

117

THE EARLY HOSPITAL HISTORY OF CANADA
1535-1875, A.D.

BY

M. LOUISE MEIKLEJOHN.

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THE EARLY HOSPITAL HISTORY OF CANADA,

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M. LOUISE MEIKLEJOHN.

I. *French Régime.*

The early hospital history of Canada is the history of the country itself; it is the tale of heroism and of martyrdom, of Indian massacre, of famine, fire and pestilence, of colonization, of war and of civilization.

The houses of the sick in this country, as in older civilizations, were called *Hotel, Hospice, Hôpital*, without discrimination, and each one endeavoured to fulfil the combined mission of modern institutions bearing the same names.

In the earliest days of the country they were built of logs, the chinks filled in with clay, the rooms planked and the roofs covered with bark. They were of necessity surrounded by palisades and fortified with cannon, for, "in all Canada, no man could hunt, fish, till the fields, or cut a tree in the forest without danger to his scalp. The Iroquois were everywhere and nowhere. A yell, a volley of bullets, a rush of screeching savages—and all was over."

The immediate neighbourhood of these primitive houses of the sick was utilized for a burying-ground, where the nuns themselves interred those of their order—and they were many—who did not survive its hardships. Here also were buried the hospital sick or any others who died in the colony. Nearby was to be found the vegetable garden and barnyard, which, too frequently, constituted their only source of subsistence. In describing the two chief communities, Parkman says: "It is difficult to conceive a self-abnegation more complete than that of the hospital nuns of Quebec and Montreal. In the almost total absence of trained and skilled physicians the burden of the sick and wounded fell upon them.

Of the two communities, that of Montreal was the more wretchedly destitute, while that of Quebec was exposed, perhaps, to greater dangers. The nuns died, but they never complained. Removed from the arena of ecclesiastical strife, too busy for the morbidness of the cloister, too

much absorbed in practical benevolence to become the prey of illusions, they were models of that benign and tender charity of which the Roman Catholic Church is so rich in examples."

The first white man to behold Quebec was Jacques Cartier, the Breton Navigator, who spent the Winter of 1535 on the banks of the St. Lawrence under terrible conditions. On the banks of the St. Charles he planted the symbol of the Christian religion, and the following spring he returned to France with the few of his company who had survived the scurvy. In 1541 Jacques Cartier again visited Canada, taking shelter at Cap Rouge, where Roberval had previously fortified himself in a vain attempt to establish a stronghold.

With the passing of Cartier and Roberval, a silence, lasting over half a century, fell upon the whole region from Stadacona to Hochelaga. Even the Iroquois abandoned their villages. Sixty years later, when Champlain sighted Cape Diamond, he found only solitude and the ruins of the fort left by Cartier. In this year, 1608, Champlain laid the foundations of the City of Quebec. The first building was called "l'Abitation"; it was erected on the river-front, near the site of the present church of Notre Dame des Victoires, and it served as a temporary residence for the Governor as well as for a store-house for supplies from France and for furs bought from Indians. An original drawing of l'Abitation by Champlain's own hand still exists and has been reproduced in his works.

With Champlain's company was a doctor named Bonnerme, who died within the year (1608) of either scurvy or dysentery.

Up to 1615 the colony consisted of the fortified post and a few cabins about the palisades; the entire population was less than fifty persons, chiefly traders, for the fear of death unshriven contributed to tentative settlement only.

During this year Champlain re-visited France and brought back with him four Recollet Friars, who speedily raised their altar and celebrated the first Mass ever said in Canada.

Soon after the arrival of the priests, the first settlers with their families came to Quebec. Among them were Abraham Martin (after whom the Plains of Abraham were named), Pierre Desportes, Nicolas Pivert, and Louis Hébert, an apothecary, who followed Champlain from Port Royal.

It is interesting here to note that the first resident medical man of whom we find authentic record was Adrien Duchesne, a surgeon of Dieppe. He must have emigrated previous to 1620, since in that year he was among the residents to meet Madame Champlain when she reached Quebec.

Duchesne appears to have enjoyed a monopoly of the practise from Quebec to Three Rivers, for a period extending over several years.

The year 1621 is marked by the building of the Recollet Convent on the banks of the St. Charles, destined later to become the General Hospital of Quebec. In 1625 three followers of Loyola joined the colony.

The next important acquisition was the surgeon, Robert Giffard, who, with his family, arrived in 1627. He later became the first visiting surgeon to the Hotel Dieu; he was evidently the medical authority in the settlement and must have been a man of importance in his own country, since he was followed to Canada by over three hundred families from Perche and Normandy.

When, on the 19th July, 1628, the British, under Sir David Kirke, took Quebec, Champlain was conveyed to England, both Recollets and Jesuits were sent back to France, among other prisoners taken was Giffard. By the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, Canada was restored to the French. That year the Jesuits returned, also Surgeon Giffard, and the following year saw Champlain return as Governor of the colony.

In 1634, Giffard was granted the Seigneury of Beauport, where he built a substantial stone residence, which place, more than two hundred years later, became the Beauport Asylum.

Giffard, after playing an important rôle in the settlement of the colony, died in 1668. By 1635 Quebec was only a village, with a few houses. Eighty persons, including the clergy, constituted the population.

At this time the Letters, or "Relations" of Father Le Jeune, the Jesuit Superior, who had joined the colony with others of his order in 1632, were exciting wide-spread interest in France. They were passed from hand to hand in the Court, universally discussed in ecclesiastical circles, and the conversion of the savages had become a popular subject for prayers, devotions and fasts.

With the acumen which has ever characterized his order, Le Jeune saw far into the future. He wrote: "If we had a hospital here, all the sick people of the country and all the old people would be there. If a monastery like Dieppe were in New France, the charity of the Sisters would do more for the conversion of the savages than all our journeys and all our sermons."

In response to this appeal, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, niece and heiress of Cardinal Richelieu, lady-in-waiting to Queen Marie de Médicis, resolved to establish a hospital in New France. The Duchesse and Richelieu together gave 22,000 livres for this purpose.

They obtained in 1637, from the Company of One Hundred Associates,

a concession of eight arpents of land in Quebec for a monastery, and a fief of sixty arpents called Ste. Marie, outside the settlement. Six workmen were immediately sent from France with orders to clear the land and prepare for building.

Under the guidance of her spiritual adviser St. Vincent de Paul, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon proceeded to the Hotel Dieu at Dieppe. This institution had been founded in 1155; it was controlled exclusively by the Sisters of St. Augustin, the oldest purely nursing order of nuns in existence; they had rigid rules, were entirely responsible to the clergy, and were practically cloistered.

From this Community three young nuns were chosen by ballot to sail to New France to open a Hotel Dieu under the direction of the Jesuits. The Sisters were to be called "Hospitalières de la Miséricorde de Jésus."

On the morning of the 4th May, 1639, some Ursuline nuns from Tours, with Madame de la Peltrie, joined the Hospitalières at Dieppe. They, too, were coming to New France. Together the Communities attended Mass that day and said farewell to their native land, and together they embarked for the New World.

After an eventful voyage, they reached Quebec on the 1st August. At the water's edge the entire populace, with Montmagny, the Governor, met the Sisters. The Hospitalières, who take precedence of all other communities, stepped ashore first, followed by the Ursulines and Madame de la Peltrie, their Canadian foundress. The little procession walked up the hill (now Mountain Hill) to the Church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance (burned 1640), where a thanksgiving service was held. The Hospitalières were received into a house in the Upper Town, owned by the Company of One Hundred Associates, and the Ursulines walked back down the hill to take shelter in a rude building on the wharf, where they had landed.

The next day the Sisters inspected their land. The workmen, who had been sent from France months before, had not arrived; the land was swampy and overgrown with brushwood; to clear it and erect a building before winter would be impossible. Therefore, they decided to remain where they were already housed, and they accordingly set out such stores and furnishings as were available.

Hardly were their beds set up, than the Indians, among whom small-pox was prevalent, arrived in such large numbers that temporary sheds and wigwams were put up for them around the nuns' house. The mortality among them was great. The disease increased. Winter, with all its hardships, was upon them. Water was no nearer than the river below the cliff; for meat they were dependent upon *l'original* (moose), which

the Indians brought in from the hunt. Clothing there was none. The dead Indians' furs were kept to cover the sick. Finally, all three nuns succumbed to illness, and the Jesuits had to take their place in caring for the sick. Smallpox raged throughout the cold weather, and every disease incident to filth followed. To add to the difficulties of the Sisters, the Indians became troublesome and dissatisfied, and called the temporary hospital "the House of Death."

Towards Spring, finding the hills too steep to carry up their canoes, the savages removed themselves to Sillery, three miles distant. When in their own villages they found the smallpox had carried off even more victims than in "the House of Death," they returned, penitent, to beg the Sisters to remove also and take up their abode in a house near Sillery, which had been erected by Noël de Bruyard, a Knight of Malta. The Hospitalières decided to await the will of their foundress in this matter. At this crisis, however, the temporary hospital was mysteriously burned, so forcing the nuns to avail themselves of the offered shelter at Sillery. Here they attended the needs of the sick and the aged and taught the Indian children.

The next Winter there was so much scurvy that their house and neighborhood was again over-crowded with the sick, and even the chapel was filled. In visiting filthy Indian wigwams, the Sisters' white habits became hopelessly soiled, and they obtained permission to dye them with butter-nut juice.

While these Quebec nuns were working out a perilous existence, strange things were happening in France. At La Flèche, in Anjou, dwelt one Jerome le Koyer de la Dauversière, receiver of taxes. One day, while at his devotions, he heard an inward voice commanding him to become the founder of a new order of hospital nuns; he was further ordered to establish on the island called Montreal, in Canada, a hospital or Hotel Dieu, to be conducted by these nuns. But Montreal was a wilderness, and the hospital would have no patients. Therefore, in order to supply them, the island must first be colonized. Dauversière was greatly perplexed.

Again, there was at Paris a young priest, Jean Jacques Olier, afterwards widely known as the founder of the Seminary of St. Sulpice. He was praying in the ancient church of St. Germain des Prés, when, like Dauversière, he thought he heard a voice from heaven, saying that he was destined to be a light to the Gentiles, that he was to form a society of priests and establish them on the island called Montreal, in Canada, for the propagation of the true faith. While both he and Dauversière were totally ignorant of Canadian geography, they suddenly found themselves "in possession, they knew not how, of the most exact details

concerning Montreal, its size, shape, situation, soil, climate and productions."

They met one day at Meudon, near Paris, as if by a miracle, ecstasically embraced like old friends, called each other by name, and took a walk in the forest nearby to communicate the details of their visions and to suggest plans for their fulfilment.

They proposed to found at Montreal three religious communities:— one of secular priests, to direct the colonists and convert the Indians; another of nuns to nurse the sick, and a third of nuns to teach the Faith to the children, white and red.

But, first, they must make a colony, and to do so must raise money. Olier had pious and wealthy penitents; Dauversière had a friend devout as himself and far richer, who, anxious for his soul and satisfied that the enterprise was of God, was eager to bear part in it. Olier soon found three others; the six together formed the germ of the Society of Notre Dame de Montreal.

Among them they raised the sum of seventy-five thousand livres (equivalent to about as many dollars at the present day), and then they secured the title to the Island of Montreal.

The title assured, they took steps to put their plans into operation. First, they would send out forty men to take possession of Montreal, entrench themselves and raise crops; then they would build a house for the priests and two convents for the nuns. Meanwhile, Olier was to inaugurate a seminary of priests, and Dauversière to form a community of nuns in France.

The company was soon formed. It was composed of forty-five devout men and women as patrons of the colony, which was to be consecrated to the Holy Family, and to be called Ville Marie de Montreal. To act as its Governor and as the representative of the Association, a Christian knight and soldier was selected, Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve.

In the Spring of 1641, Maisonneuve and a small group of strong and courageous men gathered at Rochelle to sail for New France. They were joined by Jeanne Mance, with her maid-servant and the wives of two of the sailors. Miss Mance was then thirty-five years of age. Her father, a merchant of Nogent-le-Roi, had been dead a year, and she was now casting about to see by what means she could put into execution her determination, taken long since, to cross over to New France to engage in the work of a pioneer. She had not heard of the new colony of Montreal, but one of Le Jeune's letters had found its way into her hands, and she, like all devout ladies of France, was fired with ambition to minister in some way to these New World barbarians.

After a tedious voyage across the Atlantic, the new Company arrived at Quebec in August, 1641. The lateness of the season caused them to abandon the hope of reaching Montreal that year, and they were obliged to spend the winter at Quebec. They proved to be both unexpected and unwelcome guests to the Quebec colony.

They were given shelter for the winter by Monsieur Payseau at Sillery, and we read of Mlle. Mance plodding to the town, five miles away, to visit Mme. de la Peltrie at the Ursuline Convent, which, by this time, was established on its present site.

On the 17th of May, 1642, a pinnace, a flat-bottomed boat, moved by sails, and two row-boats, approached Montreal. All on board raised in unison a hymn of praise. Montmagny, the Governor, was there to deliver the Island, on behalf of the Company of One Hundred Associates, to Maisonneuve, representative of the Association of Montreal. Here, too, were Monsieur Puyseau and Father Vimont, Superior of the Missions; for the Jesuits had been prudently invited to accept the spiritual charge of the young colony. Madame de la Peltrie, who hoped to establish a branch of the Ursulines in Ville Marie, was also a member of the party.

The scene is thus described by Parkman: "Maisonneuve sprang ashore and fell on his knees. His followers imitated his example; and all joined their voices in enthusiastic songs of thanksgiving. Tents, baggage, arms and stores were landed, and an altar raised.

Now all the company gathered before the shrine. They kneeled in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft, and when the rite was over the priest turned and addressed them. . . . Then they pitched their tents, lighted their bivouac fires, stationed their guards, and lay down to rest. Such was the birthnight of Montreal."

"In the morning they fell to their work, Maisonneuve hewing down the first tree, and laboured with such good will that their tents were soon enclosed with a strong palisade and their altar covered by a provisional chapel, built in the Huron mode, of bark. Soon afterwards their canvas habitations were supplanted by solid structures of wood, and the feeble germ of a future city began to take root." Mme. de la Peltrie, finding no scope for her project, returned to Quebec.

Some time elapsed before the Iroquois discovered Ville Marie, but at length ten fugitive Algonquins, chased by a party of them, made for the friendly settlement as a safe asylum. "From that time forth the colonists had no peace; no more excursions for fishing and hunting, no more strolls in the woods and meadows." The men went armed to their work and returned at the sound of a bell, marching in a compact body prepared for an attack.

In August, 1643, d'Aillebout arrived from France, bringing news of an "unknown benefactress," who had given 42,000 livres for the building of a hospital. This "unknown" later turned out to be Madame Bullion. It was true that a hospital was not needed; no one was sick at Ville Marie, but the colony had been established in order that a hospital might be founded.

The hospital, therefore, was built on the street afterwards called St. Paul Street, surrounded by a palisade, and part of the garrison was detailed to defend it. The building was sixty feet long and twenty-four feet wide, with a kitchen, a chamber for Mlle. Mance, others for the servants, and two large apartments for the patients. It was amply provided with furniture, linen, medicines, and all necessaries, and had also two oxen, three cows, and twenty sheep. A small oratory of stone was built adjoining it. The enclosure was four arpents in extent.

There, on October 8th, 1644, Miss Mance took up her abode and awaited patients. Soon there was no lack of them, for blood and blows and scalps were rife at Montreal. The woods were full of Iroquois, and when not caring for wounded Frenchmen, Miss Mance was kept busy by the wives and children, who went to the hospital for refuge while the men fought the savages.

At Ville Marie it was usually dangerous to pass beyond the ditch of the fort or palisades of the hospital. "Sometimes a solitary warrior would lie concealed for days, without sleep and almost without food, behind a log in the forest or in a dense thicket, watching like a lynx for some rash straggler. Sometimes parties of a hundred or more made ambuscades nearby and sent a few of their number to lure out the soldiers by a petty attack and a flight. The danger was diminished when the colonists received from France a number of dogs, which were trained to recognize the Iroquois and give the alarm. Then the nuns rang the belfry to call the inhabitants together.

The little colony of Ville Marie was not very prosperous at first. By 1648 there were forty houses and two hundred and fifty persons. Maisonneuve and Mlle. Mance constituted its sole vitality. When funds and interest flagged, it was Mlle. Mance who went to France to stir up the zeal of the Company. There, in 1647, we shall leave her for the present.

By 1648 the Jesuits had pushed their way as far as Sault Ste. Marie, and established a Mission for the Hurons. There they built a hospital, to which Indian women, as well as men, were admitted. We find no mention of nuns as nurses. The hospital was destroyed, within the year, by the Iroquois, who burnt the mission station.

During this time several of the Quebec nuns had died, and others from France had augmented their numbers. After five years at Sillery, the constant Indian attacks forced them to abandon that site and take shelter within the city while they put up a building on their own land. Workmen were scarce, and then, as now, not too expeditious. So the nuns themselves, aided by two lay brothers, dug the foundations and carried water to mix clay. Help, in the shape of workmen, finally came from France.

By 1646 both monastery and chapel were built. The nuns were at last under their own roof on the site they have occupied ever since, and they then resumed their white habit—never to give it up again.

In this year the Hotel Dieu gave relief to forty-six French and one hundred and twenty Indians.

Soon this building was too small. In 1658 a larger one was opened, and the following year the Hospitalières extended hospitality, on his arrival from France, to Monseigneur de Laval, who, in 1674, became the first Bishop of Quebec.

Throughout 1660 Quebec was besieged by the Iroquois. Both Hospitalières and Ursulines were obliged to shelter at night in the College of the Jesuits.

The year 1665 saw the arrival of the first regular troops in Canada—the Carignan Regiment. With them came ship fever. The Hotel Dieu received over one hundred sick soldiers in one day. Huguenots were numerous among these troops, and to see them die without professing the true faith was one of the greatest trials of the Sisters.

By 1690 the population of Quebec numbered 1,400 persons, and "there was a sufficiency of doctors, notaries, and architects."

On October 10th, in this year, the community was rudely disturbed. A fleet under Phipps was anchored in the harbor. Frontenac was recalled from Montreal. His presence quieted the panic, but the bombs of the invaders rattled in the city. Twenty-six shells were picked up in the hospital courtyard in one day. Soldiers came from all over the colony. They took up the floors of the hospital to build city fortifications. The well-known response of Frontenac to Phipps' messenger finally saved the situation:—"Go, tell your master I will answer him from the mouth of my cannon!" The execution of this threat saved the day. The fleet sailed away on October 21st.

We left Mlle. Mance, in 1647, in France. She visited Dauversière at La Flèche, where he had inaugurated the Sisterhood of St. Joseph, and where the first nuns had, in 1644, taken their vows. She saw also the

"unknown benefactress," and obtained from her financial aid. Then she returned to cheer the sinking hearts of the colony.

Maisonneuve, in 1654, went to France and returned with increased funds and one hundred workmen. This year the Hotel Dieu was rebuilt.

In 1657 Mlle. Mance fell on the ice and broke her arm, which was set by the Surgeon Bouchard, with such poor result that it remained useless until the following year, when she again went to France and was miraculously healed by touching the casket containing the heart of Monsieur Olier.

The return voyage was made on the St. André, which had served two years as a hospital ship. With Mlle. Mance were three priests (Sulpiciens), and six nuns of the Order of St. Joseph from La Flèche, a result of the scheme devised fifteen years before by Olier and Dauversière during their walk in the woods of Mendon. Three of the nuns were to start a school and three were hospital nuns, one of whom was skilled in pharmacy.

The St. André was infected with ship fever. Many of the Company died on the voyage, and were buried at sea; nearly all fell ill. When the vessel reached the port of Quebec, Laval saw no necessity for a new order of nuns in Canada, and detained them. After much bickering, they received permission to proceed to Montreal, the journey occupying fifteen days. In the meantime they had infected Quebec with typhus.

At Montreal the nuns were received in a room over the hospital, twenty-five feet square, containing a closet for stores and clothing. The room was made of planks; after a storm the snow was removed with shovels, and their coarse brown bread froze on the table before them.

Up to the time of the arrival of these Sisters, Mlle. Mance, with three servants, had taken entire charge of the hospital. She now gave over the care of the sick to the Sisters, remaining herself Directress of the Institution.

For years they suffered greatly from poverty and hardships. The money given by Mme. Bullion had been entrusted to de la Dauversière for investment. He proved unfaithful to the trust, and so the community was reduced to extreme want. Poverty and sickness were not the only trials of this heroic Sisterhood. In 1661 the Iroquois became so troublesome at Montreal that the inmates of the Hotel Dieu had to take shelter in the fort.

Approaching the shore, where the City of Montreal now stands, one would have seen, about 1670, a row of small compact dwellings, extending along a narrow street, called St. Paul Street, parallel to the river. On a hill at the right stood the windmill of the Seigneur, built of stone

and pierced with loop-holes to serve in time of need as a place of defence. On the left, in an angle formed by the junction of a rivulet with the St. Lawrence, was a square bastioned fort of stone. Here lived the Military Governor appointed by the Seminary and commanding a few soldiers of the Regiment of Carignan. In front, on the line of the street, were the enclosure and buildings of the Seminary, and, nearly adjoining them, those of the Hotel Dieu or hospital, both provided for defence in case of an Indian attack. In the hospital enclosure was a small church opening on the street. In the absence of any other it served the whole settlement.

And so the Hotel Dieu played its part in the development of the colony. Jeanne Mance died in 1673, having bequeathed her heart to the chapel. She is described as a "woman of sound sense, excellent judgment and wise sympathy." Her name is revered to-day in the house she founded, and her good deeds are recorded in the history of New France.

In Montreal another institution was established in the year 1688 by the Superior of the Sulpiciens. It was called the General Hospital, and was built on St. Normand Street, where is now the Customs House. It was in charge of an Order of lay brothers. For a time prosperity reigned, but fifty years after its foundation it was in a state of ruin.

In 1701 was born a young Canadian woman, afterwards known as Mme. d'Youville, who was destined to repair the fortunes of this fallen house. She began her life's mission when a young woman by mending clothes and visiting the poor in the General Hospital. In 1747, with three other ladies as helpers, she undertook the charge of the hospital.

Madame d'Youville at first met with great opposition, but overcame all obstacles, and, in 1745, receiving Episcopal sanction and rule, established a new order of nuns, who adopted a grey and black habit.

After this we find the General Hospital spoken of as the Hospital of the Grey Nuns.

Mme. d'Youville died at the age of seventy-one. The Order of Nuns founded by her has spread throughout America. They are usually called Sisters of Charity or Grey Nuns.

It was stated previously that the Recollets in Quebec, in 1621, had built their convent on the banks of the St. Charles. This property was purchased in 1692 by Monseigneur St. Valier (who, in 1688, had become the second Bishop of Quebec), and was given by him to some nuns from the Quebec Hotel Dieu to found what was called the General Hospital of Quebec. It was described as the finest building in all Canada. Here, in 1713, St. Valier took up his abode, and here he died some years later.

In 1717 a separate building was erected for the insane in connection with the Quebec General Hospital. This is the first reference to any special care for the insane in Canada. In 1743 a new and larger hospital building was erected, and throughout the dangers and epidemics of the country the doors of the General Hospital were ever open.

In the years 1776 and 1777, nine hundred died in this hospital of ship fever.

At Three Rivers, in 1697, Monseigneur St. Valier, out of his own personal property, founded, "in perpetuity," another Hotel Dieu, with six beds, for indigent poor, and gave it into the care of the Ursulines. This hospital also shared in the epidemics and misfortunes of the country.

Port Royal (now Annapolis) was founded by Champlain in 1604, and in 1629 became the earliest garrison in Acadia. From the earliest days of its settlement there was a hospital outside the fort, called St. Jean de Dieu. Haliburton states that in 1744 it was the most imposing building in Annapolis. It has long since disappeared.

Originally the territory known as Canada consisted of the Provinces now called Quebec and Ontario. Acadia consisted of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with some adjacent land, and the rest of the country was known as the North West. Some fifty years before Canada was finally ceded to the British, Acadia had been conquered by Nicholson (1710), and formally transferred to the British Crown in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, when Cape Breton was returned to the French. Subsequent to Utrecht the French built a fort at Louisbourg, Cape Breton.

The original plan of the fort included a hospital, to be attended by nuns like the hospitals at Quebec and Montreal, but in 1716 five Brothers of Charity of St. Jean de Dieu came out from France and endeavoured to establish a hospital at Dauphin (now St. Anne's), but soon removed to Louisbourg. The Brothers filled the offices of superior, surgeon, dispenser, nurse, and chaplain, respectively.

After the final occupation of the British the old hospital continued for a while, but the oldest inhabitant to-day in Cape Breton remembers it only by name.

These several institutions constituted the hospital world of Canada during the French régime. The annals of all of them are replete with accounts of conflagrations, epidemics, and sieges. The Hotel Dieu at Quebec was twice burned, the last time in 1755, when nearly all the original documents were destroyed. The Montreal Hotel Dieu was destroyed by fire in 1695, 1721, and in 1734. The General Hospital of

the Grey Nuns in Montreal was burned in 1745 and 1765, and the Hotel Dieu at Three Rivers in 1806.

Scurvy and smallpox were prevalent in the early days of the colony. There seem to have been distinct exacerbations of the smallpox in 1703, 1732, 1733, and 1755. Typhus came with almost every ship. Specially violent outbreaks took place in 1658, 1665, 1685, 1756, and 1758.

A plague, called the "Disease of Siam," made its appearance in 1711, 1718, and 1740. It is supposed by some to have been bubonic plague, others believe it to have been an infectious form of meningitis. The deaths from this cause were many. In short, every condition caused by filth, poverty, and hardship was with them in those early days, and many times the young colony was nearly wiped out.

During the first fifty years there seems to have been a scarcity of doctors, particularly at Montreal, though in Quebec, from the very beginning, the colony was never without medical men. Two among the many are particularly worthy of mention—Dr. Gaultier, who discovered the merits of the winter-green plant, which bears his name, "*Gaultheria Procumbens*," and Michel Sarrazin, who was noted as a surgeon and whose special study of animals and plants is even to-day regarded as authoritative.

On the 30th of July, 1759, at Quebec, the entire community of the Hotel Dieu and Ursuline Convents, with the exception of seven nuns, were installed, with beds and provisions, inside the walls of the General Hospital. The British, under Wolfe, were besieging the city. For two months, until the siege was raised, this institution sheltered over eight hundred persons.

An interesting story is told in this connection:—"One of Wolfe's officers was wounded in a skirmish preliminary to the Battle of the Plains. He was picked up by a French soldier and taken to the General Hospital. Two days later, the French sent an officer with a flag of truce to the British lines, requesting that the effects of the British officer be sent to him at the hospital. At the same time Indians gave an account of his rescue and condition. Wolfe was much moved, and sent £20 to the French soldier by whose kindness his captain had been saved. Two days later, another flag of truce came from the town, the bearer of which returned the money to Wolfe, as the Marquis de Vaudreuil declined to accept money on behalf of his soldiers who simply carried out the order given to them. Wolfe took advantage of the opportunity to address a letter to Mme. de Ramesay, Directress of the General Hospital, thanking her for the attention paid to the wounded officer, and assuring her that if fortune favoured his arms he would extend his protection to her and

to the community. This promise was faithfully carried out, when, three weeks later, the British entered Quebec." (Dr. Doughty in "The Cradle of New France.")

In the Battle of the Plains, on the 13th of September, 1759, Wolfe died victorious, and Montcalm received a mortal wound. Shortly before his death, Montcalm penned a letter to Townshend, surrendering Quebec, and asking shelter for his sick and wounded.

General Murray was in charge within the walls, and he extended to the Hospitalières the courtesy promised by Wolfe, as well as rations and other necessaries.

After the capitulation was signed, a procession of black-robed nuns, slowly and with bowed heads, wended their way from the General Hospital, through St. Roch's and up Palace Hill.

The city was barely recognizable, everywhere cannon ball and fire had left their traces. Dwellings were unroofed, walls felled, roads obstructed by fallen masonry, and pavements covered with broken glass, which cracked under their feet and reflected the glowing sun.

British soldiers guarded the gates of the city, the ramparts, and public places.

The inhabitants, an unhappy throng, sad and silent, with dishevelled clothing, wandered among the burnt and plundered houses. Through this the Sisters passed to find their convents destitute, plundered—used as garrisons by the British. Their farms also were laid waste and their cattle gone.

The wounded were received in the hospitals and convents, the churches were full. Temporary buildings were erected on the Island of Orleans. For a whole year the Ursulines kept sick soldiers inside their convent walls and cared for them. Scurvy broke out, and the Hospitalières at the Hotel Dieu nursed the sick and wounded, patched their own torn bedding, made clothes for the soldiers, knit stockings for the Highlanders and converted the dying, all at the same time.

From Three Rivers Sisters came to help in Quebec. At Montreal they were busy caring for the wounded and for those who had scurvy.

Soon after the conquest, the Americans, unable to involve Canada in insurrection, resolved to conquer her. Two armies were directed, one upon Montreal, via Lake Champlain, the other upon Quebec. This, the fifth siege of Quebec, began early in December, 1775. Lord Dorchester was then Governor.

To add to the distress of the people, smallpox broke out amongst the inhabitants as well as the soldiers, and again the services of the nuns

were taxed to the utmost. During the bombarding the nuns took refuge from the shells in a vault of their monastery. In spite of the death of Montgomery the siege continued until spring, when the Americans retired before the superior forces of the British.

For a period of twenty-five years the British troops were garrisoned within the walls of the Hotel Dieu. It was not till 1784, when the British fortifications and barracks were in readiness for the military, that the much-tried nuns were left in possession of their own monastery.

Three Rivers also played an important rôle in 1775. American soldiers, afflicted with scurvy, were received into the Hotel Dieu—so many that they filled the chapel. To this day may be seen in the convent American bills issued to the nuns, which, after the war, were not redeemed by the United States. The history of the Hotel Dieu of Three Rivers proudly states that, during this episode, a Company of Irish soldiers lined up before the convent and cheered the Ursulines.

In 1776 the Americans, under Wooster, had possession of Montreal and were marching to Three Rivers. Hearing that the English were in possession at Three Rivers, Wooster fled to Sorel, leaving four officers at the Hotel Dieu.

On the 8th of June, one and a half miles from town, a battle between seven thousand English and two thousand Americans was fought, which lasted two hours. The wounded of both armies were brought into the Hotel Dieu. England had enlisted the services of a Brunswick regiment. Their commander, Riedesel, passed the winter of 1776 in Three Rivers, and the Hotel Dieu was used as a military hospital.

During the war of 1812, this hospital again figures in receiving the wounded and sick.

Of these pioneer hospitals, the two in Quebec remain to this day on their original site. The archives of the Hotel Dieu are among the most valuable records of the country, and the chapel contains some rare masterpieces and relics. At Three Rivers the Sisters of Providence opened a new hospital in 1864, and, as it was found best to have only one in the city, the historic Hotel Dieu of the Ursulines was closed. In Montreal the neighbourhood of the Hotel Dieu became so thickly built that it was necessary to remove to a new locality. In 1859 the present extensive premises on Pine Avenue were erected. In 1861 the remains of the deceased Sisters were removed from the old chapel to the present site. The Grey Nuns, in 1871, removed their convent from St. Normand Street to Guy Street.

With the 18th century passed the heroic age of the Canadian Nursing

Orders. The era of peace and civilization, if less romantic and picturesque, has brought for them at least less perilous times.

II. *British Régime.*

The earliest hospital established under British rule was at Halifax.

The fort of Louisbourg was taken by Pepperell in 1745, and returned by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle three years later; it was then reinforced. By this time the British settlements in Acadia consisted only of a small garrison at Annapolis and a feebler one at Canseau. To offset Louisbourg, the British, in 1749, established a military station at Chebucto. To this post from Great Britain were sent out soldiers, sailors, mechanics, tradesmen, farmers, labourers, women and children—in all, 2500 persons, thus founding Halifax.

The following year, 1750, the first public hospital was established there on the 19th of March. It stood north of the present site of Government House.

In 1765 were two hospitals in Halifax called the Red and the Green. Both were situated at the water's edge. In 1766 the Red Hospital was granted to the city as an almshouse and was used as such until 1800, when it was torn down to permit of the building of Government House.

In 1834, during the cholera outbreak, Dalhousie College was used as a pest-house. It was afterwards burned and a new College building erected.

Military Hospitals:—Information regarding military hospitals is vague and fragmentary at the present time. There are documents extant, however, relative to such an institution at Kingston prior to 1790.

The earliest hospitals for soldiers were of course the established institutions at the various towns and posts. At Annapolis and Louisbourg there were hospitals established shortly after the garrisons, and they served not only the garrisons but any sick in those places.

Between the years 1759-1814 temporary field shelter must have been erected wherever the wounded were not near enough to the established hospitals to be taken to them. At Quebec, in 1759, the British took possession of the city hospitals and convents and erected field shelter outside the city as well as on the Island of Orleans. Shortly after the occupation of the British, garrisons were established throughout the country and by 1793 military hospitals existed in Sorel, Montreal, Kingston, York, Fort George at Fort Niagara, Amherstburg and probably elsewhere.

In 1826, a fine military hospital was built in Quebec. For some years past it has not been used, but it has recently been opened up again. In

1826 also, Colonel By erected a military hospital in Ottawa; it contained twenty beds and stood where the western block of the Parliament buildings now is.

Toronto originally had one at the corner of Yonge and Front Sts. which disappeared. A new one exists in Stanley Barracks.

Halifax has a well-equipped hospital with one hundred beds, built during the Crimea (about 1854).

Kingston, Fredericton, St. Johns, P.Q., all have military hospitals more or less old.

Malbaie Disease:—In 1773 the attention of the Government was called to a horrible scourge which ravaged the country. It was called Malbaie Disease, and was said to have been brought to Baie St. Paul by a detachment of Scottish troops. Owing to the habits of the "habitants" it spread until the whole province was affected by it.

In 1786 Lord Dorchester, then Governor General, took steps to distribute remedies throughout the country by the medium of the "Curés" and "Seigneurs." The scourge was finally stamped out. The exact nature of this disease was the subject of much correspondence between the Government and medical men among whom difference of opinion existed as to diagnosis.

Montreal General Hospital:—After the war in Canada of 1812-1814 with the States, after disbandment of the armies in 1815, when Waterloo broke the power of Napoleon and settled the peace of Europe, there was a great influx of emigrants into Canada from Great Britain and Ireland. The winter closing of the great water-ways prevented new arrivals from going far West. Quebec, Montreal and Kingston were crowded with emigrants, starving, sick and with no means of support.

The Montreal Female Benevolent Society was founded in 1816. Through its efforts in this year, a four room house was taken on Chaboillez Square and was called "The House of Recovery." The first doctor in charge was Dr. T. P. Blackwood, a retired army surgeon. In 1812 a large house, capable of accommodating twenty-four patients, was hired on the north side of Craig St. near Bleury; this was called Montreal General Hospital.

In 1820 the land on which the front of the present hospital stands was bought. (It was then called Marshall's Nursery.) The corner stone was laid June 6th, 1821, with Masonic honours and the following year the hospital was ready for use with accommodation for seventy patients. The buildings cost \$24,000. In January, 1823, His Majesty George IV. granted a Royal Charter.

In 1866 the land opposite the hospital was bought, and the old build-

ings on it removed; it has been kept as one of the "lungs" of the hospital ever since.

In 1822 a School of Medicine was organized in connexion with Montreal General Hospital, called Montreal Medical Institution. In 1828 this became the Faculty of Medicine of McGill University.

In 1832 cases of cholera were received in the hospital. In three months three thousand died of it, or one-tenth of the entire population of the city.

In 1869 one hundred and fifty cases of smallpox were treated in the Montreal General Hospital. At this time the hospital consisted of the present building on Dorchester Street, the Reid and Richardson wings, and the fever hospital. There were two house surgeons, a matron and nurses of sorts. The garret was occupied by employees and nurses. The wards were small, holding less than twelve beds. The Training School was started in 1875. (*The Canadian Nurse*, March, 1906.)

Toronto General Hospital:—In 1819 certain lands in York which town in 1834 became Toronto) were granted by the Crown, in trust to four persons, for hospital and park purposes.

In that year appeared in the Upper Canada Gazette the following notice:—"Proposals for building by contract a Brick Hospital in the town of York will be received at the Post Office, by William Allan, Esq., where a Plan, Elevation and particular description of the intended Building may be seen and any information respecting it obtained. Proposals to be given in within one month from this date. York, 24th November, 1819."

This original York hospital was built on King Street, near John Street. In 1832 it was described as "in successful operation and affording to the students daily opportunities of observing diseases and their treatment."

Later that portion of the original grant intended for the support of a hospital was vested in three gentlemen, who were known as the Trustees of the Hospital Endowment. They were not incorporated.

In 1847 an act was passed incorporating the Trustees of the Toronto General Hospital. This act was modified in 1876 and again in 1906.

Shortly after 1847 the present main building on Gerrard Street was erected. To it have subsequently been added several additions.

Kingston General Hospital:—At Kingston, in 1812, a few citizens banded themselves together under the name of the Kingston Compassionate Society with the object of relieving the distress and suffering of emigrants. The Society's work increased and in 1821 was taken over by the Female Benevolent Association which, in 1833, appealed to

the Legislature of Upper Canada and obtained a grant of £3,000 towards the erection of a hospital. The contracts for the work were let in 1833, and the building was completed in 1834, but owing to lack of means the interior was unfinished until 1837 when a further grant of £500 was received from the Government.

During the rebellion of 1837-8, Colonel Bonnycastle was instructed to procure a suitable building for a military hospital, and on his advice the building recently completed for a General Hospital was used for a Military Hospital from May, 1838, to June, 1839.

In 1841, at the request of Lord Sydenham, the building was changed to some extent and the United Legislature of Canada met there until 1844. In this year the Female Benevolent Association received permission to send their sick poor to the hospital, and a small grant was made by the Legislature for maintenance.

Up to the year 1856 the building was under the control of a Board of Trustees consisting of the Mayor of the City of Kingston, Judge of the District Court, Warden of the Midland District, Sheriff of the Midland District, and three Aldermen. The first meeting of the Board of Governors under the new charter was held November 5th, 1856.

Marine Hospitals:—At Quebec in 1831 the Marine and Emigrant Hospital was erected at a cost of £23,000. It was intended for the reception of mariners and persons coming by sea who might be afflicted by disease. It occupied a site opposite where Cartier landed three hundred years before. It accommodated 362 patients. The corner stone was laid by Lord Aylmer, then Governor-General. Among those actively interested in the institution are found the names of Hammond Gowan, Esq., Dr. Morrin and Dr. Hall, an eminent surgeon. After the death of Dr. Hall the hospital became demoralized and its supervision was undertaken by Dr. James Douglas, a gentleman of the "old school" who had come to Quebec in 1826 after a varied medical experience in Edinburgh, London, India, the United States and elsewhere, and whose name is associated in Quebec with many medical reforms.

Dr. Douglas in his "Journal" describes the institution as follows:—
 "The Marine and Emigrant Hospital, as a school of practical surgery, was second to none on this continent. Several circumstances tended to make it so. There was a large fleet engaged in the timber trade, the ships were comparatively small, seldom exceeding 500 tons; they were loaded by the seamen, and by the hired emigrants directed by and superintended by a stevedore. There was no steam, and none of the modern appliances for hoisting in and stowing away the heavy timber, which was about the only cargo then shipped. The consequences were,

that great numbers of fractures were admitted to the Hospital, as well as many which had occurred in the crowded emigrant ships during the spring passage out."

The first medical lectures ever given in Quebec were at the Marine and Emigrant Hospital, beginning on the first of May, 1837, '38, '39. They were given by Dr. Douglas and Dr. Painchaud. Following the typhus epidemic of 1847-48, conditions at the hospital again became unsatisfactory and Dr. Douglas soon afterwards retired from active practice.

As the shipping industry passed from Quebec to other ports the hospital gradually fell into disuse. It was closed about 1878. The Canadian Government subsequently instituted a system of Marine Hospitals which includes all sea-ports.

Quarantine:—From 1800 to 1832 various epidemics affected localities, but none during that time seem to have invaded the whole country.

Early in the nineteenth century cholera had originated in the East; by 1832 it had reached London. With every vessel the pestilence was expected in Canada. The Government took the precaution of opening a quarantine station at Grosse Isle, thirty miles below the port of Quebec. Temporary buildings were erected. The station was under military control with military medical officers, two companies of regulars to do police and orderly work and artillery with three mounted cannon to prevent ships from passing.

On the 8th of June the cholera reached Grosse Isle. It went by leaps and bounds throughout Canada. Within three months 4,000 persons died in Quebec alone. Since then there have been four outbreaks in Quebec Province (1834, 1849, 1852, and 1854).

At Grosse Isle, as matters passed from Imperial to Colonial Government, military medical officers and men were replaced by civilians. The station came under the control of the Federal Government. Stations were also opened in 1832 at Halifax and St. John, N.B. Later on quarantine stations were opened at Victoria, B. C., Chatham, N. B., Sydney and Louisbourg, C. B., Charlottetown, P. E. I., and Vancouver, B. C.

Leprosy:—Two Norwegian sailors from a barque called the "Florida" landed in 1815 at Caraquette, Gloucester County, N. B. Later, two women living at Tracadie and Néguaak respectively, who had washed their linen, became lepers. The disease became endemic among the French settlements on the River Miramichi and the shores of the Baie des Chaleurs and in parts of Cape Breton.

In 1844 a hospital was built for these lepers on Sheldrake Island,

near the mouth of the Miramichi River. In 1849 the institution was transferred to Tracadie, N.B., and in 1868 placed in charge of the Hospitalières of St. Joseph, from Montreal. The Lazaretto was at first Provincial but at Confederation became the property of the Federal Government.

The Grey Nuns, in 1840, established a hospital called the Hotel Dieu at St. Hyacinthe, P.Q., which has since attained to large dimensions. This same Order were the pioneers in hospital work in the North West. On April 25th, 1844, three Grey Nuns left Montreal in canoes for the far off Red River Settlement. They reached St. Boniface, opposite Winnipeg, on June 21st. There they immediately took charge of the sick and established the first hospital in the North West.

In 1845 the Hotel Dieu at Kingston was founded by the Religious Hospitalières of St. Joseph from the Hotel Dieu of Montreal.

The same year the General Hospital at Ottawa had its beginnings in a frame building on the North side of St. Patrick Street near Sussex Street. It was established by the Grey Nuns from Montreal.

Ship Fever:—The horrors of 1847, caused by the failure of the potato crop, frightful famine and the ensuing typhus which made Ireland desolate, can never be forgotten. Hundreds of thousands fled for refuge to America, many died on shipboard, while others landed on the shores of Canada only to succumb to the pestilence. Thousands died at Grosse Isle, at Quebec and at every port along the water ways. The hospitals were overfilled and temporary sheds were erected to shelter the victims. In Quebec a private hospital was opened by Drs. Douglas and Racey who anticipated the outbreak. It was on the Beauport leach and accommodated masters of vessels and cabin passengers who objected to going into crowded public hospitals.

During the outbreak this place became over crowded and consequently the "dwelling house and premises of the old breweries" at Beauport were leased. 165 cases of typhus were cared for in these buildings. Only four died. The fee charged was \$4.00 per diem.

On June 17th, at Point St. Charles hundreds were dying unaided. Three sheds 200 feet long and 50 feet wide were built. The Grey Nuns went to aid the sufferers. In the open space between the sheds lay the inanimate forms of men, women and children. More arrived day by day. Death was there in its most appalling form. On June 24th, two young nuns were stricken with ship-fever, more followed hourly until thirty lay at the point of death. Seven died. Overcome with fatigue those remaining were obliged to withdraw. Then the Sisters of St. Joseph from the Hotel Dieu took their place. In September the Grey Nuns resumed their

heroic task at the sheds and continued their charitable labours not only during 1847-48 but also later when the cholera in 1849 replaced the typhus.

At this time the only route for the transportation of emigrants to the Canadian West was by Ottawa through the Rideau Canal which had been opened in 1832. Over three thousand emigrants reached Bytown. With them the typhus.

The first patients were taken to the Grey Nuns' Hospital. Later the Government built sheds for their reception. The nuns continued to care for the fever stricken. The rate at this time paid by the Government was 12s. 6d. a week per head. (*Canadian Monarchist*, May 30th, 1856.)

Before the erection of the special sheds, any improvised shelter had been utilized, such as sheds, tents, or upturned boats. Three hundred died in Bytown.

The County of Carleton General Protestant Hospital was the outcome of the fever epidemic. Many desired a hospital under the control of the public, to be supported by a public subscription.

This resulted in the formation of a Board whose efforts were rewarded in 1850 by the erection of the stone building on the lot at the North West corner of Rideau and Wurttemberg Streets. The Board was incorporated in 1851. In 1854 Bytown became Ottawa. The original building, until 1875, served as the General Hospital, it was then used as a Contagious Diseases Hospital until 1903, when the city opened a new Isolation Hospital. In 1907 the old building was torn down.

Other important Canadian hospitals founded previous to 1875 were:—The General Hospital, Hamilton, 1850; General and Marine Hospital, St. Catharines, 1865; Jeffrey Hale Hospital, Quebec, 1865; General Hospital, Winnipeg, 1871; Victoria Hospital, London, 1872.

Hospitals for the Insane:—Little is known of the condition of the insane during the French régime, and for seventy-five years after the establishment of British rule they were cared for in almshouses and gaols.

The city of St. John, N.B., in 1835 converted a building erected as a cholera hospital into an asylum. Later, in 1848, the present St. John Asylum was opened. Next came Toronto in 1841. The old York gaol, then, recently abandoned, was fitted up and served until 1850, when the patients were transferred to the present Toronto Asylum, which for twenty-two years was the field of labour of Dr. Joseph Workman, to whom is due much of the best in the Canadian system of caring for the insane.

In Quebec, in 1845, Dr. Douglas leased the estate at Beauport consisting of the old Seigniorial Manor house built by Robert Giffard in 1634, on which estate there were large commodious stables and outhouses.

These were rapidly transformed into temporary quarters. In 1850 a special building was erected.

For twenty years Dr. Douglas laboured for the amelioration of conditions among the insane. In 1865 the asylum changed management. The Grey Nuns from Montreal, in 1893, took charge of the institution which is now their private property.

In 1847 Prince Edward Island erected an asylum, and in 1852 the Sisters of Providence took up in a small way the work which has since developed at Longue Point, a few miles east of Montreal.

In 1856, in Kingston, the stable of an old mansion was fitted up. In 1862 the present building, called Rockwood, was opened. In 1877 it became a Provincial establishment. In 1858 Nova Scotia began the creation of a system of County asylums.

London Asylum was opened in 1859 in the old military barracks at Fort Malden on Detroit River. In 1870, the present hospital at London being completed, the patients were transferred. In 1871 the first Manitoba asylum was established at Fort Garry in a storehouse of the Hudson Bay Company. It was later transferred to Selkirk. The year 1872 witnessed the birth of the British Columbia institutions in a wooden building on the Songhees Indian Reserve, outside Victoria. Later, in 1878, a new asylum was erected on the mainland near New Westminster.

The history of many new institutions and improvements for the care of the insane, as well as of the expansion and development of the hospital idea throughout this country, subsequent to 1875, does not come within the scope of this paper, and in the already extensive field I have attempted to cover it has been impossible to consider more than the merest outline.

In conclusion, I wish to express my thanks to the many who have assisted me by giving information, otherwise unobtainable, and in particular to Dr. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., Dominion Archivist, not only for suggestions but for having accorded the privilege of access to the archives.

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