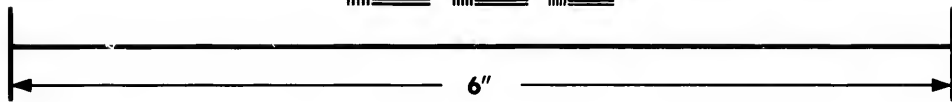
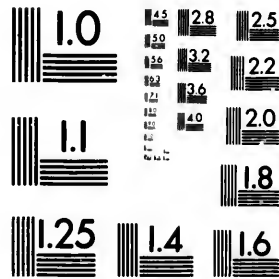


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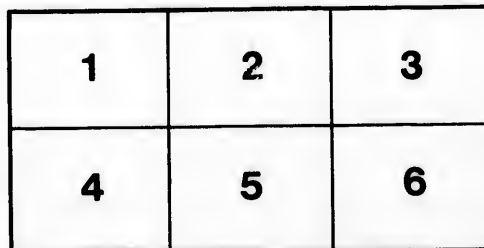
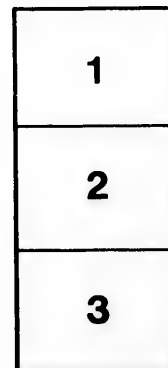
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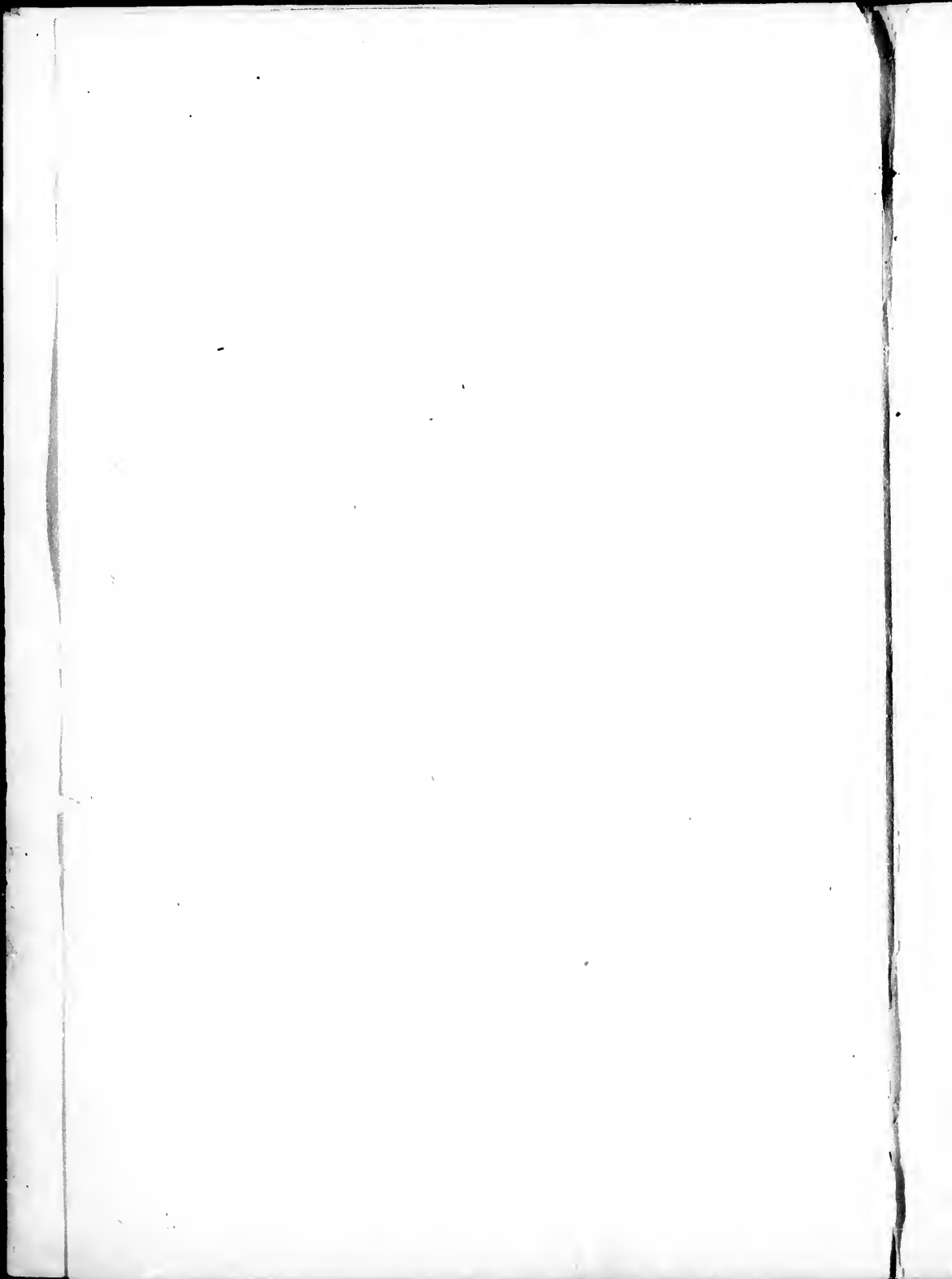
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I.—A *Historical Sketch of our Canadian Institutions for the Insane.*¹

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By T. J. W. BURGESS, M.B.

(Read May 25th, 1898.)

GENTLEMEN,—

One of the regulations of the Royal Society of Canada is thus laid down : " It shall be the duty of the president of each section to prepare an address, having reference to the special objects of the section, for each annual meeting." It was so manifestly impossible for any one man to accomplish such a task, according to the letter of the law, in a section which embraces all the branches included under the general title, " Geological and Biological Sciences," that from the very inception of the society the rule has been

" More honor'd in the breach than the observance."

Like my predecessors in the honourable position of president of this section I have, therefore, deemed it wise to select a subject relating to the science to which most of my life's work has been dedicated ; for psychiatry, in its relation to the care and cure of a constantly increasing multitude of insane, has become of the greatest practical importance to all medical scientists and social economists.

¹ The writer desires to express his indebtedness and gratitude to the following gentlemen for valuable information supplied :— Mr. J. Black, M.P.P., Fredericton, N.B. ; Mr. G. C. Coster, St. John, N.B. ; Mr. W. K. Reynolds, St. John, N.B. ; Dr. G. A. Hetherington, Medical Superintendent, Provincial Lunatic Asylum, St. John N.B. ; Hon. Sir Richard J. Cartwright, G.C.M.G., Ottawa, Ont. ; Dr. R. M. Bucke, Medical Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, London, Ont. ; Dr. D. Clark, Medical Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Toronto, Ont. ; Dr. J. Robinson, Assistant Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Toronto, Ont. ; Dr. S. Lett, Medical Superintendent, Homewood Retreat, Guelph, Ont. ; Rev. C. E. Cartwright, Kingston, Ont. ; Dr. C. K. Clarke, Medical Superintendent, Rockwood Hospital, Kingston, Ont. ; Col. A. H. Todd, Ottawa, Ont. ; Mr. Sheriff Ferguson, Kingston, Ont. ; Mr. Allan McLean, Kingston, Ont. ; Dr. N. H. Beemer, Medical Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Mimico, Ont. ; Dr. A. H. Beaton, Medical Superintendent, Asylum for Idiots, Orillia, Ont. ; Dr. W. T. Reynolds, Assistant Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Hamilton, Ont. ; Dr. W. K. Ross, Assistant Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Brockville, Ont. ; Dr. A. Vallée, Medical Superintendent, Quebec Lunatic Asylum, Quebec, Que. ; Dr. G. Villeneuve, Medical Superintendent, St. Jean de Dieu Asylum, Longue Pointe, Que. ; Mr. A. Perry, Montreal, Que. ; Miss M. R. Charlton, Assistant Librarian, Faculty of Medicine, McGill University, Montreal, Que. ; Mr. E. R. Smith, St. Johns, Que. ; Dr. E. S. Blanchard, Medical Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Charlottetown, P.E.I. ; Rev. Dr. A. Anderson, Charlottetown, P. E. I. ; Dr. G. L. Sinclair, Medical Superintendent, Hospital for Insane, Halifax, N.S. ; Mr. J. R. Anderson, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Victoria, B.C.



OCT 28 1920

From the many themes presented by this branch of knowledge it has seemed to me that a sketch of the development of our Canadian institutions for the insane would be of the most general interest. At the same time, it may be not altogether void of value, inasmuch as the history of some of the older asylums, like that of many other ancient buildings, has become, with the lapse of time, greatly involved in obscurity. For the task I have set myself, the collection and preservation of such scattered details as are to be found, I fully recognize the limitations of my fitness, and crave your pardon if in my ignorance I omit anything that should find a place therein.

Saved by virtue of her youth from participation in the horrible cruelties which stain the annals of the history of the insane from the fall of the Roman empire to the beginning of the present century, Canada has yet no reason to be proud of her early treatment of this unfortunate class. With her, as in nearly all new countries, the care of the insane has shown a gradual process of evolution. We find, first, an era of neglect; then, one of simple custodial care with more or less mechanical restraint; and, finally, the present epoch of progress, in which the various provinces of the Dominion, with the exception of Quebec and Nova Scotia, have accepted the maxim announced by Horace Mann, that the dependent insane are the wards of the state, and as such to be cured for in special governmental institutions. In which epoch also, in the construction of such buildings, the idea of detention is subordinate to that of cure, or, failing cure, that the hospital for the insane shall be no longer a prison but a home.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

To New Brunswick is due the honour of having been the first of the old British North American provinces to make special provision for its insane.

While the population of the province was yet sparse, and the insane but few in number, each county cared for its lunatics as best it could, the law authorizing "Any two Justices of the Peace to issue a Warrant for the apprehension of a lunatic or mad person, and cause him to be kept safely

Dr. G. F. Boddington, Medical Superintendent, Provincial Insane Asylum, New Westminster, B. C.; Dr. D. Young, Medical Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Selkirk, Man.; Dr. N. B. Gilles, Medical Superintendent, Asylum for Insane, Brandon, Man.; Dr. G. M. Dawson, Director, Geological Survey of Canada, Ottawa, Ont.; Mr. A. G. Irvine, Warden, Manitoba Penitentiary, Stony Mountain, Man.

He would also beg to express his thanks to Dr. C. K. Clarke for the view of the old asylum at Kingston, and to Mr. J. Ross Robertson, M.P., for permission to use the views of the old Toronto Jail, Parliament Buildings, and University Branch Asylum. These were copied for him from Mr. Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto," by Dr. R. Tait McKenzie, Montreal.

It is Dr. J. V. Anglin, Assistant Superintendent, Verdun Hospital, Montreal, he is under great obligation for many helpful suggestions and criticisms in his careful revision of the manuscript.

locked in some secure place directed and appointed by them, and if they deemed it necessary, to be chained." ¹ Under this law the indigent insane were confined in jails and poorhouses, while those able to bear the expense were sent to asylums abroad.

In the early thirties, the lunatics in county institutions had increased to such an extent, and at the same time there were so many others scattered throughout the province whose friends were desirous of having them cared for, that it became absolutely necessary to make some proper provision for their accommodation. We find, accordingly, from the minute-books of the old sessions of the peace, that at the session held on the first Tuesday in September, 1835, a committee was appointed to prepare a petition to the legislature "for the passing of a law for the better providing for and securing of lunatics within the Province." On the first Tuesday in December following, the mayor submitted the draft of a bill for establishing a provincial lunatic asylum as prepared by this committee. It was read, approved, and handed to Mr. Robinson, M.P.P., to present.

The case, however, was too urgent to await the action of the legislature; consequently, as a temporary expedient, at the suggestion of Dr. George P. Peters, a small, wooden building in the city of St. John, originally erected as a cholera hospital in 1832, was converted into an asylum for lunatics. For a description of the structure we are indebted to a letter of Dr. Peters, dated November 28th, 1836. Herein it is stated: "The lower part of the building has been divided into two sides, one for the males and the other for the females. For the purpose of separating as much as possible the more violent from those who appear inclined to conduct themselves in a moderate way, these sides have been subdivided; the male side into a day-room (if a mere passage can be so called) and five sleeping rooms; the female side into a similar day-room and four sleeping rooms."

This institution, the first of the kind in Canada, was situated on Leinster street, not far from the present jail premises, and continued in operation for a little over thirteen years. The date of its opening was November 14th, 1835. For evidence of this fact we have the old minute-books before referred to. From these we learn that at the June session, 1836, the grand jury reports having visited the jail, the poorhouse, and the lunatic asylum, and been much gratified with the inspection; while at the session of March 14th, 1837,² mention is made of the "lunatic accounts,"

¹ Appendix to Journals of House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1875. Report of the Medical Superintendent of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum for the year 1874, p. 3.

² At this session a report was received from Mr. George Matthew, giving a history of the asylum and its progress to that date. Unfortunately, this report was not put on the minutes and is not to be found, spite of a careful search of the vault in the clerk's office kindly made for me by Mr. W. K. Reynolds of St. John. It is probable that this, with many other old and valuable documents, was stored somewhere outside the vault at the time of the fire of 1877, and that it was then destroyed.

with this memorandum: "These comprise the whole expenditure on lunatics in this parish (St. John city), as well as those received from the parishes of Carleton, Lancaster and Portland, from November 14, 1835, to 31st December, 1836." The sum stated is £695 6s. 10d., nearly half of which expenditure was incurred in necessary improvements and in furnishing the hospital to adapt it to its new uses. Additional evidence of the date of opening is afforded by the fact that among the appropriations by the House of Assembly in 1837 appears the following: "To the justices of the peace of the city and county of St. John, £600 to reimburse the overseers of the poor of the said city for expenses incurred in providing and fitting up a temporary asylum for lunatics and for the support of lunatics in the same from the 14th day of November in the year 1835 to the 31st day of December in the year 1836."

Up to 1843, the establishment was under the superintendence of Mr. George Matthew, then overseer of the poor, with Dr. Peters as visiting medical officer. In that year it was first styled the Provincial Lunatic Asylum and was placed in the care of a board of commissioners consisting of William Jack, Esq., George Matthew, Esq., and Dr. Peters. The last-named acted also as medical superintendent. This board, on which John Ward, Esq., Jr., replaced Mr. Matthew in 1844, continued in charge of the institution up to its close.

During the first thirteen and a half months of its existence, namely, from November 14th, 1835, to December 31st, 1836, thirty-one inmates were admitted into the temporary asylum. When abandoned, in 1848, six hundred and fifty-two patients had received the benefits of its treatment. A record preserved in the sessions of the peace minute-book states that up to the 31st of December, of the thirty-one admissions "there have been discharged—cured, six; improved, five; to friends, not improved, two; died, four. Of the remaining 14, one is much improved, two perceptibly improved and 11 without any visible improvement." From the same source we can judge that more or less restraint was employed in the institution, inasmuch as Mr. Matthew, in submitting some accounts, remarked that these were for actual expenses attending the keeping, and that no allowance was made for destruction of house or for furniture, including straight-jackets.

The year after the temporary asylum was opened at St. John, His Excellency Sir A. Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of the province, in compliance with a petition of the House of Assembly, appointed Messrs. Charles Simonds, John Robertson, W. H. Street, Thomas Barlow, Thomas Paddock, and the Rev. Frederick Coster commissioners for the purpose of selecting a site for a permanent asylum, preparing a plan of the proposed structure, and estimating the probable cost of land and building.

A few months later, namely, December 2nd, 1836, the commissioners presented an exhaustive report, the work of the Rev. Mr. Coster, embrac-

ing all the subjects referred to them for consideration. It computed the number of lunatics in the province to be one hundred and thirty, or one in every thousand of the population, and recommended as suitable sites either Poverty Hall, about six miles north-east of the city of St. John, or South Bay, a few miles up the St. John River. It estimated the cost of buildings at less than £8,000, furniture £2,000, and land from £700 to £1,000, according to the quantity purchased, and dealt with questions of cost of maintenance, amusement, religious instruction and possibilities of cure. Accompanying the report was a plan for the proposed structure, a modification of the asylum at Worcester, Mass.¹

Little further action was taken, however, until 1845, when a correspondence was entered into between the governments of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick with a view to the erection of a combined asylum for the three provinces. Toward the furtherance of this object, the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick legislatures appointed commissions to confer on the subject. That of Prince Edward Island declined to do so, preferring the establishment of an institution for itself. The commissioners from Nova Scotia were Messrs. H. Bell, S. P. Fairbanks, and Dr. Alexander Sawyers, and those of New Brunswick, Messrs. William Wright, John Robertson, and Dr. G. P. Peters. These gentlemen met in St. John on July 15th, 1845. After a full discussion of the matter they expressed the unanimous opinion that the difficulties attending the foundation of a joint institution were so numerous that they would not be justified in recommending such a course.

At the next session of the House of Assembly, held in 1846, a committee was appointed composed of Messrs. Charles Simonds, S. Z. Earle, Robert Thomson, James Taylor, and W. H. Botsford, to which was referred the question of the erection of a provincial asylum. Their report was to the effect that the accommodation in the temporary asylum was utterly insufficient, and that means should be immediately adopted to provide an institution commensurate with the requirements of the province.

After consideration of this report, the House voted £2,500 toward the erection of an asylum for New Brunswick alone, under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by the governor in council, upon a suitable site near St. John. The building commissioners selected by the governor were G. P. Peters, M.D., William Jack, John Ward, Jr., and John R. Partelow, but nothing further was done that year as the government failed to approve of the plans submitted by the commissioners.

By an act passed the ensuing year, April 14th, 1847, the legislature appropriated an additional sum of £10,000 for building (in all £12,500) and also £2,000 for the purchase of land.² The commissioners were by the same act authorized to procure a site and enter into contracts for the

¹ Journals of House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1836-37. Appendix No. 3.

² Statutes of New Brunswick, 10 Vtct., Chap. 55.

erection of a building, the plans, &c., to be first submitted to the governor in council for approval.

Designs prepared by Mr. Matthew Stead, architect, having been approved of by the government, ground was broken in September, 1846, on a plot of land, forty acres in extent, situated in the parish of Lancaster, less than a mile outside the city of St. John. The site selected was a very beautiful and appropriate one, commanding to the eastward a magnificent view of the harbour and city; to the southward the Bay of Fundy, and, in clear weather, the coast of Nova Scotia; and to the northward the St. John river with its ever-changing rapids.

On June 24th, 1847, the corner-stone of the building was laid with masonic honours. This ceremony was performed by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of New Brunswick, Sir William M. G. Colebrooke, assisted by the Hon. A. Keith, provincial grand master of freemasons of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, in the presence of a large concourse of people.¹

After the ceremony by His Excellency and Mr. Keith, the Reverend Dr. Gray, rector of Trinity Church, St. John, and grand chaplain of the masonic order, offered up the following appropriate dedicatory prayer:

"Almighty and eternal God, maker and preserver of unnumbered worlds, we humbly acknowledge our entire dependence upon Thee, for life, for breath, and for all things. We know, O Lord, that without Thy inspiration and aid, all human wisdom is folly, all human strength weakness. In Thy name we assemble and meet together, we entreat Thee from Thy holy habitation—from realms of light and glory—to look down upon us, and vouchsafe Thy presence and blessing, that we may know and serve Thee aright, and that all our doings may tend to Thy glory, and to the salvation of our souls. Grant that as this work is begun, so may it be continued and ended in Thee. Grant that the sacred Art which from the beginning has been especially employed in rearing temples to Thy Holy Name, may now be blessed in this erection for the good of man, and the benefit of human society. Let Thy Providential protection, we beseech Thee, be over those who shall be more immediately engaged in carrying on this work, and shield them from danger and accident during its progress. In Faith and Hope, O Heavenly Father, we commend ourselves and our undertaking to Thy favour and protection. 'Prosper thou the work of our hands, O prosper thou our handywork.' Hear, we beseech Thee, our humble petitions, for the sake of that Eternal Word, which was from the beginning, and shall be when time has ceased to roll,—even Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen."²

¹ See Appendix A.

² Appendix to Journals of House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1875. Report of the Medical Superintendent of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum for the year 1874, p. 6.

By the autumn of 1848 a portion of the building, consisting of the centre structure and a part of one wing, was so far advanced that on December 12th of that year it was opened by the transfer to it of the ninety patients then resident in the temporary asylum at St. John. The operation of the institution, the legal title of which was, as it still remains, the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, was begun under Dr. Peters, medical superintendent, Mr. Hugh McKay, clerk, and Mrs. Donnelly, matron.

On March 27th, 1849, an act was passed by the legislature to make provision for the management of the establishment, and for vesting the property in the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors.¹ By the terms of this act there was to be a board, consisting of not less than five, or more than nine, commissioners, appointed by the governor in council to conduct the affairs of the asylum, said commissioners to receive no compensation. This board, of which three were constituted a quorum, was given power to make by-laws, &c., which, however, were to be submitted to both branches of the legislature. Provision was also made for a monthly visitation of the asylum by one or more of the commissioners; half-yearly visitations by the majority of them; and a yearly visitation by the entire board, which had to report to the governor in council. Another provision of the act exempted the medical officer, keepers and under-keepers, and servants of the asylum from service in the militia and on juries.

His Excellency was pleased accordingly to name as the commissioners Hon. L. A. Wilmot, Hon. William McLeod, John Ward, Esq., John Simpson, Esq., F. A. Wiggins, Esq., William Olive, Esq., Robert F. Hazen, Esq., Peter Desnard, Esq., and John Duncan, Esq. John Ward, Esq., was appointed chairman with Mr. John C. Ward as secretary.

Toward the close of the first year of the asylum's existence, Dr. Peters retired from the office of medical superintendent. The position was then tendered to Dr. Le Baron Botsford, who declined it, and on December 1st, 1849, Dr. John Waddoll was appointed to fill the vacancy, entering on the discharge of his duties on the 6th of that month.

Dr. George P. Peters, born in St. John, August 19th, 1811, was a son of the Hon. Charles J. Peters, for many years Attorney-General of New Brunswick. Having studied and obtained his degree at Edinburgh University he returned to St. John where he practised up to the date of his taking charge of the asylum. After his retirement he lived on a farm which he owned in Lancaster parish, where he died in 1857. Dr. Peters seems to have been a fairly able administrator, as evidenced by the commissioners in their report referring in complimentary terms to the efficient manner in which the details of the establishment, so far as completed, had been carried out by him. They also gave him, in addition to his year's salary, £50 for extra services connected with the commencement of laying out the grounds.

¹Statutes of New Brunswick, 12 Vict., Chap. 28.

By 1853, the part of the building originally constructed had become filled to overflowing, and a wing was erected on the south side under the inspection of Mr. Stead. This gave a temporary relief.

For a number of years there had at different times been complaints with regard to the management of the various provincial institutions under the old Tory (Family Compact) party, and in 1857, after the advent of the Reformers to power, the House of Assembly passed a resolution to the effect that it was in the opinion of the House the duty of the government to cause immediate inquiry to be made into the management of the provincial penitentiary, lunatic asylum, lazaretto at Tracadie, and all other institutions receiving provincial aid, including the lighthouses and marine hospitals, with a view, if possible, to reducing the expenses of maintaining the same. The Hon. David Wark, and Messrs. Henry Fisher, Joel Reading, James McFarlane and George E. Fenety were accordingly appointed commissioners, by Governor Manners-Sutton, to inquire into the management of the asylum and other public institutions. Their report, which was an elaborate one, was laid before the legislature in 1858. As a result, in 1859, the control of the asylum was by order in council vested in the provincial board of works. This was subsequently confirmed by act of legislature.

In 1861 yet another change was effected by the transfer of the control of the internal affairs of the institution from the old board of commissioners and their secretary to a new commission consisting of the heads of governmental departments. The first commission under the new departure was composed of the following members :

Hon. S. L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary.
Hon. Charles Watters, Solicitor-General.
Hon. James Steadman, Postmaster-General.
Hon. G. L. Hathway, Chairman Board of Works.
Hon. John McMillan, Surveyor-General.
R. W. Crookshank, Esq., Secretary and Treasurer.

The system then adopted still remains in vogue, the commissioners retiring with any change of government.

The year which saw the adoption of this latest system of management witnessed also the erection of the wing on the north side of the original structure. A further addition was made in 1870 by extending the centre building to the rear so as to give increased accommodation for the laundry department, and provide a more suitable place for boilers in connection with the heating and cooking arrangements.

The asylum as thus completed consisted of a central portion, three stories high, surmounted by a cupola, and four three-story wings, making an east front of three hundred feet, and a south and north front each of one hundred and fifty feet. An extension backward from the centre of the main building contained the laundry, and boiler rooms in the basement,

the kitchen and store-rooms on the first floor, and the chapel on the second. This formed with the wings two quadrangular courtyards, connected with which were airing inclosures for the patients. The material used in construction was brick with stone trimmings, and slate roof. The capacity of the institution was two hundred, and the total cost thereof, including outbuildings and land, was about \$120,000.

Prior to 1872, the medical superintendent was allowed no discretion whatever as to the character of patients admitted. Provided the required legal conditions were complied with, he was powerless to refuse any case. All classes, idiots, imbeciles, paralytics and senile demented, were sent to him, and this without any previous application having to be made. The overcrowding of the institution led to the betterment of this state of affairs by the publication, in the *Royal Gazette*, on June 26th of that year, of the following regulation made by the commissioners :

"It is ordered, in consequence of the crowded state of the Lunatic Asylum, that, until further notice, the Medical Superintendent be authorized to exercise his judgment in reference to receiving additional patients. All Magistrates and others are therefore notified that, except in the case of Lunatics clearly dangerous and violent, it would be advisable before issuing or procuring warrants of apprehension and commitment, to communicate with Dr. Waddell."

On the 31st of October, 1875, after over twenty-six years of faithful service, Dr. Waddell tendered his resignation as medical superintendent. He was, however, induced to extend his term of office up to May 1st, 1876, that he might induct his successor, Dr. James T. Steeves, into the duties of the position.

Dr. John Waddell, the son of Rev. John Waddell, a Scotch Presbyterian minister, was born at Truro, Nova Scotia, March 17th, 1810. Having received a good primary education there and at Pietou Academy, N. S., he in 1834 began his medical studies under Dr. Lynds of Truro. These were continued at Glasgow, Scotland, and in 1839 he received his diploma as member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. During the winter of 1839-40 he attended medical lectures at Paris, and in the summer of 1840 returned to his native town and entered on a practice which was continued up to the date of his appointment to the superintendency of the New Brunswick asylum. On resigning his position he returned to Truro, his birth-place, where he died August 29th, 1878. More than once during his long tenure of office the various commissioners had expressed their unqualified appreciation of Dr. Waddell's able conduct of the asylum, and on his retirement reiterated these eulogiums. Throughout his alienistic career Dr. Waddell showed himself a broad-minded, liberal and energetic administrator, one ever keenly observant of the best interests of his patients and the advancement of his

institution. In his last annual report he thus expresses his views on asylum management :

" In hospitals for the insane, it is very desirable to obtain the largest measure of home comforts that can be commanded without resorting to extravagance. An abundant supply of good, wholesome, well-cooked food ; also, the best arrangements possible to provide for the patients that are able and willing to work, the means to do so in a manner the most agreeable to them ; also, the means to relieve those who do engage in work, by alternating with books, amusements and recreations."

On his installation, Dr. Steeves found the asylum much overcrowded. Some additional accommodation had been gained by the conversion of the basements and space over the laundry into dormitories, but at the close of his first year in office, the building, originally calculated to receive two hundred, had no less than two hundred and seventy-six inmates. To meet the emergency he suggested that the north and south wings of the building should each be extended one hundred feet so as to provide room for eighty more patients.² A modification of this suggestion was carried into effect on the male side in 1879-80, and on the female side in 1881-82. The relief, however, was but ephemeral. Very soon the building was again crowded, and the problem of providing for those seeking admission became as pressing as before. Under these circumstances, the government, fully recognizing that all lunatics are properly the wards of the state, determined upon the purchase of additional land and the erection thereon of separate buildings for the chronic insane. In accordance with this plan, in 1885, a farm of two hundred and fifty acres was purchased about a mile from the asylum proper. On this was erected a group of three two-story, brick pavilions for the accommodation of one hundred and fifty patients, with a residence for a steward, who was given the general management of affairs there under supervision of the medical superintendent. The central building and west wing of the group, which is known as the "Annex," were constructed in 1885 ; the east wing, in 1889.

The system thus inaugurated contemplates the erection of additional pavilions as they are from time to time required, and the transfer to them of quiet, chronic patients from the main, or reception, asylum as that building becomes filled. Here, with extensive agricultural facilities, their employment may be made useful both to themselves and the state.

During 1893 an act was passed constituting the following *ex-officio* visitors to the asylum : His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. the Chief Justice, the Hon. the Attorney General, the Hon. the Provincial Secretary, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly. The same

¹ Report of the Medical Superintendent of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, with Accounts and Returns for the year 1875, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, for the year 1876, p. 23.

act provided for a visiting committee to be composed of one representative of each of the Christian denominations in the province, to be nominated by the lieutenant governor in council, together with not more than five other persons who may from time to time be named by the same authority, and who shall continue as visitors during pleasure. Under this act the members appointed to the visiting committee were:— His Honour Judge James G. Stevens, Joseph F. Allison, Esq., Edward F. Smith, Esq., Hon. A. F. Randolph, Edward Sinclair, Esq., Mrs. R. Chipman Skinner, Hon. Archibald Harrison, Mrs. P. A. Landry, Rev. G. A. Hartley, Dr. Boyle Travers, Stephen B. Appleby, Esq., Dr. J. S. Benson, and Mrs. W. N. Todd.

In September, 1895, Dr. Steeves was prostrated by a serious attack of illness. This so shattered his health that he was obliged to retire from the superintendency, which he did on May 1st, 1896, when he was succeeded by the present incumbent, Dr. George A. Hetherington, who entered upon the duties of the office August 17th of that year.

Dr. James Thomas Steeves, a brother of the Hon. W. H. Steeves, one of the early Senators of Canada, was of German descent and born at Hillsboro, New Brunswick, on January 25th, 1828. Educated at the local school there, at Sackville academy, and at the Baptist seminary, Fredericton, N. B., he entered on the study of medicine at Pennsylvania Medical College, and graduated from the university of New York in the class of 1853. He began the practice of his profession in the parish of Portland, now a part of the city of St. John, in June, 1854, but moved into the city in 1864 and erected a block of buildings, where he resided and practised until 1875, when he was called to the charge of the asylum. Dr. Steeves ranked high as a surgeon and obstetrician, and when the general public hospital was opened at St. John, in 1864, was appointed one of the staff of visiting physicians. He was a member of the first medical council of New Brunswick (1860) under the English Medical Registration Act, and first president of the New Brunswick medical council under the New Brunswick Medical Act of 1880; also vice-president of the Canada Medical Association, and an honorary member of the American Medical Association. In 1892 he visited Great Britain, Ireland and the Continent to see the asylums there, and at other times visited many of the institutions in Canada and the United States. In 1889, he was called upon to give expert testimony in the celebrated Clendening case at San Diego, California. Throughout his asylum career Dr. Steeves proved himself a worthy successor of Dr. Waddell, and during his twenty years' service did much toward bringing the New Brunswick institution to its present excellent condition. His death took place at Lancaster on March 3rd, 1897.

Under Dr. Hetherington's management the asylum proper has been enlarged by the raising of a part of the roof so as to furnish an addi-

tional story. Hospital wards, with operating room, have also been provided for both male and female patients.

As now constituted, the institution, including the annex, has a capacity of six hundred, with, on October 31st, 1897, a population of four hundred and ninety-seven. Restraint, Dr. Hetherington tells me, is used to a very limited extent, while occupation and amusement are given as prominent a place as possible in treatment. For women, sewing and household duties form the principal means of employment. The men are engaged on the farm and in shops, where carpentering, blacksmithing, plumbing, &c., are carried on. The establishment of a training school for nurses has been recommended by the superintendent, and one is likely to be opened in the near future.

New Brunswick, ever since the foundation of its first asylum, has steadfastly declared against the incarceration of lunatics, even temporarily, in prisons or poorhouses. Recognizing in the fullest degree the doctrine of state care, it has always endeavoured to provide for all classes of its insane, and can now boast that it has accommodation for this hapless part of its population considerably in excess of immediate requirements.

ONTARIO.

The first movement toward providing for the insane in the then province of Upper Canada was made in 1830, when the House of Assembly passed an act authorizing the General Quarter Sessions to make provision for the relief of destitute lunatics in the Home District.¹ This act, which in 1833 was extended to all the districts of the province,² did not contemplate the erection of an asylum. It proposed merely to legalize the payment for the maintenance of lunatics in county jails, which until then, and for nearly eleven years thereafter, formed the only refuge, other than their homes, for these poor creatures.

The evil of the prevailing state of affairs was clearly recognized. Between 1830 and 1839 numerous attempts were made in the legislature toward the institution of an asylum, all of which, however, proved abortive. In 1831, the York Grand Jury reported in favour of building an asylum, wherein they considered the insane would receive greater care and comfort than was possible in the common jails. During the same year, notice was given in the House of a bill to establish an asylum in connection with York hospital, but it was not presented. In the session of 1832-3, a motion was made in the legislature to grant £100 to be expended on plans and estimates for an asylum, but it failed to pass. Next session, 1833-4, a motion was made to grant £6,000 for the erection of an

¹ Statutes of Upper Canada, 11 Geo. IV., Cap. 20, A.D. 1830.

² Statutes of Upper Canada, 3 Wm. IV., Cap. 45, A.D. 1833.

asylum, but this also was voted down. In 1835 there was another notice of motion to establish an asylum, but it was not proceeded with. In 1836 a motion to grant £10,000 to defray the expense of building an asylum was made, but did not carry. The same session, a notice of motion for the erection of an asylum by a tax on banks was recorded, but never presented. Again, in the session of 1836-7, notice of motion was given to procure plans and estimates for a suitable building for the insane, but the motion was never made. Finally, on March 15th, 1839, a resolution authorizing a grant of £3,000 toward the erection of a lunatic asylum was put and carried by a large majority. An act framed in accordance with this resolution was passed April 24th, and on May 11th received the assent of His Excellency, Sir George Arthur, then lieutenant-governor of the province.

In the preamble thereto the reasons for this act are thus set forth :

"Whereas the Establishment of an Asylum in this Province for the reception of insane persons has become necessary, and it is therefore expedient to authorize His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint Commissioners for superintending the erection of a suitable building to be appropriated for the purpose aforesaid, and to provide for the appointment of Officers for the government thereof, and to frame regulations for the management of the said Asylum, and to authorize the Court of Quarter Sessions in each District in the Province to levy an additional assessment of one-eighth of a penny in the pound, to be annually appropriated to the erection of the said Asylum, and in the purchasing of land sufficient for a site, and maintaining and supporting the same ; *Be it therefore enacted* by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, entitled 'An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign entitled 'An Act for making more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec, in North America, and to make further provision for the Government of the said Province,' and by the authority of the same, that an Asylum for the reception of Insane and Lunatic persons shall be erected on such plot of ground as shall be appropriated by the Lieutenant-Governor, or purchased by Commissioners appointed under the authority of this Act for the purpose."¹

Among the provisions of the act were the following :

Of the commissioners appointed to superintend the erection of the asylum one was to be an experienced medical practitioner.

As soon as the building was ready for the reception of patients His Excellency was to appoint a board of directors, to consist of not less than two persons, residents within the province, to control its affairs.

¹ Statutes of Upper Canada, 2 Vict., Cap. 10, A. D. 1839.

The board of directors was empowered to frame rules and regulations for the management of the institution, and to appoint a resident medical superintendent whose salary was not to exceed £300 per annum. They were also given the appointment of all other officers and servants with power to remove them at pleasure, and to fix the amount of their salaries, subject to the confirmation or disallowance of the lieutenant-governor.

Three members were constituted a quorum of the board of directors, which was to meet at least once in each month at the asylum. A plurality of votes was to be binding and conclusive upon any matter before it, the chairman, in case of a tie, being given the casting vote.

A yearly report was to be made by the board to the lieutenant-governor for the information of the legislature.

Subjects of Her Majesty, residents of the province, were to be received into the establishment after proof of these facts to the satisfaction of the board, or any one member thereof, in case the board was not sitting, and the production of a certificate signed by at least three resident physicians practising in the province, that such person had been examined by them collectively and found to be insane.

In case the superintendent or any official of the asylum admitted a patient without receiving such certificate together with an order from the board or one of its members, he was liable to a penalty of £100, recoverable by any one in any of Her Majesty's Courts of Record in the province. One moiety of such penalty went to the use of the institution and the other to the party entering the suit.

The board was authorized to fix the rates at which patients should be received, and in the case of destitute persons to admit them free of charge upon proof that they were without means.

Vacancies among the directors were to be filled by the lieutenant-governor.

On the 20th of September following the passage of this act, His Excellency was pleased to appoint the Hon. John Macaulay, Inspector-General, Christopher Widmer, M.D., and Alexander Wood, Esq., to be commissioners for the purpose of carrying it into effect.¹ The next year we find his appointees addressing the following communication to the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Upper Canada :

“TORONTO, April 16, 1840.

“SIR,—The commissioners for erecting a lunatic asylum in this Province have resolved to ask the opinion of the College of Physicians and Surgeons regarding the eligibility of a certain site north of the city, whereon to erect the building, as to salubrity.

“The commissioners respectfully request the attention of the College to this matter at its earliest convenience, and will point out the spot

¹ *Upper Canada Gazette*, October 3rd, 1839.

alluded to whenever the College shall be pleased to give them notice of its intention to view it.¹

“ We have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your Obedient Servants,

“ (Signed) C. WIDMER,
ALEXANDER WOOD, } *Commissioners.*

“ To Lucius O'Brien, M.D.,

“ Secretary, College of Physicians and Surgeons
of Upper Canada.”

The College appointed Drs. John King, Wm. C. Gwynne, and George Herrick a committee to inquire into the subject-matter of this communication. At its next meeting, held April 25th, these gentlemen reported having visited three sites lying contiguous to each other north of the city, the properties of John Scadding, Esq., James Small, Esq., and Hon. Wm. Allan. Either of these localities they considered would be an eligible site for the intended asylum, but gave the preference to the James Small property on account of its superior elevation.

Beyond this consultation with the College of Physicians and Surgeons, there does not appear to have been anything done by the original commissioners, who, on November 3rd, 1840, were replaced by a board consisting of the Hon. Robert S. Jamieson, C. Widmer, M.D., Alexander Wood, Esq., James Sampson, Esq., and John Ewart, Esq.² This absence of action may have been due to the fact that it was still a much mooted question whether the proposed asylum should be located at Kingston or Toronto, the lieutenant-governor strongly favouring the former city. In consequence of this doubt the College of Physicians and Surgeons adopted, June 10th, 1840, the following memorial :

“ To His Excellency Major-General Sir George Arthur, K.C.H., Lieutenant-Governor, &c.

“ We, the President, Vice-President and Fellows of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Upper Canada, respectfully beg leave to address Your Excellency on a subject of vital importance to the College and the Profession generally throughout the Province.

“ Having understood that Your Excellency has recently come to the determination that the asylum to be erected in this Province for the receptacle of insane and lunatic persons, in pursuance of the provisions of the Statute of the 2nd Victoria, chap. XI., shall be located at Kingston, we would earnestly but most respectfully offer to Your Excellency many cogent reasons upon which we hope Your Excellency may be rendered (induced?) to alter your determination thereon.

¹ The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, 1783 to 1850. W. Canniff, M.D., p. 142.

² *Upper Canada Gazette*, November 27th, 1840.

" It certainly could not have escaped Your Excellency's penetration, that such an establishment as a lunatic asylum should be so situated that it would afford to the friends of the pitiable objects, for whose accommodation, protection and cure it is founded, the assurance of their receiving the most efficient and popular professional aid that could be obtained in the Province; and without detracting at all from the merits of the respectable practitioners of our art in Kingston, we would humbly submit that, as is the case in other countries, the description of talent most likely to be highly estimated by the public, is generally to be found in the dense and wealthy population of a metropolitan city. In looking forward to the future, the period we hope is not far distant, when the beneficial operations of the ample endowment of an University in this city will be available for the instruction of medicine.

" The pressure (presence ?) of an institution for the cure of mental diseases as an adjunct to the present practical benefits offered by the General Hospital, will present to the student of medicine, advantages of an importance that he should not, for trifling considerations, be deprived of. The rapid strides with which the science of mental pathology has of late years advanced, would lead to the hope that the opportunities for observation in so large a field as this asylum would present will not be lost to the medical student of our future university through an error which, when once consummated, cannot be remedied.

" We shall not be deemed visionary when we declare to Your Excellency that the first fruits of an effective organization of a school for medical instruction of which the projected lunatic asylum should form a part, will afford results of an immensely valuable nature, both politically and morally, to the inhabitants of this favoured Province.

" If we are deprived of the important addition which we pray for, and the asylum is removed without the pale of the University, we consider that it will be shorn of a most valuable and important feature in its usefulness.

" Having pointed out the reasons which more immediately concern us as a professional body, we would suggest to Your Excellency one of a character which, as citizens, we cannot allow ourselves to pass over unnoticed. The House of Assembly in its last session was moved to address His Excellency the Governor-General for reasons then brought forward, praying that His Excellency would cause the asylum to be located in Kingston.

" This motion being negatived by a large majority of the House is a proof that the feelings of the representatives of the people were opposed to the measure now about to be adopted by Your Excellency, and cannot fail to strike us as a proof that it would be highly unpopular generally in the Province.

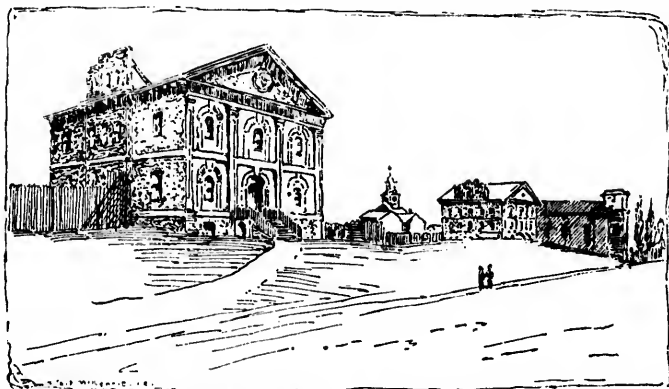
" In the hope that Your Excellency will consider the importance of the subject submitted to Your Excellency in this address as a sufficient

excuse for trespassing upon Your Excellency's valuable time, we conclude by earnestly entreating Your Excellency to reconsider the determination which Your Excellency has arrived at."¹

The result of this and other pressure brought to bear, was that the lieutenant-governor abandoned his idea of locating the asylum at Kingston, and Toronto was definitely determined on as its site.

TORONTO ASYLUM AND ITS BRANCHES.

That the need of accommodation for the insane was urgent, and that there was no disposition on the part of the people to await the erection of an asylum proper ere this truly afflicted class could be cared for, had been evidenced by the fact that in the spring of this year (February 8th, 1840,) the House of Assembly, through the Speaker, Sir Allan N. Mac-



OLD JAIL (TORONTO). THE FIRST INSTITUTION FOR THE INSANE IN UPPER CANADA.
OPENED AS SUCH IN 1841.

Copied by permission from Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto."

Nab, had presented an address to His Excellency, the Right Honourable Charles Poulett Thomson, Governor General of British North America, reading as follows:

"May it please Your Excellency, we, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Upper Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled, humbly pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to direct that a suitable building be provided forthwith as a temporary asylum for the many unfortunate persons afflicted with lunacy in this Province, and beg leave to assure Your Excellency that this House will make good the expense that may be incurred thereby, and in affording relief to such subjects of distress."²

¹ The Medical Profession in Upp. Can., 1783 to 1850, by W. Canniff, M.D., p. 148.

² Journal of Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1839-40, p. 363.

At the beginning of the ensuing year, the urgency of the case was made still more apparent when the old York jail was abandoned. Erected in 1824, this was a substantial, two-storied, red brick structure, facing toward King street, on the north side of which it was situated, between Toronto and Church streets.¹ In its basement cells there had been confined a number of lunatics. It became a question whether these should be transferred with the prisoners to the new jail which had been opened at the east end of the city.

The Hon. Mr. Jamieson, chairman of the board of commissioners for the erection of a lunatic asylum, took upon himself the responsibility of advising the sheriff of the Home District, Mr. W. B. Jarvis, to leave them where they were, and having secured the building at a rental of £125 per annum fitted it up as a temporary asylum for their use. This institution, which was opened January 21st, 1841, by the enrolment of seventeen patients, before confined as prisoners, was the first lunatic asylum in the province of Ontario. It was placed in charge of Dr. William Rees, who had long urged upon the government the necessity for such an establishment, and who, in September, 1840, had been nominated medical superintendent of the then proposed, now realized, temporary asylum.

This action of the chairman of commissioners was confirmed by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Arthur, to whom, in his report made through His Excellency's secretary, Mr. S. B. Harrison, in September of this same year, Mr. Jamieson thus details the opening of the new establishment, and the happy change wrought thereby in the condition of the wretched, prison lunatics :

"The necessary steps were taken as soon as the prisoners were removed to the new gaol to render it fit for its new purpose. The building was cleaned and purified, and such repairs external and internal were made, and such furniture, clothing, &c., purchased as were indispensable. The patients (heretofore confined as prisoners) were taken from the cells in which they were closely confined, and where they had long, from the dire necessity of the case, been permitted to remain in filth and nakedness and impure air, all confirming their maladies, and placed in the now purified and airy debtors' room, carefully washed, clothed and placed under medical care, their food critically adapted to their physical state, and in fact everything done which the constant attention of a person devoted to his purpose could effect by the aid of the very limited means we could afford him. The effect of this new course of life was soon apparent ; many who had long been confined as confirmed lunatics were

¹ This building, which stood at what is the corner of Toronto and Court streets, was never completely torn down, but remodelled into part of the York Chambers, which now occupy its site.

found labouring not under mania but under derangement arising from physical causes and yielding to physical remedies. Several have completely recovered who, but for this treatment, would probably never have exhibited another gleam of reason. So much good could, I am sure, never have been effected by mere occasional visits of a physician however skilful. The state of the asylum and the success with which it has been conducted drew forth the approbation of the Grand Jury who visited it on the 10th of June last. Until the Institution be properly organized and the means of permanent support secured it is not possible to throw it open for the reception of all who need it. There has, however, been a regular succession of new cases admitted, some of which have been successfully treated and the patients discharged."¹

From the same report we learn that there were admitted during the first half-year, namely, from January 21st to July 31st, seven men and eight women, who, with the eleven men and six women originally prisoners in the jail, made a total of thirty-two patients under treatment. The staff consisted of the medical superintendent, a steward, a housekeeper and two servants, assisted by four persons from the district jail. The total expense for the period stated was £259 5s. 7d., being an average daily expenditure of 1s. 5d. per patient.

As commissioners for the management of the temporary lunatic asylum the Lieutenant-Governor was pleased to appoint the Hon. R. S. Jamieson, W. B. Jarvis, Esq., W. C. Gwynne, surgeon, and John Ewart, Esq.² These gentlemen, in their first report, that for 1842, detailed their having met at the asylum, and in compliance with a request of His Excellency framed a code of rules for the conduct of the institution by the medical superintendent and steward, as well as for the guidance of the matron and servants employed therein. They also reported having examined the steward's accounts and reduced his charges for the board of each patient from ten to seven shillings per week, and that later they had made arrangements for the board of the patients at six shillings per week.³

In the first report of the medical superintendent, appended to that of the commissioners, Dr. Rees expresses his belief in non restraint, and regrets that they have so little room for exercise, but says he has made the best use possible of the yard and also sent patients out walking on the streets with trusted attendants, and others to the Bay to fish.

In July, 1843, the original commissioners for the management of the temporary asylum were, in accordance with the provisions of the act of 1839, increased in number to twelve by the addition of W. R. Beaumont,

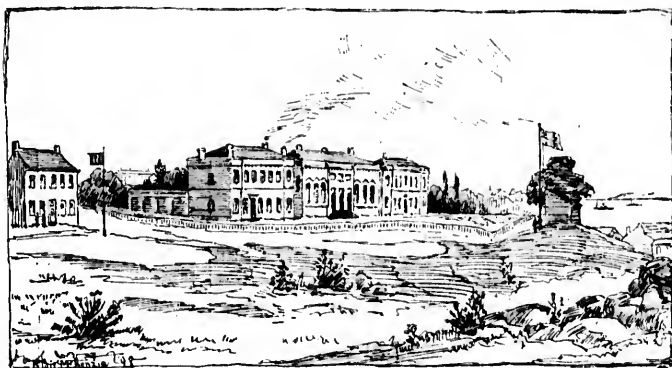
¹ Journal of Legislative Assembly of Canada, Appendix L.L., Kingston, September 22nd, 1841.

² *Canada Gazette*, December 29th, 1841, p. 196.

³ Journal of Legislative Assembly of Canada, Appendix U., October 4th, 1842.

surgeon, William Cawthra, Esq., John Eastwood, Esq., Rev. H. J. Grasett, Rev. J. J. Hay, William Kelly, Esq., Martin J. O'Beirne, Esq., and Rev. John Roaf.¹

The old jail, which seems to have afforded accommodation for barely one hundred patients, in a few years, was found inadequate to meet the demands for admission. Additional quarters were therefore sought elsewhere in 1846. The old, red brick parliament buildings situated on Front street, between Simcoe and John streets, the erection of which had been begun in 1825 (after those at the east end of the town had been destroyed by fire in 1824) and completed in 1833, were then unoccupied, having been disused for legislative purposes since the union of the pro-



OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS (FRONT STREET, TORONTO). THE EAST WING WAS UTILIZED FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE INSANE IN 1846.

Copied by permission from Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto."

vinces in 1841. The increased accommodation required was procured by occupying for asylum purposes the east wing of this structure, supplemented by a rough-cast dwelling-house with a verandah on three sides, the property of a Mr. Dunn, which stood at the south-west corner of Front and Bathurst streets.

Up to 1850, when they were abandoned, the condition of these temporary establishments was far from creditable, a fact in great measure due to the changes in management which occurred with startling rapidity.

The cause of these frequent changes is to be found in differences between the board of directors and the superintendents. Unfortunately, the act authorizing the creation of an asylum had vested the property in the board of directors instead of in the Crown, thus making them almost independent of the Government, while, at the same time it but inade-

¹ *Canada Gazette*, July 8th, 1843, p. 808.

quately defined the position of the superintendent, whose powers were not sufficiently extensive to enable him to enforce discipline. The employees took their orders from the directors, by whom alone, according to the terms of the act, they could be hired or discharged, rather than from the superintendent. The natural result was anarchy and neglect of the patients. As stated by Dr. Rees, all the difficulties were traceable "to the prevailing system for managing the servants, who, under a common system of favouritism and patronage, were selected, appointed, retained and dismissed, at the pleasure of the Commissioners, without even a decent regard to the wishes, opinion, or objections of the Medical Superintendent, who was often obliged to retain servants against whom he had preferred frequent and serious charges."¹

Dr. Rees seems to have fought hard for the necessary authority to carry on the institution in a proper manner, but the commissioners were too strong for him, and, on October 2nd, 1845, he was dismissed.

An Englishman by birth and education, Dr. Rees came to Canada in 1819, and entered on his professional career in Quebec. Ten years later he removed to York (now Toronto), and after having passed the Upper Canada Medical Board in January, 1830, purchased the practice of a Dr. Daly. In 1832 he disposed of this to Dr. Grasett, and removed to Cobourg. His stay there, however, was a short one, and in 1834 he returned to York, offering himself, but unsuccessfully, as a candidate for parliament. Dr. Rees conceived many projects of a scientific and benevolent character, none of which seem to have been successful. Among his projects were the founding of a home for destitute female immigrants, the establishment of a school of medicine, and the formation of a provincial museum with botanical and zoological gardens attached. He was one of the most active in urging upon the government the necessity of providing an institution for the insane, and was mainly for that reason selected as medical superintendent of the temporary asylum. While acting as such he received a serious blow on the head from one of his patients, and after his dismissal made several applications to the government (one as late as 1869) for compensation for the injuries inflicted and the time given to the organization of the institution. None of his applications, however, were entertained.

Dr. Rees was succeeded as medical superintendent by Dr. Walter Telfer, a native of Scotland and the holder of a diploma from the College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. Dr. Telfer had settled in Niagara about 1826, but in 1835 had removed to Toronto, where he soon commanded a large practice. After something over two years' service as superintendent he was charged with intoxication while on duty and with the appropriation of institution supplies. The evidence against him does not seem to have

¹*British American Medical and Physical Journal*, Montreal, August, 1851, p. 181.

been at all conclusive, but the result, nevertheless, was his dismissal by the governor-general on April 17th, 1848. Dr. Telfer's removal from office was the cause of a great deal of newspaper controversy, but does not seem in the least to have affected his standing in the community or profession. He again resumed practice in the city, where he was given a place on the staff of the Toronto general hospital, and at the time of his death, in 1857, was an active member of the Upper Canada Medical Board.

The next choice of the commissioners was Dr. George Hamilton Park, whose chief qualification was at the time said to have consisted in his being brother-in-law to Dr. John Rolph, then a man of much political influence. The appointment was made May 31st, 1848. Almost immediately there was the same old difficulty between the superintendent and the commissioners, each claiming supreme authority in the engagement and discharge of employees. On one occasion Dr. Park discharged an attendant for drunkenness and insubordination. The board reinstated him. Dr. Park immediately discharged him again. The board reinstated him a second time. The man was finally discharged for some offence that even the board could not condone. On another occasion, Dr. Park engaged an attendant and a cook. The board dismissed them. In retaliation, Dr. Park suspended the steward, who had been engaged by the board, and intimated his intention to treat all the attendants similarly. As a result of this the board resigned, but the government refused to accept the resignation. At last the antagonism reached such a pitch that Dr. Park threatened to call in the police to support his authority. Finally, on the 26th of December, 1848, after less than seven months' service, the doctor was dismissed. The charges against him were :—

“ 1. He manifests a disposition to interfere in the general affairs of the Institution. For example, he gives orders respecting the diet of the servants.

“ 2. He made arrangements with a merchant to supply a quantity of blankets.

“ 3. He insisted, in defiance of the rules, that he had a right to be present at the meetings of the Board.”¹

Dr. Park was a native Canadian, the son of Captain Park, who was a veteran of 1812. He studied medicine under Dr. Rolph, whose sister he married, and passed the Upper Canada Medical Board in 1834. He practised successfully at Simcoe and Ancaster up to the date of his appointment as medical superintendent, and would probably, had a fair chance been given him, have proved himself an excellent asylum official as well. After quitting the asylum, Dr. Park was for a time lecturer on anatomy in Dr. Rolph's school of medicine. He finally returned to Ancaster, where he died.

¹ Journal of Legislative Assembly of Canada, 1849. Appendix M., No. 1.

Dr. Park gave place to Dr. Primrose, whom the board appointed acting superintendent only, so that, it was currently reported, the position of superintendent of the new asylum, then nearly completed, might be kept open for a Dr. Scott, son-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Roaf, one of the commissioners. Be that as it may, Dr. Primrose retired at the close of 1849, after about eleven months' service, in favour of the aforesaid Dr. Scott.

The state of affairs with regard to the patients under such a system of management as we have described could not but have been bad, and is thus depicted in a brief history of the asylum by its present superintendent. Quoting from a report of one of his early predecessors, Dr. Clark says:—“When the Superintendent first entered upon the duties of his office, he found, as might readily be supposed from what had occurred previous to his appointment, the Institution in a very bad state. There was not clothing enough of any or all kinds for a change; there were several patients that had been naked for several months, constantly confined in cells, or, if quiet, lying on the floor of the attic ward—a place where from sixty to seventy patients were constantly kept in a very filthy condition; as they were the worst class of patients, they were not let out at all into the yard or open air. The stench of this ward was scarcely bearable from the great amount of filth that had been allowed to accumulate in different parts of it. The other wards were not quite so bad, but there was no part of the whole establishment which was not dirty and otherwise badly attended to. There were no baths or proper arrangements for cleaning the patients,—the cells and sleeping apartments were confined and filthy, the beds and bedsteads full of vermin; the noisy and restless patients were kept for days and nights together locked in cells, as an easy mode of getting rid of taking care of them. The keepers and servants were in the habit of going in and out of the Asylum without permission, the clothing and other articles belonging to the Institution had no marks upon them by which they could be distinguished from other articles of a similar kind, for the want of which, no doubt, the Institution has suffered much loss.”¹

Admitting that this statement may be too highly coloured as the production of one willing to decry a predecessor in office, it yet cannot be wholly devoid of truth, and as such presents a striking picture of asylum management in those days as compared with the present.

Of the medical treatment about the same period we have the testimony of a disinterested outsider in the person of Mr. J. H. Tuke, brother of the eminent alienist, the late Dr. D. Hack Tuke, who, on visiting Toronto in 1845, made the following entry in his diary:

“TORONTO, Sept. 30th, 1845.—Visited the lunatic asylum. It is one of the most painful and distressing places I ever visited. The house has

¹ Reports of Asylums, Prisons, and Public Charities of Ontario, 1878, p. 261.

a terribly dark aspect within and without, and was intended for a prison. There were, perhaps, seventy patients, upon whose faces misery, starvation, and suffering were indelibly impressed. The doctor pursues the exploded system of constantly cupping, bleeding, blistering and purging his patients; giving them also the smallest quantity of food, and that of the poorest quality. No meat is allowed.

"The foreheads and necks of the patients were nearly all scarred with the marks of former cuppings, or were bandaged from the effects of more recent ones. Many patients were suffering from sore legs, or from blisters on their back and legs. Every one looked emaciated and wretched. Strongly built men were shrunk to skeletons, and poor idiots were lying on their beds motionless, and as if half dead. Every patient has his or her head shaved. One miserable courtyard was the only airing court for the 60 or 70 patients—men or women. The doctor in response to my questions, and evident disgust, persisted that his was the only method of treating lunatics, and boasted that he employs *no restraint* and that his cures are larger than those in any English or Continental asylum. I left the place sickened with disgust, and could hardly sleep at night, as the images of the suffering patients kept floating before my mind's eye in all the horrors of the revolting scenes I had witnessed."¹

Luckily, during this early period of squabbling, mismanagement and neglect, the erection of a proper asylum was not altogether lost sight of. Fifty acres of the ordnance department lands at the west end of the city,² known as the "Government" or "Garrison Common," having been granted by the Home government for the purpose, a commission was appointed, September 24th, 1844, to superintend the erection of a permanent asylum thereon, after designs prepared by Mr. J. G. Howard, architect. The gentlemen composing the commission were Hon. R. S. Jamieson, Mr. H. H. Killaly, his worship the mayor of Toronto, Dr. Christopher Widmer, Dr. John King, Mr. John Ewart, and Mr. James Grant Chewett.³ Subsequently, in 1845, Mr. Henry Sherwood, Mr. Wm. R. Beaumont, surgeon, and Mr. W. B. Jarvis were added to the number of the commissioners.

Work was begun June 7th, 1845, and on August 22nd, 1846, the corner-stone was laid with imposing ceremony by the Hon. John Beverly

¹ The Insane in the United States and Canada, by Dr. D. Hack Tuke, p. 215.

² In 1870, this property was increased by the purchase from the Dominion government of 150 acres adjacent for farming purposes. Unfortunately, however, this was subsequently taken from the asylum and used as the site for the old exhibition buildings. A part of it is now occupied by the Central Prison and Mercer Reformatory. In 1888, twenty-four of the original fifty acres were sold by the government for building lots, so that only about thirty acres remain attached to the institution, an amount disgracefully inadequate for a population of over 700 patients.

³ *Canada Gazette*, September 24th, 1844, p. 1434.

Robinson, Chief Justice of the province, in the presence of the most noted members of the learned professions, the mayor and corporation, the various national societies, and the inhabitants of the city generally.¹

The original design for the asylum comprised a main portion four stories in height, with a central portion of five stories, surmounted by a handsome dome forty feet in diameter. Extending at right angles from the main building were wings also four stories high, the whole forming three sides of a parallelogram. The total length of the main structure and wings was 1014 feet. The material employed in construction was white brick with cut stone trimmings. By January 26th, 1850, the main building was sufficiently advanced to admit of the transfer of the patients, two hundred and eleven in number, from the parliament buildings, old jail, and Bathurst street house. The wings were not completed until 1869 and 1870.² This hasty removal was rendered imperative in the case of the first-named edifice by the fact that after the burning of the parliament buildings at Montreal by a mob on the night of April 25th, 1849, Lord Elgin and his ministers had decided that the two remaining sessions of the existing parliament should be held in Toronto. The old building was, therefore, once more required for legislative purposes, the session having been called for May 14th, 1850.

The official title of the new institution was "The Provincial Lunatic Asylum," which it retained until 1871, when, by statute of Ontario, it became "The Asylum for Insane, Toronto."³

The first superintendent of the new establishment was Dr. John Scott, whose appointment dated from January, 1850. As was inevitable under the system of management governing it, differences between the superintendent and the commissioners soon began to crop up. Within eighteen months, namely, on July 2nd, 1851, an attendant, John Copping, made a series of charges against Dr. Scott. Of these the most important were: That his deportment was ungentlemanly; that he called the patients and attendants such names as "lazy brute, sleepy-head," and "sloven;" that he spoke of Dr. Widmer, chairman of the board of commissioners, as "an old fool," and of the matron as "a peacock;" that he refused an attendant leave to see his child when at the point of death; that he put patients on bread and water for bad conduct; that he used a large quantity of institution carrots for his horse; and that he caused a certain suicidal patient to be put alone into a room in which she hanged herself to the bed-post.⁴

¹ See Appendix B.

² Two hospitals to accommodate twenty-seven patients each were commenced at the same time as the wings, from which they were distant about 200 feet. These were opened in 1867.

³ 34 Vict., Cap. 13.

⁴ *British American Medical and Physical Journal*, Montreal, August, 1851, p. 181.

The charges were investigated by the commissioners, who reported that the medical superintendent was lacking in consideration to the officers and servants, that he was ill-tempered, and that he at times made unbecoming and injudicious remarks. No action was taken, however.

A few months later—November 12th—one of the city papers published a startling announcement to the effect that the Toronto asylum was being converted into a dissecting-room. A patient, one George Andrews, having died at the asylum, the usual inquest was held by Coroner Duggan, and the body confined and sent to the potter's field for burial. The sexton thinking the coffin light, opened it, and found an arm, a leg, and the head missing. Two days later, a box was sent from the asylum for interment. This was found to contain the parts wanting. On these a second investigation was begun before Coroner King, at which it was shown that there had already been an inquest held on the body to which these portions belonged. Dr. King, therefore, decided that a second inquiry was unnecessary.¹ This exposure having caused much excitement among the citizens, the board of commissioners held a meeting at which Dr. Scott admitted that he had removed parts of the body for anatomical purposes. In consequence it was moved that—"The Medical Superintendent, has by his conduct in mutilating the body of a deceased patient, laid himself open to the charge of indiscretion and want of judgment, and that he be and is hereby severely censured and admonished therefor."

After this, the difficulties between the superintendent and commissioners grew from bad to worse, and culminated in the resignation of the former, in 1852.

Dr. Scott was born at Strathbane, county Tyrone, Ireland, in 1816; studied at the University of Edinburgh; and took the degree of M.R.C.S., London, in 1841. Coming to Toronto, he married, in 1844, the only daughter of the Rev. John Roaf, a minister of the Congregational church and a prominent member of the board of commissioners of the asylum. Dr. Scott engaged in practice at Toronto until appointed to the charge of the asylum, and, after severing his connection therewith, resumed practice in that city, where he continued until his death in May, 1864. He was an able man professionally, but possessed of an overbearing manner and an irritability of temper that ill fitted him for the charge of a large public institution such as a lunatic asylum.

Dr. Scott was succeeded, on July 1st, 1853, by Dr. Joseph Workman, whose labours on behalf of the insane will ever remain one of the brightest spots in the annals of Canadian asylums. Dr. Workman accepted temporary charge of the asylum at the personal solicitation of the Hon. Dr. Rolph, then President of the Council in the Hincks-Morin adminis-

¹ *British American Medical and Physical Journal*, Montreal, December, 1851, p. 361.

tration. His appointment was made permanent on April 1st of the following year.¹

Born in Lisburn, Ireland, in 1805, Dr. Workman came to Canada in 1829, and having entered upon the study of medicine at McGill college, Montreal, graduated therefrom in 1835. In 1836 he removed to Toronto, where he engaged in the hardware business, returning to the practice of his profession in 1846. He was immediately chosen as one of the staff of Dr. Rolph's school of medicine, and for some years filled the chairs of obstetrics and materia medica, gaining at the same time a favourable reputation as an able physician. The wielder of a keen and ready pen, before his appointment as superintendent he had won for himself a prominent position as an original writer and thinker. As superintendent, he was from the first a marked success, and soon became, as he remains to this day, the most noteworthy of Canadian alienists.

Of his work as head of Toronto asylum no one was better qualified to speak *ex cathedra* than J. W. Langmuir, Esq., inspector of asylums, who, on Dr. Workman's resignation of office, July 19th, 1875, paid him the following well-merited tribute: "I regret to have occasion to announce the retirement of Dr. Joseph Workman, for twenty-two years the able Superintendent of this Asylum. During this period he managed the affairs of the institution in such a manner as to win the approval, not only of the Governments under which he held office, but of the medical profession and the public at large. To conduct with skill and tact the affairs of a large Asylum requires no common qualifications, and calls for no ordinary ability. The demands upon time, temper and resources are incessant, and must be punctually, cheerfully and promptly met—the greatest foresight and the clearest judgment must be constantly exercised—firmness and humanity must be united, and zeal and energy combined, in the character of a man fitted to bear the enormous responsibility attaching to the office of Medical Superintendent of a large Asylum. That Dr. Workman fulfilled these requisites while he held office, needs no testimony from me to establish; and that, after twenty-two years' service, he felt that, in justice to himself, he should free himself of such a burden, can be no wonder, considering his advanced age."²

Much that is best in the present system of caring for the insane in Canada can be traced to the wisdom of this accomplished gentleman, fittingly styled by Dr. D. Hack Tuke "the Nestor of Canadian alienists."³ Under his régime mere custodial care, with more or less neglect and cruelty, gave place to a system of kindness and scientific treatment.

The strong point in Dr. Workman's alienistic career was his absolute identification with his patients. His life was spent within the walls of

¹ *Canada Gazette*, 1854, p. 523.

² Report of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario, 1875, p. 21.

³ Dictionary of Psychological Medicine, by D. Hack Tuke, M.D., 1892, p. 175.

his asylum; he had no thought of being elsewhere. No man ever more thoroughly entered into the insane nature of those around him. No man ever more closely realized the ideal character of the good superintendent, thus admirably portrayed by Dr. Isaac Ray: "A formal walk through the wards, and the ordering of a few drugs, compriseth but a small part of his means for restoring the troubled mind. To prepare for this work and to make other means effectual, he carefully studieth the mental movements of his patients. He never grudgeth the moments spent in quiet, familiar intercourse with them, for thereby he gaineth many glimpses of their inner life that may help him in their treatment. He maketh himself the centre of their system around which they all revolve, being held in their places by the attraction of respect and confidence. To promote the great purposes of his calling, he availeth himself of all his stores of knowledge, that he may converse with his patients on matters most interesting to them, and thereby establish with them a friendly relation."^{1 2}

All honour to one who was foremost in the early care and treatment of the insane in Canada! The blessed results of his labours can never be fully estimated, and if ever a man's good works follow him, Dr. Workman will indeed have a rich harvest

After his resignation of office, Dr. Workman spent the remainder of his life in Toronto, where he died April 15th, 1894, beloved and regretted by his many friends. He was an accomplished linguist, and during his last years found his favourite occupation in the translation of articles, generally relating to psychiatry, from the Italian and other European tongues, for various medical periodicals. These translations possess a strong individuality, Dr. Workman's style of writing being always pungent, clear and flowing. The same qualities apply to his annual reports, which sparkle often with scintillations of caustic wit, and well repay perusal.³

Possessed of much energy and great executive ability, Dr. Workman during his management of Toronto asylum introduced many improvements, one of the first of which was a reconstruction of the drainage. On taking charge he had found three hundred and forty-seven patients in residence, many of whom had frequent attacks of erysipelas, diarrhoea,

¹ Ideal Characters of the Officers of a Hospital for the Insane, by Isaac Ray, M.D.—*American Journal of Insanity*, July, 1873, p. 64.

² It was the good fortune of the writer to have spent nearly two years in Toronto asylum as clinical assistant under Dr. Workman. During that time he can scarcely recall an evening on which this gifted man did not pass an hour or more in one or other of his wards, the centre of a circle of patients, for whom he never failed to find some topic of interest by which to divert them from their morbid thoughts.

³ Scarcely less beloved by the patients than Dr. Workman himself, was his brother, Dr. Benjamin Workman, who retired with him after nineteen years' service as assistant superintendent of Toronto asylum, during all which time he nobly aided in promoting the welfare of their helpless charges.

or dysentery. Setting to work to investigate the cause, he soon made the discovery that the whole of the space beneath the basement was one foul and enormous cess-pool. When this was emptied it was found that while the basement drains and main sewer were admirably constructed, by some oversight no connection had been made between them, the result being that nearly four years' accumulation of filth had collected there. The proper junctions made, a reorganization of the ventilating and water-closet systems followed, and there ensued a marked improvement in the general health of the household.¹

In these and other reforms Dr. Workman was greatly aided by the fact that prior to his assumption of office there had been a radical and much-needed change in the system of governing the asylum. On June 20th, 1853, the old board of twelve directors was replaced by a visiting committee, the original members of which were George S. Tiffany, Esq., of Hamilton, Ezekiel F. Whittemore, Esq., of Toronto, John Simpson, Esq., of Bowmanville, and William L. Perrin, Esq., of Toronto.² The act authorizing this change also vested the property in the Crown; placed the appointment of the medical superintendent, as well as that of a bursar, in the hands of the government; and gave to the superintendent power to hire and dismiss all officers and servants other than the bursar.³

This new system of control remained in force up to December, 1859, when, under provision of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, the visiting committee was superseded by the appointment of a board of five inspectors by the legislative assembly.⁴ The first report of this board was made at Quebec, addressed to His Excellency Sir Edmund Walker Head, Bart., Governor-General of the British Provinces of North America. It was dated March 16th, 1860; styled "Preliminary Report of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c.;" and signed Wolfred Nelson, M.D., president, J. C. Taché, M.D., D. Æ. Macdonald, John Langton, and E. A. Meredith.

On taking up the reins of government, Dr. Workman had found the asylum much overcrowded, and this overcrowding was constantly increased by applications to which he was unable to refuse admission. In his first annual report, therefore, dated June 19th, 1854, he complained that "The Asylum, when completed according to the original designs, was calculated to accommodate suitably 250 patients. The two wings, each as capacious as that portion of the house now available in each section of this building, east and west, for lodgment of lunatics, have not yet been erected; consequently 376 patients are at present crowded into one-half

¹ A Description of the Pestilent Condition of the Toronto Lunatic Asylum in 1853, &c., by Dr. Joseph Workman.—*Sanitary Journal*, Toronto, January, 1876.

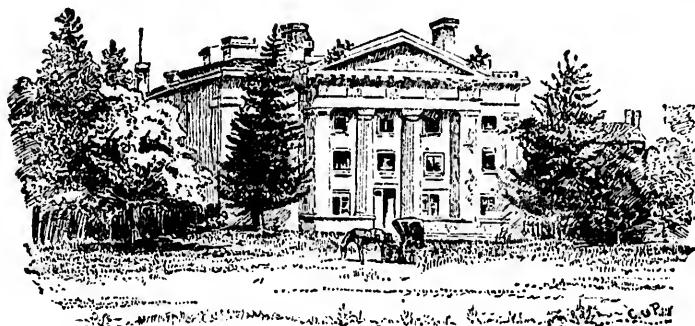
² *Canada Gazette*, September 10th, 1853, p. 1323.

³ Statutes of Canada, 16 Vict., Cap. 188.

⁴ 22 Vict., Cap. 110.

the space originally intended to be bestowed upon 250 ; or, in other words, three are thrust into the space intended for one."¹

To relieve this congested condition, in July, 1856, a building, which had been erected as the commencement of the University of King's College, about thirteen years previously, was converted into a supplemental asylum. The new adaptation, known as the University Branch, was placed under the charge of Mr. Robert Blair. It was built of white, cut stone, and occupied a part of the ground on which the new parliament buildings now stand, the material that composed it having been used in their construction. This addition received about seventy patients, principally women, all of whom were transferred from the main asylum, and one of the medical officers of that institution visited it daily. It remained



UNIVERSITY BRANCH ASYLUM, TORONTO, OPENED 1856, CLOSED 1869.
Copied by permission from Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto."

in use for a period of thirteen years, and was abandoned in October, 1869, on the opening of the new female wing of the parent establishment.

The temporary relief from overcrowding thus obtained was soon exhausted, and in the summer of 1859 it was decided by the government to convert the old military barracks at Fort Malden, near Amherstburg, into another branch asylum. With the view of effecting this object Dr. Andrew Fisher, one of Dr. Workman's assistants, was appointed medical superintendent, with instructions to have the necessary alterations and repairs effected in the shortest possible time. Dr. Fisher, accompanied by twenty male patients to assist in making the needed changes, reached Fort Malden on July 14th, and by October had so pushed forward the work that he was able to receive another detachment of sixty-four patients from the provincial asylum ; and by December, a third. The old barracks, which had done service as a military post during the troubles of 1837 and up to about 1858, were large, two-story with an attic, frame

¹ Original manuscript report by Dr. Workman.

buildings, but ill adapted for asylum purposes, inasmuch as they contained no single rooms, and all the dormitories opened into one another. The situation, however, was excellent. The grounds, fifty-eight acres in extent, afforded ample scope for recreation and agricultural pursuits, and the outlook over the Detroit River was unsurpassed. Malden continued a branch of, and was fed from, Toronto asylum up to September 24th, 1861, when, by order of the governor-general in council, it was made an independent institution, and had assigned to it as feeders the seven adjacent counties of Norfolk, Oxford, Middlesex, Kent, Elgin, Essex, and Lambton.¹ It continued under the administration of its first superintendent up to June, 1868, when, fault having been found with his management, Dr. Fisher resigned, to be succeeded, July 1st, by Dr. Henry Landor.

The year of the conversion of Malden into an independent establishment witnessed the birth, at Orillia, of yet a third child of the provincial lunatic asylum. This, the Orillia Branch, was established in a large, three-story, brick building, which, originally designed for a hotel, but left unfinished, had been purchased, in 1859, for \$16,800 by the province of Canada and fitted up as an asylum. It was opened August 13th, 1861, under the charge of Dr. John Ardagh, and continued in operation up to November, 1870, when it was abandoned on the transfer of the patients to a new asylum then opened at London. The services of Dr. Ardagh were at this date dispensed with, there being no longer an institution for him. Intended for the express purpose of housing chronic and incurable lunatics, the Orillia asylum was absolutely dependent upon the Toronto institution, whence all its occupants were transferred with the exception of about a dozen cases admitted direct at various times with the consent of Dr. Workman.

LONDON ASYLUM.

After confederation of the provinces on July 1st, 1867, the asylums, with the jails and other public institutions, came under the control of the local legislatures, in conformity with the ninth section of the "British North America Act," and, in 1868, Ontario adopted the present system of direct governmental supervision, through an inspector appointed for that purpose. The first inspector under the new regulation, known as the "Prison and Asylum Inspection Act," was J. W. Largmuir, Esq., a man of great energy and extraordinary business capabilities, who did much to place the asylum system of the province on a practical business-like basis.

¹ Prior to this the Toronto asylum had received patients from the whole of Upper Canada. As now allocated the Toronto district embraces only the city of Toronto and the county of York, but inasmuch as its asylum contains the only state pay-wards, these are available for private patients from all sections of the province.

In his first report, we find Mr. Langmuir urging upon the government the pressing need of increased accommodation for the insane.¹ The urgency of the case was recognized by the legislature, which, in 1869, made an appropriation of \$100,000 toward the erection of a new asylum, work upon which was begun immediately. London, as most central to the population it was intended to benefit, was selected as the location of the proposed structure, and three hundred acres of good, arable land were purchased on the north side of the Governor's Road, about two miles east of that city. In construction, white brick was the material chosen, and the echelon plan of arrangement was adopted. The edifice, when completed, consisted of a centre building four stories high, the wings from the same being three stories, and the receding wings two stories. The whole length of the building was six hundred and ten feet, and its capacity five hundred beds. The institution was ready for the reception of patients November 18th, 1870, on which date the inmates of the Orillia branch asylum, one hundred and nineteen in number, arrived. They were followed on the 23rd by those of Malden, numbering two hundred and forty-four. These supply depots were closed upon the departure of their occupants. Dr. Landor, superintendent at Malden, took charge of the new establishment.

London asylum has been enlarged on several occasions; in 1872, by the creation of a department for idiots, which was entirely isolated from the main asylum, but under its management and control. This structure, though insignificant in itself, being capable of housing but thirty-eight inmates, is yet of considerable interest, having been the first building erected in the province for the reception and care of idiots only. Within two months after its opening this little idiot asylum was filled, showing the urgent need for such an establishment. In 1874 the capacity of London asylum was still further augmented by the establishment of a cottage for the reception of sixty, quiet, working patients—thirty men and thirty women. This cottage, made as home-like as possible both in external appearance and in domestic arrangements, was supplemented, in 1877, by the construction of two others of the same capacity and on similar lines. These were opened in 1878. The next enlargement was made by the reconstruction of the idiot branch, from which the patients had been removed to Orillia. Extensive wings added to the original structure raised its capacity to one hundred and eighty-three beds. As rebuilt, it was expressly designed to accommodate troublesome patients, and was opened in 1879. The total capacity of the London asylum is now 1004.²

The year 1877 was a sorrowful one for the asylum at London, witnessing as it did, on January 6th, the death of its first superintendent.

¹ Report of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario, 1867-68, p. 28.

² It receives patients from the counties of Essex, Kent, Elgin, Lambton, Middlesex, Oxford, Huron, Bruce, and Perth.

Dr. Henry Landor was a cousin of Walter Savage Landor, the poet, and possessed a large share of the intellectual ability of the Landor family. He was born in the island of Anglesey in 1815, but his early life was spent mostly in Liverpool. Entering upon the study of medicine, he graduated, in 1836, from the Aldersgate School of Medicine. In 1841, he was sent to Australia by the government as stipendiary magistrato, but returned to England in 1847. Shortly after, he was appointed colonial surgeon to the forces on the African Gold Coast. After two years' service there, he was seized with coast fever, and invalided home. During his convalescence in England, he wrote a pamphlet entitled "The only way to stop the slave trade," which won for its author much praise. In 1850, he became resident physician to the Higham Retreat, a private asylum at Norwich. This position he retained up to 1860, when he moved to Canada and settled at London, where he practised until he was appointed superintendent of the Malden asylum in the place of Dr. Fisher, as already stated. Holding advanced opinions in regard to the treatment of insanity and the administration of institution affairs, Dr. Landor advocated and enforced his views upon all occasions to the benefit of the unfortunates committed to his care, and the betterment of asylum management.

Fortunately for the London establishment, Dr. Landor found a worthy successor in the person of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke, at that time in charge of the recently created Hamilton asylum. Dr. Bucke assumed the superintendentship February 15th, 1877, and still continues to fill the office with great credit to himself and benefit to the institution. To him is due the introduction into Canada, in 1883, of the non-restraint system, which is now the accepted principle in the treatment of the insane throughout the Ontario institutions. This fact is of special interest, as at that time nearly every American superintendent regarded the doctrine of non-restraint as purely utopian, and to be ridiculed accordingly. Now, scarce a superintendent is bold enough to advocate restraint except for surgical or other very exceptional purposes. In this connection, Dr. O'Reilly, inspector of asylums for Ontario, gave Dr. Bucke the following well-deserved praise :

"To Dr. R. M. Bucke, Medical Superintendent of the London Asylum, belongs the honour of being the first to take up the subject practically in the Canadian asylums. He approached it at first very properly with great hesitation and caution, but it only required a few weeks' practical study of the subject to convince him that all that had been said by the advocates of the system was well founded, and restraint in the London asylum became a thing of the past. Dr. Bucke did not burn his restraint apparatus with religious ceremonies, nor make any flourish of trumpets about it. When the proper time came he simply announced that after eighteen months' trial of absolute non-restraint in an asylum having a

population of nine hundred patients he had found the system to be all that had been claimed for it, and that he was now unable to conceive of a case where mechanical restraint, except for surgical reasons, was necessary, was not positively harmful to the patient. Dr. Bucke's example was slowly followed by others, until now in this province restraint appliances are unknown, and one after another the doctors give in their testimony to the great value of this reform, which was commenced by Conolly and Pinel half a century ago."¹

The growth of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, as well as the birth and death of its offspring at Toronto, Malden and Orillia, having now been traced to the termination of Dr. Workman's superintendence, to briefly bring the history down to our own day it should be added that he was followed therein by Dr. Charles Gowan, from Worcester asylum, England, who, owing to ill health, was forced to resign his position and return to his native country within two months from his entering the service. His successor was Dr. Daniel Clark, the present able occupant of the position, who assumed duty on December 26th, 1875, the institution in the interim having been in charge of Dr. W. G. Metcalf as acting superintendent.

KINGSTON ASYLUM.

To follow the origin of what is the second oldest asylum in the province of Ontario, it is now necessary that our steps should be retraced somewhat.

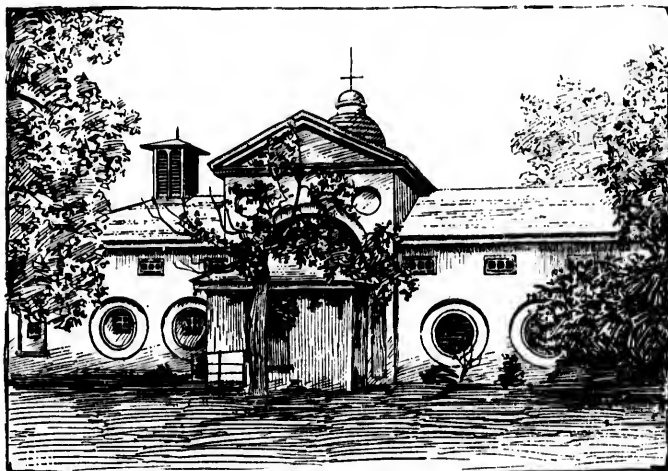
In 1841, John S. Cartwright, Esq., member for Lennox and Addington in the first parliament after the union of the Canadas, built for himself a fine, stone mansion, with very handsome stables, also of stone, about a hundred yards therefrom.² These structures were erected on the Cartwright estate, known as "Rockwood," a tract of about forty acres on the lake shore, a little to the west of the city of Kingston. In October, 1856, thirty-three acres of this estate, including the buildings, were purchased by the Crown as a site for a criminal lunatic asylum, the price paid being £5,000. After the purchase had been completed, the stables were fitted up for the reception of twenty-four female patients, the male patients having been already located in the basement of the penitentiary. This substitute for an asylum was arranged with single rooms for twenty inmates, while a wooden addition made thereto com-

¹ Report of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario, 1887, p. 36.

² The following doggerel regarding these stables was current at the time of their erection, and is said to have been the extemporaneous production of a Colonel Jackson, who lived in a cottage on the property directly east of Rockwood:

"Oh, would to God! that I were able
To build a house like Cartwright's stable.
It fills my heart with great remorse
To be worse housed than Cartwright's horse."

prised "four strong cells," a "keeper's room," and a dining-room, beyond which again was a kitchen. The size of the single rooms was nine by five feet. They were lighted by miserable, little, barred peep-holes measuring only eighteen by twelve inches. The entrance was on the west side, and a small hallway was used as an office. Dr. J. P. Litchfield, who had formerly been inspector of hospitals for South Australia, and later, medical superintendent of Walker lunatic asylum, had charge of the patients both here and at the penitentiary, his appointment dating from March, 1855. He had his private residence in the Cartwright mansion, where there also dwelt, under his immediate supervision, a well-to-do



OLD CARTWRIGHT STABLES, KINGSTON, ERECTED IN 1841, AND FITTED UP IN 1856 AS A TEMPORARY ASYLUM FOR FEMALES.

From a photo by Dr. C. K. Clarke, Medical Superintendent, Kingston Asylum.

gentleman of unsound mind. Close by was a small, stone cottage, of still earlier construction, the home of one of the members of the Cartwright family, which at a later date was acquired by the hospital.

The three structures referred to are still in existence, and form parts of the present Kingston asylum, generally known as Rockwood Asylum, or Hospital. The old stables have reverted to their original use; the small, stone house is the north cottage, occupied by quiet female patients; and the new residence of the Cartwright family is the dwelling of the medical superintendent.

Three years after the opening of the institution, namely, September, 1859, the erection of the present asylum was begun. Like its progenitor,

it was intended for insane criminals and dangerous lunatics only, as indicated by the following memorandum of the board of inspectors: "The Criminal Lunatic Asylum at Rockwood, (which is the name given it by law,) is destined to receive lunatics from the Provincial Penitentiary, and lunatics who are dangerous, or reputed so to be. At present the male lunatics of this institution are located in a basement of the Penitentiary buildings, and the females in an old building on the Rockwood property,"¹ that is, in the stable-building already described.

From the provisions of the act constituting the institution,² we find that the exact purpose of the establishment was the safe-keeping and treatment of the following classes of lunatics:

1st. Convicts in the penitentiary becoming insane while under sentence there.

2nd. Certain classes of lunatics committed to jail as lunatics dangerous to be at large.

3rd. Persons charged with some offence of which they had been acquitted on the ground that they were insane at the time such offence was committed.

4th. Persons indicted for any offence, and upon arraignment thereof found, by a jury specially impanelled for the purpose, to be insane.

The new building was planned by Mr. William Coverdale, architect, and erected chiefly by convict labour, under his superintendence, occupying over eight years in construction. The centre building and east wing were the portions first built. In 1862, a part of the former was sufficiently advanced to admit of its being temporarily fitted up for the reception of twenty-one men, whose removal from the basement of the penitentiary greatly relieved the pressure there. On March 24th, 1865, the building was formally opened by the transfer to it of the rest of the male patients. By the end of 1867, the west wing for women was virtually completed, although not opened until early in 1868, when the stable-asylum was vacated. The asylum was constructed of coursed, cut stone from the penitentiary quarries. It comprised a central building four stories high, with two wings, also of four stories, joined to the central block by connecting portions three stories in height, the total frontage being three hundred and ten feet. It was continued under the superintendence of Dr. Litchfield up to his death, December 18th, 1868, when Dr. J. R. Dickson, surgeon of the penitentiary, who had been doing Dr. Litchfield's work during his illness, was appointed to the position.

Rockwood, as already stated, was intended for insane criminals and the criminal insane only, but, the Toronto asylum being full, friends, in their anxiety to have insane relatives placed in safe-keeping, perhaps also with the object of saving themselves the cost of transport to that institu-

¹ Report of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for 1860, p. 12.

² Consolidated Statutes of Canada, Chapter 100.

tion, soon found a means to evade the law, which but inadequately safeguarded the real purpose of the establishment. The process of evasion was simply to have the poor lunatic committed to jail as dangerous, whether really so or not. To prevent this abuse, we find the inspectors, as early as 1862, recommending, in the following terms, that Rockwood should be used as a general, as well as a criminal, asylum :

"The Inspectors have to remark with relation to Rockwood, that practically it has become an asylum for lunatics of every description from the eastern portion of Upper Canada, as the relatives of the parties, instead of obtaining the usual medical examination and certificate privately, in order to procure their admission into the Provincial Asylum at Toronto, which is at a great distance, procure their incarceration as dangerous lunatics in a common jail, from which they are transferred, under warrant of His Excellency, to the Rockwood Institution. The Board are inclined to recommend that regulations should be made authorizing their reception at Rockwood after the buildings shall have been completely finished, without obliging their relatives to resort to a previous imprisonment in a jail; to convert, in fact, Rockwood into a Provincial Asylum for the eastern counties of Upper Canada."¹

After the opening of the new institution, they again recommended this course in even stronger terms. At the same time, they advised that the old stable-asylum, which had been abandoned, should be converted into an establishment for female private patients, and the Cartwright mansion, used as the superintendent's residence, into one for male private patients, that officer to be given the north cottage to live in. These suggestions were never carried into effect.

At Confederation, the board of inspectors of asylums, prisons, &c., became the Directors of Penitentiaries, and the asylums and jails passed into the hands of the provincial government, with the exception of Rockwood, which as a part of the penitentiary remained under their supervision.²

By this time, lack of accommodation in the provincial asylum at Toronto had made it necessary, especially in the western district, to send many of the insane to the common jails for safe-keeping, where they soon became so numerous that it was absolutely requisite to take immediate steps to remedy the evil. Negotiations were accordingly entered into with the Dominion government whereby, in 1868, the "Act respecting a Lunatic Asylum for Criminal Convicts" was repealed, and arrangements concluded for the reception of one hundred to one hundred and fifty of these poor creatures into Rockwood asylum, it being distinctly understood with the authorities of that institution, that all insane persons thus sent from the jails of the province would be kept entirely separate from the crimi-

¹ Report of Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for 1862, p. 13.

² 31 Vict., Cap. 75.

nal portion of the population. The rate of maintenance was fixed at \$143 per annum, and permission was given the inspector of Ontario institutions to visit, unofficially, for the purpose of seeing the patients sent in and paid for by that province. This, as pointed out by the inspector, was practically the "farming out" system of maintaining lunatics, and that, too, without the supervision of the government paying for such maintenance.¹ To abrogate this the legislative assembly, in 1871, adopted a resolution affirming the advisability of the province's acquiring Rockwood asylum, either by purchase or lease. A corresponding resolution passed the Dominion parliament authorizing negotiations for its transfer to the province. It was not, however, until July 1st, 1877, that the Ontario government took possession of Rockwood, purchasing the buildings and grounds for \$96,500. As soon as the property was handed over by the Dominion authorities, the insane convicts of unexpired sentence then in the asylum, twenty-two in number, were transferred to the penitentiary, where a special detached building has since been provided for this class of patients. Dr. Dickson, who had earnestly advocated the change, was retained as superintendent of the new provincial establishment, the name of which was changed from Rockwood asylum to "The Asylum for Insane, Kingston."²

On the 1st of April, 1878, owing to the serious illness of Dr. Dickson, Dr. W. G. Metcalf, assistant superintendent at London asylum, was transferred to Kingston as acting medical superintendent, his appointment being made permanent after the resignation of Dr. Dickson on the 31st of December following.

Dr. John Robinson Dickson was born in Dungannon, county Tyrone, Ireland, November 15th, 1819. Educated in Belfast and Glasgow, he came to Canada in 1838, and graduated in medicine from the University of New York in 1842. Returning to Canada, he settled in Kingston, where he soon became prominent as a surgeon. He lectured at Queen's University for some years in surgery, and was afterwards dean of the medical faculty. In 1862, he was appointed surgeon of the Kingston penitentiary, and in 1868 (as mentioned), medical superintendent of Rockwood asylum. He died, November 23rd, 1882.

Dr. Metcalf, on his advent to Kingston asylum, had found restraint so largely employed that the number of cases represented nearly ten per cent of the entire population.³ He at once set to work to lessen it, and soon had the number of cases reduced to a minimum. Other scarcely less important reforms soon followed.

¹ Report of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario for 1872, p. 28.

² One of the articles of agreement under which Rockwood passed into the hands of the provincial government was that it should continue to receive all convicts sent to the penitentiary from Ontario, if insane on the expiration of their sentences.

³ Report of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities of Ontario for 1878, p. 39.

Unfortunately for the province, as well as for the alienistic profession of which he was a bright and shining light, Dr. Metcalf's term of office was short, extending only to August 13th, 1885, on which date, while going his rounds amongst his patients, he was stabbed in the abdomen by one of them, named Patrick Maloney, with an improvised knife. The wound was of such a serious nature that Dr. Metcalf never rallied from the shock, but passed peacefully and heroically away, three days later, on the 16th of August, in the thirty-eighth year of his age and the fourteenth of his alienistic work.

Dr. Metcalf was, without doubt, one of the most efficient asylum officers in the province of Ontario. Born at Uxbridge, Ont., in 1847, he received his medical education at the Toronto School of Medicine and graduated from Toronto University in 1872. Having entered the asylum service on August 7th of the preceding year, as a clinical assistant under Dr. Joseph Workman, he received so thorough a training in the work of asylum management that he was acquainted with its most minute details. During the autumn of 1874, he entered private practice at Windsor, Ont., but in July, 1875, was appointed assistant superintendent of Toronto asylum, in which position he remained until June, 1877, when he was transferred to the corresponding position at London asylum. The details of his subsequent successful career and untimely end have already been related. Dr. Metcalf's heart was in his work, and he was fully abreast of his contemporaries in all that pertained to his specialty. An ardent advocate of the humane doctrine of non-restraint, during the last two years of his life not an instance of mechanical restraint had occurred in his institution.

The vacancy caused by the tragic death of Dr. Metcalf was filled by the appointment of Dr. Charles K. Clarke, his assistant, another pupil of Dr. Workman's, whose energy and advanced views have placed Rockwood among the best institutions for the insane in America. To him are due the establishment of the "Rockwood Training School for Nurses," which was the first in Canada, and one of the first in America; and "Beechgrove," a separate hospital for the treatment of lunatics afflicted with additional bodily ailments, which was the pioneer building of the kind on the continent.

By November, 1885, Rockwood had become so overcrowded that a large, old, stone building in the city of Kingston, originally erected as a Roman Catholic seminary and known as Regiopolis College, was rented, renovated, and occupied by one hundred and fifty patients of the chronic class, quiet and harmless. It remained in use up to February, 1891, when the opening of a new institution at Mimico allowed it to be dispensed with.¹

In addition to the main building, to which has recently been added a series of rooms fitted up with the most modern requirements in the

¹ This building is now occupied as a hospital, and called "The Hotel Dieu."

way of shower-baths, &c., Rockwood now comprises an infirmary, "Beechgrove," with a capacity of thirty-two beds; "North Cottage," with thirty beds; "South Cottage," with eighty beds; and "Newcourt," a structure known as the "Wilson House" at the time the seat of government was in Kingston, with thirty-two beds. The total capacity of the institution is about six hundred, and it receives patients from the counties of Durham, Northumberland, Hastings, Lennox, Addington, Prince Edward, Frontenac, and Renfrew. The area of the farm has also been increased by purchase to two hundred and twenty acres.

Besides the institutions at Toronto, Kingston and London, the state provision for the insane in the province of Ontario includes three other asylums, located at Hamilton, Mimico and Brockville. There is also a government asylum for idiots at Orillia, and a private institution for the insane at Guelph.

HAMILTON ASYLUM.

Hamilton asylum is beautifully situated on the summit of the escarpment overlooking the city of Hamilton and Burlington Bay. The central portion of the building was originally designed by Mr. Kauffman for an inebriate asylum, and begun in 1873, but was never used as such, being utilized instead for the reception of the insane, whose needs were justly deemed more pressing than those of dipsomaniacs.

Placed on a lot of land three hundred acres in extent, the centre building consists of a basement, three stories and mansard roof. The wings, erected in 1877-8, and opened March 15th, 1879, recede from the front line of the main building, and are two stories in height, with basement and mansard roof. The transverse connecting portions between the wings and central structure are of the same height as the latter. The entire length of the building is about five hundred and fifty feet. The material employed in construction above the basement, which is of coursed stone, is red brick, with white brick and stone trimmings.

When first opened, March 17th, 1876, Hamilton asylum received only chronic cases of a mild character, transfers from other asylums, but when extended by the construction of wings, it became a receiving asylum from ten counties allotted to it. It was originally placed in charge of Dr. Bucke, who, on his transfer to London asylum, was succeeded, February 14th, 1877, by Dr. J. M. Wallace, superintendent of the idiot asylum at Orillia. On the retirement of Dr. Wallace, owing to ill health, in 1887, Dr. James Russell, the present superintendent, was appointed to the position thus made vacant, and assumed duty August 31st of that year.

James McLaren Wallace was born at Kirkintilloch, Scotland, in 1837. His primary studies were conducted in the schools of his native town, and his professional education and degree were obtained at the

Andersonian university, Glasgow. Arriving in Canada in 1861, he began practice in the village of Spencerville, Grenville Co., Ont. There he remained until 1876 when he was appointed to the superintendency of the Orillia Asylum for Idiots. After quitting the asylum service, Dr. Wallace resumed private practice for a short time in Hamilton, then removed to Port Elgin, Ont., in which town he died suddenly of apoplexy, February 17th, 1896.

Since 1879, the size of this asylum has been increased by the erection of three detached buildings, harmonizing in structure with the main building. One of these is known as "East House," another as "Orchard House," while the third is an infirmary. "East House," opened November 1st, 1884, accommodates eighty patients, and "Orchard House," opened January 24th, 1888, two hundred and eighty-four. The infirmary, though completed, has not yet been opened for the reception of patients; its capacity is fifty beds. The institution now affords accommodation for 1650 patients, and receives from the counties of Halton, Wentworth, Welland, Lincoln, Haldimand, Norfolk, Brant, Wellington, Waterloo, Dufferin, and Grey.

MIMICO ASYLUM.

Mimico asylum is located on the shore of Lake Ontario, about four or five miles beyond the western limits of Toronto, and two miles from the village of Mimico, whence it takes its name. It has a farm of two hundred and twenty acres attached to it, and is built on the cottage system, red brick having been used in the construction. It was originally intended for chronic insane only, who were to be transferred to it from all the other provincial asylums when their accommodation had become insufficient. Its administration was to be directed from the Toronto asylum, of which it was to be regarded as a branch, known as the Mimico branch asylum. It was so conducted from its opening, January 20th, 1890, up to November, 1894. At the latter date it was decided by the government to be neither wise nor just, that a large body of the insane should be branded as hopelessly incurable and herded by themselves, when experience showed that while the chances of restoration certainly lessened with the continuance of the disease, it was none the less true that recovery might possibly occur at any time. Acting upon this righteous and humane conclusion, the Mimico branch was transformed into an independent institution, and had a territory, from which to receive direct, assigned to it. This district comprises the counties of Peel, Simcoe, Ontario, Victoria, and Peterboro, and the districts of Muskoka, Parry Sound, Nipissing, Algoma, Thunder Bay, and Rainy River.

Opened with two cottages, erected in 1889, the number has since been increased to ten, grouped on each side of a central or administration

building so as to form with it three sides of a square. By means of a subway the ten cottages are all connected with the centre building, where the boiler-house, kitchen, bakery, and laundry are placed. The capacity of the institution is 600. One hundred and sixty acres of the farm are located about a mile away from the asylum, and here are situated all the farm-buildings, as well as an additional cottage occupied by twenty male patients who work on the farm and in the barns all the year round.

Dr. William T. ... lds, then second assistant physician of Hamilton asylum, was the first officer in charge of the establishment, having assumed duty, January 13th, 1890. He remained as such up to September 13th, when he returned to the Hamilton institution. Dr. John Cascaden was appointed his successor as first assistant physician of Toronto asylum, resident at the Mimico branch. On November 27th, Dr. Cascaden resigned his position and was succeeded by Dr. J. B. Murphy, who entered on his duties, January 16th, 1891. After three years' service as resident medical superintendent, Dr. Murphy was appointed medical superintendent of the new Brockville asylum, and retired, November 15th, 1894. He was followed, on the same date, by Dr. Nelson H. Beemer, assistant superintendent of the London asylum, who became the first medical superintendent of the Mimico asylum, *vice* the Mimico branch asylum, ceased to exist.

BROCKVILLE ASYLUM.

The site chosen for Brockville asylum, the erection of which was begun in 1892, was known as the Picken's Point property, and consisted of one hundred and ninety acres on the bank of the St. Lawrence River, close to the town of Brockville. Erected on the highest point of the property, one hundred and fifty-four feet above the water, the view from the asylum, both up and down the river, leaves nothing to be desired. In construction, the cottage plan was again adopted, the institution comprising an administration block, a main building for one hundred and seventy acute cases, and six cottages for chronic cases, each with a capacity of fifty-five beds. These various structures are grouped somewhat in the shape of a half-moon, the main building forming the centre of the convexity. The administration block, three stories in height, is connected by a passage fifty feet long with the main building, which is two stories high, as are the cottages. The walls above the basem'nt, which is built of limestone quarried on the premises, are of cherry-coloured, pressed brick, with cut stone trimmings and terra-cotta panels and ornaments.

Dr. Murphy having been appointed medical superintendent, the institution was opened on December 27th, 1894, by the reception of

seventy-three patients, transferred from Mimico asylum, followed in February by fifty-five from Kingston asylum. Direct admissions were also made from the nine most easterly counties of Ontario, the district apportioned to Brockville, and by the end of the asylum's first official year the number of patients in residence had reached one hundred and eighty-six.¹

ORILLIA ASYLUM.

The Orillia asylum for idiots was primarily located on a plot of thirteen acres lying near the northern boundary of the town of Orillia, and on the west shore of Lake Couchiching. Vacated by the insane in 1870, as already noted, it was in 1876 again fitted up with some additions to accommodate one hundred and fifty idiots, and on September 25th of that year was opened, under the superintendence of Dr. Wallace, for the reception of this class of patients, forty-four of whom were transferred to it from the Idiot branch of the London asylum. On February 9th, 1877, Dr. Wallace having been made medical superintendent of Hamilton asylum, Dr. A. H. Beaton, who still continues in office, was appointed his successor.

In July, 1872, owing to the constantly increasing number of applications for admission, a property known as the Queen's hotel was leased and fitted up for the reception of seventy-six patients. Much of this space was occupied by idiots transferred from the wards of the Hamilton asylum, and the institution was soon again filled. The government, therefore, in 1885, purchased a fresh site of one hundred and fifty acres, beautifully situated on the shore of Lake Simcoe, about a mile outside the limits of the town of Orillia, and began the creation of a new establishment thereon. A portion of this was completed and occupied in November, 1887. In 1888, a training-school for feeble-minded children was started, with Miss M. B. Christie as first teacher, but conducted for several years in the old building.

The asylum, which was completed in April, 1891, consists of a main building, and two, large, three-story cottages. The ground floor of the former is specially designed for teaching purposes, whereby feeble-minded children can be trained and improved, so far as their physical imperfections and mental status will permit; the first and second floors are used as dormitories and sitting-rooms for the same class. The main building also contains the administration quarters, and has an amusement hall sufficiently large to seat, comfortably, over one thousand persons. The cottages form the custodial department for adult idiots and those unfitted to attend the school.² All the structures are of red brick, with cut stone trimmings.

¹ The nine counties allotted to Brockville, as a receiving district, are Leeds, Grenville, Dundas, Stormont, Glengarry, Prescott, Russell, Carleton, and Lanark.

² There are two distinct branches to idiot asylum management. First, the merely custodial care of adult idiots, who are unable to take care of themselves, and

The capacity of the Orillia asylum is now 650, and the amount of land attached thereto, one hundred and seventy-five acres. It receives patients from the whole of Ontario, but is overcrowded, and additional accommodation is much needed. Restraint, the superintendent informs me, is practically unknown.

HOMWOOD RETREAT.

Homewood retreat, the first and only private asylum in the province of Ontario, was founded in the city of Guelph in 1883, and opened January 1st, 1884. Theretofore, people willing and able to pay for superior accommodation had been obliged to send their afflicted relatives to the neighbouring states. Cognizant of this fact, a few gentlemen, including Mr. J. W. Langmuir and Mr. E. A. Meredith, both former inspectors of asylums, organized themselves into a body, and, under the title of the "Homewood Retreat Association of Guelph," applied to government for a license to maintain a "private asylum for the insane and a hospital for inebriates." This was granted under the provisions of the amended act regarding private asylums.²

A beautifully wooded property of nineteen acres having been purchased on the outskirts of the city of Guelph, a fine, stone mansion, "the Guthrie Homestead," standing thereon, was altered and increased so as to form suitable accommodation for fifty patients, twenty-five of each sex. The institution was placed in charge of Dr. Stephen Lett, for thirteen years assistant superintendent of the Malden, London, and Toronto asylums, with the venerable Dr. Joseph Workman as consulting physician. By law, the "Retreat" is subject to inspection by the government inspector of the province, the same as are the public asylums, as well as by a local board of visitors. The insane are admitted only upon medical certificates as prescribed by statute, but inebriates and opium habitués

have no friends able or willing to take charge of them; and second, the care and training of idiotic and feeble-minded children, who are thus in some instances restored to their friends, not cured, for that is impossible, but so much improved in intelligence and habits as to be able to live as other people do, and be little or no burden upon their friends. In the custodial part of the work Ontario was the pioneer on this continent, little or no heed having been paid to this branch in the United States, where, however, special attention had for years prior to the creation of the Ontario Institution been given to the teaching department. Dr. H. B. Wilbur was the first on the continent who essayed the difficult task of educating idiots by starting a private school for feeble-minded children at Barre, Massachusetts, in July, 1848. Subsequently, he removed to Albany, New York, where an experimental school was established. From this resulted the famous institution at Syracuse, New York, which was built in 1851, and presided over by its intelligent and benevolent founder up to May, 1883, when he was called to his long rest. Many States have since established similar institutions.

² 46 Vict., Cap. 28.

can be received upon their written, voluntary application. That "The Retreat," which still remains under the superintendence of Dr. Lett, supplied a want in the province of Ontario is evidenced by the many who have availed themselves of its existence, as also by the good results of its treatment.

QUEBEC.

Quebec is the only one of the provinces of the Dominion in which there are no state institutions for the care of the insane, its provision for this unfortunate class consisting of four proprietary establishments, and one incorporated, charitable institution. The former are the Quebec Lunatic Asylum, St. Jean de Dieu Asylum, St. Julien Asylum, and Baie St. Paul Asylum; the latter is the Protestant Hospital for the Insane, situated on the outskirts of Montreal.

BEAUPORT ASYLUM.

The Quebec Lunatic Asylum, formerly known as Beauport Asylum, is the oldest of the Quebec institutions, having entered upon the fifty-fourth year of its existence.

During early times, if harmless, lunatics were allowed to wander about at will, or cared for at home; if dangerous, they were incarcerated in jails like ordinary criminals. Toward the close of last century, an act was passed authorizing an appropriation for the maintenance of insane persons in the province of Lower Canada, at the rate of one shilling and eight pence each per day. Under this act the insane were intrusted to the care of certain religious communities in the districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. These communities, however, possessed no proper places or means for the care of the unhappy creatures, who were generally shut up in damp, separate cells, and sometimes chained. Strong representations were made from time to time by different grand juries of the unfitness of these receptacles, and of the general ill-treatment accorded the wretched inmates, but for many years the system remained unchanged. Their inability to cope properly with the task they had assumed, was soon recognized by the religious bodies, and, in justice to them, it must be said they repeatedly urged the pressing necessity of better accommodation for the lunatics under their care.

By 1845, the number of the insane had increased to such an extent that the provision of a special institution for them had become a crying necessity. The government, however, was unwilling, or unable, to undertake the creation of such a structure. Under these circumstances, the idea was taken up by three prominent physicians of the city of Quebec, James Douglas, Joseph Morrin, and Charles J. Fremont. Lord Metcalfe, then governor-general of Canada, warmly encouraged the

project by promising the support of the government. He also undertook the removal to the proposed establishment, when fitted up, of all the lunatics then confined in the general hospital at Quebec, the nunnery at Three Rivers, and the jail at Montreal.

The proposers of the scheme at once set about its accomplishment. To this end they acquired by lease from Colonel Gugy, M.P.P., a property once the manor-house of M. Giffard, seigneur of Beauport. It was situated in the parish of Beauport, whence the name of the asylum, two and a half miles from the city, and comprised about two hundred acres of land commanding a magnificent view of the city and harbour of Quebec. There was in addition to the family mansion, which was a large, two-story, stone edifice, an extensive block of outbuildings, also of stone.

By the 15th of September, 1845, the establishment had been prepared for the reception of one hundred and twenty patients, and on that date the lunatics in charge of the religious ladies of the general hospital of Quebec were removed thither. They numbered twenty-three. Of these poor creatures, one had been confined twenty-eight years, and several upwards of twenty years, in small, dark, stone cells, which they had never been allowed to leave. Their delight upon again being restored to light and comparative freedom, can well be imagined. The story of the removal and its results is thus dramatically given in the first triennial report of the proprietors, published at Quebec in January, 1849 :—

“They were removed in open carriages and in cabs. They offered no resistance—on the contrary, they were delighted with the ride, and the view of the city, the river, trees, and the passers by excited in them the most pleasurable emotions. On their arrival at the Asylum at Beauport, they were placed together at table to breakfast, and it was most interesting to witness the propriety of their conduct, to watch their actions, to listen to their conversation with each other, and to remark the amazement with which they regarded everything around them. All traces of ferocity, turbulence, and noise had suddenly vanished, they found themselves again in the world, and treated like rational beings, and they endeavoured to behave as such. One, a man of education and talents, whose mind was in fragments, but whose recollection of a confinement of 28 years was most vivid, wandered from window to window. He saw Quebec and knew it to be a city; he knew ships and boats on the river and bay, but could not comprehend steamers. Before leaving the General Hospital the Nuns had clothed him well and given him a pair of shoes. He remarked that he had been a long time shut up, and that it was 19 years since he had last seen leather. Another, a man who had been confined 20 years, and who had always evinced a turbulent disposition, demanded a broom and commenced sweeping; he insisted on the others employing themselves also; he observed, “These poor people are all fools, and if you will give me a constable's staff, you will see how I will manage them, and make them work.”

"As soon as their muscular powers were sufficiently restored, the patients were induced to employ themselves in occupations the most congenial to their former habits and tastes. Some worked in the garden, others preferred sawing and splitting wood. The female patients were taken out daily, and many of them engaged in weeding the garden."

"The effects of this system were soon apparent in their improved health and spirits; they became stronger and ate and slept better. Some of them were restored to reason. One had been confined many years in a cell in the General Hospital; 13 months after his removal to the Asylum at Beauport, he was restored to his family and friends; another had also been an inmate of a cell several years, and after her discharge from the Asylum engaged as a School Teacher. The other patients generally, though greatly improved, afforded small prospect of recovery. It is, however, gratifying to be able to state that of all those removed from the General Hospital to the Asylum at Beauport, one only has been subject to even temporary restraint."¹

On September 28th, after the arrival of the Quebec contingent, the patients confined in Montreal jail, fifty-two in number, were transferred, followed, on October 5th, by those in Three Rivers, numbering seven. The condition of the latter was much more wretched than that of those from Quebec and Montreal. Some of them had been for years kept fastened to staples driven into the floors of their cells, and all arrived at Beauport chained and handcuffed. For a picture of one of this detachment we are indebted to the same source as before referred to:

"One of these patients, a Canadian, and a powerfully made man, was pointed out by his keeper as being extremely violent and dangerous. He strongly opposed his being unfastened, this however was done on board of the steamer and he was conducted to a cab, which he entered without any opposition or reluctance. He answered to the name of Jacques, but could give no account of himself whatever. He had been picked up in the woods on the river St. Maurice with his feet frozen, and had been confined in the cells at Three Rivers during a period of seven years. A few days after his removal to Beauport, observing a man sawing wood, he pushed him aside, took the saw and used it himself; this seemed to afford him great pleasure; when not so employed out of doors, his constant amusement was fishing. He would stand for hours together as if using a rod and line, and sometimes as if fishing through a hole in the ice. He was found to be quite inoffensive and harmless. He died of diseased lungs on the 7th of March, 1846. Soon after his death, his brother and son arrived from the neighbourhood of Montreal in search of him, being attracted by a notice in the public prints, that an insane man, who could give no account of himself had been found wandering in one

¹ *British American Journal of Medical and Physical Science*, Montreal, April, 1849, p. 327.

of the parishes below Quebec, and sent to the Asylum at Beauport. His friends stated that Jacques had escaped from their charge several years before, and that not being able to trace him, or gain any tidings of him, they concluded that he had perished in the woods."¹

The agreement of the proprietors of Beauport with the government was that they should be paid at the rate of \$143 annually for each public patient, said sum to include board, lodging and medical treatment. The last was immediately directed by Dr. A. Von Iffland, who was appointed resident physician. This position he retained up to 1849, when he resigned to take charge of the Marine Hospital at Quebec.

Being subsidized by the State, the establishment was placed under the supervision of a board of commissioners, composed of Hon. Louis Massue, Hon. John Neilson, Joseph Painchaud, M. D., James Gibb, Esq., Peter Langlois, Esq., Henry Jessop, Esq., and John Irvine, Esq.² On the assembly of the commission, Mr. A. Lemoine was appointed secretary.

The first contract of the proprietors with the government for the care of the insane from the different districts of Lower Canada, which had been for a term of three years, expired October 1st, 1848. On its renewal for a further period of seven years, they determined to seek fresh quarters for their charges. This step was rendered necessary by the fact that the original building was capable of accommodating one hundred and twenty patients only, whereas the number on the date of the expiration of the contract had reached one hundred and thirty, with every prospect of a speedy increase. A fine property of one hundred and seventy acres belonging to Judge de Bonne, lying near the St. Lawrence, was accordingly purchased. It was located in the parish of St. Roch, on the "Chemin de la Canardière," about a mile from the parent institution. Here, in 1848, was begun the erection of a new asylum, which was opened in April, 1850. The building, which had a capacity of two hundred and seventy-five beds, was constructed of gray, coursed limestone. It was a two-story structure, with basement and attic, consisting of a central portion and wings, the whole giving a frontage of four hundred and eighteen feet. The cost of land and buildings was upwards of £12,000. With the change of location the name of the establishment was altered from Beauport asylum to the Quebec Lunatic Asylum. The latter remains the official title of the institution, though it is still often designated by its old appellation, Beauport.

In February, 1854, the western, or female wing of the building was destroyed by fire. Providentially, the conflagration was unattended by loss of life. Through the kindness of the government the patients, numbering ninety-eight, were accommodated in a part of the Marine Hospital, where they remained up to May following. At that date they were

¹ *British American Journal of Medical and Physical Science*, Montreal, April, 1849, p. 327.

² *Canada Gazette*, Montreal, February 16th, 1846, p. 2574.

transferred to a large, two-story, stone building, adjoining the asylum premises, leased for the purpose and subsequently purchased from Mr. O. L. Richardson. This new addition, or annex, was sometimes known as the "White House" from its being brilliantly whitewashed; sometimes, as the "Richardson House," from the name of its former owner. In the meantime, a contract had been let for rebuilding the wing destroyed. The work was pushed rapidly on, and the women were soon enabled to take possession of their new home, the "White House" being reserved for the reception of male patients of dirty habits.

At the close of the year 1859, the asylums and prisons of the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were placed under the control of a board of inspectors.¹ Beauport, however, as private property and in all matters of internal economy subject to the proprietors only, passed but partially within the jurisdiction of this board. The members thereof had no power to give orders respecting its management, their duties being limited to inspecting and making report of its condition to the governor-general. In compliance with this duty the inspectors, in their first report, complained of the overcrowded condition of the institution, and strongly urged the necessity for the foundation of another asylum for the western part of the province. The services of a resident physician having been dispensed with by the proprietors, probably on the score of economy, the board also regretted the want of such an official. Speaking on this subject, Mr. Taché reported as follows:

"This asylum would require a resident physician specially devoted to the cure of insanity, to be exclusively charged with the care and direction of all curative measures. True, the two proprietors of this establishment are medical men, and men of note in the practice of the profession, and one of them resides in the immediate vicinity of the asylum, but both have other and numerous occupations which, of necessity, divert them from that constant application of mind, and uninterrupted observation of their charge, which all men who have devoted themselves to this specialty, declare to be indispensable to the scientific management and treatment of mental alienation."

"Every lunatic asylum has one or several physicians living in the midst of the patients, seeing them several times every day, and awaiting, as it were, at its transit the proper moment for a beneficial application of the teachings of science. I see no reason why it should continue to be otherwise here."²

The want, thus plainly set forth, was remedied in 1863, when the proprietors once more appointed a resident physician, Dr. L. Catellier.

In 1860, Dr. Morrin disposed of his interest in the establishment to Drs. Douglas and Fromont, and, the latter dying in 1862, his share

¹ Consolidated Statutes of Canada, 22 Vict., Cap. 110.

² Report of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for 1861, p. 44.

was purchased from his representatives by Dr. J. E. Laundry. Under the new management, that of Drs. Douglas and Laundry, extensive improvements to obviate the overcrowding which the inspectors had complained of, were determined on. These improvements, which consisted in the reconstruction of the main building and the erection of two additional wings, were begun in the spring of 1863. In January, 1864, the new premises were occupied, the asylum then consisting of a central portion four stories high, and wings of three stories, joined to the central or administration part by connections of two stories with attics. From the wings extensions projected backward, the whole forming three sides of a quadrangle.

The institution as thus reorganized, although offering comfortable accommodation for four hundred and fifty patients, was soon again found inadequate to meet the ever-increasing demands for admission. The proprietors, accordingly, in August, 1864, began the erection of a large, detached building, capable of housing three hundred inmates. It was designed to occupy the site of the annex known as the "White" or "Richardson House," which had to be pulled down to make way for it. In consequence of this, some of the ninety patients lodged therein had to be crowded into the main building, and others received in a cottage originally intended for the family of one of the officers. Work was pushed forward so vigorously that by April, 1865, the building was sufficiently advanced to admit of the removal to it of one hundred patients from the main asylum. By September of that year, the edifice was completed. The new structure, which contained within itself all the requirements, such as kitchen, airing-courts, &c., of an independent asylum, was devoted exclusively to men, the main building being reserved for women. Fifty acres of land were at the same time added to the property by purchase, bringing the total area up to two hundred and twenty-five.

In reporting on this new annex and the additions made to the main structure in 1863, the inspectors strongly condemned the system adopted of placing the dormitories, like prison cells, back to back, with no light other than that coming from the corridor in front of them through small openings in the doors. The idea seems to have been gradually forcing itself on them, that the comfort and welfare of the patients were, in the estimation of the proprietors, considerations entirely secondary to the money to be made out of them. As a result, we find one of their number, Mr. J. M. Ferris, in 1864, plainly expressing this belief in the following terms :

"When the additions referred to were first spoken of, it was expected by the Board, that the deplorable overcrowding, which had been one of the distinguishing features of the old buildings, would be at once relieved. In this, however, the Inspectors have not only been disappointed, but the erection of the additions appear to have been made an excuse for jamming

into the enlarged establishment unfortunate beings, in still greater proportionate numbers, than there previously were in the old one. Matters, therefore, instead of being ameliorated, had become worse, in respect to numbers, and much worse in respect to the supply of fresh air."

"Mr. Inspector Meredith and myself having made an inspection together on the 8th September, took, at the same time, a measurement of all the rooms, then occupied as dormitories, when we found that many of them did not afford more than 350 cubic feet of air to each patient, and none of them 500. As all writers are agreed, that a space not less than 800 cubic feet should be given to each patient, *with good ventilation*, an idea may be formed of the miserable position of so many unfortunate creatures, cooped up in pens in the cellars and garrets. The facts which we became acquainted with, at that visit, induced me to examine more particularly than I had hitherto done into the condition of this Asylum, and tended much to change the opinion I had previously formed of its management."

"At the date of my appointment as a member of the Board of Inspectors, the Institution was in a very overcrowded state, and considering that state, I was quite ready to give every credit for the care, cleanliness and other marks of attention at all times visible."

"I accepted also the great excess of the population, above the capacity of the buildings, as an existing fact, without speculating very *particularly* as to its cause. But when an enlargement of the buildings took place, professedly for the very purpose of giving relief to the pre-existing excess, I was somewhat taken by surprise to observe, that it was accompanied, even while the works were advancing, with a continued addition to the numbers, so that when it was fully completed, the same and indeed worse overcrowding still remained."

"The thought then began to be forced on me, that the interests of the lunatics, their health and comfort, were of secondary consideration throughout. The Proprietors give their assurance of their having informed the Government that their Institution is and has been much overpopulated, and I have no reason, of course to doubt the assurance, and it may have been with great compunction that physicians, who know the effects upon lunatics of congregating them at night in cribs erected in badly ventilated rooms, under such circumstances, consented to what, as professional men, they condemned. I venture to think, also, that if the Government were made sensible, that the purely idiotic patients who now encumber so much the Beauport Asylum, could be safely taken care of by their relatives at home, and were made aware of their hopelessly incurable state, as well as of the injury which their presence does to the curable insane, the proprietors would be relieved of further pressure, on the part of the Government, to undertake what, professionally, they feel they ought not to do."

"I should have been glad to see the proprietors gradually removing those miserable patients, who occupy the confined cells in the gurets of their establishment, into rooms deserving the name of dormitories, instead of their being obliged to continue locking them up in such places, by continuing to receive new patients, beyond their means to accommodate them."

"Let the responsibility of this overcrowding rest where it may, I cannot but condemn the fact as it exists, and it is much to be hoped, that the present state of things may be soon put an end to."¹

A year later the inspectors as a body thus proclaimed their disapproval of what is known as the "farming out" system:—

"While the Inspectors cheerfully and thankfully admit that the Beauport Asylum has been an immense boon to the country, they cannot conceal their conviction that the principle upon which it is established is an erroneous one. The farming out of lunatics to private persons is in their opinion, as a general rule, most objectionable. In asylums supported by the State, the Medical Superintendent in charge of the institution has no interest which conflicts with the interests of the patients committed to his care. But in proprietary asylums the case is far otherwise. Here it is plainly the interest of the proprietors or contractors to spend as little as possible upon the food and maintenance of the patients, and to get as large a return as possible from them in the shape of labour; on the other hand, it is the interest of the patients that they should be fed liberally, even generously, and that they should never be expected, much less compelled, to labor harder or longer than they wish. A system can hardly be expected to work satisfactorily where the interests of the parties concerned are so essentially at variance."²

During 1865, in addition to the board of commissioners, which still continued in existence, and the board of inspectors, the government decided to assign a visiting physician to Beauport, said officer to be named by the governor-general, but paid by the proprietors. Dr. F. E. Roy was accordingly appointed to the position, but at the close of the year he became a part-proprietor of the establishment in the place of Dr. Douglas, the last survivor of the original founders, who retired. Dr. Roy was succeeded as government visiting physician by Dr. A. Jackson.

After his retirement, in January, 1866, Dr. Douglas lived for a time in a fine residence that he had erected for himself near the asylum, but, in 1875, he sold this to Dr. Landry and removed to New York, where he died.

The records of patients, as kept at this time in Beauport, were of the loosest, nor were the proprietors altogether to blame, as evidenced by

¹ Report of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for 1864, p. 58.

² Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the year 1865, p. 6.

their complaining, in their annual report for 1866, that in cases sent to them from jails they were rarely furnished with any information other than the name of the patient. This cause of complaint was stated to have existed for over twenty years, and, as a consequence, there were many patients in the asylum about whom literally nothing beyond the name was known, and not always that to a certainty. They, therefore, asked the government to insist that the jail surgeons should send a proper history of each case, setting forth duration of attack, probable cause, degree of heredity, &c., &c. This was done, the result being a great improvement in the statistical registers of the asylum.

At Confederation, the old board of inspectors ceased to exist as regarded the supervision of lunatic asylums, which became purely provincial institutions. It was replaced by a new one, appointed by the government of the province of Quebec. This was composed of three members, namely, Dr. L. L. Desaulniers, president; Henry H. Miles, Esq., LL.D., secretary; and M. Boucher de la Bruère.

On January 29th, 1875, Beauport was again visited by fire, this time unfortunately with fatal results. As before, the women's department was the scene of the conflagration, which resulted in the death of twenty-six of the inmates, and the destruction of much of the main edifice. The patients thus deprived of shelter were housed in the various outbuildings, and cottages of the employees, while the work of reconstruction was proceeded with. No time was lost, and by the end of September the building was again habitable. In reconstruction, the former plan was adhered to, but the central, or administration portion was raised to five stories, with mansard roof. Alterations and additions to the wings and rear extensions were also made whereby the outward appearance of the institution was greatly improved.

In November, 1879, the board of commissioners, in existence since the inception of the establishment, was abolished, and an additional visiting physician appointed in the person of Dr. A. Vallée.

About 1880, differences began to arise between the government, on the one hand, and the proprietors of Beauport and the more recently created St. Jean de Dieu asylum, on the other. These differences had reference to the care bestowed upon the patients by the proprietors, and the degree of governmental supervision to be exercised over the admissions. That the complaints of the government were not without cause, was clearly shown through a report made by Dr. D. Hack Tuke, of London, England. This world-renowned alienist, after visiting the asylums of the province in the summer of 1884, arraigned in no measured terms the "farming out," or contract system: the general care given the patients; the excessive amount of restraint employed; and the lack of power vested in the government visiting physicians.¹

¹ *The Insane in the United States and Canada*, by D. Hack Tuke, M.D., p. 263, London, 1885.

This exposé by Dr. Tuke led the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Montreal to pass a series of resolutions condemning the condition of the asylums, and calling upon the government to institute a thorough investigation, and to take action thereon. This was done, and in 1885 an act was passed placing the medical control of these establishments in the hands of the government, which reserved to itself the appointment of a medical superintendent and assistant physicians for each of them.² These officers, in each asylum, constituted a medical board, to which was given supreme control in all matters relating to the admission and discharge of patients. The care and treatment of the inmates were also placed under its direction, the proprietors being bound to carry out all recommendations made. By this law, Dr. A. Vallée, previously government visiting physician, became the first medical superintendent of Beauport, with Drs. Belanger and Marcis as assistants.

The resistance offered to reform by the proprietors of the two asylums was strenuous and persistent. The result was that, in September, 1887, a Royal Commission was constituted to inquire into the difficulties which had arisen in consequence of the attempt to enforce the statute, and whether it exceeded the rights which the government held under its contracts with the proprietors.

The members of this commission were Messrs. J. A. Duchesneau, J. P. Lavoie, M.D.L., and W. Rhodes, who visited Beauport asylum, October 20th. Their report was far from creditable to the authorities of that institution. The bath-rooms and privies were badly kept, dirty and without ventilation; there were numerous cells, all back to back, lighted only from the corridors by small openings in the doors, or above them; the food was deficient both in quality and quantity; all the dishes, cups, &c., were of tin, and the patients were allowed only a spoon, many of them eating with their fingers; all the wards were overcrowded, and there was no attempt at classification; restraint was in excessive use, and in some cases patients bore the marks of blows they had received; in several of the male wards the patients were dirty, scantily clothed, and in a most pitiable state, their cells were also dirty, badly aired and without light; work was not used as a method of treatment, and many of the patients never got out at all; recreation was almost a thing unknown. The commission also found that the attendants were far too few in number, averaging in the male department only one to twenty-three or twenty-four patients; in the female, one to twelve. In addition, this average was often greatly diminished, especially amongst the men, through the keepers, during the day, being employed outside the wards, which remained either without an attendant altogether, or with only one for two wards. For night service the attendance was still less. As a rule, the keepers could neither read nor write, and the wages paid were of the lowest; male attend-

² Statutes of Quebec, 48 Vict., Cap. 34.

ants receiving only eight to ten dollars per month in winter, and twelve in summer; female, four and a half to five dollars per month. One physician had charge of the patients of both male and female departments, eight hundred and eighty-four in number, and had in addition to keep the registers, and carry on the correspondence. He had no control over the employees, who were engaged and dismissed by the warden. The means of mechanical restraint in use were mittens, muffs, wristlets, waist-belts, straight-jackets of leather and cotton, and crib-beds; its employment seemed to be left entirely to the discretion of the keepers.¹

The conclusions arrived at by the commission with regard to Beauport were, that the institution was much behind those of other countries in many important details, and that the proprietors were not fulfilling the conditions of their contract with the government. On these grounds, they recommended the cancellation of the contract, the acquirement of the asylum by the government, and the commitment of its internal administration to a religious community, said commitment to be safeguarded by confining the rôle of the religieuses exclusively to the domestic and administrative management. The commission also condemned, on general principles, the "farming out" system, and enunciated the doctrine, that the medical superintendent "should be the head of the establishment, be in authority and have under his own absolute direction the medical, moral and dietetic treatment of the patients."²

The recommendation of the commission, as regarded the cancellation of the Beauport contract, was not acted upon, but steps were taken to remedy some of the graver abuses. On its expiration, however, in April, 1893, the asylum passed by purchase from the hands of its former proprietors into those of the Sisters of Charity of Quebec, with whom the government made a fresh agreement for the maintenance of the public insane at \$100 annually per head.

Under the new contract, the medical control was kept in the hands of the government, and Dr. Vallée became medical superintendent *ipso facto* as well as *ipso jure*. In the hands of this gentleman, who with his assistants, is paid by the province, was vested the entire management of the institution as regarded admissions, discharges, and all matters pertaining to treatment, both medical and moral. Dr. Vallée soon proved himself well-fitted to wield the increased powers intrusted to him. Under his directions, the sisters in 1893 in the women's building, and in 1894 in the men's, went to a large expense in making changes and improvements. The water-closet, heating and ventilating systems were completely modernized, and structural alterations made which greatly increased the comfort of the patients and the facilities for proper classification. The

¹ Report of Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums of the Province of Quebec, 1888, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

old cells in the male department, badly lighted and badly ventilated, gave place to rooms into which light and air came directly from the windows, and the whole establishment was soon placed on a much superior footing.¹ As an alienist, Dr. Vallée, who still remains at the head of the medical department of Beauport, holds modern views with regard to the necessity for clinical instruction in mental diseases to students; the great benefits to be derived from the occupation and amusement of patients; and the manifold advantages of the total abolition of mechanical restraint. His views on the last named point are thus plainly set forth in his annual report for 1894:—"Whilst striving to introduce work amongst our patients we have succeeded in causing the disappearance of all mechanical restraint. Under these circumstances, this problem was not easy to solve, for it will be admitted that it is more difficult, in an already old institution, to break away from ancient traditions than to establish at the outset a new rule of conduct in a new organization. We met with some difficulties in the beginning but they were soon smoothed over, thanks to the ingenious devotedness of the Sisters. To-day every one is so convinced of the superiority of this system over that of restraint that no one would think of returning to the latter. Where there is a case of extreme violence, they always come to us for help and advice, but there is no longer any question of straps and strait-jackets, which have moreover completely disappeared from the wards. This system necessarily demands more attention on the part of the guardians and physicians but, on the other hand, the general appearance of the different wards is so perceptibly improved that it is more than sufficient compensation."²

The present population of the Quebec lunatic asylum (Beauport) is 1,025, but the medical superintendent regards this number as more than it should accommodate. Rev. Mère Marie du Sacré Cœur is the superioress, and in charge of all the domestic arrangements, which are carried on by the sisters, who also do the nursing. Dr. Vallée informs me that in this respect one could ask for no better assistants. They make, in his opinion, ideal nurses, being enthusiastic in their work to the highest degree. The male attendants, however, he states, are still underpaid, and for this reason he has great difficulty in securing good ones.³

¹ The work of replacing the cells in the female department by similar well-ventilated and well-lighted rooms was commenced in 1896, and there are now only four wards in the whole establishment where these relics of barbarism still exist. But a little time, and it is expected that they, too, will have disappeared.

² Report of the Quebec Lunatic Asylum for the year 1894, by the Medical Superintendent.

³ On February 4th, 1896, Beauport was visited by yet another fire, this time in the centre building of the male department. Happily, on this occasion there was no loss of life. The damage done was comparatively slight, and soon made good.

ST. JOHNS ASYLUM.

As already stated, the board of inspectors of asylums and prisons, constituted in 1859, had pointed out in the strongest possible terms the greatly overerowed state of the Beauport asylum and the urgent necessity for the creation of another institution. The government, accordingly, in 1861, responded to their recommendation by proposing to convert the old military barracks at Fort St. Johns, which had been given up by the Imperial authorities to the provincial government, into an asylum for the western half of Lower Canada. To this end, Mr. J. C. Taché, one of the inspectors, and Dr. Workman of Toronto asylum, were commissioned to visit the buildings with a view to reporting what was necessary to be done in order to fit them for their new use. The visit was made, and Dr. Henry Howard of Montreal, who had been appointed medical superintendent, on June 6th, had almost completed the arrangements recommended, when the threatening prospect of a war with the United States, owing to the Trent Affair, compelled the Home government to resume the occupancy of Fort St. Johns for purposes of defence.

Under these circumstances, Dr. Howard advised that an old building in St. Johns, formerly used as a court house, the property of the government, should be made to answer for a few months as a temporary asylum for fifty patients, twenty-five of each sex. Being instructed to take immediate possession and fit it up as such, he at once set to work, and on August 27th, was able to receive eleven patients sent to him. By the end of the year the admissions had amounted to forty-eight.

The building thus occupied was an oblong, two-story, brick structure, sixty feet long by forty feet wide, which stood in rear of the new Court House.¹ It constituted the only attempt at state care that has ever been made in the province of Quebec.

The inspectors, on their first visit to the institution, styled the Provincial Lunatic Asylum, while commending the arrangements made by Dr. Howard as the best possible under the circumstances, condemned the establishment as altogether unsuited for an asylum, and quite inadequate to the wants of the province. "The present arrangement," Dr. Wolfred Nelson reported, "is a mere make-shift, and another and far more extensive establishment should be provided with the least possible delay. There are still to be provided for, hundreds of insane, scattered through the Lower Province, some in the Jails, others in charitable institutions, and not a few with their families, who have neither the means nor the appliances for their proper treatment."²

¹ The old Court House was torn down some years ago, and the site converted into the public square or garden immediately in front of the Canadian Pacific Railway station.

² Report of Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the year 1861, p. 37.

That the arrangement was indeed of the most "make-shift" character is proved by the report of Inspector Ferres, who thus comments upon it:—"The narrow passage below is the dining-room for the males, two or three boards set upon trestles being the table, and the passage upstairs, equally narrow, is a day-room and dining-room for the females. The rooms used as dormitories are filled with beds on both sides, separated about a foot from each other with a foot-path down the middle, not three feet wide. In the yard, sheds have been, with a few boards, improvised into a kitchen, a store-room and a laundry. Classification, where there is not room for the patients to move about, so crowded are they together, is of course entirely out of the question, and it is only by constant attention that the extreme cleanliness which prevails can be effected. It must, perhaps, be called an asylum, because insane people find a refuge in it, but in no other respect is the name applicable."¹

Dr. Howard laboured under great disadvantages, and one of the most serious difficulties he had to encounter was to provide for the proper washing of his patients with dirty habits. How this was overcome is best described in his own words:

"I had only one temporary bath erected in an out-house, and which could not be used in cold weather; but even had I two or three of these baths, to wash these patients as often as it was necessary, it would have been an endless task. In fact, I cannot conceive how it is possible, by the slow process of baths, to maintain cleanliness among the inmates of a lunatic asylum. Under this impression, I have lately effected a temporary arrangement, which I have found most valuable. This is a cell which, under ordinary circumstances, will answer for the confinement of an unruly patient for a couple of hours; but the purpose for which I erected it was a washing place. It is three feet square, the floor an inclined plane, terminating in a sewer which connects with a wash-pipe. In the cell the patient is placed naked; or if his clothes are very dirty, he is allowed at first to keep them on; to wash him I then use the hose of a small fire engine, by means of which he is thoroughly cleaned, and immediately after taken out and rubbed by means of a coarse towel. The water used is tepid. Not only has a great saving in time and labor been effected by this means, but I really believe that it has had the moral consequence of making the patient clean in his habits; whilst the friction on the skin with the coarse rubbers has had a most excellent effect, as every one who has been accustomed to the care of lunatics knows the peculiar and offensive exudation from the skin, and how beneficial constant washing must be. Besides which, a first ablation of this character completely removes the vermin with which many, particularly such as have been confined in jails, are literally covered."²

¹ Report of Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the year 1861, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Dr. Howard, in his first report, also speaks strongly in favour of exercise, employment, amusement, good nourishment, and kindness as the main factors in treatment, but naïvely adds:—"It must not be presumed that punishment is never resorted to for the control of the unruly and disobedient. But when deemed advisable and necessary, this consists of a few hours' confinement in a cell, or a deprivation of one meal, or both combined. It is surprising how the lunatic, even, is subdued by confinement and a hungry stomach."¹

A year later, and the inspectors again registered a complaint against the continued occupancy of this building, saying:—"This institution is still continued in the old building formerly used as a Court House, which is only 60 x 40 outside,—one story being 10 feet high, and the other gained from the roof, only 9 feet. The dormitories, with an office of most contracted dimensions, a storeroom and lavatory, occupy the whole building; the lower floor is appropriated to males, and the upper to females. There is no day-room nor dining-hall, but the former passage of the Court House is made to do duty for both. Into this space 28 males and 29 females, 57 in all, with the necessary attendants, are packed; and it is with unfeigned satisfaction that the Inspectors have it in their power to state that by the unremitting vigilance of Dr. Howard, the Medical Superintendent, and the active attention of the officers and servants, the general health of the inmates has been preserved in a good state during last year. It is impossible to convey by words an adequate idea of the miserable condition of this asylum."

"Here, as at the other asylums, the want of farming land is most severely felt. The patients have no more enjoyment or freedom out of doors than if they were convicts in a jail. They have access to the yard in rear of the old Court House, and so get into the open air, but without any opportunity for such exercise as they require. Cooped up within naked board fences twelve or fourteen feet high, they see nothing, and have nothing to soothe or cheer them; there is no variety to turn the currents of their moody reflections, no change to give a new color to their delusions."²

In the same report they gave a harrowing picture of the deplorable conditions due to the want of proper accommodation for the lunatics of the province, by stating:—

"The gaol at Montreal, which, already, can hardly suffice for the reception of the prisoners of the city alone, has been converted into a receptacle for the insane, one of the prison wards being given up, as a matter of absolute necessity, for their accommodation. At the end of the year 1862, there were in the gaol at Montreal, 21 insane persons awaiting their turn to be admitted either into the Beauport Asylum, or

¹ Report of Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for 1861, p. 129.

² *Ibid.* for 1862, p. 13.

into that at St. Johns; ten of these insane men were together in the ward just mentioned, and the other eleven, women, were allowed to mix with the other female prisoners in the gaol, to the great detriment of all." ¹

Year after year the inspectors and superintendent protested against the continued occupation of this building, but year after year it remained in use. The overcrowding, at the same time, instead of being lessened, increased. To such a degree was this carried, that, by the close of 1864, into a space far too contracted for fifty patients, as originally intended, there were actually packed sixty-four human beings. The horrible condition of affairs resulting was strikingly pointed out by one of the board, Dr. F. Z. Tassé, in 1866. By actual measurement he showed that there was but two hundred and twenty-one cubic feet of air-space for each patient, whereas the best writers on hygiene recommended that not less than eight hundred to one thousand cubic feet, or even more, should be allowed. Continuing, he stated:—"To this evil" (overcrowding) "is added the utter impossibility of providing them with employment, the recreation of walking, the sight of the country, and that variety of occupation which is the basis of all remedial agents, and which ought to be procured for them at any cost." ²

At length, the spirit of economy provoked the action which common humanity should have dictated long before. The year 1875 saw the closing of the first, and so far, the only government institution for the care of the insane in the province of Quebec. State care, in this respect at least, has from that time been a thing unknown. At St. Johns, as is certain to be the case in all small establishments, the cost of maintenance had always been much higher than at Beauport, or in any of the Ontario institutions, amounting annually to considerably over \$200 per head. On this account, the government, in 1873, accepted an offer made by the Sisters of Charity to receive the idiots, then supported at the public expense, into their hospital at Longue Pointe, and to maintain them at the rate of \$100 each per annum. This led to the removal, in that year, of thirty-four of this class who were among the inmates at St. Johns asylum. In 1875, when a like contract was made with the sisters to receive the insane, the remaining patients were transferred therefrom, and the institution was finally closed, July 20th, 1875. The medical superintendent, Dr. Howard, accompanied the patients, receiving the appointment of government visiting physician to St. Jean de Dieu asylum, and assuming duty as such, August 1st, 1875.

LONGUE POINTE ASYLUM.

L'Hospice St. Jean de Dieu, or, as it is commonly called, "Longue Pointe Asylum," from its being situated near the village of that name, is

¹ Report of Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for 1862, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, for 1866, p. 47.

the property of Les Sœurs de Charité de la Providence. It owes its origin to a wealthy, retired merchant, one Jean Baptiste Gamelin, who, in 1823, had married a Miss Emélie Tavernier. The three children born of this union dying in infancy, the worthy couple adopted an idiot child. Monsieur Gamelin, at the time of his death, which occurred in Montreal, October 1st, 1827, confided this child to the special care of his wife, in these terms:—"Continue de prendre soin de cet infortuné, en souvenir de moi et pour son amour."¹ This request was piously fulfilled by Madame Gamelin, who, in addition, consecrated her life, as well as the fortune that had been left her, to the relief of the poor and afflicted, and became the foundress of the community known as the Sisters of Providence.

From the beginning, in memory of her husband, Madame Gamelin proposed that the care of the idiotic and the insane should be one of the charitable works of the order. Consequently, in November, 1845, a little, wooden house, from the colour of its exterior called among the sisters "The Yellow House (Maison Jaune)," was appropriated as the habitation of a few lunatics. It was situated in the garden of the first establishment of the sisters, at the corner of St. Catherine and St. Hubert streets, in Montreal, and was placed in charge of Sister Assumption, *née* Brady, who is reputed to have had special tact in soothing her patients by singing hymns to them.²

The number that could be cared for in this modest retreat, the pioneer institution for the insane in the district of Montreal, was necessarily very small. In 1850, the Rev. Mère Gamelin, with Sister Ignace and Abbé Truteau, visited several asylums in the United States, their object being to examine into the management of these establishments with a view to the extension of their own sphere of usefulness. They returned fully resolved to pursue their good work on a larger scale.

The Community at this time had a farm near the village of Longue Pointe, about five miles from Montreal, known as the "Mission St. Isidore." This had been given to the sisters by the parish of Longue Pointe under certain conditions, one of which was that they should establish thereon a school for female children.³ In 1852, the parish still further assisted the order by helping it to acquire an additional property situated in the village on the banks of the St. Lawrence. To the buildings on this ground was given the name "Convent St. Isidore," and thither the sisters

¹ Notice Biographique de la Révérende Mère Gamelin, Fondatrice et Première Supérieure de l'Institut des Sœurs de Charité de la Providence, Montréal, 1875, p. 9.

² Histoire de l'Hospice St. Jean de Dieu à la Longue Pointe, par A. Bellay, Montréal, 1892, p. 7.

³ In 1851, this farm became the cradle of an institution well known in the province of Quebec, the school for deaf-mutes. It was here, at Longue Pointe, that Sister Marie de Bonsecours, of saintly memory, began to teach her first pupils. For seven years she laboured in the little school of the parish, and paved the way for the extensive establishment for deaf-mutes that now exists in the city of Montreal.

removed their school. At the same time, in order to carry out the wishes of the lamented foundress of the order, as well as to meet the urgent requests made to them from all sides, they fitted up the buildings thus vacated on the St. Isidore farm as an asylum for lunatics. To this institution they removed the patients from the "Maison Jaune," placing them in charge of Sister Praxède, afterwards one of the foundresses of the Oregon mission of the order. In October, 1852, the new establishment thus instituted was consecrated by Monseigneur Bourget, who placed it under the protection of St. Jean de Dieu. This was done in commemoration of a saint, who, confined as a madman by people incapable of comprehending the sublimity of his charity, had rewarded his persecutors by founding, at Madrid, two hospitals, for the insane and the poor.

Ignorant of the care of lunatics, and without any of the advantages for treatment to be found in modern asylums, the sisters laboured under great difficulties in their pious undertaking. Up to 1856, the number of the insane under their charge at one time was never more than seventeen to twenty. In that year, on the advice of Sister Zotique, then superior of the mission and one of the foundresses of the order, the Community decided to transfer the patients from the farm to the Convent St. Isidore. The transfer was made October 30th, 1856.

The new lodging of the lunatics was a two-story building, partly stone, partly wood, ninety-six feet long, facing the St. Lawrence, from which it was separated by a row of large trees. A corridor in the centre divided the building into two wings. In the south one were placed the patients, each of whom had a single room. The north wing was otherwise occupied.

In 1863, the sisters erected an additional structure in the courtyard of the convent, on the edge of the village street. It was connected with the main building by a covered passage way, and devoted exclusively to the insane. In constructing it the old buildings on St. Isidore farm were pulled down, and the materials used in the new edifice. With this demolition disappeared the original St. Jean de Dieu asylum, and there now remain to mark the spot where it stood only some clumps of trees and bushes, which indicate the situation of the old garden cultivated by the sisters. The convent buildings, including those used for the insane, are still in existence, and in almost the identical condition in which they were at the period of which we speak.

Notwithstanding the additions made, it was yet difficult to receive more than twenty to twenty-five patients in the convent buildings, so that it became a matter of great concern to the sisters how they should meet the ever-increasing demands made on their charity.

The parish of St. François d'Assises de la Longue Pointe, which is the full title of this noteworthy locality, had for priest at this time M. Jean Baptiste Drapeau. He was a man of sound judgment, and one who

took a deep interest in all the charitable works of the Community, but especially in those relating to the care of the insane. To him occurred the idea of a hospital for these poor creatures on a larger scale—one combining all the conditions demanded by modern science for their proper treatment. With the object of carrying out his idea, he advised the acquisition of a large demesne situated near the convent, which he thought would make an admirable site for the institution of which he dreamed. It belonged to a well-known family named Vinet, and comprised about one hundred and sixty-six arpents of land. The resources of the sisters, however, were but limited, and it was not until 1868 that they were able to accomplish this, the first instalment of the purchase money having been contributed by Mlle. Symes, afterwards Marquise de Basano. The land thus acquired was not made use of until a few years later, when, with the sanction of the legislature, the Order entered upon the work of caring for the insane on a greatly enlarged scale.

The fact that Beauport asylum was much overcrowded, and that the temporary institution created at St. Johns was not only in like condition but badly adapted to asylum purposes, had been strongly urged upon the government. In consequence, the then Premier of the province, the Hon. Gédéon Ouimet, authorized by an order-in-council, dated September 27th, 1873, entered into an agreement with the Sisters of Providence, represented by Sister Thérèse de Jésus, treasurer of the Community, whereby the latter engaged for a term of five years to receive and care for idiots of both sexes. The contract was signed, October 4th, and by November 7th the government had sent to the sisters at Longue Pointe thirty-four patients from the asylum at St. Johns, thirty-eight from Beauport asylum, and five from outside, making a total of seventy-seven.

St. Isidore convent was quite inadequate for the accommodation of this number of patients, and the sisters accordingly had to find room elsewhere, pending the erection of a new asylum which they had now decided to construct on the Vinet property. The additional room was gained by the rental of the "Hochelaga," or "Hussar Barracks," then empty. These were stone buildings which had formerly been occupied by the troops stationed in Montreal. They stood near the foot of St. Mary street, and comprised the old military hospital, the officers' quarters and the military prison.¹ Their new apartments were taken possession of by the sisters on November 7th, 1873, and, on November 30th, they celebrated their first mass therein, an altar having been erected in one of the hallways. They were devoted entirely to male patients, the convent buildings being reserved for females. The medical attendance at both

¹ A part of these buildings has been torn down, but a remnant is still standing not far from Notre Dame street, and is used as a coal-shed by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

establishments was rendered by Dr. F. X. Perreault, who began his duties, October 13th.

As one hundred and twelve was the greatest number of patients that could be provided for in the Hochelaga buildings, it soon became evident that the erection of the new asylum must be hastened as much as possible. The first question to be decided was, what plan of building should be adopted. To settle this, Sister Thérèse, with Sister Godefroy, the superior-general of the order, and Mr. B. Lamontagne, their chosen architect, visited a number of asylums in Ontario and the United States, finally selecting that of Mount Hope, Baltimore, Md., as the general model on which to construct their new establishment.

Work was begun in April, 1874, and such was the vigour with which Sister Thérèse pressed it on, that by July 20th, 1875, they were able to begin the transfer of the patients from the old barracks. Their evacuation was completed by August 14th, and shortly after the convent St. Isidore was also emptied of its inmates.

The new St. Jean de Dieu asylum consisted of a main building, one hundred and sixty-nine feet long by sixty feet wide, connected by wings ninety feet long by forty feet wide, to two other buildings, each one hundred and twenty-five feet long by forty-five feet wide. The connecting wings were five stories high, including the basement and attic; the three other buildings, six stories in height, including basement and attic. All the buildings were of brick, with cut stone trimmings and foundations.

In July, 1875, the sisters entered into a new contract with the government, represented by Premier de Boucherville, by which, for the space of twenty years, they agreed to receive and care for all insane, as well as idiotic patients, at the rate of \$100 a year for each patient sent them. The government on its part covenanted that the number of patients placed in charge of the sisters should not be less than three hundred, including those already under their care. As a result of this agreement the temporary asylum at St. Johns was closed, and the inmates transferred to the custody of the sisters, with Dr. Howard, formerly superintendent of the St. Johns institution, as government visiting physician.

Under the new arrangement, so rapid was the increase in population that, at the close of the year 1875, it had reached four hundred and eight. This rate of growth continued, and in 1884 and 1885 it became imperative to extend the already large establishment by the addition of two other wings, similar to those already in existence, making the total frontage of the structure six hundred and thirty feet.

About 1880, as already referred to in speaking of Beauport asylum, difficulties between the government and the sisters began to spring up. At one time, Dr. Howard, the government physician, represented to Sister Thérèse that in his opinion several of the patients had recovered,

and recommended their discharge. This recommendation was met by refusal. Appeal was then made to the provincial secretary, who supported Dr. Howard. The discharge of the patients was, however, still refused, and only by the exercise of the civil authority was obedience enforced. Immediately following this came the publication of Dr. Tuke's report on the asylums of Canada, in which those of Quebec were shown to contrast most unfavourably with those of the sister province of Ontario. Severe as had been Dr. Tuke's arraignment of Beauport, it was infinitely mild in comparison with his merciless criticism of the Longue Pointe institution. While thanking Sister Thérèse and others of the Community for their kindness throughout his visit, and doing full justice to the comfort and cleanliness of some parts of the asylum, he gives the following heartrending description of the attic and basement stories :

" It is impossible to convey an adequate idea of the condition of the patients confined in the gallery in the roof, and in the basement of this asylum. They constitute the refractory class—acute and chronic maniacs. They and the accommodation which has hitherto been provided for them, must be seen to be fully realized. To anyone accustomed to a well-ordered institution for the insane, the spectacle is one of the most painful character. In the course of seven-and-thirty years I have visited a large number of asylums in Europe, but I have rarely, if ever, seen anything more depressing than the condition of the patients in those portions of the asylum at Longue Pointe to which I now refer. I saw in the highest story, that in the roof, a gloomy corridor, in which at least forty refractory men were crowded together ; some were walking about, but most were sitting on benches against the wall or in restraint-chairs fixed to the floor, the occupants being secured to them by straps. Of these seated on the benches or pacing the gallery, a considerable number were restrained by handcuffs attached to a belt, some of the cuffs being the ordinary iron ones used for prisoners, the others being leather. Restraint, I should say in passing, was not confined to the so-called refractory wards ; for instance, in a lower and quieter ward, a man was tightly secured by a strait-waistcoat. Dr. Howard had him released, and he did not evince any indication of violence. It was said he would tear his clothes—a serious matter in an asylum conducted on the contract system. The walls and floor of the corridor in the roof were absolutely bare. But if the condition of the corridor and the patients presented a melancholy sight, what can be said of the adjoining cells in which they sleep and are secluded by day ? These are situated between the corridor and a narrow passage lighted by windows in the roof. Over each door is an opening the same width as the top of the door, and three to four inches in height, which can be closed or not as the attendant wishes. This aperture is, when open, *the only means* of lighting the cell. The door is secured by a bolt above and below, and by a padlock in the middle. In the door itself is a

guichet or wicket, secured, when closed, by a button. When opened, a patient is just able to protrude the head. There is, as I have intimated, no window in the room, so that when the aperture over the door is closed it is absolutely dark. For ventilation, there is an opening in the wall opposite the door, which communicates above with the cupola; but whatever the communication may be with the outer air, the ventilation must be very imperfect. Indeed, I understood that the ventilation only comes into operation when the heating-apparatus is in action. What the condition of these cells must be in hot weather, and after being occupied all night, and, in some instances, day and night, may be easily conceived. When the bolts of the door of the first cell which I saw opened were drawn back and the padlock removed, a man was seen crouching on a straw mattress rolled up in the corner of the room, a loose cloth at his feet, and he stark naked, rigorously restrained by handcuffs and belt. On being spoken to he rose up, dazzled with the light; he looked pale and thin. The reason assigned for his seclusion and his manacles was the usual one, namely, 'he would tear his clothes if free.' The door being closed upon this unfortunate man, we heard sounds proceeding from neighbouring cells, and saw some of their occupants. One, who was deaf and dumb, as well as insane, and who is designated *l'homme inconnu*, was similarly manacled. In his cell there was nothing whatever for him to lie or sit upon but the bare floor. He was clothed. Some of the cells in this gallery were supplied with bedsteads, there being just room to stand between the wall and the bed. When there is no bedstead a loose palliasse is laid on the floor, which may be quite proper. In reply to my inquiry, the Lady Superior informed me that it was frequently necessary to strap the patients down in their beds at night."

"Passing from this gallery, which I can only regard as a 'chamber of horrors,' we proceeded to the corresponding portion of the building on the female side. This was to me even more painful, for when, after seeing the women who were crowded together in the gallery, on benches and in fixed chairs, many also being restrained by various mechanical appliances, we went into the narrow passage between the pens and the outer wall, the frantic yells of the patients and the banging against the doors constituted a veritable pandemonium. The effect was heightened when the *guichets* in the doors were unbuttoned, and the heads of the inmates were protruded in a row, like so many beasts, as far as they could reach. Into this human menagerie, what ray of hope can ever enter? In one of the wards of the asylum I observed on the walls a card, on which were inscribed words to the effect that in Divine Providence alone were men to place their hopes. The words seemed to me like a cruel irony. I should, indeed, regard the Angel of Death as the most merciful visitant these wretched beings could possibly welcome. The bolts and padlocks were removed in a few instances, and some of the women were seen to be con-

fined by leathern muffs, solitary confinement not being sufficient. When such a condition of things as that now described is witnessed, one cannot help appreciating, more than one has ever done before, the blessed reform in the treatment of the insane which was commenced in England and France in 1792, and the subsequent labours of Hill, Charlesworth, and Conolly. But it is amazing to reflect that although the superiority of the humane mode of treating the insane, inaugurated nearly a century ago, has been again and again demonstrated, and has been widely adopted throughout the civilized world, a colony of England, so remarkable for its progress and intelligence as Canada, can present such a spectacle as that I have so inadequately described as existing, in the year of grace 1884, in the Montreal Asylum."

"Before leaving the asylum, I visited the basement, and found some seventy men and as many women in dark, low rooms. Their condition was very similar to that already described as existing in the topmost ward. A good many were restrained in one way or another, for what reason it was difficult to understand. Many were weak-minded, as well as supposed to be excitable. The patients sat on benches by the wall, the rooms being bare and dismal. A large number of beds were crowded together in a part of the basement contiguous to the room in which the patients were congregated, while there were single cells or pens in which patients were secluded, to whom I spoke through the door. The herding together of these patients is pitiful to behold, and the condition of this nether region must in the night be bad in the extreme. I need not describe the separate rooms, as they are similar to those in the roof. The amount of restraint and seclusion resorted to is, of course, large. Yet I was informed that it was very much less than formerly."¹

The result of this exposure, and the strenuous protests of the Montreal Medico-Chirurgical Society against the continuance of such a state of affairs, was the passage by the government of the act of 1885, and the appointment of Dr. Howard as first medical superintendent, with greatly increased powers. Dr. Perreault, who, from October 13th, 1873, had been in the employ of the sisters, was at the same time made assistant to Dr. Howard, and as such severed his connection with the Community. Associated with Dr. Perreault was Dr. E. E. Duquet.

The passage of this act served still further to embitter Sister Thérèse, who at once appointed another medical staff of her own, consisting of Drs. Durocher and Prieur. Later, this staff was increased by the addition of Dr. Bourque, while Dr. Durocher was replaced by Dr. Chagnon.

The constant efforts made to hamper the government officials in the discharge of their duties, resulted in the constitution of the Royal Commission of 1887. The report of this body with regard to Longue Pointe

¹ The Insane in the United States and Canada, by D. Hack Tuke, M.D. London, 1885, p. 193.

asylum, while giving full credit to the cleanliness of the institution, and the good food and clothing supplied the patients, showed clearly there were many points connected with the management that required radical reorganization. There was no system of classification, the asylum was overcrowded, and the attendants were too few; there was no scientific organization to utilize employment as a means of cure, and many of the patients never got outside the building from year's end to year's end; restraint, though largely given up since Dr. Tuke's visit, was still much too frequent, and was not under control of the physicians, nor was there any register kept of it. But the most blameworthy state of affairs set forth was, that while under the law of 1885 the government medical officers were constituted a part of the administrative staff of the asylum, the sisters refused to receive them as aught but visiting physicians, and formally declined to allow them to carry out the duties imposed upon them by that law, under the plea that it was a breach of their contract. They went even further and denied them the privileges they had exercised as visiting physicians prior to 1885, refused to give them any information, and forbade the keepers to answer any questions they might put to them. The government medical officers had absolutely no authority beyond the supervision of the admissions and discharges—were not even allowed to have keys by which they could enter the wards alone, but always on their visits had to be accompanied by some of the sisters.¹

On the most eminent legal advice, the commission, spite of the evil state of affairs which they recognized as prevailing, could report only that the act of 1885 did conflict with the rights of the sisters as defined by their contract with the government. In consequence, they could but suggest the repeal of the conflicting claims until the expiration of the contract, when the act as a whole might be made a part of any new agreement.

Dr. Howard, having died October 12th, 1887, was succeeded by Dr. E. E. Duquet, whose appointment was dated December 24th of that year.

Dr. Henry Howard was born in Tipperary, Ireland, in 1815, and obtained his degree from the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, London, in 1838. Coming to Canada in 1842, he first settled on Amherst Island, near Kingston, subsequently moving to that city, and later to Montreal, where he was successfully engaged in practice for many years. In 1861, as previously related, he was appointed medical superintendent of the St. Johns asylum, and transferred with the patients from that institution to Longue Pointe. Dr. Howard was a close student of mental disorders, the possessor of indefatigable energy, and both personally and professionally was highly esteemed. A few years previous to his death he was elected president of the Montreal Medico-Chirurgical Society, a position he filled with much credit to himself.

¹ Report of Royal Commission on Lunatic Asylums of the Province of Quebec, 1888, p. 30.

Like his predecessor, Dr. Duquet found all his efforts to improve the management of the institution hampered by the terms of the existing contract. He could, therefore, only resign himself to await patiently its expiration ere attempting to enforce the reforms in treatment which he clearly saw were so much needed.

On May 6th, 1890, the Longue Pointe establishment was the scene of one of the saddest calamities recorded in asylum history. About noon of that day, a fire broke out on the third story, in one of the rooms used for the storage of linen. In less than five hours the whole, immense structure, the shelter of over thirteen hundred unfortunate lunatics, was swept completely out of existence. No fewer than seventy-five patients and five sisters perished in the flames.¹

The terrible catastrophe served to arouse Sister Thérèse from a sick-bed to, if possible, more than her wonted vigour. In a few days the female patients were billeted on the different charitable institutions belonging to the sisters at Longue Pointe and in Montreal, while the men were temporarily housed in the exhibition buildings belonging to the latter place. The erection of a temporary establishment was at once commenced, the system of semi-detached pavilions being adopted. The pavilions were fourteen in number, seven being placed on each side of the main avenue leading to the ruins of the old asylum. They were two stories in height and built of wood. Each group of seven was connected together by a central, covered corridor, ten feet wide by six hundred feet long, through which ran a tramway for the conveyance of food to the different divisions. The pavilions were two hundred feet in length by forty in breadth, and each was divided, as it were, into two houses by the central corridor. By the 17th of August, little more than three months after the destruction of the asylum, these structures were sufficiently advanced to receive the female patients scattered amongst the various charitable institutions. On September 8th, the men were transferred from the exhibition buildings.

November 22nd, 1891, the Community suffered another great loss in the death of Sister Thérèse, who, though far from faultless, had proved herself a tower of strength to the Order. She was succeeded by Sister Madeleine du Sacré Cœur, whom she had long designated as the one on whom her mantle should fall.

Cléopâtre Têtu, Sister Thérèse de Jésus, was a truly remarkable woman. Intelligent, with wonderful force of character, indomitable energy and preëminent business ability, she was well fitted to found and conduct a great institution. Born at St. Hyacinthe on December 3rd, 1824, she received an excellent education with the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, who had an establishment in her native place. In

¹ The most searching inquiry failed to reveal the origin of this holocaust.

October, 1844, at the age of twenty, she entered a convent of the Sisters of Providence, and took the vows in July, 1846. Though so youthful, she was, in 1849, placed at the head of the hospital of St. Jérôme in Montreal, where she remained until 1854, when she went to Burlington, Vt., to preside over the orphanage of St. Joseph. At the end of three years' work there, her superior decided to confide a still more difficult task to her, and she was sent to a mission of the Order in Chili. This mission had been founded under peculiar circumstances. In 1852, the sisters had been invoked to establish a hospital in Oregon, and a few of them were sent to undertake the work. The voyage in those days was a long and difficult one, having to be made by way of the Gulf of Mexico and Isthmus of Panama to San Francisco. Arrived at Oregon City, the sisters found that they had had their journey for nothing, almost the entire population of the place having deserted it for the gold-fields of California. Undaunted, they started on their return voyage, which, for the sake of economy, they determined to make by way of Cape Horn. On reaching Santiago, Chili, however, they yielded to the entreaties of the bishop of that city to remain and assist in founding an asylum there. It was to complete the formation of this establishment that, in 1857, Sister Thérèse, accompanied by Sister Augustin, was sent to Chili. She completed the duty assigned to her in an admirable manner, and returned to Montreal in 1863. In 1866, she was appointed Treasurer-General of the Order, and as such made herself thoroughly conversant with all the affairs of the Community. So successful was her business administration that, when, in 1873, it was agitated that the sisters should treat with the provincial government for the creation of an idiot asylum, Sister Thérèse was designated as representative of the corporation of the Sisters of Providence. Such was her début into the great work of her busy life, the founding and establishment of L'Hospice St. Jean de Dieu. On her death, although only superior of the asylum, her body, as a special mark of honour, was placed in the space reserved for the Superiors-General of the Order in the cemetery of the convent St. Isidore at Longue Pointe.

In December, 1894, Dr. Duquet, the medical superintendent, was taken ill with pneumonia, and, worn out with the many difficulties he had been forced to encounter, was unable to withstand the attack which ended his useful life on the 19th of that month. He was succeeded by his assistant, Dr. George Villeneuve, as acting superintendent, which appointment was made permanent, April 4th, 1896.

Dr. Emmanuel Evariste Duquet was born in Ste. Philomène, Chateauguay county, Que., April 3rd, 1855. His early education was received at Beauharnois College. At the age of twenty he entered on the study of medicine, and received his degree therein from Victoria College, Montreal, in April, 1879. Immediately after graduation he started practice at Longue Pointe, and soon became well and favourably known as an exemplary

citizen and capable physician. As already stated, he was, in 1885, appointed assistant physician to the St. Jean de Dieu asylum, and later, on the death of Dr. Howard, medical superintendent. Dr. Duquet was a man of fine presence, and of fluent delivery in either French or English. He was a cheerful, generous, warm-hearted friend, possessed of broad sympathies; a learned and exceptionally cultured physician. In short, he belonged to the highest type of asylum superintendent, a fact recognized by his election, in 1889, as an associate member of the Medico-Psychological Society of Paris, and, in 1890, of the Société de Médecine Mentale of Belgium.

The contract of 1875, the cause of so much ill-feeling, having expired, a new one was made, on March 13th, 1897, between the government and the sisters. In this were incorporated all the provisions of the act of 1885, which had conflicted with the rights of the sisters as defined in the old agreement. The government physicians were thus given the supervision of the medical and moral treatment of the patients, as well as of their admission and discharge.

Under these new conditions, the state of affairs at St. Jean de Dieu asylum has been much bettered. Restraint is still used, but to a very limited degree, and occupation and amusement are recognized as valuable factors in treatment.

The institution, Dr. Villeneuve informs me, is much overcrowded, the population being no less than fifteen hundred. To supervise and treat this large establishment, of which Rev. Sister Marie Octavie is the present head, there are two staffs of physicians—one paid by the government, the other by the sisters. The former, in addition to the medical superintendent, comprises Drs. F. E. Devlin, F. X. Perreault, and C. Laviolette; the latter, Drs. E. J. Bourque, J. A. Prieur, and E. P. Chagnon.

In 1894, a new, stone building, three stories high and one hundred and fifty feet long, with accommodation for three hundred patients, was built in the midst of the ruins of the old structure. This, with the temporary pavilions, forms the present St. Jean de Dieu asylum, but the erection of an entirely new establishment was begun in 1897, and it is but a question of a little time ere, phoenix-like, the institution will have again arisen from its ashes.

The buildings now in course of construction are located on rising ground about half a mile in rear of the site of the old asylum, and occupy nearly the centre of a farm of eight hundred acres. The pavilion plan has been adopted, and every part of the establishment, which is of stone, is being made as nearly fire-proof as possible. The heating, ventilating and equipment, it is intended, shall be of the most modern, the opinions of well known experts having been taken upon all points. The estimated cost is one million dollars, and the proposed capacity, two thousand. It has been decided to call the new institution "L'Hôpital St. Jean de Dieu."

The other two proprietary asylums in the Province of Quebec are small institutions devoted to the care of idiots.

ST. JULIEN ASYLUM.

L'Hospice St. Julien, located at St. Ferdinand d'Halifax, in Megantic county, is picturesquely situated on the shore of Lake William, about fifteen miles from St. Calixte de Somerset station on the Grand Trunk Railway. It belongs to the Sisters of Charity of Quebec, who are also its directors, and was originally founded, in September, 1872, as a refuge for old women. In 1873, arrangements were made for the reception of female idiots as well. The establishment now comprises a hospital for the reception of aged and infirm women as well as those suffering from incidental maladies, and an idiot asylum. The latter is a one-storied, wooden building with mansard roof, one hundred and fifty feet long by forty-five feet wide, divided into four wards.

The first contract entered into by the government and the management of this asylum was in June, 1873, and extended over a period of ten years, the annual rate of maintenance being fixed at eighty dollars per head. In 1893, by a fresh contract made for ten years, the rate was increased to one hundred dollars. Rev. Sister Ste. Julienne is the Superior of the institution and Dr. A. Noël, government visiting physician, having been appointed such in 1888. Prior to that date he held the position of visiting physician. The present capacity of St. Julien Asylum is about one hundred, and the population about one hundred and ten.

BAIE ST. PAUL ASYLUM.

Baie St. Paul Asylum for female idiots and imbeciles was founded by the Rev. M. Amable Fafard, parish priest of St. Étienne de la Baie St. Paul, and incorporated by an act of the legislature of the province of Quebec in 1890. It is under the direction of a community of Franciscan Sisters of Charity called Les Petites Sœurs Franciscaines de Marie. The asylum is situated on a farm of one hundred and fifty acres in the village of Baie St. Paul, in Charlevoix county, and consists of two brick buildings, three stories high, one being one hundred and the other sixty-five feet long. The latter is occupied by the Community and the private boarders, the former is devoted to the idiots and imbeciles. This institution has a contract with the government for the maintenance of fifty female idiots at the rate of fifty dollars per head annually. As yet there has been no official physician appointed to it, Dr. Morin, of Baie St. Paul, acting as visiting physician, and giving his services gratuitously. Rev. A. Fafard is the managing proprietor, and Sister Anne de Jésus, the Superior.

PROTESTANT HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE.

The Protestant Hospital for the Insane, or, as it is more commonly called, Verdun Hospital, undoubtedly owes its inception to Mr. Alfred ("Fred") Perry, a well known citizen of Montreal. From a period antedating Confederation, Mr. Perry had taken a deep interest in the subject of the care of the insane, and, in the foundation of Longue Pointe asylum, had given valuable assistance to Sister Thérèse. While granting the sisters full credit for the care bestowed upon their helpless charges, he yet observed that it was merely custodial care with little or no effort to bring about recovery. This was but the natural outcome of the "farming out" system, in which the interests of proprietors and patients are at direct variance, a fact Mr. Perry was not slow to grasp. A man of strong will, with great energy and tenacity of purpose, he resolved that at least the Protestant community should be freed from a system that was a standing menace to their proper treatment, and, about 1879, began to devote himself to the task of seeing whether the existing state of affairs could be remedied.

After many interviews with various members of the government, Mr. Perry found that it would be impossible to disturb the arrangements that had been made with the sisters, and thereupon conceived the bold idea of founding a separate institution for his co-religionists. Having ascertained that the government had no objection whatever to the Protestants of the province establishing an asylum for the care of their own insane, provided it was done at their own cost, Mr. Perry straightway proceeded to call a public meeting, at which the whole subject was discussed.

At this meeting, held at the House of Refuge on Dorchester street, in 1880, Mr. Perry, in conjunction with Sir A. T. Galt, Hon. James Ferrier, Thomas Cramp, Esq., and the Rev. Gavin Lang, a well known Presbyterian divine, was appointed to take steps in the direction indicated. Several informal meetings were held by these gentlemen, with Sir A. T. Galt as chairman, and it was found that they were all, with the exception of Mr. Perry, in favour of the erection of an asylum which should be open to Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, but conducted on different principles from the proprietary establishments. Mr. Perry, however, held out staunchly for his own views, and was, in consequence, soon left to battle alone, the committee, as such, ceasing to exist. Innumerable difficulties met him in the prosecution of his scheme, but, with unflagging zeal, he continued his efforts, and on June 30th, 1881, secured, with the assistance of Mr. David Morrice, the passage of a bill entitled "An Act to Incorporate the Protestant Hospital for the Insane."¹

¹ Statutes of Quebec, 44-45 Vict., Chap. 50.

The Right Reverend William B. Bond, LL.D., Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Montreal; John Jenkins, D.D., LL.D.; Gavin Lang; George Douglas, LL.D.; George H. Wells; Henry Wilkes, D.D.; A. H. Munro; W. S. Barnes; William A. Hall, M.D.; Sir Hugh Allan; Andrew Allan; George Macrae, Q.C.; Charles Alexander; Henry Lyman; M. H. Gault, M.P.; Thomas White, M.P.; Peter Redpath; Adam Darling; Hugh McLennan; James Coristine; S. H. May; T. James Claxton; James Johnston; Alexander McGibbon; Alfred Perry; Leo H. Davidson, and such other persons, donors or subscribers, as might be or become associated with them and their successors, by this act were constituted a body corporate to found a Protestant institution for the care, maintenance and cure of the insane of the several Protestant denominations in the province of Quebec.

The act provided that all moneys raised by the Corporation, from whatever source, should be expended upon the institution and its inmates; that the general management of affairs should be invested in a Board of Governors, being Protestants and residents within the province of Quebec, said board to be composed of all life-governors,¹ twenty-four elective governors, and all properly constituted representatives of churches and national societies; that the immediate conduct of the establishment should be vested in a Board of Management, elected from the board of governors and not less than twelve in number, who should act for three years, one-third retiring annually; that a meeting of the subscribers to the institution should be called by the parties incorporated, within six months after the passing of the act, for the purpose of organizing the Corporation; and that the Corporation should, every year, within the first fifteen days of the session of the legislature, make a full return to the Lieutenant-Governor and to both Houses, showing the state of its affairs and of its receipts and expenditure.

The Corporation was also given the power to frame by-laws for the management of the affairs of the hospital and the guidance of its employees. Two hundred dollars was fixed as the sum constituting a life-governor, and ten dollars as that constituting an elective governor. The payment of a subscription of twenty dollars gave any Protestant church within the province, or any Protestant national society, the right of appointing a governor for the year for which this amount was subscribed.

In accordance with the provision in the act, a meeting of those interested was held in the Young Men's Christian Association rooms at the corner of Victoria square and Craig street, on December 20th, 1881, Mr. David Morrice presiding. A vote having been taken by ballot, the following twenty-four gentlemen were elected to the board of governors:

¹ At date of writing, the number of life-governors is about one hundred and eighty.

Mr. D. Morrice; Mr. M. H. Gault, M.P.; Rev. Gavin Lang; Dr. F. W. Campbell; Dr. J. C. Cameron; Mr. Charles Alexander; Mr. Henry Lyman; Rev. Dr. Sullivan; Dr. William Osler; Mr. Alfred Perry; Mr. L. H. Davidson; Rev. William Hall; Mr. T. J. Claxton; Mr. Thomas White, M.P.; Rev. A. B. Mackay; His Lordship Bishop Bond; Rev. G. H. Wells; Mr. Warden King; Canon Baldwin; Mr. George Macrae, Q.C.; Mr. Peter Redpath; Mr. Adam Darling; Mr. Hugh McLennan, and Mr. A. A. Ayer.¹

The general meeting having adjourned, the above board of governors assembled and appointed a committee composed of the Rev. William Hall, Dr. F. W. Campbell, Mr. T. White, M.P., Mr. Henry Lyman, and Mr. L. H. Davidson, to make a report on the matter of by-laws within thirty days, and to consider the selection of a building site.

Mainly owing to the general depression of business, public interest languished, and no action was taken by this committee, nor was anything done toward the carrying out of the act up to 1884. Mr. Perry, however, did not relax his exertions, finding an able coadjutor in the Rev. William Hall, and on April 12th of that year, at the instance of the Associated Board of Charities of Montreal, a public meeting was called and a delegation named to act in conjunction with the board of governors of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane, appointed in December, 1881.

As a result of this meeting, efforts to secure subscriptions were set on foot and a committee was appointed, with Mr. Charles Alexander as chairman, to choose a situation for the proposed institution.

An advertisement, reading as follows, was inserted in the daily newspapers: "Wanted to purchase, a farm of from one to two hundred acres in the neighbourhood of Montreal, with an ample supply of water, easy of approach by rail or main road." This secured offers of a large number of locations.²

The services of two distinguished alienists, Dr. Joseph Workman, formerly medical superintendent of the Toronto asylum, and Dr. R. M. Bucke, medical superintendent of the London asylum, were obtained to inspect the most promising of the places offered. These experts reported having examined nineteen of the proposed sites, including properties on the Lower Lachine Road, and the island below the city; at Back River, Lachute, St. Andrews, and St. Lambert. Of these they considered one known as the "Molson Farm," consisting of seventy-five acres, bordering on the river to the east of the city, the most suitable, and commented thereon as follows: "Upon the whole (weighing well all the pros and cons) we are of opinion that this site possesses less disadvantages and

¹ *Daily Witness*, Montreal, December 21st, 1881.

² Report (unpublished) of Site Committee, June 27th, 1884.

greater advantages than any other submitted to us, and while not being by any means perfect as regards picturesqueness, elevation of land, and quality of road by which it must be approached from the city, that it is still a fair site for the proposed purpose, and probably as good a one as can be obtained."¹

The choice of this property was opposed by Mr. Perry and other members of the board of governors, on the grounds that, being below the city, the water supply would be liable to contamination by the sewage therefrom, and, as situated in a purely French district, it would be less acceptable to the English-speaking Protestant community. For these reasons the location was abandoned, and for a time the selection of a site was again dropped.

The publication of Dr. Tuke's scathing denunciation of the wretched condition of the inmates of the asylums at Quebec and Longue Pointe, and the resolutions of the Medico-Chirurgical Society based thereon, once more aroused public feeling to the great need for an improved state of affairs. The result was, that soon after the passage of these resolutions, in November, 1884, a deputation, consisting of Messrs. George Hague, F. Wolferstan Thomas, and Charles Alexander, was appointed to wait upon the government for the purpose of urging a reform in the management of the insane in the province, and ascertaining what it was willing to do in the matter of the Protestants, about two hundred of whom, it was estimated, were confined in the two proprietary establishments. At this interview the members of the government stated that they were willing to do all in their power to facilitate the transfer of Protestants from Longue Pointe asylum to the proposed hospital, and agreed to lend the Corporation \$25,000, at six per cent interest, toward the erection of a building, this sum to be repaid in ten equal annual instalments, the first of which was to become due five years from the date of the loan.²

The sentiments of the government having been disclosed by Mr. Perry at a meeting of the governors, held at the *Gazette* office on April 7th, 1885, Mr. Charles Alexander in the chair, it was resolved: "That the following gentlemen be appointed Provisional Directors of the institution, and are hereby authorized to solicit subscriptions for such sums of money as may be required to purchase land, and for the erection and furnishing of the necessary buildings for establishing the contemplated hospital, viz., Right Reverend Bishop Bond, Rev. George H. Wells, Rev. Dr. Stevenson, Rev. J. Edgar Hill, Rev. J. E. Norton, Charles Alexander, M. H. Gault, M.P., Richard White, Dr. F. W. Campbell, Dr. John Wanless, Adam Darling, L. H. Davidson, Alderman J. C. Wilson, Alderman

¹ Report (unpublished) of Drs. Workman and Bucke on Location of Site for Protestant Hospital for Insane, August 7th, 1884.

² Annual Report (unpublished) of the Governors of the Protestant Hospital for Insane for the year 1880.

W. D. Stroud, Alderman Richard Holland, F. Wolferstan Thomas, J. C. McLaren, Henry Lyman, A. F. Gault, William Drysdale, Alfred Perry, George Hague, and Rev. W. S. Barnes."¹

It was further resolved that Bishop Bond, Charles Alexander, J. C. Wilson, Henry Lyman, W. D. Stroud, Alfred Perry, Richard White, Adam Darling, Richard Holland, and Rev. W. S. Barnes should constitute a committee to select a site and enter into arrangements with the government for a loan not to exceed \$30,000. Three members of this committee were to form a quorum, and power was given to elect a secretary, obtain a suitable office, and enter into correspondence with kindred institutions in order to obtain information as to the establishing and proper working of the hospital. At the same time, Mr. F. Wolferstan Thomas was appointed treasurer, and Mr. L. H. Davidson, legal adviser.

At the next meeting of the board of directors, held at the residence of Bishop Bond, on June 6th, the first president of the Corporation was elected in the person of His Lordship the Bishop. Mr. Charles Alexander was selected as vice-president, and Mr. Edward Hollis was appointed secretary. Notice was also given that an office had been rented at 242 St. James street (between McGill and Dollard streets) at \$50 a year, and that a table and other furniture with some stationery had been procured.

A letter from Mr. H. J. Lyall was then read. It offered a building three-quarters of a mile from Sorel, known by the name of Lincoln College, with thirty-seven acres of land attached, as a location for the hospital, at a cost of \$33,000. This edifice, a four-story, stone structure, had been erected in 1875 for a body of secular priests, who had formed themselves into a corporation under the title "Le Collège du Sacré Cœur de Sorel." Opened by them in 1876, it had been closed again in 1878, and was then held by Mr. Lyall, who had bought it with the idea of founding a school therein.² The site committee was instructed to inspect the establishment with a view to ascertaining its suitability for the purpose required.

The report presented by this committee was that, at an estimated cost of \$55,000, it could be purchased and arranged for the reception of two hundred and fifty patients.³ The distance of the property from the city and its inaccessibility in winter were urged against its purchase, but despite these manifest drawbacks, steps were being taken to complete the bargain when Mr. Lyall informed the directors that he had been advised to keep on his school, though he was still open to an offer. The consequence was that all idea of its purchase was abandoned.

¹ Minutes of Meeting held April 7th, 1885.

² This building, vacant since 1888, was last year purchased by Les Frères de la Charité, who have reopened it as a commercial college.

³ Report (unpublished) of Committee on Inspection of Lincoln College, Sorel, June 12th, 1885.

The next site considered was one known as the "Wanless Farm," which consisted of two hundred acres situated in the Parish of Pointe aux Trembles, about six miles east of the city. The distance of this property was also held to be too great, especially as it could not be reached by rail, and negotiations for its purchase likewise fell through.

A number of other sites were examined by the committee, which finally decided to report in favour of one called the "Hadley Farm," owned by Mr. J. B. Caverhill, consisting of one hundred and ten acres on the Lower Lachine Road, the price of which was \$18,000. On the presentation of their report it was resolved by the board, at a meeting held February 20th, 1886, to submit a memorial to the government in order to ascertain how far it would assist in the project. In this memorial it was set forth, that inasmuch as the Legislative Assembly had agreed to make the Corporation a loan of \$25,000 toward the creation of a hospital, and that a site had now been determined upon, it would greatly facilitate the collection of further funds, were the governors in a position to announce that an arrangement had been entered into with the government whereby the care of the Protestant insane would be entrusted to them as soon as they were prepared to receive them. As a basis for a contract to be entered into, the Corporation therefore submitted the following: 1st. That the government should pay for public patients at the rate of \$135 each per annum. 2nd. That as soon as the hospital was completed the government should cause all the Protestant insane, then confined in any asylum in the province, to be transferred to the new establishment, and that, thereafter, all persons other than those of the Roman Catholic religion becoming insane should be sent there. That if there were anything in the current contracts to prevent the withdrawal of Protestant patients from the existing establishments unless their places were filled by others, the government should from time to time, as committals of Roman Catholics were made, transfer a Protestant or Protestants to the Corporation's hospital, until all of such faith so confined should have been transferred. 3rd. That if in any year the cost of running the institution, plus the interest on any loans and ten per cent. reserved as a sinking-fund, did not amount to the average sum of \$135 per patient, then, such sum only as the cost and expenses amounted to should be paid by the government. 4th. That the Corporation on its part should undertake to receive the patients sent to its hospital, and to provide all suitable accommodation, care and attendance necessary, and otherwise to comply with the provisions of law applicable to them.

On March 24th, the following reply from the Provincial Secretary was laid before the Board:

"QUEBEC, 17th March, 1886.

"SIR,—

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 20th ultimo, transmitting the Memorial of the Directors of the Protestant

Hospital for the Insane, and have to inform you that I have submitted the same for the consideration of my Colleagues. So long as the Contract system for the cure of our Insane, and Idiots, prevails in the Province, we see no objection to informing you, if it will facilitate the operations of your Board of Directors, that the Government, whenever it be established by the Report of one of the Inspectors of Asylums that proper buildings have been erected, with all the necessary appliances for the reception of the Insane, will be prepared to enter into a Contract with your Corporation upon the following, or, a somewhat similar, basis :

"That such Institution shall be subject at all times, and in all its parts, to the most thorough and rigid inspection by the Government Inspector, and also to existing laws, rules, and regulations, as well as to those which may hereafter, from time to time, be adopted, with reference to Insane Asylums.

"That as to the price to be paid, while in one Institution, that of Beauport, the Government is paying under the existing Contract one hundred and thirty-two dollars per year, which is thought by some to be too high, and in the other, one hundred dollars per year for each patient, which is thought by others to be too low ; possibly a medium price, say one hundred and sixteen dollars, would be considered a fair and reasonable price for each insane person admitted into your Institution, and eighty dollars per year for each idiot, as is paid at St. Ferdinand d'Halifax. Your Act of Incorporation and your Memorial show that your efforts are directed from charitable motives, and not with a view to realizing a profit.

"The Government cannot undertake the obligation of transferring the Protestant Insane, who are now at Beauport or Longue Pointe, to your Institution. Up to the present the relatives and friends of patients have selected themselves the Asylum to which they wish them to be sent, and we think that it would be better to allow them still to have that option.

"Allow me to express the hope that the above will meet the views, and assist the efforts of your Corporation."¹

"I have the honor to be,

"Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) W. BLANCHET,

"Secretary.

"Edward Hollis, Esq.,

"Secretary,

"Protestant Hospt. for Insane,

"Montreal."

After a lengthy discussion, it was decided that the communication read did not meet the expectations of the directors, as it had been distinctly understood that all Protestant patients confined in the Longue Pointe asylum, if not Beauport, were to be transferred to the contemplated institution, when prepared to receive them. The price to be paid for each patient was also understood to be \$130. It was, therefore, resolved that a deputation, composed of the President, His Lordship Bishop Bond, and Messrs. G. Hague, T. Wolferstan Thomas, Charles Alexander, Richard White, I. H. Davidson, W. D. Stroud and Alfred Perry, should wait upon the government at Quebec, on April 1st, to express the views of the meeting.

At a subsequent assembly of the directors, held April 9th, the deputation presented a report to the following effect :

"That they had an interview by appointment on Thursday, 1st inst., with the following member of the Government : Hon. J. J. Ross, Premier ; Hon. J. Blanchet, Provincial Secretary ; Hon. W. W. Lynch, Commissioner of Crown Lands ; Hon. E. J. Flynn, Commissioner of Railways. The deputation pointed out :

"1. That unless a minimum number of patients were placed with an institution it would be impossible to carry it on with efficiency, unless at such an expense as would practically be prohibitive.

"2. That the lowest minimum might be considered as 100.

"3. That all the arrangements of the Committee had been on the general understanding (stated to have been arrived at with the Government) that the Protestant patients in the Longue Pointe Asylum should be placed in the new asylum when erected and properly equipped. The number of such patients was stated to be about 150.

"4. The deputation further pressed upon the Government the reasonableness of a more liberal rate of remuneration than they had proposed, and asked that it be raised to \$132 per head, at least for the first five years ; also, that the interest on the proposed loan should be made at 5 per cent, inasmuch as money could be borrowed, on good mortgage security, at that rate.

"The members of the Government, having heard their statements, replied as follows : As to the first and second, they admitted the reasonableness of the views urged by the deputation.

"As to the third, they stated that it had always been their intention, and was now, to do whatever lay in their power, in good faith, to facilitate and bring about the transfer of Protestant patients from Longue Pointe to the new asylum, but they could not undertake to overrule the express wishes of the friends, or guardians, of such patients, should these friends prefer to let the insane in their charge still remain at Longue Pointe. With this reservation the Government would take measures to meet the views of the Directors with regard to placing the minimum

number named of Protestant patients under their care, whenever a properly equipped asylum was ready for them. With regard to remuneration for patients, and a lower rate of interest, the Government were willing to reconsider these points."¹

After hearing this report, the meeting resolved that it be received and adopted, that the committee be continued, and that they be requested to forward a copy of the report to the government, and embody such reply as they might obtain in a communication to the board, to be made the basis on which to formulate an appeal to the public for funds in aid of a Protestant insane asylum.

An answer was presented to the board on May 14th. It was to the effect that the government agreed to provide a minimum of one hundred patients, provided the friends of such patients would agree to their being placed in the new hospital; that the annual rate of payment for insane patients should be \$116, and for idiots, \$80; that inasmuch as loans made to Longue Pointe and Beauport asylums carried six per cent interest, that to the Protestant institution must be at the same rate, since any reduction thereon might lead to a demand for a similar reduction on the part of the other two establishments; that before the loan was made it must be shown to the satisfaction of the government that sufficient funds were at command to pay for the land, and to erect and furnish the buildings; that before authorizing the admission of any patients, the government must be perfectly satisfied with the building, its interior accommodation, furnishings and attendants, in every particular; and that it should be absolutely imperative on the corporation that the hospital should be under the provisions of the provincial laws in force, or that might thereafter be in force, as respected management, supervision, &c.²

This letter having been thoroughly discussed, a committee was named to make preliminary inquiries as to the cost of a suitable building and appliances, as well as the expense of management, and prepare a prospectus based thereon to be submitted to the directors.

At the next meeting of the board, this committee reported the probable cost as in the neighbourhood of \$100,000, and presented a prospectus which they had prepared appealing to the public to raise that sum. In this, which at a subsequent meeting was ordered to be printed and distributed throughout the province, were described the work already accomplished, the then position of the corporation, and the terms offered by the government.

Affairs being now in shape, it was resolved that a vigorous canvass for subscriptions should be inaugurated, and that a meeting of all qualified members should be summoned at an early date to elect a regular Board of Governors and its officers (in place of the Provisional Director-

¹ Minutes of meeting held April 9th, 1886.

² *Ibid.*, May 14th, 1886.

ate) for the management of the hospital, in compliance with the act of incorporation, and to make the necessary by-laws, rules and regulations for the guidance of the same.

In accordance with this resolution, at a meeting held in December, 1886, a new board of governors was duly elected. At the same meeting, Mr. George B. Burland was made president in the place of His Lordship Bishop Bond, who had expressed a wish to be released from the duties of the office on account of the many official functions connected with his diocese. Mr. Burland continued to fill the presidency up to the summer of 1888, when, a disagreement having arisen between himself and some of the other governors, he resigned. The position was refilled on December 27th following by the election of the Hon. J. K. Ward.

There was at this time a piece of land known as the "Leduc Farm," situated on the Upper Lachine road, which belonged to the government. This farm, it was thought by some of the governors, might answer as a site for the proposed hospital, and there was, moreover, a possibility of its being obtained as a gift from the ministry. To this end, on February 4th, 1887, a deputation waited upon the premier, the Hon. Honoré Mercier. The suggestion, that the property should be granted as a site for the hospital, was favourably received, and a promise made of a definite answer at an early date. In the meantime, a committee, appointed to examine the location in question, reported that it was too small for the purpose contemplated, comprising only forty acres, and also that there was no water supply on it, and no convenient means of obtaining the same, and was in consequence quite unsuitable.

A petition was, therefore, presented to the government asking whether, in view of these facts, it would be willing, in order to give effect to its intention to assist in the establishment of an institution for the Protestant insane, to donate the farm to the corporation so that it might be disposed of, and the proceeds devoted to the purchase of a site elsewhere.¹

In answer to this petition, Mr. Mercier, after consulting his colleagues in the government, agreed to grant the corporation, in lieu of the Leduc Farm, a free gift of \$10,000, the sum at which that property was valued.² He furthermore agreed to make the board of governors a loan of \$15,000 for ten years at five per cent interest, payable in five annual instalments, the first of which should become due in five years from the date of the loan. A condition attached to these agreements was,

¹ Draft Memorial (unpublished) to Government *re* Leduc Farm, February 23rd, 1887.

² This farm having been subsequently disposed of by the government for \$18,000, Mr. Mercier generously placed to the credit of the hospital the extra amount received less charges, to wit, a sum of \$7,821.20.

that neither of the sums mentioned should be paid over to the corporation until the land required for the asylum had been purchased.¹

The estimated sum required to purchase a property and erect a building suitable for two hundred patients was \$125,000, and this welcome aid from the government induced the board of governors to make a fresh appeal to the Protestant population of the province. By the close of the year 1887 the additional subscriptions amounted to \$58,139.82, making a total of \$68,139.82.²

On May 30th, 1887, the Hadley Farm, selected by the site committee in the spring of 1886, was finally purchased for the sum of \$18,000. Situated in the municipality of Verdun, whence the name by which the hospital is often designated, just at the foot of the Lachine Rapids, the location chosen was an admirable and extremely picturesque one. The mountain rising behind crowned with green woods, its lower slopes dotted with villas; the mighty St. Lawrence, with its timbered islands, stretching in front; and the dancing rapids, with their musical roar, in such close proximity, made a prospect of scenic beauty difficult to surpass.

Plans and specifications for a building to accommodate two hundred and fifty inmates, the cost not to exceed \$80,000, were advertised for in the Montreal, Toronto, and London (Ont.) newspapers. Those prepared by Messrs. J. W. & E. C. Hopkins, of Montreal, as most nearly approaching the conditions of the advertisement, were approved of. A condition of the approval was, that a committee of governors, accompanied by one of the architects, should visit some of the principal asylums in the United States, and any improvement in the plans suggested by this visit should be incorporated in them.

The highest level of the property having been selected as the position for the building, the work of excavation was begun in June, 1888. While this was being done, tenders were obtained for the different portions of the structure, but before the consideration of these was entered upon, the finance committee was asked for a report on the state of the funds and the future prospects for further subscriptions. This was in accordance with a resolution of the board, passed February 15th, 1888, "That no contract be given for building operations until at least ninety thousand dollars shall have been subscribed, and an amount of not less than fifty thousand dollars be at credit." The report of the finance committee was that: "In view of the present circumstances of the Corporation, and the prospects of further support, it is the opinion of the Committee that the resolution of the Board, of the 15th February last, has been virtually complied with, and that the erection of the necessary buildings may be

¹ Report (unpublished) of committee appointed to interview the government, April 9th, 1887.

² Report of the Governors of the Protestant Hospital for Insane for the year 1887.

prudently proceeded with, provided the tenders receive the approval of the Governors."¹

The officers of the corporation at the time building operations commenced were as follows :²

President—G. B. Burland, Esq.

First Vice-President—Henry Lyman, Esq.

Second Vice-President—W. D. Stroud, Esq.

Treasurer—F. Wolferstan Thomas, Esq.

Honorary Secretary—John Wanless, M.D., I.F.P.S., Glasgow.

Honorary Counsel—L. H. Davidson, M.A., D.C.L., Q.C.

Chairman, Finance Committee—George Hague, Esq.

Chairman, Building Committee—Alderman William Kennedy.

Chairman, Grounds and Equipment Committee—Alfred Perry, Esq.

Chairman, Subscription Committee—Rev. Samuel Massey.

General Secretary—Edward Hollis.

By the close of the year 1888 considerable progress had been made in the work, although the weather had been most unfavourable for building operations. Subscriptions, however, had come in but slowly, and there still remained a sum of \$29,645.58 to be raised in order to cover the contracts actually entered into. This sum, moreover, did not provide for the expense of furnishing, laying out of grounds, purchase of farm implements, &c. The board, therefore, appealed to the general Protestant public for additional help to complete the work.³

A reason, which probably accounted, in part at least, for this paucity of subscriptions, was an attempt to prevent the construction of the hospital on the site selected. Opposition to its erection thereon was made by some of the neighbouring proprietors. This, after the service upon the board of several protests, culminated in a suit against the corporation by Messrs. John Crawford and Henry Hadley, residents of Verdun, on July 28th, 1888. In pleading, it was asked that for the reasons set forth in their declaration, the corporation "should be ordered to desist from erecting and maintaining on said site their proposed asylum or hospital, and be perpetually enjoined not to proceed further with their said undertaking."

The chief grounds on which the plaintiffs based their demands were : that the erection of the building and the maintenance and carrying on of an asylum on the site chosen constituted a public nuisance, and was a source of injury and damage to them, decreasing the value of their property, especially as sites for villas and elegant dwellings ; and that they, the plaintiffs, would be exposed to constant annoyance, inconvenience, and

¹ Report (unpublished) of Finance Committee, July 9th, 1888.

² Report of Governors of Protestant Hospital for Insane for the year 1887.

³ Annual Report (unpublished) of Board of Governors of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane for the year 1888.

danger, with great risk of disease through the contamination of the air and the pollution of the Rivers St. Lawrence and St. Pierre by the sewage from the hospital.

The board of governors, believing there was no foundation in fact for the complaint, and being advised by their honorary counsel, Mr. J. H. Davidson, that in his opinion the plaintiffs could not, at that stage of the undertaking at least (if at any time) maintain the said action, instructed defence to be filed on behalf of the corporation. This was done, and the case specially tried in the Superior Court before the Honourable Mr. Justice Jetté, the present lieutenant-governor of the province, on the 11th of December, 1888. After the examination of some seventy-five witnesses, argument was fixed for January 11th, 1889, the result being that the action was dismissed with costs.¹

The case was then carried by the plaintiffs to the Court of Appeal, where, on March, 21st, 1891, judgment was rendered by Chief Justice Sir A. A. Dorion sustaining the decision of the Superior Court and dismissing the appeal. Leave to carry it to the Privy Council was moved for and granted, but this step was never taken, the plaintiffs withdrawing the case and paying all costs.

In spite of this litigious opposition the work of construction proceeded steadily onward during 1889, and by the spring of 1890 the administration building and west wing, all that the funds of the corporation permitted them to erect at that time, were completed. Dr. Thomas J. W. Burgess, assistant superintendent of the Hamilton asylum, and previously assistant superintendent of the London asylum, a pupil and godson of Dr. Joseph Workman's, was chosen as medical superintendent, and took charge of the institution on May 1st, 1890.²

At this period, the financial position of the management, owing to the fact that the expenditure had been much in excess of what had been calculated upon, was an extremely strained one. So much so was this the case that but for the help accorded by the President, Hon. J. K. Ward, Mr. James Shearer, Mr. Robert Reid, and a few others amongst the

¹ Annual Report (unpublished) of Board of Governors of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane for the year 1888.

² The officers and board of management at the date of opening the hospital were as under:

President, Hon. J. K. Ward; First Vice-President, Charles Alexander; Second Vice-President, John H. R. Molson; Honorary Treasurer, F. Wolferstan Thomas; Honorary Secretary, Dr. John Wanless; Honorary Counsel, Dr. L. H. Davidson, Q.C.; Secretary, Edward Hollis. Board of Management—His Lordship Bishop Bond, Rev. James Barclay, James Brown, John Black, Rev. Dr. Cornish, M. Davis, Walter Drake, W. S. Evans, George Esplin, William Euard, M. Goldstein, George Hague, William Kennedy, Henry Lyman, James Moore, James McBride, Collin McArthur, Alfred Perry, William Rutherford, William Reid, R. G. Reid, Robert Reid, Rev. Dr. Shaw, James Shearer, I. H. Stearns, E. E. Shelton, J. C. Watson, Mrs. Dow, Miss Dow, Miss Ethel Frothingham, Mrs. John H. R. Molson, Mrs. R. G. Reid, Mrs. Robert Reid, Mrs. F. Wolferstan Thomas, Mrs. J. K. Ward.

governors, who became personally responsible for some \$20,000 of indebtedness, the hospital would in all probability have come to an untimely end. To cover this deficit, complete the furnishing of the building, and meet the running expenses, a further sum was borrowed from the government, making the total liability of the corporation thereto \$50,000.

The first patient was received into the hospital on July 15th, 1890, and before the end of that year there had been one hundred and thirty-nine admissions. Fifty-eight of these, thirty-nine men and nineteen women, came from Longue Pointe asylum. No patients were received from the Beauport institution at this time, inasmuch as by the terms of its contract with the proprietors, the government had no power to remove any of the inmates therefrom, unless recovered. In 1894, however, this contract having expired, a number of the Protestant insane were transferred to Verdun. One of these had been a resident of the Quebec asylum over forty-eight years.

Among the most momentous questions in the conduct of the hospital now became the maintenance of indigent patients, and on February 2nd, 1891, an agreement for their support was entered into between the corporation, represented by the Hon. J. K. Ward, and the government, represented by the Hon. Charles Laugelier, provincial secretary. By this agreement, which was for a period of five years dating from the opening of the hospital, the government undertook to pay for all Protestant public patients at the rate of \$116 per annum, the province to assume and retain the absolute control of the medical service, with the understanding that it would appoint such physicians as the corporation might recommend, provided they had the necessary qualifications. Under these conditions, the medical superintendent, Dr. Burgess, became and remains a government official.

Another essential article in the agreement was that the government undertook to maintain the Protestant character of the institution, secured by its act of incorporation, and that the powers, rights and privileges conferred upon the hospital and its board of governors by the said act should not be impaired in any respect by the contract.¹

The agreement thus made was the subject of much heated discussion amongst the members of the board of governors, some of whom maintained that it was but a continuance of the "farming out" system, which it had been the foremost idea of the founders to terminate. It was held by the majority, however, that inasmuch as by the charter of incorporation all moneys received from whatever source must be applied to the support of the hospital and the care of the inmates, there could be no suspicion of an attempt on the part of any one to make a revenue out of the patients, which was the essential element in the decried system. Moreover, under the terms of the contract, the medical control was vested

¹ Annual Report of the Protestant Hospital for Insane for the year 1890, p. 23.

in the government, whose officer, in the person of the medical superintendent, had the prescribing of all treatment, medical, moral, dietetic and hygienic; the hiring and dismissal of all attendants and the regulation of the number of such to be employed; and the power to order any alteration he might see fit in the buildings that would tend in any way to the betterment of the condition of the patients.

By the end of 1891, Dr. Burgess reported that his male public wards were filled, and that to strive to crowd more patients into them would be doing an injustice to those already in residence. For this reason, and to enable him to make a better classification of the inmates, he urged the construction of the east wing at the earliest possible moment, saying: "In the matter of proper classification, one of the most important features of modern hospital treatment, we are sadly handicapped by the lack of a sufficient number of wards. In eight corridors we have to provide accommodation for men and women, public and private patients. Ere it can be a *hospital* proper, our institution must admit of as broad a classification as is consistent with safety and reasonable economy.

"To associate quiet and orderly patients with the violent and noisy,—the filthy and destructive with the cleanly and tidy,—the dangerous with the harmless,—and the suicidal with those who can be trusted, detracts much from the prospects of recovery. The delusional insane, intelligent in every respect than on a few points, should not be compelled to mix with the demented and imbecile; the infirm, requiring the added comforts of an infirmary ward with plenty of air and sunshine, should not occupy the same rooms as those physically strong; the convalescents, who need rest and quiet, should not be compelled to bear the sight and sound of acutely excited patients. Especially should demented (wet and dirty) patients be provided with separate accommodation. To scatter such through the general wards lowers the tone of all the wards, and is, to say the least, unpleasant to other patients, many of whom are hypersensitive. This class, often requiring to be fed by hand, demanding frequent bathing with changes of clothing and bedding, in short having to be treated like helpless children, should be placed where they can receive special attention day and night.

"For patients fitted for it, the cottage system, with its general atmosphere of home-like comfort, offers advantages that no ordinary ward can supply.

"Given the Hospital completed by the erection of the other wing and one or two cottages, we would be in a position to look for the best results, which, as at present constituted, we cannot even hope for."¹

On April 23rd, 1892, a deputation, composed of the undermentioned governors, waited upon Hon. John S. Hall, Provincial Treasurer; Hon.

¹ Second Annual Report of the Medical Superintendent of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane, being for the year 1891.

J. K. Ward, F. Wolferstan Thomas, Robert Reid, Rev. Dr. Douglas, George Hague, R. L. Gault, James Crathern, Samuel Finley, S. H. Ewing, James McBride, Rev. W. Hall, Dr. J. Wanless, Charles Alexander and Alfred Perry. The object of this deputation was to present a petition to the following effect, which was done by Mr. Thomas :

" To His Honour the Lieutenant Governor in Council, Province of Quebec.

" We, your petitioners, the Governors and Subscribers of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane, desire to place before you a statement of the position of the institution, and in so doing, approach you in full confidence that immediate action will be taken by the Government to assist us in placing it on a sound and workable basis.

" That portion of the hospital set apart for men is full to repletion, and the resident Medical Superintendent has notified us that he is under the necessity of refusing admission to patients of that class until additional accommodation is provided.

" To meet this we see no remedy but to erect the eastern wing as originally contemplated, but this cannot be done unless the Government comes to our assistance. At present, we are, by agreement entered into with the Province, bound to receive all Protestant patients, care and provide for them, in accordance with a detailed schedule supplied by the Government, for the sum of \$116 each per annum. That agreement expires in 1895. We have under the supervision of your Medical Officer, furnished for the use of inmates, each and everything therein stipulated for, and we find the cost for doing this amounts to \$207.36, showing an annual deficiency of \$91.36 per patient. We have no data to enable us to compare the efficiency of the treatment in the Verdun Hospital with that of other institutions in the Province, but, from the Medical Officer's report to the Government, it will be seen that 52.55 per cent of the number of admissions to the Hospital during the past year have been discharged.

" The Governors feel persuaded that, by a compliance with this petition, the building can be completed as originally contemplated and the institution maintained at a cost of \$155 per head—a low rate as compared with similar institutions in Ontario and the United States.

" In pursuance of the foregoing presentment, and having in view the placing of the institution upon an efficient and permanent basis, your petitioners respectfully submit—

" 1. That the Hospital be empowered to issue debentures, having a currency of twenty years, to the extent of \$150,000—in sums of \$500 and \$1,000 respectively—bearing interest at a rate to be agreed upon, payable semi-annually ; to be secured by a first mortgage on the property of the institution.

"2. To enable the Governors to negotiate the said bonds on the most favourable terms, both principal and interest should be guaranteed by the Province.

"3. From the first proceeds of the sale of the said bonds, the sum of \$50,000 be applied to the discharge of the present mortgage debt now held by the Province.

"4. To secure the proper disposition of the balance remaining to the satisfaction of the Government, it is proposed to appropriate \$25,000 in defraying the present floating debt of the Institution, the remainder to be expended in the erection of the required buildings, with their necessary furnishings, the laying out and embellishment of the grounds.

"5. It will be obvious to the Government that they will be amply secured for the payment of the semi-annual interest, by deducting the same from the quarterly amounts accruing to the Hospital from the maintenance of indigent patients.

"Should the Government accede to this proposition, we agree and bind ourselves to erect forthwith the proposed eastern wing to accommodate 200 additional inmates, also the requisite barns, stables and farm buildings.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."¹

After hearing the petition read, Mr. Hall spoke in the highest terms of the excellent work that was being accomplished by the hospital, and promised a favourable consideration of the requests. Inasmuch, however, as the government had been pleased to ask for some guarantee that the hospital would not be closed at any time, a meeting of the citizens of Montreal was called for June 6th, 1892, to emphasize the position of the governors and bring influence to bear on the government to grant the petition.

In response to this call, a large and representative gathering assembled in the Mechanics' Institute, St. James street, on the appointed day, the Rev. Dean Carmichael presiding. The following resolution, moved by Hon. Justice Lynch and seconded by Mr. James Crathern, was put and carried unanimously: "That this meeting, having taken communication of the memorial on behalf of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane, desires to urge in the strongest possible terms on the Government of this Province the granting of its requests. They do so, feeling that it can be acceded to without any unfair or undue burden on the finances of the Province. Such an Institution is not only a benefit to the Protestant minority, whose needs it is expressly intended to serve, but has already proved of great value to the community in the stimulus it has given to improved methods in caring for the insane, and we pledge ourselves, in so far as we can do so, the Protestant minority in this Province, to use all proper means to continue to maintain it in its present effi-

¹ *Daily Witness*, Montreal, April 6th and 25th, 1892.

ciency without further appeal to the Provincial Government." After the passage of this resolution, addresses were made by Sir Donald A. Smith (now Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), Mr. W. W. Ogilvie, Mr. F. Wolferstan Thomas, Mr. Jonathan Hodgson, Mr. George Hague, Dr. T. G. Roddick, Mr. Richard White, Mr. Henry Lyman, Dr. Campbell and others. Before the close of the proceedings, the undermentioned delegates were selected to go to Quebec and express to the government the sentiments of the meeting: Hon. J. K. Ward, Mr. Charles Alexander, Mr. F. Wolferstan Thomas, Mr. Robert Reid, Mr. Alfred Perry, Mr. G. W. Stephens, Mr. George Hague, Mr. A. F. Gault, and Mr. S. Finley.¹

The issue of the debentures having been agreed to by the government on the proposed terms, plans for the new wing were prepared by Messrs. Wright & Son, architects, of Montreal. The tenders called for placed the cost of the proposed addition at \$40,571, and work was commenced forthwith in the autumn of 1892.

Through the generosity of Mr. John H. R. Molson, the hospital during the same year, 1892, was enabled to erect a gymnasium, attached to which was a bowling-alley and curling-rink. Other improvements made were the construction of new farm-buildings and the laying of a main sewer from the laundry to the river.

In the following year, the old farm-cottage at the front of the grounds was converted into a very picturesque entrance-lodge, and the electric fire-alarm system was introduced throughout the establishment.

In 1894, the new wing was finished, furnished, and occupied, thus somewhat relieving the congested condition of the old wards. Facilities for classification were, however, still limited, and the payment of the interest on the \$150,000 of bonds, amounting to \$6,750 yearly, was a very serious charge on the management, the more especially as the sum paid for the support of public patients fell considerably short of the cost of their maintenance. In connection with these matters, the board had an interview by appointment with the provincial secretary in the summer of that year. At this interview, the Hon. Mr. Pelletier stated that the government fully recognized the fact that the rate paid by it was inadequate, and intimated that on the expiration of the then existing contract, in July of the following year, this would be remedied. He also stated that the question of aid in the erection of a separate building for idiots and the chronic, troublesome insane, either by appropriation or the guaranteeing of an additional loan, would be favourably considered. In accordance with this statement, the government, in 1895, in lieu of an increase in the rate of maintenance, agreed to assume the payment of the interest on \$185,000 for three years. This sum included the \$150,000 worth of bonds already issued, and a further issue to the extent of \$35,000 on similar conditions. By this agreement

¹ *Montreal Herald*, June 7th, 1892.

the rate of maintenance was virtually increased to \$150 per patient annually, the sum which the governors had asked. With the \$35,000 was to be erected a separate building for one hundred imbecile and violent patients. Plans having been prepared by Messrs. Taylor & Gordon, the construction of this building, known as the "Annex," was begun in the spring and completed in the fall of 1896, at a cost of about \$30,000.

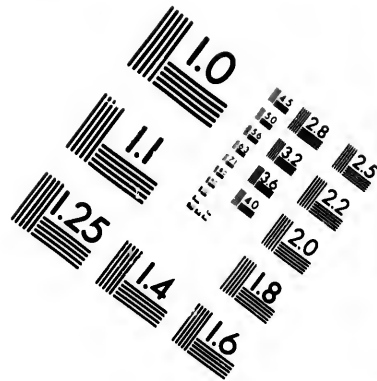
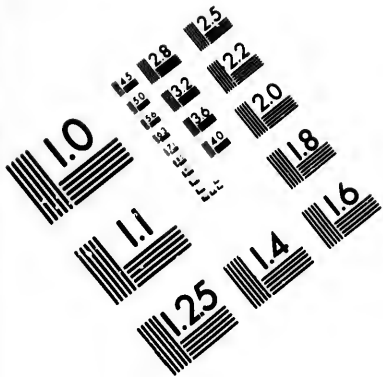
The year which witnessed the completion of the annex saw also the organization of a training school for nurses in connection with the institution, and the destruction by fire, on Christmas morning, of the hospital stables. By this misfortune, happily unattended by loss of human life, much inconvenience and considerable expense was entailed on the management through the destruction of all the horses, vehicles and agricultural implements, as well as the winter supply of hay and oats.

The summer of 1897 beheld the opening of the annex and the erection of an infirmary. By the occupation of the former, the trying conditions incident to overcrowding were greatly relieved, and the superintendent was enabled to make a classification that added much to the comfort of the entire household. The construction of the latter, which when opened is to be placed in charge of a trained hospital nurse, will enable medical and surgical cases to receive many of the advantages of modern treatment that could not be afforded them in the general wards of the hospital. Other improvements made during this year consisted in the erection of a new barn and stable, the introduction of a new and enlarged electric light plant, and the increase of the water-supply by the construction of an additional underground water-tank, with a capacity of ninety thousand gallons.

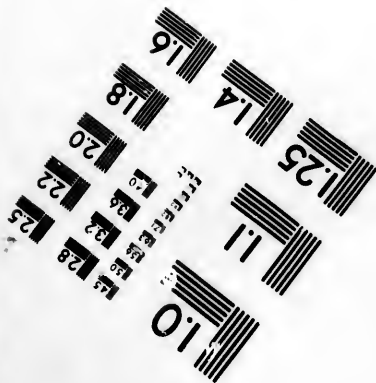
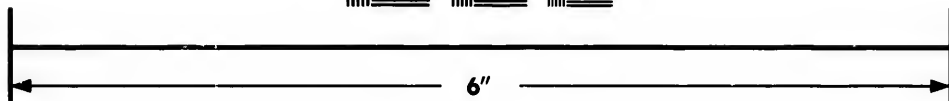
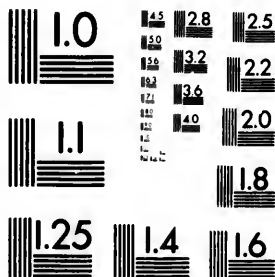
The same year, 1897, was a memorable one in the annals of the hospital, inasmuch as it was the first in which the members of the corporation could congratulate themselves that the ordinary revenues had met the cost of maintenance. While a joyous one in this respect, it was a sad one in that it witnessed the death of Mr. Molson, its tried supporter.

John Henry Robinson Molson, one of Montreal's most noteworthy citizens and philanthropists, was born at Kingston, Ont., on June 5th, 1826, and moved with his father to Montreal in 1835. Educated at Dr. Black's school in the latter city, and at Upper Canada College, Toronto, he afterwards entered into business as one of the members of the Molson Brewing Company, of which, at the time of his death, May 28th, he was the president. Of the eminent business men of Montreal, Mr. Molson ranked among the foremost, occupying for thirty-two years a place on the Board of Directors of the Molsons Bank, which had been founded by his uncle, Mr. William Molson. Of these thirty-two years, twenty-one were spent as its vice-president, and nine as its president. In educational matters, his interest was pronounced, and McGill University, of which he was senior governor, having declined the chancellorship in favour of Sir





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Donald Smith, was indebted to him for many munificent gifts. In philanthropic affairs, Mr. Molson's interest was no less keen, and there were but few charitable enterprises in which he was not a sharer. Of the many generous contributions to the funds of the Verdun Hospital, those of himself and his widow, the daughter of Mr. John Frothingham, of the well-known firm of Frothingham & Workman, Montreal, were by far the largest, aggregating over \$40,000. The gymnasium, called the Molson pavilion, was also built and equipped by him. At the opening of the institution, Mr. Molson had occupied the position of its vice-president, and ever displayed an earnest anxiety for its welfare.

Another notable event of the year 1897 was a visit, on September 10th, from the members of the Psychological Section of the British Medical Association, then meeting in Montreal. Many of the visitors were among the foremost alienists of the day, and after thoroughly inspecting the hospital they warmly congratulated the management on its efficiency.

At the annual meeting of the corporation, held February 15th of the present year, a well-merited tribute of respect was paid to the father of the institution, Mr. Perry, by the board of governors electing him to the position of Honorary President for life. At the same meeting, the Hon. Mr. J. K. Ward retired from the presidency, after nine years of good and faithful service, and was succeeded by Mr. F. Wolferstan Thomas, who had been treasurer of the hospital since 1885.

At the time of writing, the Protestant Hospital for the Insane consists of three separate buildings for patients. The main, or original building, three stories in height, has a frontage of three hundred and fifty feet, and is built of coursed, gray limestone with cut stone trimmings. It comprises a central, executive department, and two wings, with rear extensions, to accommodate two hundred and ninety-six patients. In front, the former contains on the ground floor the various offices and reception rooms, above which are the medical superintendent's apartments; in rear, it embraces the kitchen, bakery, assistant superintendent's and matron's quarters, storerooms, &c., while in the upper story is situated a fine assembly hall. Communication with the several parts of the building is obtained by means of corridors radiating from a central octagonal well, which extends unbroken to the roof, and is lighted by a skylight the full size of the same. The second of the structures which constitute the establishment is the annex, a two-story, red brick building, one hundred and twenty-five feet long, made up of a central portion containing quarters for an assistant medical officer, kitchen, and ward dining-rooms; and four corridors to accommodate one hundred and four patients. The third building is the infirmary, which is a two-story, stone structure, in keeping with the main edifice, and has a capacity of twelve beds, with diet kitchen, operating, and post mortem rooms attached; wide, open balconies, with a southern exposure, are provided, so that convalescing and

even bed-ridden patients wheeled to them may enjoy the benefit of the health-giving breezes that sweep from the broad St. Lawrence across the verdant lawns. The laundry, engine, and boiler-rooms, and space for electric light plant are contained in a detached, brick building some distance in rear of the hospital proper, above which rises the water-tower affording the requisite pressure for the distribution of water over the establishment. Other improvements contemplated, when funds will admit, are the erection of a detached building for the use of nurses, where, when off duty, they may be free from the worry and noise incident to ward life, a detached residence for the medical superintendent, and additional outside workshops for the introduction of greater variety in the occupation of the patients.

The institution was originally heated and ventilated by what is known as the Smead-Dowd system, but this, being unsatisfactory as regarded its heating possibilities, has been replaced in great measure by steam.

The entire capacity of the establishment is four hundred and twelve, and its present population three hundred and twenty-seven patients.

The officers of the corporation consist of a president, two vice-presidents, an honorary secretary, and an honorary treasurer, who are elected annually from the board of governors. The business affairs of the establishment are conducted by a board of management, consisting of twenty-four members in addition to the officers of the corporation, who are *ex officio* members thereof.¹ Neither the officers of the corporation nor the members of the board of management receive any remuneration for their services, neither, by its by-laws, are supplies for the institution be purchased from any of them. The only paid official of the corporation is the secretary to the board of management. In addition to an annual meeting of the corporation, held in January of each year, the board of governors meets quarterly to receive a report on the affairs of the hospital from the board of management, the meetings of which are held fortnightly. The quorum for the board of governors consists of ten, and that for the board of management of five members.

The medical staff of the establishment consists of a superintendent and an assistant superintendent, who live in the institution, and a consulting surgeon, a consulting physician, a gynecologist, and a pathologist, who

¹The present officers and board of management are: President, F. Wolfers-
stan Thomas; First Vice-President, Charles Alexander; Second Vice-President, J.
C. Willson; Honorary Treasurer, Samuel Finley; Honorary Secretary, Robert Reid.
Board of Management—William Reid, Daniel Wilson, R. Wilson Smith, David
Robertson, James Wilson, George Hague, A. D. Nelson, Jeffrey H. Burland, Rev.
Bishop Bond, Rev. Dr. Barclay, Rev. Dean Carmichael, I. H. Stearns, George
Esplin, George R. Prowse, Edward L. Bond, G. W. Sadler, Hon. J. K. Ward, Peter
Lyll, John Dillon, Dr. James Stewart, James Moore, James McBride, Colin McAr-
thur, Dr. G. W. Lovejoy.

have their residence in the city.¹ Over and above their duties at the hospital, the superintendent and assistant superintendent deliver lectures on mental diseases, the former at McGill University, the latter at Bishop's College University.

As regards inspection, the hospital is subject to the statutory visitations of the government inspectors and grand jury. In addition, there is a visiting committee appointed by the board of management from amongst the governors. This consists of two governors for each week in the year, whose duty it is to visit the institution weekly, and report anything they may deem necessary to the board of management. The average annual rate of maintenance being about \$175 per patient, whereas the government allowance is but \$150, the deficit has to be made up from subscriptions derived from the charitable public. There is, besides, the interest obtained from an endowment fund now amounting to about \$40,000. This fund, which is steadily increasing, was inaugurated in 1894 by Mrs. John H. R. Molson with a generous donation of \$10,000, given to establish the Frederick Frothingham Memorial Fund in memory of her late brother.

The superintendent of the hospital is a firm believer in the absolute non-restraint system, and since the opening of the institution there has been no case of restraint within its walls. In his first report, he says on this subject: "I am pleased to say that since the opening of the hospital there has been no resort whatever to any form of mechanical restraint, for either surgical or other purposes. The idea formulated by Dr. Conolly and others that the insane can be controlled, and that, too, more effectually, without the use of straps, straight-jackets, muffs or wristlets, has been fully borne out here. Not a vestige of restraining apparatus of any kind is about the place, and so far its wards have not received a single case which seemed to justify its use, although there have been several such as a few years ago would have been thought to demand it."² Again, at the close of 1892, he writes: "I am pleased to be able to report that still another year has passed without our being obliged to resort to restraint in any form. While not so bigoted as to deny the possibility of the occurrence of cases in which restraint must be resorted to, I have yet to see one (other than surgical) so violent and troublesome as not to be manageable by kind and judicious treatment. Sympathetic and cheering words and acts are most potent factors in the management of the insane,

¹ The outside members of the medical staff are:—George E. Armstrong, M.D., Associate Professor of Clinical Surgery, McGill University, and Surgeon to the Montreal General Hospital; F. G. Finley, M.B. (London), M.D., Assistant Professor of Medicine, McGill University, and Physician to the Montreal General Hospital; F. A. L. Lockhart, M.B. (Edinburgh), Lecturer in Gynæcology, McGill University, and Gynæcologist to the Montreal General Hospital; J. A. Macphall, M.D., M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (London), Professor of Pathology, Bishop's College University.

² Annual Report of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane for the year 1890, p. 18.

and suicidal and homicidal patients can, as a rule, be better controlled by good attendants, who will devise ways and means to amuse and employ them, than by any form of restraint."¹

Fully conscious of the fact that to avoid the use of restraint it is absolutely necessary to provide employment and amusement for all patients capable in any degree of engaging therein, every effort is made by Dr. Burgess to occupy and amuse those entrusted to his care. Writing on this point at the beginning of the present year, he says: "A wise man has wisely said: 'If you cannot cure an insane patient, the next best thing is to make him as happy as possible.' Broadly speaking, the foundations of recovery in the insane, and, failing recovery, happiness, are in pleasant surroundings, attention to physical comfort, freedom, as far as is compatible with safety, and the provision of suitable employment and amusement. The old saying that His Satanic Majesty always finds work for idle hands is as applicable to the insane as to the sane, and employment, properly directed, is among the chief curative factors in the treatment of most forms of mental disorder. If it does not cure, it at least adds much to health and happiness, and goes far to lessen excitement, noise, destructiveness and the necessity for restraint."²

In the endeavour to occupy patients, the amount of work done is not regarded as the primary object, but rather how labour, even if useless or costly, can best be made subservient to treatment. In other words, the employment of patients is looked upon not as a means to lessen expense, though, incidentally, this also can generally be accomplished, but as a means to benefit the patient by distracting his thoughts from his troubles, real or imaginary.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Pursuant to a request made by the Home Government, the legislative council of Prince Edward Island, in 1840, passed "An Act to authorize the erection of a building, near Charlottetown, as an Asylum for Insane Persons and other objects of charity, and to provide for the future maintenance of the same." The cost of building and land was not to exceed £1,500 currency, which sum was granted by the Home Government out of moneys realized from the sale of Crown lands in the province. In 1845, during the governorship of Sir Henry Vere Huntley, this act was put in force by the erection of a brick structure designed to hold about twenty-five patients, one-half in single rooms.³ The property purchased for the establishment consisted of a plot of ten acres, located at

¹ Annual Report of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane for the year 1892, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, for the year 1897, p. 18.

³ This building was subsequently enlarged by the addition of wooden wings in 1867 and 1875. These additions—the former for fifteen men, the latter for twenty-eight women—were made necessary by the pressure for accommodation.

Brighton on York River, about one and a quarter miles from Charlotte-town. The administration of its affairs was vested in a board of trustees composed of the following gentlemen: The Honourable Chief Justice, Edward Jarvis; the Honourable President of the Legislative Council, Robert (afterwards Sir Robert) Hodgson; Honourable Edward Palmer, Honourable Charles Hensley, Honourable William Swabey, Thomas Pethick, Esq., Joseph Wrightman, Esq., and John Longworth, Esq.

At the first meeting of the board, held April 2nd, 1846, it was resolved that an advertisement should be inserted in the newspapers for parties qualified to fill the several positions of medical officer, master and matron. At the next subsequent meeting, Dr. Mackieson was appointed visiting medical officer at a salary of £25 currency per annum, to be paid extra for all drugs supplied for the use of the patients, and Sergeant Samuel W. Mitchell and wife were made master and matron.

The first order for admission was given by the board May 1st, 1847, when eight patients were directed to be received. On June 14th, following, however, less than a month after their admission, these unfortunates were ordered to be discharged, and the asylum was transferred to the government to be used as a hospital for some immigrants, who had arrived on the barque, "Lady Constable," suffering from Asiatic cholera.

On the 28th of January, 1848, the Executive Council restored the asylum to the care of the trustees, and on the 26th of June it was again opened for its legitimate purposes by the admission of five lunatics and five paupers.

From 1847, when it was first opened, until 1869, the building was used for an asylum and a poorhouse, but in the latter year it was found too small for the combined occupancy, and the paupers were removed to an old military barrack situated about half a mile distant.

At first, the master received a certain sum per head for the lunatics and paupers under his care. The amount paid him varied from eight shillings and two pence to ten shillings per week, and included every expense connected with their maintenance except the salaries of himself, the matron and the medical officer.¹ After a trial of four years this method did not prove satisfactory to the trustees; the supplies, therefore, were ordered to be obtained by tender. In the early days, too, the medical officer visited the institution but once or twice a week, and the master and matron did all the household work without the aid of servants or attendants, depending solely upon the help obtained from the patients or paupers.

In 1874, a presentment against the management of the asylum was made by the grand jury, after one of its official visits. The medical officer and master were both indicted for what was called "the horrible

¹ Annual Report of the Medical Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum, Charlotte-town, P. E. I., for the year 1878, p. 9.

abuse of the patients ;" the whole province was thrown into an uproar, and the Home Government sent a censoring despatch to that of the Island in the matter. The immediate result was a change in management, the officers indicted being dismissed, and Dr. Mackieson succeeded in office, after a tenure of over twenty-eight years, by the present able superintendent, Dr. Edward S. Blanchard, who assumed duty in August, 1874. The ultimate result was a movement toward the founding of a new and more modern hospital to replace the old and antiquated lunatic asylum. The movement thus started led to the passage, in 1877, of a new lunacy act providing for the erection of the "Prince Edward Island Hospital for the Insane," the abolishing of the office of visiting medical officer, and the creation of that of medical superintendent in its stead ; the new official to be provided with quarters in the building, and to devote his whole time to the institution. By the same act the board of trustees was reduced in number to five members.¹

As a site for the establishment, one hundred and twenty acres of government land were appropriated on the Hillsborough River at a distance of about three miles from Charlottetown, and four and a half from the old asylum. Work was begun in the summer of 1877, brick and stone being the materials selected for construction, and, by the fall of 1879, a portion of the edifice was ready for occupation. This part, consisting of the centre building and west wing, was taken possession of for the patients, eighty-six in number, on December 10th of that year. The cost of the structure, the east wing of which is still unbuilt, was in the vicinity of \$100,000. The household at this time consisted of eighty-six patients, the medical superintendent, a supervisor, a matron, an engineer, a fireman, a farmer, seven attendants and four servants.

It had been intended that the hospital should be provided with gas, but, as no grant was made for that purpose, the building was lighted with kerosene oil. The danger arising from this system of illumination has been frequently pointed out by Dr. Blanchard, but it still remains unremedied.

In 1889, the building had become so overcrowded that the Executive Council decided to utilize the rooms occupied by the medical superintendent for patients' quarters. That officer was again accordingly made a visiting instead of a resident one, since when, as was to be expected from such a retrograde movement, the annual percentage of recoveries has been much decreased.² It was not intended, though, that this change of system should be permanent, and, at the time it was made, plans and

¹ The present Board of Trustees is composed of Hon. A. B. Warburton, M.L.A., President, Hon. B. Rogers, M.L.A., Hon. J. R. McLean, M.L.A., S. Blanchard, Esq., and Ewen McDougall, Esq. ; Wm. Smith, secretary and treasurer.

² Annual Report of the Trustees and Medical Superintendent of the Prince Edward Island Hospital for the Insane, for the year 1896, p. 16.

specifications had already been drawn for the erection of a residence for the superintendent upon the hospital grounds. The work, however, was delayed from time to time; then came a change in the Administration, and nothing has yet been done towards the end so much to be desired.

By this conversion of the superintendent's quarters and the fitting up of the attic to accommodate patients, the capacity of the institution was raised from one hundred, to one hundred and thirty-five beds. But the relief thus gained has been long exhausted, the actual number of patients now in residence being one hundred and eighty-five. To remedy this evil the sum of \$25,000 was granted, and a contract let, in the autumn of 1896, to build the east wing. This addition would provide accommodation for one hundred and twenty patients, but, unfortunately, although the work was to have been completed last year, nothing has yet been done beyond a little excavating, and the accumulating of some building material upon the ground.

I have been informed that it is the intention of the government to utilize the new wing when completed for the reception both of lunatics and paupers, and that those of the latter class now occupying the old barracks shall be removed to it. This is much to be regretted as it is a distinctly backward step in the care of the insane, in fact a reversion to the plan abandoned nearly thirty years ago. The proposed combination of a poorhouse with the asylum is a system now denounced by nearly all good authorities.

As regards the system of treatment pursued, Dr. Blanchard informs me that in the present greatly overcrowded state of the hospital it is impossible to dispense with restraint, and that, while strongly in favour of the employment of patients, he can do but little toward this end under the present method of management, and without the requisite means to carry it on. The same applies to the provision of amusement. The great evil, however, as pointed out by him is the management of the hospital without a resident physician. The superintendent has never had an assistant, and, as he cogently observes, "With only a daily visit, it is utterly impossible to do justice to any acute case of disease, and it is from acute cases only that recoveries are obtainable."¹

NOVA SCOTIA.

Nova Scotia was the last of the old British North American provinces to erect a hospital for its insane. Previous to 1858, pauper lunatics were sent to the "Lunatic Ward" of the Provincial and City Poores' Asylum in Halifax, or cared for at home, in what way can be imagined.

¹ Annual Report of the Trustees and Medical Superintendent of the Prince Edward Island Hospital for the Insane, for the year 1891, p. 7.



Patients whose friends could afford to pay for them found accommodation in the United States or the adjoining province of New Brunswick, whose hospital for the insane antedated that of Nova Scotia by ten years.

In 1846, Lord Falkland, then Governor of Nova Scotia, appointed the Hon. Hugh Bell, Samuel P. Fairbanks, Esq., and Dr. A. F. Sawers a commission to visit the United States in quest of information with reference to the construction and management of a hospital for the insane for the province of Nova Scotia.

The Journals of Assembly for the same year contain the report of this commission, as also an account of a committee of assembly, with T. A. S. DeWolf, Esq., as chairman, recommending an annual grant for five years for the purpose of "purchasing the necessary grounds, and erecting and furnishing such buildings as would meet the requirements of the province."

For some years after, efforts were made to establish the institution, and both private donations and legislative grants were made for the purpose. Among the former was the sum of £1,670 left by Mr. John Brown, a wealthy merchant of Halifax, the interest of which was to be appropriated for the support of the indigent insane, and £300, a year's salary of the then mayor of the city of Halifax, Hon. Hugh Bell. The condition attached to Mr. Bell's donation was that the interest upon it and an additional £200, the gift of an anonymous friend of his, should for the first four years be devoted to the purchase of books for a hospital library.

It was not, however, until 1856 that, largely through the persistence and perseverance of Mr. Bell, the corner-stone of the present hospital, the first and only one in the province, was laid with Masonic honours on June 8th.

From this time on, steady progress was made, and a part of the south wing was completed and furnished by the autumn of 1858. The administration department being still only on paper, a portion of the finished structure was partitioned off for a commissioners' office, kitchen, chapel, and apartments for the superintendent, steward and matron.

The executive officers took possession of their temporary quarters on the first day of December, 1858, the first medical superintendent being Dr. J. R. DeWolf, who had been appointed such in May of the previous year. On the 26th of the same month the first patient was admitted, and within the next four weeks eighteen others were received, thirteen of the number being transfers from the poor's asylum of Halifax.¹ This institution, now the Halifax City Asylum and Poor House, was supported jointly by the province and city. It received paupers from all parts of the province, and had two wards for lunatics.

In Tuke's Dictionary, we read: "Although, in every community, men and women and the medical profession have been ready to promote the

¹ Report of the Commissioners and Medical Superintendent of the Provincial Hospital for the Insane at Dartmouth, Halifax, N.S., for the year 1858, p. 24.

interests of the insane, the name of Dorothea L. Dix stands foremost among all. Her efforts in improving the condition of the insane were not confined to her native State of Massachusetts, but extended to other States and distant lands. Her life was devoted to their interests, and it is stated that no less than thirty asylums owe their establishment directly or indirectly to her persistent efforts.¹ The Nova Scotia hospital for the insane bears the honour of having had its site selected by this world-renowned and universally esteemed philanthropist, who, as a further mark of her sympathy for suffering humanity, gave a collection of pictures to ornament the hospital walls.

The grounds comprised eighty-five acres of land, only a small portion of which, however, was arable, picturesquely situated on the Dartmouth side of the Harbour of Halifax, at a distance of about two miles from the city. While excellent as a site, the shape of the lot was ill-adapted for an institution of this kind, being more than a mile in length but only about six hundred feet in width, so that the south wing of the building came within a few feet of the boundary line, and the north wing, when completed, left only room for a roadway on the hospital property.

The plans and specifications for the building were prepared by Dr. C. H. Nicholls, the distinguished superintendent of the Government Hospital for the Insane, at Washington, D. C., of which institution it was a modified copy. It was built of brick, made for the most part on the premises, and was designed with wings two and three stories high, the centre building being four.

By the terms of the act of management, passed May 7th, 1858, the title of the establishment was declared to be the "Provincial Hospital for the Insane," and its object defined as "the most humane and enlightened curative treatment of the insane of this Province." The Governor, the Chief Justice, the Provincial Secretary, the President of the Legislative Council, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, and the heads or authorized representatives of all the Christian churches in the province were made *ex-officio* visitors of the hospital.

The management of the hospital was at first vested in a body of Commissioners, nine in number, appointed by the Governor in Council, July, 1858, the original members being Dr. D. McNeil Parker, chairman, and Messrs. George H. Starr, Daniel Creamer, Samuel A. White, David Falconer, John A. Bell, John Doull, Dominick Farrell, and John W. Ritchie.²

The act of 1858 did not specify what rates were to be charged the various municipalities for the care of their insane, merely guarding

¹ Dictionary of Psychological Medicine, by D. Hack Tuke, M.D., p. 90.

² Report of the Commissioners and Medical Superintendent of the Provincial Hospital for the Insane at Dartmouth, Halifax, N.S., for the year 1858, p. 13.

against overcharge by stating: "Indigent persons and paupers shall be charged for medical attendance, board, and nursing, while residents of the hospital, *no more than the actual cost.*" One of the first duties of the commissioners was, therefore, to fix the rates at which indigent persons, chargeable against counties or townships, should be admitted. This they did, making the rate for males thirty-two pounds ten shillings, for females twenty-six pounds per annum. These amounts were estimated to be considerably under the actual cost of maintenance.¹

The rate for private paying patients was fixed at fifty pounds per annum, those requiring extra accommodation and attendance to be charged accordingly.

Insane, transient paupers were authorized to be received at the provincial expense, but only after the commissioners had been satisfied by affidavit and documentary testimony that such persons were not properly chargeable to any township or county of the province.

The portion of the building first constructed provided for only ninety patients, whereas the number of lunatics in the province, including those still remaining in the paupers' asylum, was estimated at not less than three hundred and fifty. In consequence, the commissioners in their first report, published 1859, urged upon His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, the pressing need for increased accommodation. They further stated that there were several insane criminals in the provincial penitentiary, and different county jails, who should be removed to the hospital at Dartmouth, but for whose safe-keeping they could not become responsible because the part of the hospital intended by the original design for insane criminals, violent and noisy patients, had not yet been commenced.²

On December 31st, 1859, the close of the first year of the hospital's existence, there were in residence fifty-five patients, twenty-eight males and twenty-seven females.

Difficulties in the management of the establishment by the board of commissioners, which arose in 1859, had, in 1860, increased to such an extent as to seriously interfere with the discipline and good government of the institution. They were eventually referred to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council with the result that, the commissioners having resigned, the whole control of the hospital was vested in the Board of Public Works, the commissioners of which were Messrs. Hugh Munro, Andrew Mackinlay, and John Gibson, with the Hon. J. H. Anderson, Receiver-General, as treasurer.³

In this same year, 1860, the hospital sustained a severe loss in the death of its promoter and staunch advocate, the Hon. Hugh Bell, whose

¹ Report of the Commissioners and Medical Superintendent of the Provincial Hospital for the Insane at Dartmouth, Halifax, N.S., for the year 1858, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ Provincial Hospital for the Insane, Halifax, N.S. Third report of the Medical Superintendent, being for the year 1860, p. 11.

philanthropy and liberality had been of such essential service to the insane, in whom he ever took an especial interest.

The south half of the building was finished and occupied in 1861, and, in 1865, the cry still being "no room," the Legislature passed a grant of \$80,000 for a much needed extension. Work was started immediately on the centre building and a part of the north wing, the original design being, in the main, adhered to. These additions were completed in the latter part of 1867 and opened for the reception of patients in 1868. The transfer of the offices and officers' quarters to the new administration building enabled the rooms formerly occupied for these purposes to be utilized for patients as originally designed. This admitted of a much better classification, the new, or north wing being reserved for females; the old, or south wing for males. The new wards, three in number, were named after the most prominent benefactors of the institution, the Bell, Brown, and Binney wards.¹

In 1867, a board of three commissioners was appointed to replace the Board of Works in the general supervision of the hospital, part of their duty being to visit it weekly. At the same time, the superintendent, who had hitherto done the work alone, was given a much needed assistant; Dr. Robert W. McKeagney being appointed to the position.

The completion of the hospital was realized in 1874, its capacity then being three hundred and fifty.² From the outset the superintendent, Dr. DeWolf, had tabooed restraint, and fully recognized the value of recreation and occupation as remedial agents. The great importance he attached to employment is evidenced even at so early a stage as the second year of the hospital's existence by an excellent showing of the work done by both male and female patients.³

The year 1878 saw two important changes in the management of the hospital, Dr. DeWolf, after twenty years' service, giving place to Dr. A. P. Reid, and the Board of Visitors, appointed in 1867, to a Board of Public Charities consisting of five members. Of the new board the Commissioner of Works and Mines was chairman, and the Mayor of Halifax an *ex officio* member.

Dr. James R. DeWolf, son of the Hon. T. A. S. DeWolf, was born at Wolfville, N.S., in 1818. He studied medicine at Windsor, N.S., from 1836 to 1838, and received his degree of M.D. from Edinburgh University in 1841. He was during his early days clinical clerk to the celebrated Sir Robert Christison, and became an L.R.C.S.E., while later he was

¹ Provincial Hospital for the Insane, Halifax, N.S. Tenth Annual Report of the Medical Superintendent, being for the year 1867, p. 7.

² As many as four hundred have at times been crowded into it by the use of sitting-rooms for dormitories.

³ Provincial Hospital for the Insane, Halifax, N.S. Report of the Medical Superintendent for the year 1860, p. 10.

ected a member of the Medical Society of Paris. After returning to America he practised for two years, 1842-43, at Kentville, N.S., and then went to Brigus, Newfoundland. Removing thence to Halifax in 1844, he continued practice in that city up to 1857, when he was appointed medical superintendent of the recently created hospital for the insane, as already described. Dr. DeWolf, who still lives in Halifax, was president of the Nova Scotia Philosophical Society in 1849, and of the Nova Scotia Medical Society in 1866. From 1871 to 1875, he was professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Dalhousie University, Halifax, resigning with several others of the faculty when the medical college was separated from the university.

In 1886, there was yet another revolution in the management of the hospital, the government abolishing the Board of Public Charities and making the Hon. Commissioner of Public Works and Mines the sole authority. This arrangement is still in vogue, but has been supplemented by the appointment of an Inspector of Public Charities, Dr. A. C. Page, making the system practically identical with that of Ontario, the working of which has been very successful.

In 1892, Dr. Reid resigned the position of medical superintendent and was succeeded by the present incumbent, Dr. George L. Sinclair, whose fifteen years' service as assistant superintendent had admirably qualified him for the position.

Dr. Alexander P. Reid was born in London, Ont., in 1836. Educated at the public schools there, he studied medicine and graduated M.D., C.M., at McGill University, Montreal, in 1858. The same year he obtained the degree of L.R.C.P. at Edinburgh, and subsequently (1865) that of M.D. from the University of New York. After practising for a short time in the villages of Exeter and Clandeboye, Ont., he joined a party of gold-miners and crossed the continent to British Columbia. He remained on the Pacific coast up to 1864, when he returned east and took up his residence at Halifax, N.S., to engage in private practice. On his retirement from the superintendency of the hospital for the insane, he assumed a similar position at the Victoria General Hospital in Halifax, a government institution. From this he retired at the beginning of the present year, 1898, on an annuity, to a farm he possesses at Middleton in Annapolis county. Here he purposes to spend the remainder of his days. Dr. Reid was one of those who took a prominent part in establishing the Halifax Medical College, and held, successively, the Chairs of Physiology, Practice of Medicine, and Hygiene and Medical Jurisprudence. He was also its president for some years.

Under the able management of Dr. Sinclair, the Nova Scotia hospital for the insane is kept well up to the times. It is conducted entirely on the non-restraint principle, and has a training-school for nurses attached. This was organized by Dr. Sinclair in 1893, and has done

admirable work in the preparation of attendants to more intelligently discharge their important duties.

The institution still remains the only one of the kind in the province, but, since 1886, a few counties have erected county asylums, and a number combined county asylums and poorhouses. To these can be transferred the harmless insane from the provincial institution, and to them can be sent direct, idiots, non-violent epileptics, and cases of chronic insanity refused admission there upon statutory grounds. They number, by the Inspector's report for 1897, fifteen, and are each governed by a committee. The immediate management is entrusted to a keeper and a matron, and there is a visiting medical officer attached. They are also regularly inspected at non-stated intervals by the Inspector of Public Charities.

These structures have been erected in pursuance of a plan outlined by Dr. Reid, and named by him "The County Cottage Asylum System;"¹ a plan necessitated by the pressing need of additional room for the insane, and the financial inability of the province to undertake the erection of another hospital. It is only fair to Dr. Reid, however, to state that this was but one of four alternative suggestions made by him, and that it was the one he considered the least desirable, although the cheapest, way to provide the required room. Some of the essentials to Dr. Reid's scheme as originally outlined were the following, which, unfortunately, have not always been adhered to: First, that no patient should be permitted to remain in one of these county asylums who had not been sent from the provincial hospital, and who was by the authorities there considered fit to be thus cared for. Every case temporarily admitted to such asylums to be allowed to remain only long enough to permit of transfer to the provincial institution, thus guarding against the possibility of recent cases being detained there to their detriment. Second, the insane and paupers, though under the same management, to be provided for in separate buildings, at such a distance apart as to give privacy to the insane, the two classes not being allowed to mix when outside. Third, a farm to be connected with each asylum consisting of not less than an acre of good land for each patient.

The total accommodation for lunatics in the province of Nova Scotia, including both the provincial hospital and these county asylums, is about eight hundred.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

In the early days of British Columbia, when it was yet a Crown colony, lunatics were placed in the colonial jail, a brick structure which stood on the present site of the Law Courts. The jail surgeon was Dr.

¹ Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Nova Scotia Hospital for Insane, for the year 1882, p. 14.

J. S. Helmcken (afterwards the Hon. J. S. Helmcken, M.P.P., and Speaker of the House), who, by virtue of his position, assumed charge of what few lunatics required to be kept in confinement.

In 1872, two women (sisters) became insane, and as there was no proper place in the jail for them, they, as well as the male patients therein, were removed to a wooden building on the Songhees Indian Reserve, and placed in charge of a Mr. A. E. Sharpe as superintendent and Mrs. Ross as matron. This structure, the first regular institution for the insane in the province, had been originally built for a smallpox hospital, then added to and used as a general hospital, and finally abandoned on the removal of that charity to Pandora street. It was reopened to receive the lunatics from the jail, October 12th, 1872, the records for that year showing eighteen admissions, one recovery, and one death. Dr. Helmcken, Dr. J. W. Powell, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, in turn, acted as visiting medical officer to the new institution after its inception. Later, Dr. W. H. McNaughton Jones was appointed resident medical officer, and Mr. Sharpe was succeeded, as lay superintendent, by Mr. John J. Downley.

Up to 1873 no act had been passed for the founding or regulation of asylums, but in that year one, known as the "Insane Asylums' Act," came into force.¹ It fixed the title of the infant establishment as "Asylum for the Insane, British Columbia." This act was amended in 1893² and, together with the amendment, repealed in 1897, a new one, the "Hospitals for Insane Act," replacing it.³ By this the official title of the asylum was changed to "Public Hospital for Insane."

Early in 1877 it was deemed expedient, in consequence of the asylum's being on an Indian reserve and in the city of Victoria, to remove it elsewhere, but there was no suitable site belonging to the government near the city. It was, therefore, decided that the transfer should be to the mainland, where, close to the town of New Westminster, there was a large tract of provincial land. Some fifteen acres of this, most of it dense, unclaimed forest, was apportioned to an asylum.⁴ Here the nucleus of the present institution was erected in 1877, and opened May 17th, 1878, on which date forty-six patients were transferred from the old smallpox hospital at Victoria. Situated on a cleared slope overlooking the Fraser River, and taking in a magnificent panorama of mountain and stream, nothing could exceed the scenic beauty of the site selected.

Dr. Jones, the medical officer, and Mrs. Ross,⁵ the matron, accompanied the patients to New Westminster, but Mr. Downley, the lay superin-

¹ 51 Vict., Chap. 61 (1873, No. 28, S. 20).

² 56 Vict., Chap. 18.

³ 60 Vict., Chap. 17.

⁴ The amount of this government land that will be assigned finally to the asylum has not yet been definitely settled.

⁵ Mrs. Ross continued as matron up to her death, which occurred in November, 1897.

tendent, gave up his position. A few weeks after his removal to the mainland, namely, on June 30th, Dr. Jones also resigned, and, after an interregnum of six months,¹ was succeeded, January 1st, 1879, by Dr. Thomas R. McInnes, the present Lieutenant-Governor of the province. This change in staff was accompanied by a new arrangement thereof, Dr. McInnes being made visiting medical officer, and Mr. James Phillips, lay superintendent.

The original edifice was a plain, two-story, brick building, heated by stoves and grates, lighted by coal-oil lamps, and very badly ventilated. It contained only single rooms for patients, and as these were but thirty-two in number, the building, even when opened, was much overcrowded. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that we should soon find Dr. McInnes complaining that with a population of forty-nine, forty-one men and eight women, the institution was so full that the superintendent (Mr. Phillips) had to make use of sitting, bath, and clothes rooms for bed-space. He had, in addition, to resort to the dangerous and reprehensible practice of putting two patients into some of the single rooms. On this account he strongly urged upon the government the pressing necessity for an addition to accommodate not less than seventy-five patients.²

In 1883, Dr. McInnes having resigned, the office of visiting physician was temporarily (successively) filled by Drs. Sievwright and Masters, until the permanent appointment of Dr. Richard I. Bentley.

During the next year, 1884, the erection of an additional wing of more modern design, and a residence for a medical officer, was commenced. These structures were opened in 1885, at which time the era of superintendence by a layman ceased, Dr. Bentley being appointed medical superintendent, while Mr. Phillips was made steward.

The year 1885 is also memorable as the first in which the male patients were allowed to work outside, and, as Dr. Bentley says, "to see them at it proves that they enjoy it thoroughly."³ The amusements provided for the inmates were at this period of the most meagre description; even as late as 1888 we find the superintendent regretting that they have no piano. "The women," he states, "dance three times a week to music sung by one of their number. The men have a violin and concertina, which may be heard all day long."⁴

In 1889, extensive improvements were begun, both in the way of additions and of alterations to the old structure, some of the patients being housed in the provincial jail while the changes were going on. The additions included a central building for offices, &c., two wings, each

¹ The medical service during this interregnum was rendered partly by Dr. Jones and partly by Dr. McInnes.

² Statutes of British Columbia, Appendix to 46 Vict., page 325, Annual Report on the Asylum for the Insane, New Westminster, B. C., for the year 1882.

³ *Ibid.*, Appendix to 49 Vict., page 391, Annual Report for the year 1885.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix to 52 Vict., page 404, Annual Report for the year 1888.

with a capacity of fifty-five beds, and a separate kitchen and laundry ; the whole heated by hot water, and lighted with gas from New Westminster. The water-supply, however, was left extremely defective. This most important requisite to a hospital for the insane was, at this time, got by damming a creek which ran through a ravine about a mile above the asylum. The penitentiary, the grounds of which adjoined those of the asylum, derived its supply from the same source, and the unsanitary condition of affairs is thus reported by the superintendent : "The water-works, as I have informed the Government, have been a source of constant worry, owing to land slides in the Penitentiary grounds, through which our main pipe passes. Every pipe in the building is frozen, the well is about dry, and we have been obliged to take the top off the boiler to prevent an accident, and keep it supplied by buckets of water to get sufficient for kitchen purposes. Our supply of water at present consists of what we can dip up with buckets from a ditch at the back of the asylum yard."¹

In the same report, Dr. Bentley strongly expresses the wish to have separate provision for the Chinese, of whom there were then twenty-seven under care. This was chiefly on account of the dislike of the white patients and their friends towards having the two races housed together.²

By 1890, the additions and alterations had been completed, the asylum then consisting of a central, three-story building with a one-story kitchen in rear, and three, two-story wings, one on the south side and two on the north ; the whole constructed of brick with galvanized iron roofs. The centre building included offices, surgery, store-rooms, and assembly room, while each wing comprised two wards one hundred and twelve feet long by thirty-six feet wide, with a twelve foot central corridor. The population at the close of the year was one hundred and seventeen, made up of one hundred and two men and fifteen women.

Although there was a large area of virgin-forest land adjoining the institution, agricultural operations were conducted on a very limited scale as indicated by the following excerpt from the superintendent's report for this year : "We will not be able to put in our spring crop, attend to the weeds during the summer, do the fencing, carpentering, painting, cleaning, road-making, &c., &c., unless we are allowed a horse and cart. We ought to have more than one cow. We have tried a few chickens, which are doing well, and we have a couple of pigs."³ Dr. Bentley also complained of the paucity of attendants, a keeper having been nearly killed before he received assistance, through being alone with the patients at meal times. The distribution of attendants was, he stated, as follows : "A. ward, fifteen women ; B. ward, full, with twenty-four conva-

¹ Statutes of British Columbia, Appendix to 53 Vict., p. 417. Annual Report on the Asylum for the Insane, New Westminster, B.C., for the year 1889.

² *Ibid.*, p. 415.

³ *Ibid.*, Appendix to 54 Vict., p. 342. Annual Report for the year 1890.

lescents, two keepers (one the carpenter and one the outdoor overseer) ; C. ward, for the fractious, has twenty-eight beds, with twenty-six patients, two keepers (one the gardener) ; D. ward has twenty-eight beds, all full of paralyzed, sick and helpless patients. To attend to this ward is the head keeper, who also has charge of the male patients' clothes when they come in, has to keep check of the clothes going to and coming from the wash, and a dozen other kinds of work, assisted by the plumber, who has put in part of every day lately looking after the supply water pipes ; E. ward is unoccupied ; F. ward is occupied by twenty-three Chinese and one Indian, under the charge of a single keeper. A second is urgently needed. As each keeper is allowed one afternoon a week away from the institution, the keepers have to change about so that C. ward at least shall always have two attendants. If one keeper is away sick, all work must be stopped until his return."¹

In 1892, the waterworks of New Westminster were connected with the asylum, the supply coming from Joquitlan Lake, eight miles distant, and for the first time in its history the institution had abundance of water, and of the purest quality. During the same year, the superintendent, who had theretofore done all the work alone, was given a clerk to assist him in the correspondence and keeping of the books.

In 1894, charges of ill-treatment of patients and the excessive use of restraint having been made against the asylum, a Royal Commission, consisting of Dr. Edward Hasell and Dr. Charles F. Newcombe, was appointed by the government to investigate them. The evidence, taken under oath, showed the charges to have been only too well founded. Restraint, and that of an unusually severe character, had been freely resorted to on the male wards not only as a means of preventing violence but as punishment, while other still more appalling cruelties had been practised with the cognizance of the superintendent.

The methods of mechanical restraint, or punishment, found to be in use were steel handcuffs, steel anklets, leather mitts, leather muffs, leather anklets, pinion straps, camisoles and straight-jackets. No record was kept of the restraint employed, and the attendants were allowed to resort to it at will. Patients were reported as sleeping with their hands confined in handcuffs behind them for many nights in succession ; in one case, at least, for weeks together. Beating with straps was admitted to be a very common occurrence, and according to the patients the buckle end was occasionally used. Kicks and blows with the fist were frequent incidents of maltreatment.

Of the forms of restraint used the commission found the straight-jacket to be the most severe, and thus described its application : "The patient is first thrown down, the hands are then forced into the mitts,

¹ Statutes of British Columbia, Appendix to 54 Victoria, p. 343, Annual Report for the year 1890.

which are secured firmly to the waist by a belt ; then a strong, coarse canvas jacket is drawn over the head and laced tightly to the body, and kept down by means of a cord known as the 'martingale,' which passes between the legs. The upper cord passes round the neck and then through eyelets down the back, and is, as described by patients, 'cinched,' much as a saddle is to a horse with the keeper's foot or knee pressed against the patient's body to obtain a good purchase. Some of the keepers admit that the pressure thus produced may be graduated ; is sometimes very severe, even such as to produce swelling of the face. Patients state that their suffering is acute, their breathing is impeded, palpitation of the heart sometimes produced, and the circulation of the hands so much checked as to cause cramps and numbness. Apart from the physical torture, a patient when trussed up in the jacket, and powerless to defend himself, becomes an object of ridicule and rough horse-play for those who are unable by their infirmity to pity him. One man could not find words to describe his feeling of shame and the injustice of being thus punished for endeavouring to interfere on behalf of another patient who was being stamped upon by a keeper."¹

"Another very severe form of punishment," the commission stated, "is that known as 'ducking,' or the 'cold dip.' The patient is handcuffed with his hands behind him, his feet are usually linked together by anklers, and thus rendered helpless he is plunged into a bath nearly full of cold water, and his head is held under almost to the point of suffocation. This 'ducking' of the patient's head is repeated until he is sufficiently 'broken in.'"²

Of these atrocious cruelties the commissioners found that the cold dip had been inflicted for the following offences :

- "1. Being troublesome at night.
- "2. On one man for drumming on his chest.
- "3. For running away.
- "4. For throwing filth at a Keeper.
- "5. On epileptic patients for fighting.
- "6. For refusing food.
- "7. For dirtying ward.

"We have no record of this punishment being used as a remedial agent."³

Patients were confined in the straight-jacket for :

- "1. Fighting.
- "2. For destructiveness.
- "3. For abusing Medical Superintendent or Keepers.

¹ Statutes of British Columbia. Appendix to 58 Vict., p. 510. Report of Royal Commission on Asylum for the Insane.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 511.

"4. For disturbing others by constant kneeling and praying.

"5. For refusing to work.

"6. For striking the Medical Superintendent or Keepers."¹

Sometimes these punishments were not deemed sufficient, and seclusion was added. On this point the commission reported in these terms:

"In addition to the so-called broom-closet, measuring about six feet by four feet, in each ward, used, when considered necessary, for the confinement of troublesome patients, there is in the basement cellar, we were astonished to find, a dark cell, made of scantling lined and floored with boards. In this was lying a small piece of matting. It is a very cold place, and near it are places for the storage of vegetables and coal. On enquiry, Dr. Bentley at once told us that it had been built and used only for the seclusion of one patient—a Chinaman named Chin Fook Yen—some years ago; that its construction had not been sanctioned by the Provincial Secretary, and that, indeed, he had considered the matter of such small importance that he had not even reported its existence. On examining the Steward and Keepers, we found that it had been used for at least four other men and for one woman. It is needless to remark that in our opinion confinement in such a cell and in such surroundings is not proper treatment for patients suffering from disease of the mind."²

The result of this investigation was that two male attendants proved to have been guilty of such abuse were at once discharged, and Dr. Bentley was relieved from office, his place being temporarily filled by Dr. Newcombe up to February 1st, 1895, when Dr. G. F. Bodington assumed duty as medical superintendent, a position he still occupies.

During the year 1895, a new residence for the superintendent was added to the front of the asylum much to the improvement of its architectural appearance. At the same time, the detached building formerly occupied by him was converted into a separate ward for convalescent and orderly female patients, under the name of "Lawn House." An entrance lodge was also built and electric light introduced.

While not a believer in the doctrine of complete non-restraint, Dr. Bodington is yet utterly opposed to the employment of restraint as a means of punishment, and under his rule its use has been greatly lessened, and only the mildest and most humane forms of it resorted to. To bring about this good result, much attention has been given to the provision of occupation and amusement for the patients. Tailoring and shoemaking departments have been organized, farming has been pushed as vigorously as possible, and amusements, musical and otherwise, have been given a prominent place in treatment.³ The hospital is still too small for

¹ Statutes of British Columbia, Appendix to 58 Vict., page 511. Report of Royal Commission on Asylum for the Insane.

² *Ibid.*

³ Progress in these directions is necessarily much hindered by the fact that Dr. Bodington is unprovided with an assistant.

the wants of the province, however, and under date of March 24th, 1898, Dr. Bodington writes me : " Our capacity is nominally 150, but the actual number of patients this day is 212, made up of 175 males and 37 females.¹ We are much overcrowded, and have been compelled to turn the dining-rooms into dormitories and to give the patients their meals on the corridors. The growth of population in the Province is so rapid that the influx of patients overruns the accommodation. The Government, however, is doing its best to meet the necessities of the case and has just built a new wing for sixty patients, and is about to build another of similar size. New kitchens also, with the requisite store-rooms, cellars, &c., are in progress, as also a large new dining-room capable of accommodating 250 patients. The heating apparatus is very imperfect, but this is about to be put on a new footing, a comprehensive scheme being just now about to be entered upon for heating the whole establishment by steam, and, probably, also providing our own electric light."

One of Dr. Bodington's greatest causes of complaint, and justly so, is the deportation to the province of foreigners, who have at home shown themselves, often from hereditary taint, quite incapable of earning a living, and who, when thrown upon their own resources in this country, break down under the strain and become inmates of the asylum. On this head his report to the government at the close of the year 1896 was as follows:

"On August 6th five patients were sent home to their friends in England, two of them at their own cost, and three partly at their own cost and partly at the cost of the Provincial Government. Of the five, three of them, young men, were improved, the other two, a brother and sister, were recovered. They were handed over to their friends who met them at Liverpool, except the brother and sister who went together, unattended, to their home in the Midland Counties, and who arrived there safely. All these cases were illustrations of a practice too much in vogue in Great Britain, of shipping off to the colonies weak-minded young persons who are unmanageable at home, and unable to make a career for themselves, or earn a livelihood there. 'He has continued his wild and reckless conduct, and has now been shipped off to the colonies,' is a phrase made use of in the *Journal of Mental Science*, in the description of a case of the kind now in question. But if a patient of the kind here described is unable, with the assistance and supervision of his friends and relatives, to steer a straight course and make a position for himself in the Old Country, still less is he likely, when left to himself, to be able to cope with

¹ These figures include twenty-one Chinamen and two Indians (one man and one woman). Up to the close of 1896, the total of Chinese admitted had been thirty-nine, namely, thirty-five males and four females. The remarkable disproportion between men and women in this asylum arises from the great disproportion between the two sexes in the province.

the struggles and difficulties of Colonial life. Of the five cases above mentioned, in one the patient was of feeble intellect, and the insanity strongly hereditary, in another the patient was obviously weak-minded originally, and a third was a pronounced epileptic with consequent mania, while the brother and sister suffered from strong family taint. The brother had been previously for three years in an English County Asylum, and the sister had suffered from an attack of insanity before coming out here. The brother had only been four days in the Province when he again became insane and was sent to the Asylum. He was two years and one month in the Province, the whole of which time, except four days, he spent in the Asylum at the expense of the Government. When last heard of he was still continuing well, but the sister had suffered a relapse, and was again insane at her home in England. I have dwelt somewhat at length on these five cases, because they are typical examples of the most undesirable class of immigrants it is possible to conceive. Such persons as these now mentioned, who are sent out to be got rid of, are totally unfit for the battle of Colonial life, and they naturally gravitate into the Asylum and swell the ranks of the already too numerous lunatics, adding, of course, for most of them have lost all the little money they may have had, to the pecuniary burden of the Province. It is hard upon the Colonies that the mother country should 'ship off' these waifs and strays, these victims of 'borderland insanity,' to become, as they almost inevitably must do, when thrown on their own resources out here, confirmed lunatics, who have to be maintained at the expense of the community. The question of the feasibility of sending back to their own parishes in the United Kingdom, patients such as those here described, and other chronic lunatics who are now life pensioners on the Government of this Province, is one worthy of serious consideration."¹

MANITOBA.

In proportion to its age, the province of Manitoba is well furnished with accommodation for its insane, having two asylums, one at Selkirk, the other at Brandon.

Previous to 1871 there seems to have been no provision for lunatics. Amongst the sparse population of the province, while it was yet a part of the old Hudson's Bay Company territory, cases of insanity were few and those few, so far as I can learn, were generally of a quiet, demented type and as such allowed to wander about at will, or cared for by their friends and neighbours.

Among the Indians insanity was not at all common. It was usual for them, and many of the Half-breeds, to attribute the origin of this

¹Statutes of British Columbia, Appendix to 60 Vict., p. 845. Annual Report on the Asylum for the Insane, New Westminster, B.C., for the year 1896.

affliction to the action of some evil charm, or the administration of some noxious potion, "Indian medicine," obtained by an enemy from one of the many "medicine men." There was also an implicit belief, that if a counter-remedy, or charm, could be procured from a "medicine man" having greater power than he from whom the offending one had been derived, the patient could be quickly cured. On this subject Dr. Young, the medical superintendent of the Selkirk Asylum, writes me as follows: "When I came to this country in 1871, there were few, if any, of the people in Red River Settlement who did not firmly believe in the power of the 'medicine men' to either afflict or relieve, and I think I can safely say that every insane Indian who has been placed under my care had previously tested the powers of the several aboriginal practitioners. They were only sent to me after the failure of these gentlemen to counteract the 'bad medicine' that had been the cause of the trouble."¹

Arguing from this, it seems very probable that some of the comparatively few afflicted were cured by faith; some, by the treatment which was not always quite void of value; while the balance, who were not amenable to cure by either of these means, succumbed to the successive ministrations of the rival "medicine men." There was little need, therefore, in the early days of the Hudson's Bay Company to make any provision for the chronic insane.

Cases of acute mania, especially if violent, were generally got rid of in a much more speedy manner. Those so afflicted were supposed to be possessed by a cannibal spirit or *windigo*, and being thus a menace to other members of the tribe were promptly shot or otherwise disposed of without any ceremony. I have been informed that within the last two or three years a case of this kind occurred near Battleford, N.W.T., an Indian being sent to the penitentiary for life on account of having killed one of his female relatives in the belief that, being insane, she would devour some of the other members of the family.

In 1871, during the reign of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, the Dominion Government established the Manitoba Penitentiary at Lower Fort Garry (Stone Fort), twenty miles north of Fort Garry, now Winnipeg. One of the old, stone storehouses of the Hudson's Bay Company, previously used for the confinement of Lepine, Riel's Adjutant-General, and some of his fellow-revolutionists, was fitted up for penitentiary purposes, and here, from 1871 to 1877, the insane were cared for.

In 1877, the convicts were removed to Stony Mountain, where the present penitentiary had been erected, the lunatics then in custody being

¹ Dr. G. M. Dawson informs me that his experience of "medicine men" is rather to the effect that they depend upon mysterious ceremonies, dancing, singing, &c., than upon potions of any kind. He also states that in the case of idiots, the Indians seem to tend them somewhat carefully and to regard them as bringing luck in some way.

transferred with them. Up to this time only such of the insane as were considered dangerous were confined, and there had never been more than three or four in residence at one time. Except in the case of females, no separate provision was made for lunatics, they and the convicts being treated as one. About two years after the removal, however, an order-in-council was passed that all cases of insanity occurring in Manitoba and the North-west Territories should be admitted and cared for in a portion of the building apart from the convicts. Naturally, under these new regulations, the number of the insane in the penitentiary increased rapidly, and in 1883 it was recognized that other provision for this unfortunate class must be considered. The legislature accordingly passed an act authorizing the building of an asylum and providing for the proper care of the insane.

While steps were being taken to put this act in force, the Dominion Government, in 1884, notified the provincial authorities that they must remove the lunatics from the penitentiary without delay. The new asylum not being completed, temporary accommodation was made for them at Lower Fort Garry, where their old quarters, the former penitentiary, and another building were arranged for their reception. These structures were occupied in February, 1885, by thirty-six patients transferred from the penitentiary at Stony Mountain, Dr. David Young, who had been appointed to office the previous year and who still holds the position, being the first medical superintendent.

In May, 1886, the present asylum, situated at Selkirk, six miles from the old Stone Fort, a substantial structure of brick and stone, with a capacity of one hundred and sixty-seven beds, was ready for occupation, and the patients were removed thither.¹

Within four years the institution was filled, and to make room for recent cases some of the patients were transferred to a "Home for Incurables" opened at Portage la Prairie in June, 1890.² The temporary relief thus obtained was soon exhausted owing to the rapidly increasing population of the "Prairie Province," and in July, 1891, Brandon asylum, the erection of which had been begun the previous year, was opened. This establishment, a brick and stone structure very similar to that at Selkirk, was placed in charge of Dr. Gordon Bell, who continued in office up to 1895, when he resigned to enter private practice at Winnipeg. For about nine months after the retirement of Dr. Bell, Dr. Fraser served as acting medical superintendent, ceasing to be such on the perma-

¹ The present population of Selkirk asylum is one hundred and seventy, and includes two Indians and sixteen Half-breeds.

² This institution is not really intended for mental cases, but owing to the lack of room, some of the incurable insane (imbeciles and idiots) of a harmless character are still sent there.

ment appointment of the present incumbent, Dr. N. B. Gillies, in the autumn of 1895.¹

The system of management in the Manitoba asylums is similar to that in use in Ontario, they being under the supervision of an inspector, John W. Sifton, Esq., who is directly responsible to the government. Both institutions, the combined population of which is at present three hundred and twenty-five, are conducted on non-restraint principles, and in both, agricultural pursuits form the chief mode of employment.

NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES.

By special arrangement with the Dominion Government all cases of insanity occurring in the North-west Territories and Keewatin are cared for in the provincial asylums of Manitoba. The last return obtainable places their number at ninety-nine, eight of them being resident in Selkirk asylum, and ninety-one in Brandon asylum. The rate paid by the Federal Government for their keep is one dollar per day each.

¹ The number of patients now resident in Brandon asylum is one hundred and eighty-nine.

APPENDIX A.

Copy of inscription on corner-stone of Provincial Lunatic Asylum,
St. John, N.B. :

THIS STONE,

The Corner Stone of a Building to be erected at the Public expense for a

PROVINCIAL LUNATIC ASYLUM,

was, on the twenty-fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight
hundred and forty-seven, in the eleventh year of the Reign of our Sovereign
Lady VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland, QUEEN, and in the seventh year
of the Administration of His Excellency

SIR WILLIAM MACBEAN GEORGE COLEBROOKE, K.H.,

Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of New Brunswick,
laid with due solemnity by His Excellency, assisted by the Right Worshipful
the Provincial Grand Master, the Honorable ALEXANDER KEITH,
and the Albion and other Masonic Lodges.

COMMISSIONERS.

George P. Peters, Esquire, M.D.

William Jack, Esquire.

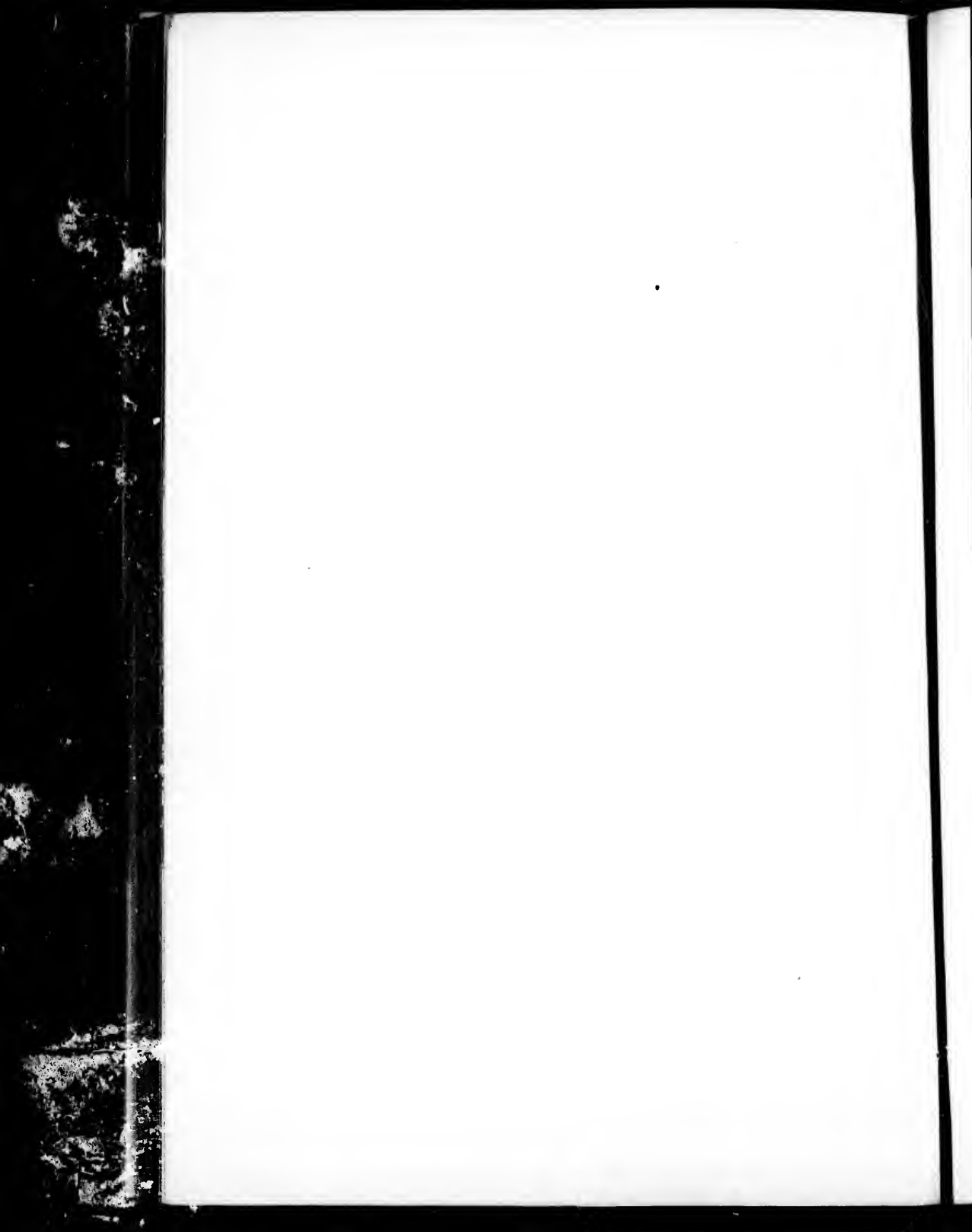
John Ward, Esquire.

John R. Partelow, Esquire, M.P.P.,

Mayor of the City of Saint John.

Architect—Matthew Stead.

Builder—Otis Small.



APPENDIX B.

Copy of inscription on plate deposited under the corner-stone of the
Provincial Lunatic Asylum, Toronto, on the 22nd of August, 1846 :

THIS CORNER STONE

Of the first building erected in Western Canada for the reception of
INSANE AND LUNATIC PERSONS ;

Under the direction and superintendence of
The Honourable Robert Sympson Jamieson, Vice-Chancellor,
Hamilton Hartley Killaly, Esquire,
Henry Sherwood, Esquire, Q.C., M.P.P.,
The Honourable Christopher Widmer, Surgeon,
John King, M.D., Professor of Medicine, University of King's College, Toronto,
John Ewart, Esquire,
James Grant Chewitt, Esquire,
William Henry Boulton, Esquire, M.P.P., Mayor of the City of Toronto,
William R. Beaumont, Esquire, F.R.C.S.E., &c., Professor of Surgery, University of
King's College, Toronto,
William Eotsford Jarvis, Esquire, Sheriff of the Home District,
Commissioners appointed for that purpose by His Excellency the Right Honourable

CHARLES THEOPHILUS BARON METCALFE,

then Governor-General of the Province,
Under the provisions of an Act of the Legislature of the Province of Upper Canada,
passed in the second year of the reign of

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA,

Was laid by

The Honourable JOHN BEVERLY ROBINSON, Chief Justice of the Province of
Upper Canada,

in the presence of

The Clergy,
The Judges and Bar of the Province,
The members of the Medical Profession,
The Mayor and Corporation of the City of Toronto,
The Sheriff, Magistrates, Warden and Municipal Council of the Home District,
The National Societies of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick,
The Odd Fellows' Society, the Volunteer Fire Companies,

and

The Inhabitants of Toronto generally,

on

The 22d day of August, in the year of our Lord,
1846 ;

And the Tenth year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty,
QUEEN VICTORIA,

His Excellency Lieutenant-General, the Right Honourable

CHARLES MURRAY EARL CATHCART,

Being Governor-General of British North America and Commander of the Forces
therein.

The Plan and elevations of the building prepared by

JOHN G. HOWARD, Esquire, Architect,

Were after mature deliberation and great care for the Health, Comfort,
Security and Restoration, under

DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

Of the unfortunate beings for whom this

ASYLUM

is erected, adopted by the Commissioners and carried into effect upon this Site of

Fifty Acres of Land,

Munificently granted by Her Majesty's Government for this

HUMANE PURPOSE.

Builder,

Mr. John Ritchey.

Secretary of the Commissioners,

Charles Daly.

Marshal of the Day,

Richard L. Denison, Esquire.

