Harriman by Gardner Cox, oil on canvas, 1975, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

*The Washington Post* of 19<sup>th</sup> April 1942 states, “Hurrying about in an American staff car guarded by machine-gunners and riflemen of the United States Scout Corps, General Marshall and the others were busy.” Marshall visited the US Field Hospital of 250 beds outside Londonderry and spoke to “at least one patient in each ward - Americans and British alike”<sup>24</sup>. On their way to Ashbrook from Limavady on April 17<sup>th</sup>, near Ballykelly, a bus driver was shot dead. US Sergeant WV Clipsham fired the three shots. At his court-martial for manslaughter Clipsham was acquitted, partly on the grounds that the bus driver had deliberately delayed Marshall, Hopkins and Harriman by driving in the middle of the road<sup>25</sup>.

### A VISIT TO ASHBROOK

Marshall, Harriman and Hopkins arrived at Ashbrook, Ardmore, before lunch on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1942 to be received by their host and hostess, Major Douglas and Lady Helena Beresford Ash<sup>26</sup>. According to Harriman, Hopkins developed “An immediate aversion for the place, resenting not only the lack of creature comforts but also his host”<sup>21</sup>. Ashbrook was no White House and Fusilier Ash was less captivating than Hopkins’ longtime host President Roosevelt. Marshall, on the other hand, was charming. John Beresford Ash, the son, has said “When I was being bathed, General Marshall thought I was a little girl.” General Marshall atoned by letter and a “box of candy” for the little “tow-haired gentleman.” John Beresford Ash ate the chocolates and the letter still exists<sup>26</sup>.

Dinner on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April was not an entire success. Marshall ate a disproportionate share of the main course - thin slices of liverwurst, slivers of carrots on a few lettuce leaves and strips of bread. There was a small dessert. Hopkins and

Harriman “suffered the pangs of hunger all that evening”. Early the next morning Hopkins wrote a note to Marshall suggesting porridge, pork and beans for breakfast. Marshall from his bed wrote on a blank radiogram in pencil, “the Chief of Staff ...feels compelled to observe that the hour hardly justifies Mr. Hopkins in disturbing the rest of so high a military official. The Chief of Staff suggests that instead of a crude meal of pork and beans, Mr Hopkins would be better off, with a small circle of liverwurst, the ragged edge of a piece of lettuce and the false hopes of more to come”<sup>27</sup>. On their leaving the next day, 18<sup>th</sup> April, the escorting convoy was held up while Marshall, Hopkins and Harriman inspected the rhododendrons, on which Harriman was an expert. “The war can wait,” said Marshall<sup>26</sup>. Rhododendrons covered many of Harriman’s 40,000 acres of Arden, New York. Arden also had thirty-odd bedrooms and its food was of “genuine mediocrity or worse”<sup>28</sup>.

According to the proposed itinerary,<sup>22</sup> luncheon on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April was provided for the Modicum party at the headquarters of Major General Russell P Hartle, commander of both US Army Northern Ireland and V Corps. Since late March of 1942 his mess had served mainly American rations<sup>29</sup>, Averell Harriman, Hopkins and Marshall flew from Limavady to the RAF station at West Freugh. Thence by ground to Portpatrick, from where Hopkins and Marshall flew by Pan Am Clipper Flying Boat to Washington, DC, arriving in time for dinner the next day, 19<sup>th</sup> April 1942<sup>22,27</sup>. From the Portpatrick Hotel Harriman arrived on the 19<sup>th</sup> April 1942 at 3 Grosvenor Square, thence to report to Winston S Churchill.

### ILLNESS

On the 21<sup>st</sup> April, Averell Harriman became violently ill. High pyrexia was accompanied by delirium. He was cooled, fed and nursed by his daughter Kathleen and friend Pamela Churchill<sup>21</sup>. The patient and nurses were friendly with Lord Beaverbrook, who summoned Dr Daniel Thomas Davies - later knighted<sup>30,31</sup>. Davies, University of Wales and the Middlesex, FRCP 1932, had been Assistant Chemical Pathologist at the Middlesex<sup>30</sup>. Davies used a Widal test and microscopy to diagnose Paratyphoid B due to *Salmonella schottmülleri*<sup>31-33</sup>. Dr Davies’ narcotic prescription for Averell was delivered to nurse Pamela on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April (Fig 1)<sup>34</sup>. Dr Davies then prescribed eighteen days worth of strict ‘modified ulcer diet’<sup>35</sup> based on the Osler textbook as revised by HA Christian<sup>36</sup>. Next day, 26<sup>th</sup> April, at 2:00 pm, Eastern Daylight Time, Davies telephoned the Harriman family physician, Dr Alvan L Barach, of 929 Park Avenue, New York City. Davies reported on his consultation with Viscount Dawson of Penn about Averell Harriman<sup>36</sup>. The following day, the 27<sup>th</sup>, daughter Kathleen wired Lord Beaverbrook, now translocated from Miami to the Waldorf-Astoria in Manhattan, “Averell picked up a bug in North Ireland hobnobbing with the indigent aristocrats. Character obscure but has caused high fever... Explain to Marie (her step-mother). Pam joins with love”<sup>37</sup>.

Two days later, Pam’s mother-in-law wrote in her own hand from 10, Downing Street, Whitehall:

April the 29<sup>th</sup> 1942  
My dear Averill [sic],

Winston and I are grieved that you are ill.

Please please be very patient and lie very still. Winston had paratyphoid. It is a horrid and tedious illness, but when at last it is over one truly is absolutely well again. In fact the very capable Austrian doctor who looked after Winston (who fell ill at Salzburg) told me that after paratyphoid one has a completely new inside to one's stomach like a new born baby. In fact one is rejuvenated!

I'm afraid when the temperature goes down one becomes terribly hungry and of course one can't eat anything solid. Winston was very naughty and ate roast mutton too soon and had a relapse. We both send you our love and thoughts and wishes.

Yours ever,

Clementine S Churchill

We all feel you have contracted this illness in the service of both our countries<sup>38</sup>.

Dr. Davies brought in three American Red-Cross nurses, but Pamela Churchill stayed on as "the other nurse"- Averell Harriman's oft-repeated description of her war-time service to him<sup>21</sup> (Fig 2).

Daniel Davies, after his chemical pathology role at the Middlesex, had at the age of thirty been appointed as a physician to the Royal Free. His service as Physician to the Royal Household culminated in his Appointment as Physician to King George VI and later to the Queen. A more exacting patient of his was Beaverbrook. Davies, having made the diagnosis of paratyphoid B in Averell Harriman, would obviously realise the importance of suggesting a source of infection that did not betray inter-allied war planning or transportation secrets. Whether or not Ashbrook was the source, it was a convenient attribution. News of all this never reached the British 31<sup>st</sup> General Hospital or the advance body of the US 5<sup>th</sup> General Hospital at Musgrave Park,<sup>39</sup> who by late March 1942 were, like the other US forces in Ulster, supplied with food and water tested and approved by the US military<sup>29</sup>.

### THE NURSING OF HARRIMAN

The nurses wore rubber aprons. These were washed frequently with bichloride of mercury solution. After handwashing, the nurses soaked their hands thoroughly in 1:1,000 bichloride solution before and after each contact with Averell Harriman, and before they ate<sup>40</sup>. Pamela Churchill was vaccinated against paratyphoid B, and the other caregivers had already been vaccinated<sup>40</sup>.

The Davies modified Christian-Osler regimen included food obtained by the US Army and Navy as well as "beef bouillon made nearby by the chef at Claridges"<sup>41</sup>. "Delirious with fever and chills he required constant care"<sup>21</sup> which Pamela and Kathleen provided.

### ORIGIN OF PARATYPHOID

"The portal of entry of the paratyphoid bacillus is through the



Fig 3. Averell Harriman (right) and Harvard University President Nathan M Pusey escorting Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy to dinner at the meeting inaugurating the Institute of Politics at the John F Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 17<sup>th</sup> October 1966. Associated Press wirephoto from the *New York World Telegram and Sun* Newspaper Photograph Collection, in the Library of Congress.

intestinal lymphatics and during the incubation period they multiply in the liver, spleen and mesenteric lymph glands"<sup>42</sup>. In Sir William Savage's 40 different series reported in 1942<sup>43</sup>, water was rarely a vehicle of infection: four-fifths of the cases were due to infected food. Half of the time the infected food was cream or cream cakes.

Bedell Smith writes that Averell Harriman "while on a trip to Northern Ireland with Harry Hopkins and General Marshall... contracted paratyphoid from drinking contaminated water"<sup>21</sup>. No one else at Ashbrook reported contracting paratyphoid in 1942. When or where, then, did Harriman contract the disease? In the previous twenty-three days he had been in the United States, on the Stratoliner with its two sojourns in Gander, Newfoundland, London and then Ashbrook. There were no reported cases in Washington, DC<sup>44</sup>, or London<sup>45</sup> at that time, so that makes cream and cakes at Gander or cheese from the galley of the Stratoliner suspect.

Gander would, in 1942, get cheese from Quebec. The Province of Quebec was experiencing enteric fever outbreaks traced eventually to its cheeses<sup>46</sup>. Harriman was present at Hopkins' talk to the Westminster MPs, but no one else was recorded as having been sickened at either the House of Commons, the US Embassy or the Dorchester Hotel. *The New York Times* reported that Harriman had had influenza<sup>47</sup>, most likely as instructed by the US Embassy. Paratyphoid B was extremely uncommon in Ulster in 1942, and almost non-existent in March and April 1942 (Table I). The Medical

Department, US Army, reported for 1942 only one admission to hospital for paratyphoid in its entire European theatre of operations<sup>48</sup> and a total of forty-one admissions to hospital for paratyphoid world-wide for that year<sup>49</sup>. Newfoundland was administratively a part of Great Britain from 1934 to 1949 and we are unable to locate data on its incidence of enteric fever in 1942. The source of Harriman's enteric fever will probably never be conclusively ascertained, but it is extremely unlikely that it was Ashbrook water. The incubation period was too short.

**TYPHOID VACCINATION POLICY**

All US Army and AAF (US Airforce) personnel were vaccinated with typhoid, paratyphoid A and B bacilli heated to a temperature of 53-55°C. The US vaccine contained 1,000 million typhoid bacilli and 250 million *Salmonella paratyphi* (a) and the same number of *Salmonella schottmülleri* in each cc. Doses were 0.5cc followed by 1cc administered subcutaneously approximately a week and then a fortnight later. Complication rates were about twenty percent<sup>50</sup>. Since Hopkins was under naval medical supervision, he had presumably been similarly inoculated against paratyphoid. The efficacy of enteric fever vaccination is complex and still presents a challenge to world health policy<sup>51</sup>.

**THE HARRIMANS**

Patient Harriman's father, Edward Henry, was described as "a



Fig 4. General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Yuri Andropov (right) greets Mr and Mrs Harriman on the 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1983 in the Kremlin. Photograph by Vladimir Musaelyan for Tass, copyright 1983, Sovfoto. From print in the W Averell Harriman Papers in the US Library of Congress, container 895.

malefactor of great wealth" and an "enemy of the republic" by President Theodore Roosevelt. Edward H Harriman's wife Mary was a New York banker's daughter of impeccable probity. Their first-born son Harry died of diphtheria. William Averell, the next son, was born in November 1891. Averell's upbringing was arduous: work, then strenuous sport, then more work<sup>52</sup>. Groton, a spartan but leading private boarding school, was followed by Yale, where Harriman was elected to

the semi-secret, but prestigious club, Skull and Bones<sup>53</sup>. In 1909 Edward H Harriman died, leaving a fortune equal to £500,000,000 in today's money and instructions to sons Averell and Roland to increase that capital. Steamships, Soviet manganese mines and an airline were not lucrative but Averell became chairman of Union Pacific and ordered complete modernization of its railroad system, which was most successful; he fussed like "a professional housekeeper"<sup>54</sup>.

Harriman scored the final winning goal for the United States in the 1928 Pan-American Championship Polo Series. The United States won two out of three games against Argentina before a combined final series attendance of 85,000 spectators<sup>55</sup>. His first wife Kitty contracted tuberculosis. They were divorced in 1929 after Harriman had become attracted to Marie Norton Whitney, the wife of Cornelius Vanderbilt "Sonny" Whitney. Averell and Marie were to remain married from 1929 until Marie's death in 1970 (Fig 3).

Averell Harriman married 'the other nurse' the Hon. Pamela Digby Churchill Hayward, on Monday 27<sup>th</sup> September 1971 at Our Lady's Chapel at St. Thomas More Roman Catholic Church on East 89<sup>th</sup> Street, New York City. Marie Harriman had died in September 1970 and Leland Hayward on 18<sup>th</sup> March 1971. Hayward's producers' rights to *South Pacific*, *Mister Roberts* and *Sound of*

TABLE I:

*The Reported Incidence of Enteric Fever (Paratyphoid and Typhoid) in different areas of Averell Harriman's travels, Spring 1942*

**REPORTED CASES**

Week ending	London District, Typhoid	London District, Paratyphoid	Ulster, Typhoid	Ulster, Paratyphoid	Washington DC*	New York City*
28/02/42	2	0	2†	--	0	2
07/03/42	1	1	0	NR‡	1	3
14/03/42	3	0	3	0	0	3
21/03/42	0	1	1	NR	0	1
28/03/42	0	0	2	NR	0	2
04/04/42	1	0	0	NR	1	1
11/04/42	0	0	2	NR	0	6
18/04/42	1	1	0	NR	0	4
25/04/42	0	0	0	0	0	4
02/05/42	3	1	0	0	1	5
09/05/42	3	0	1	0	0	2
16/05/42	2	0	1	NR	0	2
23/05/42	0	NR	1	NR	0	2
30/05/42	1	0	0	NR	0	3

\*Reported incident cases typhoid and paratyphoid combined

†Includes paratyphoid-a and -b

‡NR = No return available for that period

*Music* continued. Ex-Governor (of New York State) Averell appeared happily married until his death on 27<sup>th</sup> July 1986<sup>56</sup> (Fig 4).

Aged sixty-six, Pamela Harriman was in late 1986 worth approximately \$115 million<sup>57</sup>. Pam-PAC (Pamela's Political Action Committee) was a leading funder of Democratic candidates. On the 18<sup>th</sup> October 1991, Pamela donated \$1,000 to Bill Clinton. In April 1992 she invited him to dinner at her N Street Washington, DC house. By July, she was fully involved in his campaign as co-chairperson. Pamela acknowledged that Hillary Rodham Clinton "has analytical capability and intellectual self-confidence - Hillary is not irritated or put off by stylistic differences"<sup>58</sup>. Pamela gave a cocktail reception and dinner for the Clintons on the 12<sup>th</sup> September 1992 at her Willow Oaks, Virginia, farm, which raised over two million dollars<sup>59</sup>.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> May 1993, Pamela undertook her Senate Confirmation Hearings to become the 64<sup>th</sup> U.S. Ambassador to France<sup>60</sup>. All went smoothly, except Senator Helms exhibited some confusion. Pamela's membership in the Monet society, he opined, was support for Jean Monnet.

"Senator, it is the painter. His home is in France. It is called Giverny". "Are you prepared to supplement with personal funds?" Helms asked. "Yes, Senator, whatever is necessary." "It will be necessary," said Helms<sup>61</sup>. Ambassador Harriman complied but only up to a point (Fig 5). All did not go well financially. A senior legal adviser and former US Secretary of Defense, Clark Clifford, was disbarred because of his involvement in the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) financial scandal, and her chief financial officer, inherited from Averell, was fired for investing millions of Harriman dollars unwisely and without due authorization<sup>62</sup>.

The Trustees of Averell Harriman's daughters and grandchildren filed suit against Pamela on 15<sup>th</sup> September 1994. In a lengthy 100-plus page complaint, they accused Pamela of being a "faithless fiduciary". This Manhattan Federal Court action was supplemented by requesting the commissioner of accounts in Loudoun County Court, Virginia to remove Pamela as executor of Averell's estates and as trustee of three trusts established in his will<sup>62</sup>. In June 1995, Averell's offspring filed another suit against Pamela for rejecting a settlement agreed by attorneys. Pamela no longer spoke to Kathleen. In October 1995, Pamela sued her former advisers, including Clark Clifford and Brown, Brothers Harriman & Co. Just after Christmas 1995, the Harriman heirs and Pamela shook hands and discussed the Republican-induced US Federal Government shutdown. They then settled their legal suits that day - 29<sup>th</sup> December 1995. On the 6<sup>th</sup> January 1996, Mary Harriman Fisk dropped dead of a heart attack. Pamela, now back in Paris, sent Kathleen a gracious note of condolence on the death of her sister. The next day, Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> January 1996, a member of Ambassador Harriman's staff phoned the Hedley-Whytes' Paris hotel room to say that the Tuesday 9<sup>th</sup> of January Embassy dinner party to which they had been invited in connection with trade and standards negotiations had been cancelled due to the Congressional action. John Hedley-Whyte had previously chaired a meeting on medical equipment standardisation and

the US acceptance of CE (Conformité Européene) markings<sup>63</sup> in the US Embassy on the Champs Elysées. Ambassador Harriman was, like her late husband Averell, an expediter, for the President of the US. William Jefferson Clinton had a few months earlier, in 1995, signed a treaty with European Union President Jacques Santer<sup>64</sup>.

Ambassador Harriman, the 'other nurse', died on the 5<sup>th</sup> February 1997, following a stroke suffered the previous day



Fig 5. "Portrait, oil on canvas, 1996, of the 64<sup>th</sup> US Ambassador to France, following Benjamin Franklin, 1996, by Anthony Palliser (1949-). The Honorable Pamela Digby Churchill Hayward Harriman was confirmed by the Senate in May 1993 and died in office on February 5, 1997. This photographic reproduction was provided courtesy of the Embassy of the United States of America in Paris, solely for use in association with this Medical History."

while at the Ritz Hotel, Place Vendôme, where she had been swimming<sup>65</sup>. She was posthumously awarded France's Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour by President Jacques Chirac<sup>66</sup>. President Clinton delivered the eulogy during her memorial service at Washington's National Cathedral, before her burial at the Harriman family estate in Arden, New York<sup>67</sup>.

#### POSTSCRIPT

If anyone has evidence that Ashbrook was or was not the source of Harriman's serious paratyphoid infection they should clarify the unproven, indeed unlikely aspersion that currently exists. On the positive side, all present at Ashbrook for the regally requested house-party agreed that the wine stored in a "large, brass-bound mahogany bucket"<sup>27</sup> was excellent.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

This Medical History is dedicated to the memory of General Lord Ismay, KG, GCB, CH, DSO. (1887-1965), who in 1958-1959 inspired a modicum of history into a Medical House Officer at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London (JH-W). Pug was a wonderful patient and raconteur.

**REFERENCES**

1. Harriman WA, Abel E. *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin 1941-1946*. New York: Random House; 1975. p.133.
2. Christian HA. Typhoid fever and Paratyphoid fever. In: Osler WH. *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*. 13<sup>th</sup> Ed. London: Appleton-Century; 1938. p. 94-132.
3. Christie AB. Typhoid and paratyphoid fevers. pp. 47-102. In: Christie AB. *Infectious Diseases: Epidemiology and Clinical Practice*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone; 1980 p.75.
4. Gadeholt H, Madsen ST. Clinical course, complications and mortality in typhoid fever as compared with paratyphoid B: A survey of 2,647 cases. *Acta Med Scand* 1963;**174**(6):753-60.
5. Taylor AJP. *Beaverbrook*. London: Hamish Hamilton; 1972 p. 524.
6. Sherwood R. *The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins*. Vol. II, January 1942-July 1945. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; 1949. p. 527.
7. *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. Translated out of the original Greek and with former translations diligently compared and revised by His Majesty's Special Command. Appointed to be read in Churches. Gaelic English. Edinburgh: The National Bible Society of Scotland; 1935. p.673-5.
8. Marshall KT. *Together: Annals of an Army Wife*. New York: Tupper and Love; 1946. p.111-2.
9. Clark RW. *Einstein: the Life and Times*. New York: World Publishing; 1971, p. 558.
10. Kimball WF. Alliance Emerging October 1933-November 1942 and R-62x, letter, October 11, 1941 and C-136x, letter, December 1941. In: Churchill Winston, Sir. *Churchill and Roosevelt: the Complete Correspondence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; 1984. p.249-50, 279.
11. Clark RW. *Einstein: the Life and Times*. New York: World Publishing, 1971, pp. 562-3.
12. Betts E. The Boeing 307 Stratoliners and TWA. *Am Aviation Hist Soc J* 1993;**38**(3):162-83.
13. Marshall KT. *Together: Annals of an Army Wife*. New York: Tupper and Love; 1946. p. 259.
14. U.S. War Department. Memorandum to the President. Subject: Analysis of Air Transportation requirements for the war program, May 7, 1942. Available from: <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/psf/box4/a44g02.html>. Last accessed February 2008.
15. U.S. The White House, Washington. Memorandum for the Secretary of War, The Chief of Staff, May 5, 1942. Available from: <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/psf/box4/a44301.html>. Last accessed February 2008.
16. Kimball WF, Editor. Alliance Emerging October 1933-November 1942. R-131/1 letter, April 3, 1942. In: Churchill Winston, Sir. *Churchill and Roosevelt: the complete correspondence*. Princeton University: Princeton University Press; 1984. p.441.
17. Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: the Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman*. New York: Simon and Schuster; 1996. p. 102.
18. Churchill Winston, Sir. *The Second World War, Vol IV, The Hinge of Fate*. London: Cassell & Co; 1951. p.283.
19. Nicolson H. *The War Years 1939-1945. Volume II of Diaries and Letters*. New York: Atheneum; 1967. p.222.
20. General Marshall Sees King. *The New York Times*. 1942 April 16: p.6.
21. Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman*. New York: Simon and Schuster; 1996. p. 100.
22. McClelland HM. *Memorandum to Colonel Craig. Proposed itinerary for movements of Modicum*. In: W Averell Harriman Papers Containers 161 and 167. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 1942 April 16.
23. Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman*. New York: Simon and Schuster; 1996. p. 68.
24. Yahner R. Marshall sees time for action near in Britain. *The Washington Post*. 1942 April 19; p. 8.
25. Barton B. *Northern Ireland in the Second World War*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation; 1995. p.101-2.
26. BBC Radio Foyle. John Beresford Ash and the U.S. Marines Stationed at Ashbrook, Derry. Written by the public, gathered by the BBC. WW2 people's war: an archive of World War Two memories. Article ID A8684751. 20 January 2006. Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar/stories/51/a8684751.shtml>. Last accessed February 2008.
27. Marshall KT. *Together: Annals of an Army Wife*. New York: Tupper and Love; 1946. p.113-4.
28. Abramson R. *Spanning the Century: The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986*. New York: William Morrow and Co; 1992. p.262-3.
29. Cosmas GA, Cowdrey AE. *United States Army in World War II. The technical services. The Medical Department: Medical Service in the European Theater of Operations*. Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History; 1992. p.18.
30. Davies, Daniel Thomas. In: *The Medical Directory 1942*. Ninety-eighth Annual issue. London: J.A. Churchill Ltd; 1942. p.72.
31. Daniel Thomas Davies, K.C.V.O., M.D., B.Sc. Wales, F.R.C.P. Obituary. *Lancet* 1966;**1**(7448):1227.
32. Christian HA. Typhoid fever and paratyphoid fever. In: Osler WH. *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*. 13<sup>th</sup> Ed. London: Appleton-Century; 1938. p. 120 - 1
33. Christian HA. Typhoid fever and Paratyphoid fever. In: Osler WH. *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*. 13<sup>th</sup> Ed. London: Appleton-Century; 1938. p. 131.
34. Davies DT. *Fourth Schedule Prescription for Averell Harriman*, April 25, 1942. London: John Bell and Croyden; P27897.
35. Davies DT. *Regime; foods allowed; dietary rules; prohibitions days*. In: W Averell Harriman Papers, Container 167. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C; 1942 April 5 -18.
36. Davies DT. *Wire to Barach AL, 929, Park Avenue, NYC*. In: W Averell Harriman Papers, Container 167. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C; 1942 April 26.
37. Harriman K. *Wire to Lord Beaverbrook, Waldorf-Astoria New York City*. In: W Averell Harriman Papers, Container 161. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C; 1942 April 27.
38. Churchill CS. *Letter to Harriman WA*. In: W Averell Harriman Papers, Container 167. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C; 1942 April 29.
39. Hedley-Whyte J. Epidemic jaundice: Harvard's 5<sup>th</sup> General Hospital at Musgrave Park in World War II. *Ulster Med J* 2005;**74**(2):122-5.

40. Christian HA. Typhoid fever and Paratyphoid fever. In: Osler WH. *The Principles and Practice of Medicine. 13<sup>th</sup> Ed.* London: Appleton-Century; 1938. p.124 - 5.
41. Abramson R. *Spanning the Century. The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986.* New York: William Morrow & Co; 1992. p. 316.
42. Paratyphoid fever. Editorial. *BMJ* 1943;**26**:792-3.
43. Savage W. Paratyphoid fever: an epidemiological study. *J Hyg Camb* 1942;**42**:393-410.
44. Weekly Reports from Cities (Table). *Public Health Reports.* U.S. Public Health Service 1942, vol. 57. No. 12, March 20, 1942:440-1; No. 13, March 27, 1942:474-5; No. 14, April 3, 1942:518-9; No. 15, April 10, 1942:547-8; No. 16, April 17, 1942:597-8; No. 17, April 24, 1942:633-4; No. 18, May 1, 1942:678-9; No. 19, May 8, 1942:722-3; No. 20, May 15, 1942:767-8; No. 21, May 22, 1942:804-5; No. 22, May 29, 1942:847-8; No. 23, June 5, 1942:879-80; No. 24, June 12, 1942:913-4; No. 25, June 19, 1942:955-6.
45. Epidemiological Notes. Infectious Diseases and Vital Statistics (Table). *Brit Med J* 1942, No. 8, March 21, 1942:401; No. 9, March 28, 1942:427; No. 10, April 4, 1942:457; No. 11, April 11, 1942:485; No. 12, April 18, 1942:513; No. 13, April 25, 1942:541; No. 14, May 2, 1942:571; No. 15, May 9, 1942:599; No. 16, May 16, 1942:629; No. 17, May 23, 1942:657; No. 18, May 30, 1942:683; No. 19, June 6, 1942:713; No. 20, June 13, 1942:741; No. 21, June 20, 1942:779.
46. Gauthier J, Foley AR. A cheese-borne epidemic of typhoid fever. *Can J Pub Health* 1943;**34**(12):543-56.
47. Harriman recovering in London. *New York Times*, 1942 April 28; p. 3.
48. U.S. Army Medical Department. *Medical Statistics in World War II*, Lada J. Reister FA, Eds. Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army; 1975. p. 538.
49. U.S. Army Medical Department. *Medical Statistics in World War II*, Lada J. Reister FA, Eds. Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army; 1975. p. 402.
50. Long AP. The Army immunization program. Chapter VIII. In: U.S. Army Medical Department Preventive Medicine in World War II, Vol III, Personal Health Measures and Immunization. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army. Center for Military History, pp. 2-4. Available from: <http://history.amedd.army.mil/booksdocs/wwii/PrsnlHlthMsr/chapter8.htm>. Last Accessed February 2008.
51. DeRoeck D, Jodar L, Clemens J. Putting typhoid vaccination on the global health agenda. *N Engl J Med* 2007;**357**(11):1069-71.
52. Abramson R. *Spanning the Century. The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986.* New York: William Morrow and Co; 1992. p. 64-90.
53. Abramson R. *Spanning the Century. The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986.* New York: William Morrow and Co; 1992. p. 91-111.
54. Abramson R. *Spanning the Century. The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986.* New York: William Morrow and Co; 1992. p. 221.
55. Kelley RF. U.S. Team conquers Argentine four 7-6 on Harriman's Goal. *The New York Times.* 1928 Sept 30; Sect 11 ( p.1)
56. Abramson R. *Spanning the Century. The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1992; p. 675-97.
57. Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman.* New York: Simon and Schuster; 1996. p. 318.
58. Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman.* New York: Simon and Schuster; 1996. p. 373.
59. Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman.* New York: Simon and Schuster; 1996. p. 374.
60. United States Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Nominations. Pamela Harriman of Virginia, to be Ambassador to France. *Congressional Record.* 1993 May 6 (p D472).
61. Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman.* New York: Simon and Schuster; 1996, p. 384. [S.B. Smith references this anecdote as "author observation". It is not included in the Congressional Record report, but is related to several news media reports (e.g. U.S. Envoy-designate to France Grilled in Senate. Reuters News May 4, 1993). The transcript of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Confirmation Hearing, May 4, 1993, has not been published.]
62. Deed of Trust between Pamela C. Harriman and C.L. Dimos, Trustee: Irrevocable Release of Appointment Power Under Article and Trust, Harriman P.C., December 29, 1995. [See also: Smith SB. *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996, pp.410-37. Note: The personal papers of Pamela Digby Churchill Hayward Harriman were donated to the Library of Congress by her estate in 1998, with the condition that the estate control access until July 26, 2008, when this manuscript collection will be open for public use.]
63. Hedley-Whyte J, Milamed DR. Equipment standards: history, litigation and advice. *Ann Surg* 1999;**230**(1):120-7.
64. *Agreement for the Conclusion of Negotiations Between the United States of America and the European Community under Article XXIV.6*, Nov. 29, 1995, signed Dec. 3, 1995.
65. Berger M. Pamela Harriman is dead at 76; an ardent political personality. *The New York Times.* 1997 Feb 6. ( p.A1)
66. Whitney CR. In final adieu, France gives Pamela Harriman top honor. *The New York Times.* 1997 Feb 9. Sect 1 (p.48).
67. Apple RW, Jr. At service Clinton recalls Pamela Harriman the patriot. *The New York Times.* 1997 Feb 14. (p.A1).