

NOTES ON THE MEDICAL HISTORY OF KINGSTON*

BY THOMAS GIBSON, M.A., M.B., C.M. (ED.)

*Douglas Professor of Pharmacology and
Therapeutics, Queen's University*

Kingston, Ont.

Part I. The Early History of the Medical Faculty

After the war of the American revolution, most of the ten thousand refugees who came into Canada as "United Empire Loyalists" entered Lower Canada. Many of these remained in the Eastern townships of Quebec, but after the survey of the Ontario lands allotted for their settlement had been made, in 1783, the majority of this group moved westwards to begin life afresh in Upper Canada. During the war small groups of refugees had already crossed at Detroit, at Niagara, and at Carleton Island, near Kingston.

Just as it was after the conquest in 1759, so, after this later revolution, army and navy surgeons provided the chief medical services for the civil population about them.

In the eighteen-twenties various attempts were made to establish private schools to teach the art of medicine. One of the earliest of these took shape at St. Thomas, under the patronage of the famous Colonel Talbot. Dr. Charles Duncombe, a native of the United States, was the chief promoter of this school, which began operations in 1824. Prospective students were expected to be well up in Latin. Duncombe was to teach the Theory and Practice of Medicine, and John Rolph, then of Dundas, proposed to give lectures and demonstrations upon Anatomy and Physiology. Both these men were pioneers in all the educational developments of their time, and were equally in danger of being shot for their part in the rebellion of 1837. Duncombe escaped over the Michigan border, disguised as a woman, and did not return to Canada. Rolph established an important medical school in Toronto in 1843, after his return from banishment. He had already been in the habit of taking student apprentices from the time of his first coming to York in 1831.

In the Kingston paper of July 22, 1834, there appeared the following:—

"Kingston, Upper Canada, Medical Academy.

"Under the auspices and patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne.

"Mr. Colls, Surgeon, Royal Navy, will open an establishment on August 1st. His terms are as follows: With board and lodging, washing, etc., £100 per year; without board, etc., £50.

"The gentlemen will be taught with great care the

*Read before the Academy of Medicine, Toronto, January 3, 1928.

duties incumbent upon them as professors of the general science, in every branch, theoretically and practically. Their morals will be carefully watched, and their religious duties will be impressively enforced upon them according to their tenets. They will be taught Anatomy, Surgery, Medicine, Midwifery, etc. Lectures will be daily given.

"Mr. Colls will teach the following languages, with which he is well acquainted: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Dutch. These will be gratuitous. £25 will be required in advance as an entrance fee, part of the annual payment. July 22, 1834."

Whether Mr. Colls met with suitable encouragement in this earliest known attempt in the Kingston district to teach medicine with a view to practice, I have not been able to discover. We know, however, that Dr. James Sampson and Dr. Adamson took apprentice pupils, who were later licensed in Toronto at the hands of the Board of Examiners appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. In April, 1838, for instance, one James Hope passed a very good examination before this Board, having been for four years a pupil of Drs. Adamson and Sampson*.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MEDICAL FACULTY OF QUEEN'S

In the year 1890, when the late Dr. Fife Fowler resigned the Chair of Medicine, he gave the student body, in his valedictory address, the following account of the occasion of the establishment of the Medical Faculty affiliated with Queen's University:—

"I take this opportunity to advert to the establishment of the medical department of Queen's University, the more so as I alone remain of those who took part in its foundation forty-six years ago.

"It is very remarkable that the establishment of a medical school here in connection with the university was due to intolerable bigotry in the Queen City of the west. Certain students, whose names I will read you from the first calendar, were informed that they could not obtain the degree of doctor of medicine, unless they conformed to religious tests which were distasteful to them. These gentlemen petitioned us to establish a college in Kingston which would be open to all on the same terms. Their names were:—Daniel Chambers, Robert Douglass, Samuel Dunbar, Weston L. Herriman, William Hillier, John F. Mercer, William S. Scott, H. W. Spafford.

"A correspondence was opened up with these gentlemen by the late Dr. Stewart, and the result was the formation of the medical faculty of Queen's. The faculty consisted of Dr. Sampson, Dr. Stewart, Dr. J. R. Dickson, Dr. Horatio Yates, Dr. William Hayward, and myself." †

In an editorial in the "*Queen's College Journal*" of January 9, 1901, I find it stated that the appeal from these eight men came through a letter written by one of them, Robert Douglass, a B.A. of Queen's in 1851, to the late Mr. John Mowat, one of the first Trustees of Queen's College. This letter was written early in the year 1854. Mr. Mowat showed it to Dr. John Stewart, his family physician, who wrote to Douglass in reply. Dr.

* Minutes of the Medical Board, quoted by Canniff.

† See "*Kingston Medical Quarterly*," October, 1900.

Fowler's statement is further corroborated by the reported words of one of this Toronto group of eight, Weston L. Herriman by name. These we find in an address delivered by him in Convocation Hall of Queen's College on October 14, 1903, at the beginning of the fiftieth session of the medical school at Queen's:—



The late Dr. W. L. Herriman, of Lindsay, Ont., one of the first graduates, 1855.

"I have been asked why we left Toronto and came to Kingston to graduate, and have seen some statements in the papers about that which were a little off from the true version. I will answer for myself, and I think that will be an answer for the others in the main.

"For two years I attended lectures in the medical department of old King's College, which then became defunct by Act of Parliament and, I believe, mainly through the jealousy and rivalry of the late Dr. Rolph. He, no doubt, was an able man, not only in his profession, but as a political manipulator. He established a medical school in competition with the medical school of King's College University—that is what it was then called. There may have been some good reasons for his action. However, there was keen rivalry between the two schools.

"I have no doubt but Dr. Rolph and his few associates ground their pupils well and turned out good doctors. On account of the system of grinding we boys called his school the 'Pepper Mill'. Being forced to leave King's College, I went to Trinity College medical school and attended lectures one session. That being the end of three years of my studies I was allowed to be examined in certain subjects, and if I passed I would be done with them. I already understood that all prospective graduates of Trinity must subscribe to the 'thirty-nine articles' of the creed of the Church of England, but after passing the third year examinations I was told I could not graduate unless I was a 'bona fide' member of the Church of England, which I was not. I was born a Methodist, have lived a Methodist, and am likely to die a Methodist. So I and others had to seek shelter elsewhere. We came to Queen's and graduated without any religious test" *

That these conditions actually were attached to the privilege of taking a medical degree from Trinity is very definitely established by the announcement published in the *Medical Chronicle* or the *Montreal Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, of 1853, Vol. I., page 188. This reads as follows with regard to the qualifications of candidates for degrees at Trinity:—

* "Queen's Medical Quarterly," New Series, Vol. I, No. 1.

"Students are either occasional or academical. The first class are not required to submit to the test of the second, viz., taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and declaring that they are members of the United Church of England and Ireland"

In Vol. IV, No. 7, of the *Medical Chronicle*, page 269, occurs a quotation from the *Hamilton Journal and Express*, taken from an article in that paper upon "Our Medical Schools". From this we learn that, during the session 1851-52, through the influence of Dr. Rolph and those who thought with him, the endowments of the medical school of King's College University were swept away by the Hincks Government, so that soon afterward the teaching of medicine at King's disappeared, leaving no trace, except that King's had still the power to grant degrees in medicine. The group of eight, therefore, must have been warned in good time that they would have to take refuge with the Trinity faculty. Naturally, the name of Rolph's School would be anathema to them on account of his part in the destruction of their medical Alma Mater. They must have felt perplexed indeed when faced with the contemporary state of medical affairs in Toronto. But a way out of the difficulty suggested itself to Robert Douglass, the graduate of Queen's in Arts, and a "man greatly beloved" according to the record*.

The story, as given by Dr. Herriman, involves the following sequence of dates, if he took his first three years in medicine without interruption:—Sessions 1851-52, and 1852-53, at King's College University Medical School, Toronto, and session 1853-54 at Trinity. The date 1851-52 for the first session is confirmed by our knowledge of the fact that Robert Douglass graduated B.A. of Queen's in the spring of 1851. He would naturally enter upon medical studies the next session, 1851-52. The "Queen's Spirit," so frequently spoken of, and so easily appreciated still among any gathering of Queen's Alumni, may already have been strong in the soul of Douglass, and he may have felt and persuaded his companions to believe, that his indomitable Alma Mater would find for him and them some way of escape.

The secession of these eight students was not without an effect in helping to bring matters to a crisis at Trinity. The *Medical Chronicle* of September, 1853, page 158, records the fact that the Medical Faculty of Trinity had resigned their professorships. They had published in the daily press of western Canada a declaration that their medical graduates would no longer be subject to religious tests. The Council of their College, however, were still Tories of the die-hard type, and called upon these rebels to withdraw their announcement. This the Medical Faculty refused to do, so that the only course open to them was to resign.

The foregoing details provide the dramatic,

* For references derived from the *Medical Chronicle* I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. H. B. Anderson.

human interest side of the story, but for sober fact as to origins we must consult the unemotional statements in the Board of Trustees' Minute Book.

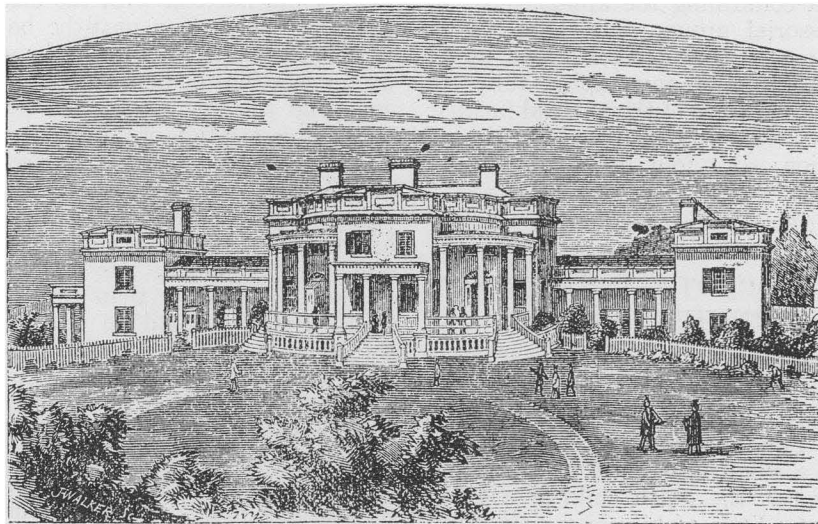
On the 20th of July, 1853, at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Queen's College, it was resolved to establish, as soon as possible, faculties of Medicine and of Law.

In this year of 1853, expansion appears to have been in the air, for, in November, the Trustees purchased "Summerhill," the home of Archdeacon O'Kill Stuart, with six and a half acres of land, for £6,000, and a new appeal was made to the Presbyterian Church of eastern Canada for the financial support required to meet this outlay.

On February 7, 1854, a committee of the Trustees invited the medical practitioners of Kingston to meet in conference concerning the proposed establishment of a School of Medicine. The place of meeting was the home of the late Sir John A. Macdonald. This definite start may

list of names for various teaching appointments. The following is the first selection agreed to:—Dr. Sampson, President of Faculty; Dr. H. Yates, Professor of Medicine; Dr. Dickson, Professor of Surgery; Dr. Stewart, Professor of Anatomy; Dr. Meagher, Professor of Midwifery; Dr. Harvey, Professor of Materia Medica. Dr. Stewart was proposed as Secretary of the Faculty. A month later four of the leading doctors met the Trustees and made known their plan for the establishment of the school.

On August 2nd, the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees recommended the appointment of lecturers in certain medical subjects "until circumstances should permit of the appointment of Professors." The lecturers were to be under the authority of the Executive Committee of the Trustee Board, and their emoluments were to be derived from students' fees and from the income of any grants which might in the future be given to Queen's by Government, or by private



UNIVERSITY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE.

"Summerhill" in 1856. Medicine for a few years occupied the two wings of the building.

have been due to the receipt of Robert Douglass' letter, early in that year, but the Board of Trustees' minutes make no reference to it.

An account of what transpired at this conference is extant in the handwriting of Dr. John R. Dickson, Sir John's physician. At the end are some lines written and signed by Sir John, confirming the accuracy of the minute. One of the statements so confirmed is to the effect that the conference of physicians was called at the instance of Dr. Dickson, and that Sir John—then, of course, Mr. John A. Macdonald—himself wrote an invitation to be present to every medical practitioner in Kingston.

An adjourned meeting, at which all the members of the medical profession were present, was held a fortnight later, with Dr. Sampson in the chair, and Dr. Stewart acting as Secretary. On this occasion, Dr. Stewart's was the only voice given against the establishment of a medical school. The meeting proceeded to propose a

donation, specifically for the uses of the medical faculty. Authority was given the lecturers to secure a building containing two lecture rooms and an anatomy room. The sum of fifty pounds was granted them to buy charts and apparatus; £250 was to be the limit of the financial obligations then assumed for all purposes.

The lecturers who first taught medicine tentatively in Kingston were:—Drs. Sampson, Stewart, Dickson, Horatio Yates, Hayward, and Litchfield. The Rev. Dr. Williamson, of the Arts faculty, gave lectures on chemistry.

There were twenty-three students in the first class, and nine graduated in the spring of 1855—the eight men of three years' standing in Toronto, and another, who had taken his preliminary studies in Toronto and in New York.

It was on June 20, 1855, after this fairly successful start, that it was finally resolved that a medical faculty be established in connection with Queen's College. The professorial staff then appointed

were:—Dr. James Sampson, President, and Professor of Clinical Medicine and Clinical Surgery; Dr. John Stewart, Professor of Anatomy, Physiology and Practical Anatomy; Dr. John R. Dickson, Professor of Principles and Practice of Surgery; Dr. Horatio Yates, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine; Dr. Fife Fowler, Professor of Materia Medica; Dr. John P. Litchfield, Professor of Midwifery and of State and Forensic Medicine. They were asked to sign a statement of personal acceptance of the authority of the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and to give an undertaking that they would not do or say anything contrary to the doctrines contained in the same. Students were to be entirely free of religious test.

It is evident that from the first there was great fear on the part of some of the trustees that the college income might be seriously drawn upon by the new faculty. The Revs. Dr. Machar and Dr. George, and Mr. Malloch, dissented from the above resolution confirming the appointment of this first professorial group, and there was a movement to have a special deed drawn up to prevent the alienation of any capital funds of Queen's College for the use of the medical faculty.

Forty-seven students were in attendance during the second session; sixty-four in the third, and ninety-five in the fifth.

NOTES ON THE MEDICAL HISTORY OF KINGSTON

BY THOMAS GIBSON, M.A., M.B., C.M. (ED.)

*Douglas Professor of Pharmacology and
Therapeutics, Queen's University
Kingston, Ont.*

Part II. The Early Professors

Dr. James Sampson was the son of a rector in County Armagh, Ireland, and was born there in 1790. He took his medical apprenticeship and college training in Trinity College, Dublin, and at Middlesex Hospital, London, where he was house surgeon. In 1811, he entered the army as assistant surgeon to the 88th Connaught Rangers. In 1812, he was in Canada with the 104th Regiment, and was present at the attack upon Sackett's Harbour. We find him later at Kingston, taking care of the wounded. Subsequently, he accompanied a force which went west as far as Penetanguishene. His commanding officer having fallen sick, Sampson organized and led a night attack upon two armed American vessels at anchor in Lake Huron. This adventure was successfully accomplished without the loss of a man.

Somewhere between 1817 and 1820, he settled in Kingston as a half-pay officer, and began to build up a practice. Here he lived nearly fifty years, and proved one of Kingston's ablest and most liberal minded citizens. He was thrice mayor; for some years a magistrate, and for twenty-six years surgeon to the penitentiary from the year of its foundation, besides doing much to improve the equipment and management of the General Hospital, of which he was the first appointed physician in 1835. He succeeded Dr. James Macaulay as a member of the Medical Board of Upper Canada, whose chief duties were to examine candidates for license to practice in the province, and to examine those who applied for pensions in the army and navy.

As dean of the profession when Queen's College first organized its medical faculty, Sampson was asked, in June, 1855, to be Professor of Clinical Medicine and Clinical Surgery, and to act as President of the Faculty. From these positions he resigned in November, 1860.*

Dr. John Robinson Dickson was also an Ulster man, born at Dungannon, County Tyrone November 15th, 1819. He studied in Belfast,

* See Minutes of Board of Trustees.

and took a medical degree in Glasgow. In 1838, at the age of nineteen, he came with his family to Canada. He took further post graduate study at the University of the City of New York, and is said to have been the first M.D. on its roll of graduates. Thereafter he settled in practice at Kingston. He served on the General Hospital staff from 1846 to 1854.

In 1854 he was one of the leading promoters of the foundation of a medical faculty in affiliation with Queen's College, and was its first Professor of Surgery. In 1862 he became surgeon to the penitentiary, and in December, 1868, he was appointed medical superintendent of Rockwood Asylum, where he introduced occupational therapy and many other valuable reforms. He died on Wolfe Island in his son's home, in November, 1882, full of years and multiplied honours. He was an able surgeon, a farsighted member of our profession, and a citizen full of public spirit. He was, perhaps, the first to advocate publicly one central examination to admit to the practice of medicine throughout Canada.

A genius of quite another type was *Dr. John Stewart*, a native of Perthshire, and an L.R.C.S. of Edinburgh. He came to Canada in the thirties, and in 1839 was licensed to practice by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Upper Canada. When he walked abroad in Kingston he sported the Kilmarnock bonnet and the Stewart tartan plaid, alike in summer and winter, with a cairngorm brooch on his shoulder. This was symbolic of a self-assertive, combative temperament, which brought much trouble to himself, and to others whom he was fond of haling to the courts, where he conducted his own cases and fought things out to the bitter end. He was, however, warm-hearted, had a benevolent side to his disposition, and greatly distinguished himself by his devoted care to the victims of the typhus epidemic brought in by emigrants in 1847. It is said that he even performed the actual service of a sexton in committing stricken bodies to their last resting place under the mound, crowned with a sculptured angel, which is shown to every visitor to the precincts of the General Hospital.

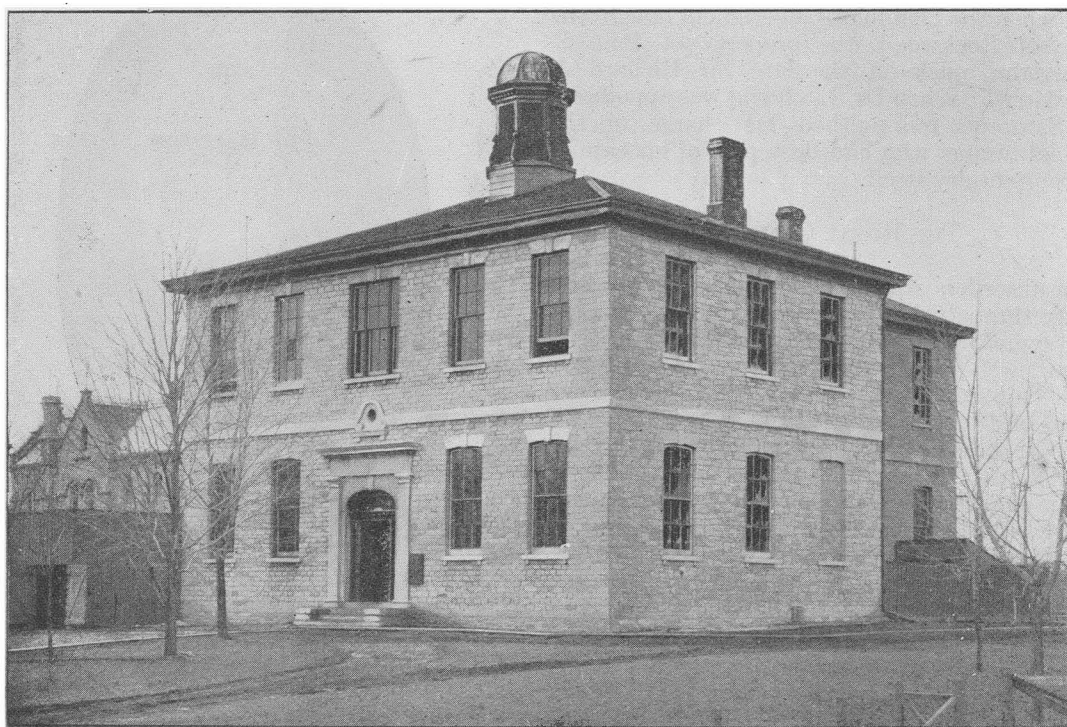
Of the "acts which he did" during his incursions into civic and parliamentary politics; of the duel which he fought with one Steers*, an equally hot-headed Celt from the Irish side of St. George's

* Steers' second by the way, was who but that rising young barrister, John A. Macdonald, and the weapons were a pair of Dr. Sampson's old navy pistols.

Channel; of the "Argus" newspaper which he edited in order to ventilate his opinions of all and sundry his opponents, it were long to speak. Stewart had studied anatomy under the brilliant Dr. Knox in Edinburgh, and became the first Professor of Anatomy in the young Medical Faculty of Queen's. In the early sixties disagreement arose between him and several other members of the staff, which resulted in mutual accusations before the Board of Trustees. A series of charges of indiscreet behaviour was brought against Stewart. The first seven of these he very naively admitted, but as for the others he "passed over them in silence." He was suspended from office permanently, but held on as long as possible to the books and apparatus belonging to Queen's College which were in his

prenticed for four years to Professor Pirie of Marischal College, Aberdeen, whence he graduated M.B. in 1843. Later, he proceeded to the degree of M.D. in his College, and shortly afterwards obtained the license of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh. In the Spring of 1854 he came to Quebec as surgeon of an emigrant ship, and then pushed up the country to Kingston, where he settled, and was at once added to the staff of the Medical Faculty as teacher of *Materia Medica*.

Later, he was succeeded by Dr. Horatio Yates who became Dean and Professor of Medicine, serving the Faculty for forty-six years in all. He was a man of good abilities and solid judgment, urbane and honourable in all professional relations; To the student he fulfilled the same kindly role of a



"Old Medical Building," erected 1858

possession. This was the year in which Stewart began to edit and publish a new series of his weekly newspaper "the Argus" with this promising motto at the head of its front page: "Be just and fear not."

Stewart was, take him for all in all, one of the most picturesque citizens of Kingston of his day, and there must have been something toward at all times in his neighbourhood. He is said to have made a good end at the last, under the discipline of age, infirmities, and, it must be feared, straitened circumstances. He died in 1891, the same year as his much greater townsman, Sir John A. Macdonald.

Dr. Fife Fowler was born in 1823 in the fair town of Elgin, Scotland. He was a pupil in the famous grammar school of Aberdeen, spent two years in King's College in Arts, and was ap-

fatherly friend as did the revered Dr. Williamson in the Faculty of Arts.

Dr. Horatio Yates was born in New York State in 1821, and came to Kingston to live with an uncle in 1833. At the age of seventeen, he was apprenticed to Dr. Sampson, and later took some studies in Philadelphia, where he graduated in 1842. After a year in St. George's Hospital, London, he returned to Kingston and quickly built up a large practice. In the year 1854, he devoted himself with others to the re-organization of the General Hospital, which had been sadly neglected for some time through lack of funds. The same year he accepted the lecturership in Medicine in the new medical faculty at Queen's. Yates was a scholar and a man of culture, and filled a large place in the medical, social and civic life of his time.

Of all the group, the figure of *Dr. John P. Litchfield* is the most shadowy. He is said to have been Inspector of Hospitals in South Australia in the early forties; then Superintendent of the Walker Private Asylum, presumably in Britain, from 1845. The date of his arrival in Kingston I have not yet found out. He was of sufficient reputation to be asked to succeed Dr. Hayward as a teacher of midwifery when professors were first appointed in 1855. In the same year, on March 1st, he was appointed physician to the criminal insane patients at Rockwood. This post he held till his death in December, 1868. He resigned his professorship of obstetrics in October, 1860, to be succeeded by Dr. Michael Lavell.

The criminal insane were confined in the basement of one of the penitentiary buildings until 1854, when the Dominion Government bought the estate of Rockwood, the property of John S. Cartwright, uncle of the late Sir Richard J. Cartwright. When Dr. Litchfield was appointed, Dr. Sampson relinquished his charge of the criminal insane, who had been part of his care in the penitentiary itself.

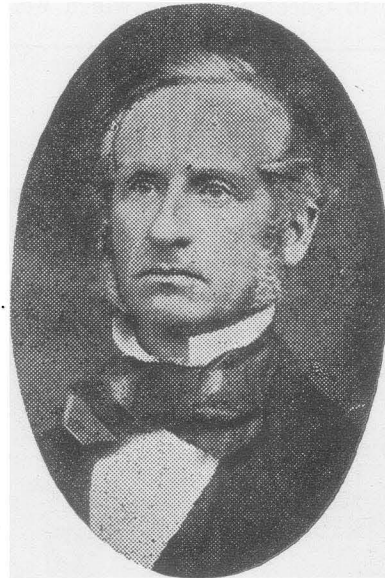
THE ROYAL COLLEGE

The disorders which arose among the medical faculty through the vagaries of Dr. John Stewart were symptomatic of a serious lowering of its general well-being. The number of students, which had steadily risen to ninety-seven by the session of 1860-61, fell off from year to year till in the session of 1865-66 there were but sixty. The dissatisfaction among the medical staff was further increased by the enactment by the trustees of a new set of statutes for the general government of the various faculties of Queen's in 1862-63. Professor Dickson resigned the chair of surgery in 1864 in protest, and was allowed to go, after ten years' valuable service, without a word of thanks or appreciation from the trustees.

The situation in the College was further aggravated by a fierce feud between Professors George and Weir, by the death of Principal Leitch, and by the coming of a new principal. The original doubt on the part of an influential group of trustees, of the wisdom of maintaining a medical faculty, re-asserted itself, and grants for medical purposes were grudging more than ever. In 1866 the medical group felt that something must be done if a medical faculty were to continue to exist in Kingston.

The majority of the medical staff, led by Dr. Dickson, finally decided to cease to function as a teaching faculty of Queen's, and to secure an act incorporating them as a College of Physicians and Surgeons at Kingston, with independent powers. The Hon. John A. Macdonald saw it through the Legislature, and it passed its second reading in the House on July 19th, 1866. On the outside of the schedule of the act it is described as "An Act to Incorporate the *Queen's* College of Physicians and Surgeons, Kingston." Such

was the name first proposed by the medical staff. But when this was referred to the Board of Trustees, they objected, on the ground that there was already a Queen's College at Kingston with a charter from Her Majesty. It was but a step to change the name from "Queen's" to "Royal." Dr. Dickson is authority for the statement that this style was suggested by the Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, and somehow it seems quite like a thing he might do. In the body of the schedule of the Act, it is described as an Act to Incorporate the "Royal" College of Physicians and Surgeons of Kingston. The persons incorporated were: Doctors Dickson, Mair, Fowler, Lavell, Kennedy, MacLean, Sullivan and Richard A. Reeve, and their successors. Dickson and Fowler alone



Dr. John Stewart

remain as representatives of the first professors. Section 5 conferred the right to grant certificates of qualification, or diplomas, after due examination, which should entitle students obtaining them to be registered as practitioners.

Within a few years, the privilege of presenting themselves for examination before the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London and of Edinburgh, was secured for the students of the Royal College at Kingston.

Section 7 gave the Royal College the right to affiliate with any university, so that from it the students of the Royal College might obtain degrees in medicine, surgery and midwifery, qualifying them to practice. Queen's, and later Trinity, were the degree-conferring institutions with which the College was affiliated.

Section 7, therefore, re-established the old arrangement between the Medical Faculty and Queen's College with regard to the granting of medical degrees. But, in addition to this, Section 5 gave the Royal College the right to make licentiates qualified to practice in Canada, and entitled to go up for examination in Britain, thus opening a back door into the profession in the

States through the diploma of licentiate, and in Canada through the taking of such a diploma, for instance, as the L.S.A. of London, in the days when there was reciprocity between British and Canadian licences. In later years, the mere diploma of the Royal College was not acknowledged in Canada as conveying the right to practice. This, of course, was the undesirable feature in the constitution of the Royal College.

The new arrangement was announced to the Fall Convocation of 1866, by Principal Snodgrass in a very cryptic paragraph, and by the militant Dr. John R. Dickson in a trenchant address very critical of the trustees. Dickson at the same time announced that it was proposed to establish the advanced degree of Fellowship of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, as an acknowledgement of higher scholarship and skill among Canadian practitioners of at least five years' standing.



Dr. J. C. Connell, appointed Dean of Medicine, 1903

By the time the reunion with Queen's College took place, in 1892, twenty-nine fellows had been created. Thirteen of these were, or had been, on the teaching faculty of the Royal College, and the rest were quite a "mob lot," curiously distributed. Kingston, Jamaica; Waverley, New South Wales; Sacramento, Cal.; Queenstown, Ireland, all boasted of possessing a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Kingston, the last named being a member of the British House of Commons.

A short-lived increase in the number of students followed the new departure, but in 1868-69

the exodus began again. In that session there were fifty-four medical students, thirty-five in 1871-72, and thirty-three in 1874-75. The reunion of the Presbyterian Churches in 1875, and the coming of Principal G. M. Grant in 1877, brought new life to Queen's in all its departments, and the number of medical students began to increase slowly once more. By the year 1892, their numbers had grown to one hundred and forty-five, and the whole student body including medicals, to four hundred and fifty-four.

MEDICAL WOMEN AT QUEEN'S

We may digress here, for the moment, to give a brief account of the training of medical women at Queen's. On 28th May, 1879, the Misses Augusta Stowe and Elizabeth Smith passed a matriculation examination before the Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario. These were the pioneer women students to enter for a complete course of medical study in Canada. One of their examiners for matriculation was Mr., now Dr. A. P. Knight, of Kingston. He informed one of these ladies that Queen's had recently decided that the advantages of the university course would henceforth be thrown open to women (session 1878-79), and that possibly the Medical Faculty might be willing to act upon this resolution.

Correspondence with Dr. Lavell, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynæcology, resulted in an announcement being made that the Faculty of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Kingston, would establish a course of lectures for women only. This course would be given during the spring and summer months, and would run from April till September, the same as that given during the winter session to the men; it would qualify after examination for the degree of M.D. The first session began April 2nd, 1880. Only four students presented themselves on that date. The teaching staff consisted of the following: Professor N. F. Dupuis of the Arts-Science group, and Doctors Fowler, Oliver and T. R. Dupuis, of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Kingston.

In April, 1881, only two women students appeared to undertake the new session, and it was arranged that the attempt would be made somehow to have them take their studies along with the men students in October, on a partly co-educational basis. This plan was carried out with fair success during the session 1881-82. During the third session (1882-83), however, a group of students, and two of the professors, set themselves the task of driving the women out by grossly offensive methods. The women appealed to the Faculty, and the male students delivered an ultimatum to the same body, threatening to desert to Trinity unless the women were removed. In this strait, the Faculty promised to carry the existing women students through their course, in separate classes, to graduation, and in future to accept no other women students.

Great sympathy was expressed in the general

provincial press for the cause of the women, and shortly afterwards the Legislature passed a resolution that women should be admitted as students of the provincial University itself. On June 8th, 1883, fostered largely by Dr. A. P. Knight, an influential gathering of citizens (which included Principal Grant, Sir R. J. Cartwright, Mr. H. Folger, Mr. Gildersleeve, and Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick) resolved to open a separate school for women medicals. Subscriptions amounting to \$1,500.00, to be renewed annually for five years, were procured within a month. Of the Board of Trustees appointed, Sir R. J. Cartwright was Chairman, and Hon. William Harty, Vice-Chairman. The members of the Faculty were: Doctors Lavell, Sullivan, Oliver, T. M. Fenwick, Saunders, Phelan and Garrett. Nine students went through the session of 1883-84 and in the spring the first women graduates of Queen's were capped: Misses Fitzgerald and Fowler, (B.A.); and Mrs. McGillivray and Misses Beatty and Smith, (M.D.). These were the first women graduates of any Canadian University.

Mrs. Alice McGillivray was on the staff of the Women's College as Lecturer in Anatomy the following session, and in 1887 Dr. Elizabeth Shortt (as Miss Smith had then become) joined the staff as Lecturer on Jurisprudence and Sanitary Science. Two other women, Dr. Marion Livingstone and Dr. Isobel McConville, were made teachers of materia medica and anatomy, respectively.

In 1890 the Women's College moved from the rooms in the civic building, which had been loaned by the City Council, to the Wilson homestead, still standing on Union Street, which had been purchased for their use. Twenty-five was the maximum number of women students in attendance during any one session, and each year there was a graduating class.

After ten years of fairly successful existence, certainly full of sincere hard work on the part of its supporters, teachers, and students, the Kingston Women's College closed its doors. The Toronto Women's Medical College, which came into existence in 1883, had grown into a flourishing concern, and it was felt to be foolish to continue the much smaller school in Kingston. The existing undergraduates withdrew to Toronto and completed their studies there, returning to graduate from their Alma Mater. The Toronto School in its turn closed its doors in 1906, when the fight for co-education in medicine had been finally and completely won. Thirty-three students graduated from the Women's Medical College at Kingston. Of these at least four took up foreign service in Central India, in a missionary capacity.

THE ROYAL COLLEGE—*Continued*

About the year 1892 the medical school in charge of the Royal College was at a very low ebb. It had been supporting itself as a small group by students' fees, and by the prices of licentiate and fellowship diplomas, with little

development of plant or of personnel, and with the inevitable growth of dead wood in a stagnant faculty. Financial independence meant also freedom from the stimulating criticism of the group of trustees of Queen's.

Principal Grant had been acutely conscious of this, and at last decided to try to let loose a fresh breeze upon the untroubled waters. His proposition was that the Royal College should, as a teaching body, cease to function, and should become the Medical Faculty in affiliation with Queen's University. They must still finance themselves in general, but Queen's would establish a chair of Biology and Animal Physiology and would pay the professor. The fees for this course, however, would come to the Treasurer of Queen's. This reform was shortly introduced, though opposed by some of the old guard of the Royal College.

The Royal College for some years longer continued to furnish diplomas of Licentiate or Fellow to those who thought the letters worth the twenty or fifty dollars demanded, respectively, for the same.

The last note of these mutual interchanges occurs in the minute book of the Corporation in 1902. The last appointment to fill a vacancy created by death in the ranks of the Corporation of the College was made on November 6th, 1902. There is now no survivor living.

Without unduly straining the canons of charitable judgment, one may say that the Royal College appears to have been a form of institution which grew out of a temporary failure to realize the normal relationship which should have existed between Queen's and her affiliated medical faculty. This, no doubt, involves blame to both parties; perhaps more to the Board of Trustees of Queen's. There were elements of insincerity and unwholesomeness in the conception of the Corporation, exemplified chiefly in its traffic in diplomas. The Calendar of 1891-92 records to date twenty-seven Fellowships and ninety-two Licentiates granted. The minute book of the Corporation records only two Fellowships and eight Licentiates in the few remaining entries down to 1902. The total income from these sources amounted to \$3,450.00.

MEDICAL FACULTY—LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Principal Grant's next move was to urge the establishment of a Chair of Pathology. The man for this post was ready to hand, Dr. W. T. Connell, who graduated from Queen's in 1894, went at once over to England to study, and while there accepted the offer to teach Pathology at Queen's, promising to give full-time service for three years. Principal Grant died in 1902; Principal Gordon succeeded, and Dr. J. C. Connell became Dean of Medicine in 1903, in succession to Dean Fowler.

Led by the new Dean, the Medical Faculty began a steady system of urging upon the Governors of Queen's to take further financial responsibility for the Medical Faculty. Progress in this

campaign was slow, and the Faculty, therefore, sought help through direct approach to members of the Ontario Government. During the session of 1903-04, a Provincial Government grant of \$500.00 was voted in aid of the Public Health work of the eastern part of the Province, which was being done in the new laboratory, now most efficiently directed by Dr. W. T. Connell. The value of this work and its necessity had become at once evident. Many problems belonging more to the farmer's occupation than directly to public health work were solved, *e.g.*, the determination of the bacterial causes of deterioration in cheese. Because of the value of the work done by the pathological and public health departments, and the promptness with which reports were forwarded to those waiting for them, the worthiness of Queen's Medical Faculty to receive government grants was established.

In 1906 \$50,000.00 was given for the new medical building, ostensibly to provide adequate room for the pathological and public health departments. In 1913, when the University finally decided to absorb the Faculty as an integral part of its machinery, and took over complete financial responsibility for it, it found that it also took over an annual government grant of \$11,000.00. At the same time the proprietary financial interest of the old Royal College, which had passed to the Medical Faculty as affiliated with Queen's came to an end.

Chemistry, Physics and Biology are now taught by the science professors in these branches, who are whole-time men. Of the teachers of essentially medical studies, whole-time men occupy the Chairs of Anatomy, Physiology,

Pathology, Bacteriology and Pharmacology and Therapeutics. Dr. W. T. Connell is director of Clinical Teaching in Medicine, with private practice as an internist, and Dr. L. J. Austin holds a corresponding post at the head of the Surgical Department. These last two are the most highly paid members of the staff. The full tale of part-time professors, associate professors, and junior lecturers, several of whom are whole-time men, now numbers thirty-two. The student body numbers about three hundred—nominally, fifty in each year. The equipment for teaching purposes in all scientific branches may now be said to be sufficiently complete. The development of hospital and clinical facilities in recent years for a city the size of Kingston, has been phenomenal, and speaks volumes for the liberality of her citizens as well as of the Government of Ontario.

It may be said with truth that the Gaelic slogan so often thoughtlessly shouted from the bleachers "cha gheil, cha gheil, cha gheil"—which being interpreted means "Never give in"—has been a true word as expressive of the basic urge behind the little College since her earliest days in the frame house on Colborne Street, in 1841.

Amidst the general growth of the whole University the Medical Faculty has played its strenuous part, with periods of existence that were picturesque rather than formative, as is the case in all histories. From the time when the hand of George Munro Grant touched it it has moved on from strength to strength, so that its students leave its halls fitted to hold their own honourably among their peers.