

BC History of Nursing Society NEWSLETTER

**SPRING 2023 VOLUME 35 ISSUE1** 

### Sympathetic nurses in attendance Burrard Sanitarium Ltd. 1903 - 1915 The Training of Nurses c1904 - 1915

#### By Irene Goldstone

The Burrard Sanitarium Ltd, Vancouver, although short lived, exemplifies the entrepreneurial spirit of physicians responding to the rapid growth of Vancouver, the role of nurses in training as cheap labour, and the tragic vulnerability of women seeking health care.

The hospital, at 1010 Georgia Street (between Burrard and Hornby), was first advertised, with a large photograph and a detailed description of the building and the services offered, in May 1903.<sup>1</sup> Preparation of the land for construction of the hospital had begun in the spring of 1900.<sup>2</sup> The Burrard Sanitarium Ltd. was incorporated October 18, 1904 with a capital stock of \$50,000 in shares of \$100;<sup>3</sup> special legislative approval was granted in 1909.<sup>4</sup>

In anticipation of the opening the founders, Drs. Ernest Amos Hall, Robert Telford and Thomas Proctor Hall, are listed as physicians at the Burrard Sanitarium in Henderson's Directory, Vancouver of 1902.

#### **The Founders**

Dr. Ernest Amos Hall (1861 - 1932) trained as a physician and surgeon at the University of Toronto, in Europe, and in the United States. He was a prominent practitioner in Vancouver and Victoria until 1919 after which he practiced in Victoria.<sup>5</sup> He became a "man of affairs" active in the temperance movement,



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newsfetter committee

Lynne Esson (chair), Beth Fitzpatrick, Ethel Warbinek, Sheila Zerr, Naomi Miller, Glennis Zilm, Lenore Radom. The BC History of Nursing Society Newsletter is published 3 times per year.

#### SUBMISSIONS ARE WELCOME.

Deadline for the Fall Issue is May 15, 2023. Please send submissions to: esson1@shaw.ca

Archival Corner

### Frances Jean Cannon (nee Caldwell) (1941 – 2005)

NAN MARTIN, Archives Chair

Do You Like to Swim? "Fran" certainly did! In her off-duty hours, she accomplished an amazing Open Water swim!

In 1972, "Fran" was the first woman to swim the 21-mile Georgia Strait (an arm of the Salish Sea) connecting Vancouver Island with the Lower Mainland. A Plaque honoring this achievement is erected on Granville Island on the Trans Canada Trail.

She graduated from Vancouver General Hospital School of Nursing in 1963, winning the award for the highest standing in bedside nursing in a class of more than 170. She worked in Public Health in both BC and Ontario and taught Maternity Child Health at a Toronto Hospital.

To read more stories of British Columbia's nurses and their many accomplishments, please visit our website at www.bcnursinghistory.ca



## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

#### KATHY MURPHY

A new year has begun and it will be an important year for the BC History of Nursing Society. At the January meeting, the Transitions Task Force presented a report regarding the future of the organization. This was sent to all members with the hope that any concerns or questions would be raised before the Annual General Meeting. To date, there have been no concerns raised.

The Annual General meeting will be on *Tuesday, April 11, 2023 from 4- 6pm via Zoom.* All those wishing to attend must send a note via the Contact item on the website so that the Zoom invitation and agenda can be forwarded.

Please share this information with anyone you think would be interested in joining BCHNS.



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## EDITOR'S DESK

#### LYNNE ESSON

Today as I write this we are experiencing a beautiful warm and sunny day. Bulbs are starting to push their way through the winter soil, a sure sign that spring is around the corner. For British Columbia this has been a long and dark winter. My sense is that many of us are longing for those early days of spring a rebirth and anticipation for a warm and carefree summer.

In this edition of the newsletter, a feature article by Irene Goldstone explores the fascinating history of the Burrard Sanitarium Ltd. Also numerous links to Celebrate Black History Month.

I invite you to catch up on all the latest news and take a look at the BCHNS Website. As our President has indicated all our meetings this year and into the near future will be held virtually, so we welcome you to join us. See our Website for details. https://bcnursinghistory.ca/

As always, we encourage you to submit your news items, stories, and historical photographs for inclusion in future newsletters. I want to thank all the members of the BCHNS for their ongoing submissions; their support makes the job of the newsletter editor an easy task. I trust you will enjoy this edition.

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#### continued from cover

running for office several times (but defeated), and in reforming the Victoria police service.<sup>6</sup> He was also proprietor of Resthaven Sanitarium, Sidney (1910 - 1913).<sup>7</sup> Dr. Robert Telford (1869 - 1938) was born in Ontario and moved to British Columbia in 1891.<sup>8</sup> He was a schoolteacher on Vancouver Island for three years and then studied medicine at McGill University, Montreal, graduating in 1898. He opened a medical practice in Chemainus and was "resident doctor" for the Chemainus Hospital in 1901.9 The matron was Elizabeth Harriett Jones (1861 - 1922) who would become the first matron of the Burrard Sanitarium.<sup>10</sup> After postgraduate studies in Chicago and Montreal, Dr. Telford settled in Vancouver in 1902. He was "President and Manager" of Burrard Sanitarium.<sup>11</sup> Dr. Thomas P. Hall (also Dr. T. Proctor Hall) (1858 - 1933) was born in Hornaby, Ontario and was educated at the University of Toronto (BSc) and the Illinois Wesleyan University (PhD) before studying medicine at the National Medical College in Chicago. He settled in Vancouver in 1905. A "noted physician, scientist, and educationist," he was a member of the BC Academy of Science, a Fellow of the National Geographic Society of the US, and was elected to the Vancouver School Board in 1920.12

#### The "British Columbia Woman's Hospital"

In an undated letter to Mr. Rogers (likely Benjamin Tingley Rogers of Rogers Sugar),<sup>13</sup> Dr. E.A. Hall wrote that the "rapid growth of the city makes more hospital accommodation necessary" and thus he solicited support for a "British Columbia Woman's Hospital". He noted that there was no hospital in Vancouver that dealt especially with the diseases of women and he proposed to "make special preparation for the treatment of medical and surgical diseases of women, one for lying in cases [maternity] and one for the "treatment of incipient cases of insanity." ... "This hospital [is] not to be a money making institution, but to be built by donation, and run for the benefit of women. ... As to the securing of funding several gentlemen of means have already signified their intention of contributing handsomely to this proposition."14

Dr. E. A. Hall authored The unofficial gynaecological treatment of the insane in British Columbia in 1900.15 He was considered an outspoken advocate for gynaecological surgery as a treatment for women's insanity because he believed in the relationship between gynaecological disorder and insanity.<sup>16</sup>

Because the Provincial Hospital for the Insane in Victoria was not equipped for surgery, he performed this surgery in private homes until he persuaded the Sisters of St. Ann to allow the surgery at St. Joseph's Hospital; the Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital refused.<sup>17</sup> Criticism of the surgery was published as early as 1898. Wendy Mitchinson, medical historian, describes the Canadian experience and Dr. Hall's role in two major studies.<sup>18</sup> The Burrard Sanitarium was planned so that one department could be erected at a time, with wings added as demands grew. The hospital was to have accommodation for about 50 patients - 30 general care patients, 15 for lying in patients (maternity), and "accommodation for a few insane (the latter to treat only ... [with] ... a reasonable chance for recovery....."<sup>19</sup> An article in the Victoria Daily Times describes the hospital as "the most up-to-date in Canada, ... ample and commodious", ... the first impression ... is one "extreme cleanliness, ... with no lurking place for dust".... There are "sixteen private apartments ... and "on the top floor ... two large rooms such might be termed public wards" [accommodation for nursing staff].... "Large balconies, quite secluded yet offering magnificent views [of] the mountains ... enable the convalescent patient to breathe the summer air in perfect rest and guiet."20

A 1905 advertisement in the Henderson's Directory describes the Burrard Sanitarium as "A new and thoroughly equipped Private Hospital, specifically adapted for Surgical, Gynaecological, Electric Light Treatment including Electric Light Baths, X-Ray and Finsen Light."21 Note that Finsen Light was effective treatment for tuberculosis lesions of the skin and was used until replaced by antibiotics.<sup>22</sup> Accident and sickness insurance was offered beginning in 1908.<sup>23</sup>

#### Lofty aspirations – apprenticeship prevails

Dr. E.A. Hall had high standards and wished to run a nursing school. In the same undated letter to B.T. Rogers, he asks "Mrs. Rogers to investigate women's hospitals both in England and ... the Continent in order to obtain the latest designs, methods and appliances, also to pay attention to the following ... substitution of eight hours for nurses instead of twelve, and combining affiliation with a young ladies college." He noted that such "a combination ... might necessitate a four years' course, with three relays of nurses." There is no evidence that 8-hour shifts or affiliation with a women's college were implemented. He also wished to "develop a nurse girl course of 3 months".<sup>24</sup> There is no evidence that this occurred. He suggested that Mrs. Rogers look into the "psychic treatment of disease as done by Dr. Dubois of Berne, Switzerland ..." a wellregarded psychotherapist.<sup>25</sup>

#### The Matrons, A Masseuse and The Nurses

During the brief life of the hospital 6 matrons were identified. Initially the staff included 4 (unnamed) graduates and Matron Elizabeth Harriett Jones.<sup>26</sup> She was born in England (1861) and trained at the prestigious St. Mary's Hospital, Manchester winning the Silver Medal for Proficiency. She immigrated to Canada in 1893, was matron of Union Bay Hospital and matron of Chemainus



MISS E. H. JONES

Elizabeth Harriett Jones Victoria Daily Times, (1922, August 11), p. 6.

Hospital before becoming matron of Burrard Sanitarium (1903 - 1904). Likely, she started the training of nurses at the Sanitarium. She returned to Vancouver Island to run her own maternity hospital in Victoria until her death in 1922. She was widely respected for her leadership and commitment to the nursing profession.<sup>27</sup>

Mary Calhoun (1904 - 1905),<sup>28</sup> about whom little is known, succeeded her. Elizabeth Alberta Chambers (1906 - 1909),<sup>29</sup> a 1905 or 1906 graduate of Burrard Sanitarium followed her. While married with small children and living in the Nass Valley she registered with the Graduate Nurses Association of British Columbia (GNABC) (#1254) in 1921. Lucy A. Vosper, upon graduating from the Burrard Sanitarium in 1909, took a post-graduate course in surgery in Los Angeles and acted, briefly, as matron in 1910. She moved to Vernon to improve her health. In her 26th year, while nursing a friend in Spokane, she cut her thumb causing her death due to septicaemia (1911).<sup>30</sup> Mary L. Patterson succeeded her (1910 - 1912) at the age of 28; she was born in Ontario and likely trained in Ontario. Under her tenure, graduation ceremonies moved from the nurses' residence to nearby Lester Hall.<sup>31</sup> Mary Telford, (no relation to Dr. Telford) a 1910 graduate of Burrard Sanitarium, was matron 1913 - 1915. She registered with the GNABC (#1151) in 1921 and was a private duty nurse until her death in Vancouver, age 51, in 1933.<sup>32</sup>

The masseuse, Agnes Millington, offered "Electric light, Russian and Turkish baths, with salt glows and massage treatment". During her tenure on the staff of Burrard Sanitarium she described herself as "nurse, superintendent ladies baths" 1906 -1907, "masseuse Burrard Sanitarium" 1908 - 1911, "assistant matron" 1912, "nurse" 1913, and "with Burrard Sanitarium"1914 and 1915.<sup>33</sup>

Initially, the nurses' accommodation was on the top floor of the hospital (1010 Georgia Street).<sup>34</sup> Nurses are also listed as living at 1155 Georgia Street and 1031 Alberni Street.<sup>35</sup> The opening of a new residence was celebrated with the November 1910 graduation exercises at the new residence –1031 Alberni Street.<sup>36</sup>

#### **The Patients**

Under the care of a matron and 7 graduate nurses, the first annual report (February 18, 1904) recorded a total of 250 patients who had been hospitalized. Of these, 130 were men, and 120 women. This included 166 surgical patients and 84 medical patients with an average length of stay 15 days. There was no mention of obstetrical cases or breakdown by gender of the surgical cases. Four deaths were reported due to cancer (2), spinal meningitis and inflammation of the bowel. For the period November – February, the Sanitarium had operated at capacity, with an average of 10.8 patients per day. Almost half (120) came from across the province. Plans for expansion were under way.<sup>37</sup>

#### A High Profile Tragedy

The obituary of 20-year old Hattie (Harriett) M. Bowell appeared in the Daily Province on July 25, 1904 reporting her death after "a brief illness." She died "surrounded by her sorrowing relatives." Born in Winnipeg, Hattie was the daughter of John M. Bowell, Collector of Customs and Alma Cecilia Bowell and the granddaughter of Senator Sir Mackenzie Bowell, then leader of the Opposition in the Senate and 6th Prime Minister of Canada (1894-1896).<sup>38</sup>



Hon. Mackenzie Bowell Minister of Customs, January 1891 William James Topley/Library and Archives Canada, PA-027222

"She was clever and bright and loved by all."<sup>39</sup> Her death at Burrard Sanitarium precipitated high profile and complex legal proceedings involving the testimonies of Dr. Telford, Matron Mary Calhoun (age 23), nurses Miss Wallace,<sup>40</sup> Miss Mote,<sup>41</sup> and Elizabeth A. Chambers (age 19)<sup>42</sup> and many others.<sup>43</sup>

The court proceedings received detailed coverage in Vancouver and Victoria newspapers over a 4-month period. The courtroom was reported to be crowded with onlookers;<sup>44</sup> the judge cautioned reporters "to be especially accurate."<sup>45</sup> Conflicting statements of fact and medical opinion were made at the inquest, the preliminary hearing, the trial and the inquiry held by the BC College of Physicians and Surgeons. Immediately prior to the inquest, Hattie's body was exhumed and viewed by the (all male) jury before the autopsy was performed.<sup>46</sup> At the conclusion of the inquest Dr. Telford was arrested, charged with murder and held in custody; bail was refused.<sup>47</sup> The charge was reduced to manslaughter at the request of Deputy Attorney-General Hugh Archibald MacLean and bail was granted.<sup>48</sup> Dr. Telford elected trial by judge to "reach a speedy conclusion".<sup>49</sup> The Canadian Medical Protective Association announced it would defend the case in higher courts.<sup>50</sup>

As early as late April Hattie and David C. McHarg (the man involved) had individually sought assistance from several physicians "to end her troubles," but had been refused.<sup>51</sup> Hattie complained of appendicitis. Physicians "advised the young man to marry the girl at once."<sup>52</sup> Although they had become "publically engaged," Hattie had refused to marry David McHarg.<sup>53</sup> David McHarg was reported to be 33 years old and a commercial salesman. He fled to Portland, Oregon at the suggestion of Hattie's father. He was arrested in Portland as a key witness, was returned to Vancouver and was released on \$1000 bail.<sup>54</sup> [This was an illegal extradition<sup>55</sup>] He was described as "haggard" and "looked

the picture of misery."<sup>56</sup> Note that the federal government had made abortion illegal in 1869 and this came into effect in British Columbia on joining Confederation in 1871. In 1892, with the consolidation of the Criminal Code, Section 179(C), abortion and the distribution and sale of contraceptive products and the dissemination of information about contraception was prohibited.<sup>57</sup> Prior to this legislation, pharmacists and physicians provided birth control information, devices and drugs.<sup>58</sup>

Wendy Mitchinson explores these issues for Canadian women, physicians and society in *A modern issue emerges* in *The nature of their bodies: Women and their doctors in Victorian Canada*, (1991).<sup>59</sup>

Accompanied by her mother and a friend, Hattie presented to the Burrard Sanitarium on the evening of July 18, requesting surgery for appendicitis. She was to be found pregnant with a lacerated cervix; her mother was not told. Hattie had been bleeding for the previous 2 or 3 days. Dr. Telford asked the matron, Matron Calhoun to set up the operating room for an appendectomy, referred to during the legal proceedings as a "fake appendectomy" (an incision only), to protect the family "from shame"<sup>60</sup> Because of vaginal bleeding Dr. Telford had packed her vagina. As a last effort to save Hattie's life the evening before she died, Dr. Telford, with Dr. R.E. McKechnie<sup>61</sup> of Vancouver General Hospital, evacuated her uterus.<sup>62</sup> Hattie died "comatose" and "prostrate" of septicaemia. Dr. Telford insisted there be an inquest.

At the inquest, the preliminary hearing, and the trial the matron and nurses described in detail the course of events: Hattie's stable, and then rapidly deteriorating condition, their role in her care and, their observations of Dr. Telford. The matron and nurses were cross-examined by Crown and Defense lawyers, as were other witnesses. In one instance the courtroom was cleared during the nurses' testimony.<sup>63</sup>



Sensation in Telford Case The Vancouver Daily Province, (1904, September 2), p.1.

The trial concluded Saturday afternoon, September 3 and the decision was rendered September 6 - a very rapid decision by today's standards. Dr. Telford was acquitted by Judge Bole to "great cheers by the courtroom audience" on the grounds of circumstantial evidence because the testimony was "largely matters of opinion" ... "testimony founded on opinion is weak, uncertain and should be weighed with great caution".<sup>64</sup> Dr. Telford and Matron Calhoun

then went through the investigative process of the College of Physicians and Surgeons held in late November.<sup>65</sup> Dr. Telford was again vindicated.

This tragic course of events would have been harrowing for all concerned and would remain a reality in Canadian women's lives until the Supreme Court struck down the abortion laws (January 28, 1988) because the laws infringed on a woman's right to "life, liberty, and security of person."<sup>66</sup>

## Whither Psychiatric Nursing? - Another Court Case

While there were numerous reports of happy births, successful surgeries and peaceful deaths at Burrard Sanitarium,<sup>67</sup> there was a second death that led to the courtroom. In the spring of 1913 Christian Peterson Seinnes sued the Burrard Sanitarium for negligence in the death of his wife, Ollana, – a mother of two children, aged 3 and  $1.^{68}$ 

Mr. Seinnes had brought his wife from Bowen Island stating that she had hysteria. Dr. Telford, noting her extreme restlessness, assigned a special night nurse, Miss Ross, to her care. On the night of admission Mrs. Seinnes spent "four hours in continuous prayer repeatedly begging the nurse to leave her alone with God". Miss Ross said she "always found it well to humor [sic] the patient in their delusions ... and thereby it would pacify her." Miss Ross then went into the hall, "peeping into the room" to check on her when she heard the window sash creak, and rushed into the room to see Mrs. Seinnes, "clad only in her nightgown" disappear over the windowsill. The staff and police immediately "gave chase." Her body washed up on Second Beach a few days later.<sup>69</sup> Justice Morrison ruled that the Sanitarium took all reasonable precautions and could not be held guilty of negligence since Mr. Seinnes did not acknowledge her delusions and a "specially qualified" nurse was assigned to her care, although the husband had not paid for an extra nurse. "His lordship held that Miss Ross had shown reasonable care, and that it was not reasonable to expect that the woman might escape through the window." The Justice complimented the institution on efficient management; the Sanitarium stated it would not ask for court costs from Mr. Seinnes.<sup>70</sup>

It would be decades before psychiatric nursing would be introduced into the curriculum in British Columbia. For example: Royal Jubilee Hospital introduced lectures in psychiatry in 1930 - without clinical instruction or exams but with an optional rotation to Essondale Hospital.<sup>71</sup> Vancouver General Hospital gave lectures in 1929 with the first affiliation to Essondale of 2 months in October 1938.<sup>72</sup>

#### The Graduates of Burrard Sanitarium

It is not possible to be certain when the training of nurses began. Given that the first annual report (February 1904) of the Burrard Sanitarium describes care being given by 7 graduates with no mention of students, and given that Elizabeth Alberta Chambers was listed in Henderson's Directory for 1905 as probationer and matron 1906-1909, the training of nurses likely began in 1904. Two years of training was not unusual at the time.<sup>73</sup> Based on triangulating incidental newspaper reports of graduations,<sup>74</sup> reports about individual nurses, Canada Census of 1911, Henderson's Directory, the records of the Royal BC Museum Genealogy and the registration records of the GNABC 25 nurses can be confirmed by name to have graduated from the Burrard Sanitarium between 1906 and 1914. Of these nurses, 13 registered with the GNABC between 1918 and 1921.75 Interestingly, 10 were married women, a number of whom were living with their husbands and families in remote communities such as Field, Port Alberni and the Nass Valley. The high rate of voluntary registration, especially amongst married women, represents a significant commitment to the profession. These nurses may have been engaged in on-call nursing to hospitals with limited staffing or in community nursing.<sup>76</sup> Included in the 25 graduates are Annie Bushfield, Frances Isabella Dent, Anna Georgina Laird, Elizabeth Pearl Pearson and Alice Wright. Annie Bushfield graduated in 1907 or 1908. Her marriage and the reception were held at the nurses' residence in 1908. Dr. Telford gave Annie away; Elizabeth A. Chambers, matron, acted as bridesmaid. The report of her marriage and reception speaks to a sense of family within the Burrard Sanitarium<sup>77</sup>



Francis Isabella Dent, 1909 Museum of Vancouver Collection, H984.140.2

Frances Isabella Dent, a 1909 graduate, wrote a letter, now held by the Museum of Vancouver, to her mother describing her graduation ceremony. The ceremony, with an abundance of flowers, was held in the reception rooms of nurses' residence; 75 guests attended. Dr. Telford presented the diplomas and Matron Chambers the graduation pins. Musical entertainment completed the evening. The training program was described as 3 years in length.<sup>78</sup> The Museum also holds her graduation pin and photograph.<sup>79</sup> Frances Dent came from a well-known family in Revelstoke and had taught school for several years before entering nursing at about age 23. After a period of private duty nursing, she married William K. Wickens, an Imperial Bank of Canada employee in Revelstoke. She did not nurse professionally after her marriage, but assumed a socially prominent role and was active in the Red Cross and other organizations.<sup>80</sup>



Anna Georgina Laird, 1910 By permission, the Cliff family

Anna Georgina Laird (later Cliff), graduated in 1910. She returned to Canada in April 1919 after serving in a convalescent hospital for British soldiers injured in the First World War. She married in 1920 and registered with the GNABC (#126, April 12, 1921).<sup>81</sup> Elizabeth Pearl Pearson (later Shaw) graduated in 1911 and registered with the GNABC (# 418, May 23, 1918). Her graduation pin is held in the BC History of Nursing Society collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia.



Graduation pin, Elizabeth Pearl Pearson, 1909, BC History of Nursing Society Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia. Photographs by Dave Robertson Inc. (Private collection, Irene Goldstone).

Alice Wright, a 1913 graduate, was appointed acting matron of Chilliwack Hospital in May 1915 until at least September 1916 when the matron, Grace Scott Gray, returned from serving with the Queen Alexandra Imperial Military Nursing Service. During this time Alice Wright maintained the nurse-training program.<sup>82</sup>

The Census of 1911 offers an insight into the staffing of the hospital, its dependence on the labour of nurses in training as well as an insight into significant gender-based wage disparity. The staff was composed of a Matron (\$900 per annum), 1 graduate (\$720 per annum), 1 senior student (\$350 per annum), 5 junior students (\$300 per annum), 7 probationary students (\$200 per annum), 1 masseuse (\$600 per annum), 1 housekeeper (\$600 per annum) and 2 male cleaners (\$900 each per annum). Of the 13 students, 9 graduated; the 4 students who did not graduate were probationers and left to marry, become a waitress or were lost to follow up.

#### **Closing the Hospital and the Training Program**

Dr. Telford announced that he was moving his office from the Burrard Sanitarium to the Birks Building in June 1915.<sup>83</sup> This signalled the closing of the hospital and the training program. Three students completed their training at Vancouver General Hospital School of Nursing. The closure of the hospital may have been related to the increased capacity, including private accommodation, of the Vancouver General Hospital and the increased acceptance by those with private means of accessing a "public" institution where a broader range of medical and nursing expertise were available.

#### **Acknowledgments**

During the original research Glennis Zilm and I greatly appreciated the assistance of Wendy Nichols, Curator of Collections and Jillian Povarchook, Collections Associate, Museum of Vancouver. I am grateful to Christine Pennington, Curatorial Associate, Museum of Vancouver for granting affordable permission to use the graduation photograph of Frances Dent. My thanks to Caitlin Webster, Senior Archivist, Library and Archives Canada for assistance in accessing the photograph of Hon. Mackenzie Bowell. Glennis wrote significant portions of the original draft. Recent access to digitized newspapers led to a major revision. Glennis did not participate in the revision; thus all errors and omissions are mine alone.

Burrard Sanitarium, Vancouver was located within the unceded, ancestral territories of the x<sup>w</sup>mə0k<sup>w</sup>əýəm (Musqueam), Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), and səlilwəta+ (Tsleil-Waututh) Nations.

#### **Author Note**

Irene Goldstone is a graduate of the Training School for Nurses, Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal (RN, 1966), McGill University (BN, 1972), and the University of British Columbia (MSc, 1981). She is a founding member of both BCHNS and CAHN. She can be reached at Irene.goldstone@gmail.com

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#### Photographs

- Burrard Sanitarium Victoria Daily Times, (1903, May 30), p. 9.
- Elizabeth Harriett Jones Victoria Daily Times, (1922, August 11), p. 6.
- Hon. Mackenzie Bowell Minister of Customs, January 1891 William James Topley/Library and Archives Canada, PA-027222
- Sensation in Telford Case The Vancouver Daily Province, (1904, September 2), p.1.
- Francis Isabella Dent, 1909 Museum of Vancouver Collection, H984.140.2
- 6. Anna Georgina Laird, 1910 By permission, the Cliff family
- Graduation pin, Elizabeth Pearl Pearson, 1909, BC History of Nursing Society Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of British Columbia. Photographs by Dave Robertson Inc. (Private collection, Irene Goldstone).

#### Endnotes

- 1. Burrard Sanitarium, (1903, May 30), Victoria Daily Times, p. 9.
- City improvements lonesome looking spots to be made beautiful. (1900, March 22), The Province, Vancouver, p. 9.
- 3. Henderson's Directory, Vancouver, Incorporated Companies, 1905, p. 494.
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- 5. Henderson's Directory, Vancouver and Victoria, 1914 1919.
- Dr. Ernest Hall passes away, beloved medical man had amazing active and varied career in human service, his brilliance, as a surgeon was outstanding. (1932, December 10), Victoria Daily Times, p. 1, 2; see also https://changingvancouver.wordpress.com/2022/06/09/davie-and-bute-streets-necorner/ ; and Hall, Ernest A. (1900). The truth about alcohol. Victoria, BC: Free Lance Publishing. [?1911]. The 22 page pamphlet was reprinted by Nabu Press (2011, August 16) as culturally important.
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- 9. https://vanasitwas.wordpress.com/2015/11/27/dr-telford/, Canada Census, 1901.
- 10. Canada Census, 1901; Deaths, Canadian Nurse, 1922, 18(10), 632.
- 11. Burrard Sanitarium, (1903, May 30), Victoria Daily Times, p. 9.
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/T.\_Proctor\_Hall ; Death calls Dr. T.P. Hall, well known medical man came to B.C. 26 years ago. (1931, March 25), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 30; Dr. T.P. Hall of Vancouver died today, brother of Dr. Ernest Hall, Victoria physician, succumbs in Terminal City. (1931, March 25), Victoria Daily Times, p. 1, 2; Dr. T.P. Hall noted local scientist dies, invented fourth dimension model and therapeutic lamp. (1931, March, 25), Vancouver Sun, p.1. Wikipedia and the obituaries are not consistent in their detail.
- Benjamin Tingley Rogers (1868 1918), founder of BC Sugar Refining Company, later Rogers Sugar. A strong supporter of Vancouver General Hospital, he was appointed Life Governor in 1904. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rogers\_benjamin\_tingley\_14E.html
- Letter, undated, from Dr. E.A. Hall to "Mr. Rodgers." City of Vancouver Box 505-G-7 folder 16. Ref code AM54-S23-1—.
- Hall, Ernest A. (1900). The unofficial gynaecological treatment of the insane in British Columbia. Originally published in Medical Sentinel cited by Brown (2000), p. 12; see https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.15176/6.
- 16. Mitchinson, 1991, p. 341; Mitchinson, 2013, pp. 256 259.
- 17. Mitchinson, 1991, p. 341, p. 343.
- 18. Mitchinson 1991, pp. 312-355; Mitchinson, 2013, pp. 239 260.
- 19. Ibid. Note that the article Burrard Sanitarium, (1903, May 30), Victoria Daily Times, p. 9 states no patients with insanity would be admitted.
- See a detailed description of the hospital including kitchens, heating system, and operating room.
  Burrard Sanitarium, (1903, May 30), Victoria Daily Times, p. 9.
- Henderson's Directory, Vancouver, 1905, p. 189. See also Brief Local Items, (1904, December 31), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 16, and Brief Local Items, (1905, January 11), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 12; Burrard Sanitarium Ltd. (1908, June 13), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 16.
- 22. Niels Ryberg Finsen (1860-1904), a Danish physician was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1903 for the development of the Finsen Light, https://www. nobelprize.org/prizes/medicine/1903/finsen/facts/.
- 23. The Burrard Sanitarium Ltd, (1908, June 13), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 16.
- 24. Ibid. Underlined in the original.
- Letter from Dr. E.A. Hall to "Mr. Rodgers." City of Vancouver Box 505-G-7 folder 16. Ref code AM54-S23-1—; "Dr. Dubois" - likely Dr. Paul Charles Dubois see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul\_Charles\_Dubois.
- 26. Burrard Sanitarium, (1903, May 30), Victoria Daily Times, p. 9.
- 27. Canada Census, 1901. The 1911 Census shows Elizabeth Harriett Jones living with mother aged 74 and sister aged 41 in Victoria, apparently supporting both. She was president, vice president and charter member of the Graduate Nurses Association of Victoria and was active with the local Council of Women. She died after an illness of 8 months. Well known nurse died early today: Miss E.H. Jones was former president of Victoria Graduate Nurses Association. (1922, August 9), Victoria Daily Times, p. 6; In Women's Domain Social and Personal, Was buried to-day, Miss E. H. Jones, (1922, August 11), Victoria Daily Times, p. 6.
- The conduct of Dr. Telford subject of inquiry. (1904, November 29), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1. Probably Mary Calhoun, born 1881, New Brunswick, nurse, living in New Westminster, BC. (Canada Census 1901). She is then lost to follow-up.
- 29. Elizabeth Alberta Chambers, see Society, (1908, July 2), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 9; Chief Nurse Burrard Sanitarium ... See Henderson's Directory, Vancouver: 1905 probationer, 1906-1909 matron; she married June 1, 1909; Canada Census 1921: age 36, born in Manitoba, living with her husband Martin Hunter Donaldson (clerk) and 2 sons age 5 and 6 in the Nass Valley; she died age 63, in 1949 at St. Paul's Hospital, Vancouver but home was Knight Inlet. Martin Hunter Donaldson died in 1968, age 88, living in the West End, Vancouver.
- Society, Item, (1909, February), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 9. Obituary, Vosper. (1911, February 18), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 8. Henderson's Directory, Vancouver shows

Lucy A. Vosper as living at Burrard Sanitarium in 1907 and 1908; she is listed in the 1910 Directory as "matron" of Burrard Sanitarium.

- Lester Hall was at Davie and Granville Streets: see https://vanasitwas.wordpress. com/2016/03/02/the-lesters-and-their-dance-schoolshalls/; The Province's Page of Social and Personal News, Item. (1912, September 27), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 8. Mary L. Patterson was born in Ontario, 1881 (Canada Census 1911). She is then lost to follow up.
- 32. Mary Telford was born in Ontario in 1882 and came to BC in 1905. She is first identified in Henderson's Directory, Vancouver as "nurse", Burrard Sanitarium in 1908-1910 and 1912; she is not listed in the 1911 Directory or in Canada Census 1911. She graduated from the Burrard Sanitarium in November 1910, (Social and Personal, (1910, November 1), Daily Province, Vancouver), p. 5) and is listed as matron 1913-1915. On registering with the GNABC in 1921, the address she used was (524 Birks Building, Vancouver) although she was living at 1210 Jervis Street, West End Vancouver in (Canada Census 1921). Deaths and Funerals, Miss Mary Telford, (1933, December 29), Vancouver Sun, p. 16.
- Agnes Millington, born 1881 in England, (Canada Census 1911) and Henderson's Directory, Vancouver 1906-1922. Brief Local Items, (1904, December 31), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 16, and Brief Local Items, (1905, January 11), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 12. Canada Census 1921 lists her as masseuse Vancouver; Henderson's Directory, Vancouver (1924) lists her as nurse h [home] 39, 610 Jervis. She is then lost to follow up.
- 34. Burrard Sanitarium, (1903, May 30), Victoria Daily Times, p. 9.
- Henderson's Directory, Vancouver: 1010 Georgia Street, Mary Telford, 1910, 1155 Georgia Street, Maud (also Alice Maud) Chambers, 1906-1910 and 1031 Alberni Street, Margaret Maddock, 1910.
- 36. Social and Personal, (1910, November 1), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 5.
- 37. First annual report of Burrard Sanitarium, (1904, February 20), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 16.
- https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sir-mackenzie-bowell; and Mackenzie Bowell - Wikipedia; he held various positions in Cabinet 1878-1892 and served continuously as a Parliamentarian for 50 years.
- 39. Obituary Death of Miss Bowell. (1904, July 25), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 10.
- 40. Miss Wallace is not listed in Henderson's Directory, Vancouver; likely she is Margaret Wallace, born in Toronto, Ontario, 1878, age 22 a "trained nurse" living in Toronto in 1901 (Canada Census 1901); she married William Reed Purdon (clerk, age 26, born in Toronto) in Vancouver in 1905 (Royal BC Museum Genealogy).
- 41. Miss L. Mote is listed in Henderson's Directory, Vancouver, 1904 as a graduate nurse living in East Vancouver. No further information could be found.
- 42. Elizabeth Alberta Chambers, a student at the time, later matron. See Footnote #29.
- 43. For an excellent example of the testimony and cross examination of the matron and nurses during the trial: Sensation in Telford case -The opinion of one witness: Pressed strongly by counsel for the crown, Matron Calhoun admitted that in her opinion the accused at one time intended to perform a certain operation. (1904, September 2), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 1-2.
- 44. For example: Murder charge against Telford Arrest in Bowell case. (1904, August 4), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- 45. Defense will call no witnesses: Crown closes case today. (1904, September 3). Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1, 2.
- Verdict of Coroner's Jury at Vancouver In connection with the death of Miss Hattie Bowell - Dr. Robert Telford arrested. (1904, August 1), Victoria Daily Times, p. 7.
- 47. Ibid; McHarg arrested refuses to say anything. (1904, August 3), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1, 5.
- 48. Ibid; Tried to alter Telford charge. (1904, September 1), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- Trial by judge: Dr. Telford wants a speedy trial before Judge Bole. (1904, August 18), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- McHarg is released Crown witness is allowed his freedom to fight for Telford. (1904, August 6), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1. See also Will report to Council – Committee of College of Physicians and Surgeons held investigation into Telford case.

(1904, November 30), Victoria Daily Times, p. 1.

- 51. Verdict of coroner's jury at Vancouver in connection with the death of Miss Hattie Bowell, Dr. Robert Telford arrested. (1904, August 1), Victoria Daily Times, p. 7. See also Sensation in Telford case - Opinion of one witness the crown, Matron Calhoun admitted that in her opinion the accused at one time intended to perform a certain operation. (1904, September 2), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1-2.
- 52. Defense to call no witnesses, (1904, September 3), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 2.
- McHarg released Crown witness is allowed his freedom to fight for Telford. (1904, August 6), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- Ibid. See also Henderson's Directory, Vancouver (1903) Salesman, Gault Bros. Co. Ltd., bds [boards] 439 Homer and (1904) traveller, Greenshields & Co. Ltd. h. [home] 1069 Burrard Street. He is then lost to follow-up.
- Martin taken out by cop sensation in the police court. (1904, August 4), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1. Michinson 1991, p.135.
- 56. McHarg arrested refuses to say anything. (1904, August 3), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- 57. https://exhibits.library.utoronto.ca > stateinthebedroom .
- 58. Brown, 2000, p. 18; Mitchinson, 2013, pp. 159-188 for a discussion of women's and physician's attitudes on birth control and abortion.
- 59. Mitchinson, 1991, pp. 125 151.
- 60. Preliminary hearing at end Dr. Robert Telford committed for trial. (1904, August 4), Victoria Daily Times, p. 6.; Investigation of murder charge, medical men on stand to-day, four physicians examined in police court this morning in case of Dr. Telford - heated arguments between counsel for the Crown and the accused - Dr. W.B. McKechnie believes wounds were self-inflicted. (1904, August 2), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- 61. Robert E. McKechnie was born in Brockville, Ontario (1861) and graduated in medicine from McGill University, Montreal in 1890. He moved to British Columbia in 1891 and practiced medicine in the Nanaimo area before moving to Vancouver in 1904 where he was senior surgeon, member of the Board of Directors, and Life Governor of Vancouver General Hospital. He was MLA for Nanaimo 1898, Minister without portfolio in the provincial government of Premier Charles A. Semlin (1898-1900), President of the Council of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of BC (1897, 1906, 1910), and President of the Canadian Medical Association in 1914 and 1920. He was the longest serving chancellor of the University of British Columbia, 1918 1944. He received many awards. He died of an infection in his hand May 24, 1944. The Dr. R. E. McKechnie Elementary School (Marpole) was opened in 1957. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert\_McKechnie
- 62. Defense will call on witnesses, Crown closes its case today. (1904, September 3), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- 63. McHarg arrested refuses to say anything. (1904, August 3), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1.
- Dr. R. Telford is discharged from custody, Surgeon is pronounced not guilty by Judge Bole in charge of manslaughter ... applause greets the decision. (1904, September 6), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 1; Dr. Telford has been acquitted, Judgment in the manslaughter case. (1904, September 6), Victoria Times, p. 1.
- 65. Conduct of Dr. Telford subject of inquiry. (1904, November 29), p.1; Will report to council: Committee of College of Physicians and Surgeons hold investigation into Telford case. (1904, November 30), Vancouver Daily Province, p.1; Charges Martin wished to make at Telford inquiry today, (1904, November 30), Vancouver Daily Province, p.1.
- 66. Abortion in Canada, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abortion\_in\_Canada .
- 67. For example: Burrard Sanitarium, (1906, March 17), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 16.
- Suing Sanitarium charging neglect. (1913, September 20), The Sun, Vancouver, p. 3; Action is resumed against Sanitarium. (1913, September 26), The Sun, Vancouver, p. 5.
- 69. No case against the Sanitarium. (1913, September 27), Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 17.
- 70. Ibid.
- 71. Pearson, 1985, pp. 50, 58.
- 72. Kelly, 1973, pp. 99 100.

- 73. Gibbon & Mathewson, 1947, citing Agnes Snively, p. 155.
- 74. The first newspaper report of a graduation ceremony is Item, Personals, (1908, September 11), Daily Province Vancouver, p. 9.
- 75. Research notes: Irene Goldstone.
- 76. McPherson, 1996, p. 116.
- Item, Society Daily Province, Vancouver (1908, June 1), p. 17 and Item, (1908, June 5) Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 17. See also Henderson's Directory, Vancouver 1905 and 1906, housemaid, Burrard Sanitarium; 1907 nurse, 1010 Georgia and 1908 nurse 1031 Alberni.
- 78. Nurses awarded medals and diplomas. (1909, February, 19), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 7. See also, Dent, Frances I. (1909). Letter from Miss Frances Dent to her mother, Mrs. I. Dent, written on letterhead of the Burrard Sanitarium, not dated; postmarked "Vancouver, Feb. 20, 9 am, 1909" Addressed to "Mrs. I. Dent, Revelstoke, BC"; with a 2 cents Canadian stamp; counter stamped "Revelstoke, A.M. Feb. 21, 1909, BC"; Written on front is "Graduation Letter, Feb. 18th, 1909." See also http://searcharchives. vancouver.ca/hospitals-burrard-sanitarium (Refer to microfiche # AM0054.013.06483). Henderson's Directories, Vancouver, Frances Dent was living at the Nurses Residence (Burrard Sanitarium) 1031 Alberni, 1907-1909; in 1910 she was living at 521 Robson Street.
- 79. Museum of Vancouver: H984.140.2, http://openmov.museumofvancouver.ca/ node/121325 .
- Mrs. W.K. Wickens dies at Victoria [obit]. Revelstoke Review, July 10, 1958, p. 2. Clipping courtesy Cathy English, Curator, Revelstoke Archives.
- 81. Anna Georgina Laird (1889-1988) was resident at 1031 Alberni Street, 1908, 1909 and 1910 (Henderson's Directory, Vancouver). Her family holds her wartime correspondence and other records related to her life. (David Groves, email correspondence, January 17, 2023 and Diana D. Maughan, January 21, 2023 email correspondence) She was living in New Westminster at the time of her marriage in 1920 to Ronald Lorraine Cliff, a widower with a young son and was living in Burnaby at the time of her registration.
- Social and Personal, Item. (1913, April 16), Vancouver Daily Province, p. 8. See GNABC Registers: Mrs. Alice M. Higinbotham (nee Wright) GNABC #1158 February 1, 1921, living at 4254 11th Ave W, Vancouver; Royal BC Museum Genealogy. See also Social and Personal, Item (1916, July 18), Chilliwack Progress, p. 8; Society, Item, (1916, September 26), Vancouver Sun, p. 3.
- 83. Item, Announcements, (1915, June 5) Daily Province, Vancouver, p. 22.
- 84. Cavers, 1949, p. 27.



Authour: Irene Goldstone

## IN SEARCH OF MARY SEACOLE:

### The Making of a Black Cultural Icon and Humanitarian

#### BY HELEN RAPPAPORT



IN SEARCH OF MARY SEACOLE

The Making of a Black Cultural
Icon and Humanitarian

HELEN RAPPAPORT

Raised in Jamaica, Mary Seacole first came to England in the 1850s after working in Panama. She wanted to volunteer as a nurse and aide during the Crimean War. When her services were rejected, she financed her own expedition to Balaclava, where her reputation for her nursing—and for her compassion—became almost legendary. Popularly known as 'Mother Seacole', she was the most famous Black celebrity of her generation—an extraordinary achievement in Victorian Britain.

She regularly mixed with illustrious royal and military patrons and they, along with grateful war veterans, helped her recover financially when she faced bankruptcy. However, after her death in 1881, she was largely forgotten.

More recently, her profile has been revived and her reputation lionized, with a statue of her standing outside St Thomas's Hospital in London and her portrait—rediscovered by the author—now on display in the National Portrait Gallery. In Search of Mary Seacole is the fruit of almost twenty years of research and reveals the truth about Seacole's personal life, her "rivalry" with Florence Nightingale, and other misconceptions.

https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/In-Search-of-Mary-Seacole/Helen-Rappaport/9781639362745

Publisher: Pegasus Books (September 6, 2022) Length: 416 pages ISBN13: 9781639362745

"Rappaport stumbled upon a haunting portrait of Seacole, painted in 1869, for sale at a flea market. Rappaport bought the painting and began her nearly two-decade dive into an extraordinary life. She leaves no shred of evidence unexamined, which allows her to shade the contours of Seacole's history with facts, details and color. And her work pays off; the Crimean section of In Search of Mary Seacole is the book's beating heart. A comprehensive and much-deserved tribute to an incredible life." – Linda Villarosa, New York Times Book Review

## CELEBRATING BLACK HISTORY MONTH

Black History Month NNPBC acknowledges and honours some of the amazing Black nurses and their contributions to the nursing profession in Canada.

https://www.nnpbc.com/pdfs/media/news/2023/BHM-Legacy-of-Black-Canadian-Nurses-40s-50s.pdf

Flashback Friday: Celebrating Black Nurse Leaders in the Fight for Civil Rights and Health Justice See link: https://www.nursing.virginia.edu/news/flashback-celebrating-black-nurse-leaders/

To coincide with Black History Month, the UK Association for the History of Nursing in their 2021 issue of the UKAHN Bulletin, focused entirely on the history of race in nursing. https://bulletin.ukahn.org/volume-9-1-2021/

## HAPPY 87TH BIRTHDAY SHEILA ZERR



Sheila Zerr sitting

We were pleased to visit Sheila pre birthday with Sheila Oxholm and on her birthday, taking her cupcakes and reading to her all the birthday cards that had arrived for her. Sheila was having a good day and said she was just going to sit and enjoy her day!!



Sheila Zerr sitting, Lenore Radom kneeling and Sheila Oxholm standing

### BCHNS Donations Thank you to all our donors!

So much for your generosity & support of the society, we sincerely appreciate your kindness & respect for the work of the society in preserving Nursing History & making it available to all. Cathy Ebbehoj Lisa Smith Wendy Trigg Betty Robertson Sharron Higgins Genelle Liefso Brenda Flynn Irene Goldstone Linda Quiney Glennis Zilm Carol Harrison Sheila Zerr Don Ransom/David Bronstein

#### Ref lections on Black Nurses Invisibility Exploring the Contribution of Black Nurses to British Columbia (Canada), 1845-1910

See the link below to the published article by Ismalia De Sousa, a UBC School of Nursing doctoral candidate. Ismalia received funding from the BC History of Nursing Society while completing this work. Please find the link at:

https://journals.lww.com/advancesinnursingscience/Fulltext/9900/Reflections\_on\_Black\_Nurses\_\_\_ Invisibility\_.57.aspx

Article by: De Sousa, Ismalia MSc, RN; Wytenbroek, Lydia PhD, RN; Boschma, Geertje PhD, RN; Thorne, Sally PhD, RN



# **UPCOMING EVENTS**

#### **Joint Conference:**

Canadian Society for the History of Medicine (CSHM) and Canadian Association for the History of Nursing (CAHN) May 27-29 2023 will be held at York University. See link for more information: https://cahn-achn.ca/cahn-achn/

#### American Association for the History of Nursing:

40th Annual Nursing & Health Care History Conference Location: Pittsburgh, PA Dates: September 28 - 30, 2023 See link for more information: https://www.aahn.org/

#### **History of Nursing Lecture:**

Mary Seacole as Doctress, Nurse and Healer By Helen Rappaport Free online event March 29, 2023 from 1800-2000 hours UK time See link to register: https://www.rcn.org.uk/news-and-events/events/lib-history-of-nursing-lecture-290323#location

#### **Nursing Research Colloquium:**

The 24th UK Association for the History of Nursing Research Colloquium will be held on Wednesday 28th June 2023 at the School of Nursing and Allied Health, Bishop Otter Campus, University of Chichester, College Road, Chichester, West Sussex, UK, PO19 6PE. See link:

https://ukahn.org/ukahn-colloquium-2023/

The International Council of Nurses (ICN) and the Canadian Nurses Association (CNA) will co-host the 29th ICN Congress from 1-5 July 2023 in Montreal, Canada with the theme: Nurses together: a force for global health.

The 2023 Congress will be held in the Montreal Palais de Congrès. Please see links:

https://www.icn.ch/events/icn-congress-2023-montreal#:~:text=The%20International%20Council%20of%20 Nurses,the%20Montreal%20Palais%20de%20Congr%C3%A8s.

https://icncongress2023.org/

#### PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR BC History of Nursing Society

Special thanks to all who contributed to this issue of the BCHNS newsletter Next Meeting: April 11, 2023

Articles, news, and ideas for items to be included in the Summer 2023 issue should be sent to Lynne Esson: esson1@shaw.ca