

The Hospitaller Activities of the Sisters of Charity of St Joan Antide in the Maltese Islands

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Christianity from its initiation looked at nursing of the sick and infirm as a Christian duty and several communities dedicated to the service of the sick and infirm were founded throughout the centuries. One such community of nursing sisters was founded in Paris in 1633 by St Vincent de Paule and St Louise de Marillac under the title of "Daughters of Charity, Servants of the Poor". This order was the first of the non-enclosed congregations of nuns whose charitable domains involved nursing, moral and social welfare, and teaching. It was to serve as a model to other non-enclosed congregations, which were founded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of these congregations was that of the Sisters of Charity founded in 1799 by St Joan Antide Thouret in France. St Antide was a French peasant girl who at the age of 22 years joined the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul. Shortly thereafter, the French Revolution broke out and all of the Sisters were disbanded and set back to their hometowns. St Antide was requested by the Vicar General of Besancon, France to begin work among the people of his diocese. On the 11th April 1799, St Joan Antide Thouret opened a free school for the education of girls and organised a soup kitchen for the poor. From its humble beginnings in 1799, the community eventually spread from France to other European countries and ultimately to America and Asia. In 1810, Jeanne Antide was asked to begin the same works in Savoy, Switzerland and Naples, Italy. In 1868 they were asked to come to Malta to care for orphans and later to nurse the sick in government hospitals and hospices. In 1932 the Sisters of Charity of St Joan Antida extended their works to the United States where they ministered to the Italian immigrants in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at the height of the depression. The Order has continued to branch out across 25 countries.¹

The nursing profession in the Maltese Islands has a very long tradition dating to the Medieval period when servants or nurses were mentioned in respect to Santo Spirito Hospital at Rabat. A further impetus in nursing standards was made with the arrival of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, but the standards of nursing care deteriorated in the last decades of the eighteenth century.² The arrival of the Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem in 1530 introduced the female section of the Order known as the Sisters of Saint Ursula, established in the 11th century in Jerusalem. These like their male counterparts had a long nursing tradition. However after their arrival to the Maltese Islands, the social

welfare contribution of this congregation of nuns was limited to the care of illegitimate children at the *Casa delle Alunne* and penitent prostitutes at the Mary Magdalen Asylum. The Order of Saint Ursula in Malta never undertook nursing duties. They were spared exile when the Order of St John were expelled from the Maltese Islands by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798, and still maintain their monastery in Valletta [Malta].³

The nursing standards by the mid-nineteenth century, while under British rule, became a serious concern to the authorities and by the mid-19th century a proposal was made by the Governor Richard More O'Ferrel to employ nuns in government charitable institutions that included hospitals, hospices and orphanages.⁴ The first opportunity to act on the Governor's proposal turned up in 1868. The Superintendent for the Orphan Asylum in Valletta - Mrs. Charlotte Butler - was due to retire her post because of ill-health. She proposed acquiring the services of the Sisters of Charity to care for the institutionalised orphans. This proposal was well received by the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions and the Italian Branch of the Order was asked to send a number of nuns for the purpose.⁵ A number of Italian Sisters of Charity Nuns arrived in Malta and on the 1st December 1868 took over the female division of the Orphan Asylum.⁶ The experience at the Orphan Institute was very positive and after a year it was commented that there was a marked "improvement in the morals, discipline and economy of the Female Division of that establishment".⁷ The Orphan Asylum, established in 1851, continued to function as an orphanage under the responsibility of the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions until this department was amalgamated with the Public Health Department in 1938. In 1937, the Asylum had accommodation for 50 boys and 60 girls, preference being given to orphans of both parents followed by children who had lost their father. The institution was then under the charge of a Resident Superintendent, while the Sisters of Charity were in charge of the girls. The children were discharged when they reached 18 years of age.⁸ In 1922, orphan boys under 13 years of age were withdrawn from the Government Elementary Schools and started to be educated in the Asylum, the two infant classes and Standard I being taught by the Sisters of Charity, and Standards II-IV by the Superintendent and the Chaplain. Girls over 12 years of age were trained as General Servants.⁹ In July 1939, the Girls' Section was transferred to the control of the Education Department, the boys' section having been moved to the Salesian Industrial School at Sliema [Malta] in April.¹⁰ The Valletta Asylum was destroyed by enemy action during the Second World War when it was transferred to Sr. Joan Antide School at Sliema. In 1975 it catered for about 50 orphan girls.¹¹

Because of the positive experience in the Orphan Asylum, the Medical Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum and the Commissioners of Charity on the 15th December 1869 requested the authorities to employ nuns belonging to the order of the Sisters of Charity in the Female Division of the Lunatic Asylum.¹² The suggestion was well received by the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions and the Governor, and on the 16th September 1870 the Governor authorised the gradual appointment of Sister of Charity nuns to those positions that fell vacant in all the government Charitable Institutions. On the 13th October 1871, a number of Italian nuns arrived in Malta to take up the positions at the Lunatic Asylum, the Central Hospital and the Ospizio. Three Sisters of Charity were employed in the female division of the Lunatic Asylum together with eight attendants and two servants under the control of a matron. The Mother Superior was called the Chief Ward Attendant, whereas the other two Sisters were known as Head Ward Attendants.¹³ In the Central Hospital and the Ospizio, the Sisters of Charity took up the posts of Matrons, Ward Mistresses, Portresses and Chief Laundresses. Further nuns took up posts at Saura Hospital in 1873 and Santo Spirito Hospital in 1878.¹⁴ The experience with the Sister of Charity nuns in the Charitable Institutions was so positive that the Crown Agent for the Colonies Sir Penrose Julyan in 1880 described the move as "an admirable innovation".¹⁵

With the moves of upgrading the standards of nursing practice, in May 1885 it was decided that the attending nuns should be certified nurses. In July 1885, the first qualified nuns, trained at Santo Spirito Hospital in Rome, arrived in Malta. Their duties included the nursing of both male and female patients, the proper keeping of instruments, the distribution of diets, and the superintendence of the night nurses. To facilitate their acceptance, they were given "officer" status. In a memorandum dated 10th August 1887, the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions (Mr. R. Micallef) instructed the Sisters of Charity of the hospitals under his charge to teach the nurses how to attend upon the patients, stating that "the nurses being generally illiterate, the Sisters shall teach them practically their various duties in and out of the wards".¹⁶

By January 1888, the Lunatic Asylum female staff had been augmented to sixteen employees under the supervision of six Sisters of Charity. These Sisters occupied the positions of Chief Female Ward Attendant, Deputy-Chief Female Ward Attendant in charge of two convalescent wards, two Sisters-in-Charge of female wards and two Sisters in charge of occupational activities, and laundry/pantry. Only one sister, who was in charge of the ward for the bodily infirm was a qualified nurse.¹⁸ By 1893, the paramedical staff at the

CHARITABLE INSTITUTION	YEAR
Orphan Asylum, Valletta (transferred to Sr. Joan Antide School, Sliema after 2nd World War)	1868
Central Hospital, Floriana (transferred to St Luke's Hospital, Gwardamangia: 1940-50s)	1871
Lunatic Asylum, Attard	1871
Ospizio, Floriana (moved to the Poor House, Mgieret in 1892)	1871
Saura Hospital, Rabat	1873
Casetta, Valletta (moved to the Poor House, Mgieret in 1892)	1875
Santo Spirito Hospital, Rabat	1878
Lazaretto Hospital, Manoel Is.	1900
Santo Spirito Lazaretto Hospital, Xewkija, Gozo	1881
St John's the Baptist Hospital, Rabat, Gozo (later Victoria Hospital 1887) ¹⁷	1888
Ospizio, Rabat, Gozo	1888

Ospizio was made up of a Matron and an Assistant Matron, both Sisters of Charity and ten other Sisters of Charity referred to as surveillantess (Ward Supervisors), assisted by six male and four female nurses, and 18 extra female attendants.¹⁹ By 1898, it was established that women patients in the Central Hospital were entirely entrusted to trained Sister of Charity nuns, while male patients were entrusted to certified male nurses working under the supervision of a Sister of Charity.²⁰

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS 1896 Colonial Estimates ²¹	Number of Nuns receiving remuneration from Government *
Central Hospital	Matron (£40); Assistant Matron (£30); 2 trained Nursing Sisters (£25 each); Sister in charge of Kitchen (£30)
Santo Spirito Hospital	Matron (£35); Sister in charge of kitchen (£30)
Poor House (incl. Hospital for Incurables, Magdalen Asylum, and Foundling Hospital)	Matron (£40); Assistant Matron (£30); 10 Surveillants (£20 each)
Lunatic Asylum	Chief female Attendant (£35); 2 Attendant (£25 each)
Orphan Asylum	Resident Superintendent (£75); Assistant Superintendent (£35); Portress-Ward Mistress (£25); Female Attendant (£25); Cook (£25)
Hospital at Gozo	Matron (£25)
Ospizio at Gozo	Matron (£25)

* all ineligible for the ordinary superannuation allowance.

A Royal Commission was appointed on the 12th August 1911 to investigate and advise about the economic depression that affected Malta during the period. The Commission investigated the management of the Charitable Institutions, including the contribution given by the Sisters of Charity. The evidence given by the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions, Mr. C. Pace Bardon, emphasised that the members of the Sisters of Charity were giving a sterling service to the country at a very low cost. From the evidence it transpired that the State was paying the Order a total sum of £250 plus rations for ten sisters, while furnishing free accommodation at the hospital for these sisters and a further 30% excess. In return, the Order gave the regular services of the ten nursing sisters and others not falling under the annual financial estimates.²²

The problems with recruiting trained nurses persisted well into the first half of the 20th century. A scheme for training nurses in the United Kingdom was initiated. In addition a Nursing School in Malta was established on the 22nd August 1937 with the engagement of an English-trained Nurse Ms. L.M. Doherty as a Sister Tutor. Ms. Doherty started a refresher course for a number of Sisters of Charity serving at the Central Hospital. The projected new school for nurses was to train male and female lay nurses, besides young nuns belonging to the Order of the Sisters of Charity. The new St Luke's School for Nurses was inaugurated in October 1938, the first six pupils being young nuns of the Order. In the subsequent year, a further fifteen new probationers joined the Nursing School. By 1940 there were 25 probationers.²³

In the Debate of the Council of Government of the 16th October 1940 (Sitting No. 45), the Chief Government Medical Officer defined the various nursing classes envisaged by the proposed scheme. The nurses were divided in (1) a number belonging to the Order of the Sisters of Charity, some of whom had received a certain amount of training abroad; (2) a number of 'lay nurses' newly termed 'Hospital Attendants' who had received a theoretical course of training of 10-12 months; and (3) a projected group of nurses fully trained in English Hospitals. A group of 19 ladies were then under training. The CGMO further stated,

"We shall retain the services of the Sisters of Charity. We cannot do without them. They are willing and devoted workers and they offer advantages which are not to be found in lay nurses, however willing the latter may be. They take no vacation leave, they draw a small salary and they do not marry... But the Sisters of Charity have also to be trained....."²⁴

The onset of the Second World War hostilities required the suspension of the theoretical part of the nursing studies course, and the probationer Sister nurses were employed in the emergency hospitals. In spite of the dangers

from bombs, the Sisters of Charity opted to remain serving the leper patients at St Bartholomew's Hospital when these decided not to be evacuated to alternative premises in Gozo. In July 1942, a delayed action bomb fell behind the kitchen wherein the Sister of Charity in charge and several other employees were working. When the bomb went off, it wrecked the kitchen and killed one of the kitchen servants. A Sister of Charity (Sr. Alexandra Borda), together with four patients and two other hospital attendants, lost her life during enemy action on the Hospital for Mental Disease while trying to persuade two refractory patients to go down to the shelter.

The suspended nursing studies were resumed with twelve Sisters of Charity in the latter part of 1942. Six of these Sisters successfully passed the final course of instruction in 1945 and were certified.²⁵ In 1946, a Sister of Charity (Sr. Aldegonda Farrugia) underwent a year's training in London and in December qualified as a Sister Tutor. The appointment of Sr. Farrugia enabled the re-opening of the St Luke's Training School of Nurses in the latter part of 1947; the first pupils included three lay females and four nuns. A further six Sisters in 1946 proceeded to England for a three-year course of training in General Nursing.²⁶ By 1952 the Nursing Course at St Luke's Hospital had received recognition for registration purposes by the General Nursing Council (UK).

The post-War period saw an increase in the appeal towards nursing as a profession with more applications for enrolment to the School of Nurses by lay young women. During the period 1951-56, a total of 57 nurses qualified from the St Luke's School of Nursing. Of these only 32, including 13 Sisters of Charity nuns, continued to work in the government hospitals. With a total of 87 qualified British and locally trained S.R.N.s, the standards of nursing were considered to be still very far from what was desirable. The contribution of the Sisters of Charity remained an essential part of Maltese medical services.²⁷

The 1957 Medical Services Commission and Dr. John Cronin acknowledged the continuing contribution towards nursing in the government hospitals and hospices by the Sisters of Charity. The latter, in his report on the medical services of the Islands, commented that

*"It is impossible not to be impressed by the devotion and kindness of the Sisters of Charity. They look after the patients most conscientiously and are almost invariably praised by the medical staff, the patients and everyone who comes into contact with them."*²⁸

Both the Medical Services Commission and Dr. Cronin commented on the poor standards of nursing in the hospitals resulting from the deficiency of

qualified nursing personnel. Dr. Cronin recommended "that as many Sisters of Charity and nurses as possible receive systematic training and preparation for the examination for State Registration". Furthermore the appointment of a Superintendent of Nurses and a Matron for St Luke's Hospital was recommended, these appointments being arranged in such a way as to in "no way interfere with the functions of the Mothers Superiors of the hospitals". The Mother Superiors, acting as matrons, were responsible for female nurses at St Luke's Hospital, the Hospital for Mental Disease and St Vincent de Paule Hospital in Malta, and Victoria Hospital and Chambrai Hospital in Gozo. Only one of the Mother Superiors was a fully trained nurse. The male nurses in the hospitals were under the control of the wardmasters, none of whom were state-registered nurses. Most of the ward sisters in the hospitals were Sisters of Charity who lived on the hospital grounds. At St Luke's Hospital these were all state-registered nurses, but only a very few of the ward sisters working in the other hospitals were fully trained.²⁹ With regards to the Sisters of Charity, the Medical Services Commission concludes,

"Though the Sisters of Charity form the largest body of state registered nurses in the islands, there are less than thirty so qualified. Fortunately, the Mother Provincial of the order realises the need for more fully trained religious Sisters and intends to send an increasing number of her Sisters to the United Kingdom, not only to obtain state registration but for post-graduate courses - for sister tutors and administrators and for training in special nursing such as paediatric, tuberculosis. In the Sisters of Charity, Malta has its most promising field of recruitment for its nursing service and the order should be encouraged and helped to expand their training programme to its limit."³⁰

The Order continued with its hospitaller contribution in the government hospitals in the subsequent decades. In 1975, the Sisters of Charity were tending about 2200 sick people in the various Government Hospitals; this besides caring for the handicapped at Villa Mons. Gonzi at Siggiewi [Malta], running an old people's hospice at Saura Hospital at Rabat [Malta] and a rest house for old and sick Sisters of the Order. In 1974, the Order had 209 sisters in Malta, 19 in Gozo and 9 abroad. Besides their hospitaller contribution, the Sisters of Charity also ran orphanages and schools.³¹

The nursing order of the Sisters of Charity of St Joan Antida was the main contributor to nursing in the government charitable institutions throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. However other nursing congregations similarly contributed towards the nursing services in the Maltese Islands in hospitals specifically managed by them. An important nursing congregation in Malta was the Little Company of Mary, better known as the Order of Blue Sisters. The congregation was originally set up in 1877 by Mary Potter in the United Kingdom with the aim of providing a community of trained religious nurses.

In 1894, the congregation was invited to come to Malta on the initiative of Archbishop Pietro Pace. The Archbishop formed a committee to collect sufficient funds to enable renting a house in Sliema [Malta] and support the congregation until such time as they became self-sufficient. Four sisters arrived from Rome and soon set up a community nursing service. The constant demand for their services made it necessary for the congregation to increase its numbers. Moves were undertaken to construct a more suitable convent for the Order. Various personalities, including Governor Sir Arthur Lyon Freemantle, and Rev. Debono Cassia, made sizeable donations sufficient to enable a new convent named Casa Leone XIII to be built in Sliema. Building commenced in 1898 and the convent was finalised in 1901. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the upper floor of the convent served as a hospital. An adjoining hospital was commissioned by Henry Lyman Clapp, who unfortunately died in 1907 before the project had been completed. His wife Emilia Zammit Clapp and her sister Mary Zammit took up the project, and the hospital was completed in 1910. On 23 June 1911, the two sisters donated the newly built hospital to the government with the proviso that the Order of Little Company of Sisters continued its management initially as a Seaman's Hospital.³² The nursing, food, attendance, washing and other services necessary for the patients were to be provided by the Sisters against payment of 2s6d a day per patient by the Board of Trade or other parties. The medical attendant, drugs, surgical instruments/appliances, clothing and bedding were to be provided by the government. This arrangement resulted in a saving in government expenditure during the first year. The government expenditure in the early years of the arrangement (financial year 1913-14) included (1) medical attendance £40, (2) drugs and appliances £4.11s3d, (3) clothing and bedding £6.7s9d, (4) divine service and spiritual assistance £20, and (5) telephone £4.³³ During the First World War the hospital and part of the convent were converted into a military hospital accommodating 150 beds. In November 1918, a War Memorial Ward for Children, comprising Medical and Surgical Divisions, was set up on the upper floor of this hospital. The Seamen's Hospital ceased to form part of the Department of Health in December 1922 when the King George V Merchant Seamen's Memorial Hospital was opened.³⁴ The hospital with only 20 beds was turned over to the Sisters of the Little Company of Mary who started using it as a children's hospital. The building was expanded in 1933. During the Second World War Zammit Clapp Hospital and the ground floor of the adjoining Sacred Heart Convent were taken over for use as a Casualty Hospital for the north-western region of Malta. It also housed the Female Medical, ENT Divisions and the Children War Memorial Hospital. After the end of hostilities, the hospital was again returned to the

management of the Sisters of the Little Company of Mary who continued to expand the medical services introducing a maternity division in 1947 that later in 1950 saw the opening the Mary Potter Maternity Wing. In 1957, it was the only privately managed hospital of any size in the Maltese Islands with 64 adult beds and 15 maternity beds and furthermore accommodated 34 infants. During the 1970s, eighteen sisters, helped by lay nurses looked after about 130 patients.³⁵ During 1971-77 it accounted for about 11.8-14.5% of the total maternities that occurred in the Maltese Islands. Its contribution towards maternity services continued to progressively increase so that in 1977 and 1979 it contributed to 16.3% and 16.9% of deliveries respectively.³⁶ Zammit Clapp Hospital continued to function until December 1980 when it was closed down after the untimely departure of the congregation from Malta, a byproduct of the industrial dispute between the Government and the Malta Medical Association.³⁷

Another congregation that gave a significant contribution to nursing in Malta was the Order of Dominican Nursing Sisters. The Order saw its origins in the Maltese Islands through the agency of a Maltese lady (Carolina Cauchi) living in the island of Gozo. Encouraged by the Bishop of Gozo Mgr. Pietru Pace, Cauchi in 1885 commissioned the construction of a convent in Rabat [Gozo]. The building was completed in 1889 and eight Maltese and Gozitan sisters commenced their mission in Gozo working with the sick and aged. The congregation was canonically erected and amalgamated with the Dominican Order in 1893. In 1900 they received nursing training at the Gozo government hospital under the direction of the medical officers and the Sisters of Charity, after which they were entrusted with the care of patients in the Lazaretto in Gozo. In 1916 they extended their nursing services to Malta opening St Peter's House at Lija [Malta]. By 1923 this building was enlarged and modified to function as a small hospital. Their activities in Gozo expanded through the setting up of Trionfi Hospital at Rabat [Gozo] that served as a private hospital with surgical facilities. In September 1974, the hospital premises were moved to another building in the vicinity named St Dominic's Hospital while Trionfi Hospital was adapted for the care of the elderly. The small 28-bed clinic catered also for maternity cases delivering a total of 152 maternities until its closure in November 1976. On 12 April 1959, the Dominican Sisters officially inaugurated another privately managed hospital named St Catherine of Sienna Hospital at Attard [Malta], while St Peter's Home was adapted as a hospice for the elderly. The hospital expanded and introduced maternity services in 1961 and continued until 1980 when the hospital was converted into a nursing home for the elderly. The number of deliveries during the first two years of its opening remained low accounting for about 2.3% of the total deliveries in the Maltese

Islands in 1961-62. By 1966-67 the proportion rose significantly to account for 11.5% of all deliveries, further peaking at 18.3% in 1971-72. In 1977 and 1979 it accounted for 10.4% and 21.8% respectively.³⁸ By the 1970s the Dominican Nursing Sisters had seven houses in Malta and six in Gozo, with four buildings - Hospital of St Catherine, St Peter's House, Trionfi Home and St Dominic's Hospital - being specifically used for the care of the elderly and sick. They moreover also ran schools and cared for orphans. In 1980, the congregation ceased with their hospital services and concentrated their activities with caring for the elderly and attending social problems in children.

Other religious congregations contributed towards the care of the elderly in Malta. The Order of the Little Sisters of the Poor were asked to introduce their services in October 1877, doing so in the subsequent year by opening a home for the elderly at Pieta' [Malta]. In 1880, the Order were leased a government-owned house at Hamrun [Malta] to serve as their convent and hospital for the elderly. In the 1970s the congregation consisted of 16 sisters and two collates who cared for 190 inmates at Hamrun and in a home at Naxxar [Malta] acquired in 1975. The Tertiary Order of St Francis managed St Joseph Hospital at Zebbug [Malta] established in 1788. They also during 1817-1994 managed St Anne's Hospital at Senglea [Malta].³⁹

The 1970s saw a major turning point in the nursing activities of the various congregations. The efforts of the various government administrations to increase the standards of nursing in the government hospitals resulted in a significant increase in the trained nursing personnel. In 1997 there were a total of 575 qualified nurses and 65 midwives at various levels of seniority, 698 enrolled nurses, and 864 health assistants. The majority of these were lay personnel. Only a total of eight nursing personnel in 1997 belonged to a religious order including the Sisters of Charity. These included four Nursing officers, one Midwifery officer, one Staff Nurse, and two Enrolled Nurses.⁴⁰ The increasing number of lay fully-trained nurses competing for senior posts in government service necessitated the gradual replacement of Sisters of Charity nurses in the government hospitals after these had given a sterling service in nursing practice and education to the Islands for more than a hundred years. This congregation and those of the Dominican Sisters and Little Sisters of the Poor concentrated their nursing services towards the care of the elderly, and today still remain the main secondary contributors towards this aspect of social welfare.⁴⁰

NOTES

- ¹ *Virtue's Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1972, Vol. 3, 956; *Sisters of Charity of St Joan Antida*. Internet site: <http://www.scsja.org.html>, 1999; A. Bonnici: *History of the Church in Malta. Volume III Period IV - 1800-1975*. (Malta, 1975), 118; T. Rey-Mermet: *Saint Jeanne-Antide Thouret*. (Edinburgh, 1998).
- ² C. Savona-Ventura: *Knight Hospitaller Medicine in Malta [1530-1798]*. (Malta, 2004), 94.
- ³ E.E. Hume: *Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem*. (Baltimore 1940), 64-66, 154; National Malta Library: *Registres des Deliberations de la Commission du Gouvernement*. 6523 B, fol.109-119. Manuscript volume, 1798. Quoted in C. Testa: *The French in Malta 1798-1800*. (Malta, 1997), 180-183; G. Aquilina: *Is-Sorijiet Gerosolimitani – Il-Knisja u l-Monasteru ta' Sant'Ursola, Valletta*. (Malta, 2004).
- ⁴ M&H Arch: *Register of References to the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions*. Vol. 6, 75. in: P. Cassar: *Medical History of Malta*. (London, 1965), 406; A. Bonnici: *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta*. (Malta, 2002).
- ⁵ M&H Arch: *Register of References to the Comptroller of Charitable Institutions*. 7: 12, 42. in: P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta*, 407; A. Bonnici, *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta*.
- ⁶ M&H Arch: *Letters to Government from 3rd May 1867 to 5th March 1869* fols.275, 474, 476. in: P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta*, 407; A. Bonnici, *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta*.
- ⁷ M&H Arch: *Letters to Government from 31st January 1872 to 11th June 1878*, fols. 201. in: P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta*, 407; A. Bonnici, *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta*.
- ⁸ *Annual Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and Health Department for the year 1937*, (Malta, 1938), xlix-l.
- ⁹ A. Galea: *Office of Charitable Institutions. Reports on the workings of Government Departments during the financial year 1922-23*. (Malta, 1925), Q2.
- ¹⁰ *Annual Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and Health Department for the year 1939*, (Malta, 1940), xxiv.
- ¹¹ A. Bonnici, *History of the Church in Malta op. cit.*, 141.
- ¹² M&H Arch: *Letters to Government from 5th March 1872 to 31st January 1872*, fols. 230. in: P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta: op. cit.*, 407; A. Bonnici, *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta*.
- ¹³ P. Cassar: *The institutional Treatment of the Insane in Malta*, (Malta, 1949), 37-38, 41-42.
- ¹⁴ M&H Arch: *Letters to Government from 31st January 1872 to 11th June 1878*, fols. 356, 715. in: P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta*, 407; A. Bonnici, *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta*.
- ¹⁵ P.G. Jolyan: *Report on the Civil Establishments of Malta*, (London, 1880), 26.
- ¹⁶ M&H Arch: *Letters to Government from 23rd March 1883 to 20th April 1888*, fols.277 in: P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta: op. cit.*, 408; P. Cassar, *The institutional Treatment of the Insane in Malta op. cit.*, 40 footnote 26; *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta.: ibid.*
- ¹⁷ M&H Arch: *Correspondence Book for Victoria Hospital for period 9 February 1896 to 26 February 1899*, fols. 209, 250 (manuscript in Gozo archives collection). Letter dated 21st March 1888 to Mr. Trapani, Assistant Secretary for Gozo from the Medical Superintendent to Victoria Hospital and Gozo Ospizio requesting permission for the two sisters of the hospitals to visit their superior in Malta. Similar letter requesting permission for one Matron Sister of Charity dated 5th September 1888. Her duties were to be carried out by her companion.
- ¹⁸ P. Cassar, *The institutional Treatment of the Insane in Malta op. cit.*, 37-38, 41-42.
- ¹⁹ *Malta Blue Book for the year 1893*, (Malta, 1893), H50 in: P. Cassar: *St Vincent de Paule's Residence for the Elderly. The medico-social record*, (Malta, 1994), 18-19.
- ²⁰ M&H Arch: *Letters to Government from 10th April 1895 to 31st March 1903*, fols.163. in: P. Cassar, *Medical History of Malta: op. cit.*, 408; A. Bonnici: *Is-Sorijiet tal-Karita' u l-Hidma taghhom f'Malta*.
- ²¹ Colonial Estimates, Malta, 1896. *Malta Government Gazette*, 20 December 1895, 952-958.
- ²² J. Rizzo Naudi: The Sisters of Charity of St Jeanne-Antide Thouret and the Maltese Health Service. One hundred years of service for the people, *The Sunday Times [of Malta]*, 29th August 1999, 56-57.
- ²³ *Annual Report 1937, 1938: op. cit.*, lvii, lx; *Annual Report on the Health conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and Health Department for the year 1938*, (Malta, 1939), li; *Annual Report..... 1939, 1940: op. cit.*, xxxii; J. Rizzo Naudi, 1999: *op. cit.*
- ²⁴ J. Rizzo Naudi, The Sisters of Charity of St Jeanne-Antide Thouret and the Maltese Health Service. One hundred years of service for the people, *op. cit.*

- ²⁵ *Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and health Department including the Emergency Medical Services for the year 1941*, (Malta, 1943), xxi,xxv; *Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and health Department including the Emergency Medical Services for the year 1942*, (Malta, 1943), xiii; *Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and health Department including the Emergency Medical Services for the year 1945*, (Malta, 1948), xiv; J. Rizzo Naudi, *The Sisters of Charity of St Jeanne-Antide Thouret and the Maltese Health Service*. One hundred years of service for the people, *op. cit.*
- ²⁶ *Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and health Department including the Emergency Medical Services for the year 1946*, (Malta, 1948), xxxiii; *Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and health Department including the Emergency Medical Services for the year 1947*, (Malta, 1949), iv. Sr Aldegonda Farrugia became a member of the Order of the Sisters of Charity in 1935, after which she started her training in nursing as an Assistant to the ward Head Nurse in the government hospital. She followed the first course in nursing studies held in Malta in 1938, and was one of the first nurses to qualify. In 1945 she proceeded to the UK and followed a course as Tutor of Nursing at Kensington College graduating in 1946. She returned to Malta as a Nursing Tutor in 1947. J. Rizzo Naudi, *The Sisters of Charity of St Jeanne-Antide Thouret and the Maltese Health Service*. One hundred years of service for the people, *op. cit.*
- ²⁷ *Report on the Health Conditions of the Maltese Islands and on the work of the Medical and health Department including the Emergency Medical Services for the year 1953*, (Malta, 1954), 109; L. Farrer-Brown, H. Boldero, J.B. Oldham: *Report of the Medical Services Commission*, (Malta, 1957), 52,54.
- ²⁸ L. Farrer-Brown et al, *Report of the Medical Services Commission*, 53; J. Cronin: *Report on the Medical Services of Malta*, (Malta, 1957), 5.
- ²⁹ J. Cronin, *Report on the Medical Services of Malta*, 6; L. Farrer-Brown et al, *Report of the Medical Services Commission*, 52-53.
- ³⁰ L. Farrer-Brown et al, *Report of the Medical Services Commission*, 58.
- ³¹ A. Bonnici, *History of the Church in Malta op. cit.*, 118, 136-142, 165.
- ³² Casa Leone XIII and the Zammit Clapp Hospital. *Malta and Gibraltar Illustrated*, A. Macmillan (ed.), (London, 1915), 310-311.
- ³³ *Malta Government Gazette Supplement*, 22 November 1912; *Reports on the Working of Government Departments during the financial year 1911-12*, (Malta, 1912), M:2; *Reports on the Working of Government Departments during the financial year 1913-14*, (Malta, 1914), L:2.
- ³⁴ *Reports on the Working of Government Departments during the financial year 1922-23*, (Malta, 1925), Q:1.
- ³⁵ A. Bonnici *History of the Church in Malta op. cit.*, 119, 136-137; Davies JOF: *Report on a Hospital Building Programme for Malta*, (Malta, 1957), 4.
- ³⁶ *Register of Deliveries in Maternity Division: Zammit Clapp Hospital, Malta* (letter from Crehan S., 11 August 1989).
- ³⁷ E. Mizzi: *Malta in the Making 1962-1987. An eyewitness account*, (Malta, 1995), 337-348.
- ³⁸ Cassar P, *Medical History of Malta op. cit.*, 409; Bonnici A, *History of the Church in Malta op. cit.*, 136-137; *Register of deliveries in Maternity division: St Catherine of Siena Hospital, Malta* (letter from Attard E., 19 April 1989); *Register of deliveries in Maternity division: S. Dominic Hospital, Gozo* (letter from Attard P., 4 March 1991).
- ³⁹ A. Bonnici, *History of the Church in Malta op. cit.* 118; C. Savona-Ventura: *Civil Hospitals in Malta in the last two hundred years. Historia Hospitalium*, 21 (1998-99), 45-63.
- ⁴⁰ *Staff List of the Government of Malta as on 1st January 1997*, (Malta, 1997) 357-460.

