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There is an old legend that the nineteenth century is to be the "century of woman." Whatever the wisdom, or the foolishness, of our forefathers may have meant by this, English women know but too well that, up to this time, the middle of the century, it has not been theirs. Those who deny, are perhaps even better aware of it, than those who allow it.

And whose fault is this? Not man's. For, in no century, perhaps, has so much freedom, nay, opportunity, been given to woman to cultivate her powers, as best might seem to herself. Man leaves her room and space enough. She is no longer called pedantic, if her powers appear in conversation. The authoress is courted, not shunned. Accordingly, the intellectual development of English women has made extraordinary progress. But, as the human being does not move two feet at once, except he jump, so, while the intellectual foot has made a step in advance, the practical foot has remained behind. Woman stands askew. Her education for action has not kept pace with her education for acquirement. The woman of the eighteenth century was, perhaps, happier, when practice and theory were on a par, than her more cultivated sister of the nineteenth. The latter wishes, but does not know how, to do many things; the former, what she wished, at least *that* she could do.

What then? Shall we have less theory? God forbid. We shall not work better for ignorance. Every increase of knowledge is a benefit, by showing us more of the ways of God. But it was for the increase of "wisdom," even more than of knowledge, that David prayed-for wisdom is the practical application of knowledge. "Not what we know, but what we do, is our kingdom," and woman, perhaps, feels that she has not found her kingdom.

Would the world be much the worse if no woman had ever written, if none existed of all the works of all the authoresses? It is but a question we would ask. Does woman often pursue an intellectual object for any long period for its own sake? Does not her age of acquiring generally cease, whether she be *single* or *married*, whether she have time or not, for her studies, between the ages of twenty and thirty? It is but an inquiry we would make.

It has become of late the fashion, both of novel and of sermon writers, to cry up "old maids," to inveigh against regarding marriage as the vocation of all women, to declare that a single life is as happy as a married one, if people would but think so. So is the air as good an element for fish as the water, if they did but know how to live in it. Show *us how* to be single,

and we will agree. But hitherto we have not found that young English women have been convinced. And we must confess that, *in the present state of things*, their horror of being "old maids" seems perfectly justified; it is not merely a foolish desire for the pomp and circumstance of marriage, a life without love, and an activity without an aim" is horrible in idea, and wearisome in reality.

How many good women everyone has known, who have married, without caring particularly for their husbands, in order to find very natural object, a sphere for their activity (though it might be asked, whether it were not better to take care of the children, who are already in the world, than to bring more into existence, in order to have them to take care of). How many others we know, who are suffering from ill health, merely from having nothing particular to do. "Go and visit the poor," is always said. And the best, those who have the deepest feeling of the importance of this occupation, answer in their souls (if not aloud), "We do not know how. If we only go into the cottages to talk, we see little difference between gossiping with the poor, and gossiping with the rich; or, if our intercourse is to be merely grounded upon the "two-and-sixpence," or the load of coals, we don't know whether we do as much good as we do harm." On finding a cottage, generally comfortable-looking and respectable, one day in the strangest state of nakedness and disorder, the woman answered, "La! now! why, when the district-visiting ladies come, if we didn't put everything topsy-turvy, they wouldn't give us anything."

To be able to visit *well*, is not a thing which comes by instinct, but, on the contrary, is one of the rarest accomplishments. But, when attained, what a blessing to both visitors and visited!

The want of *necessary* occupation among English girls must have struck everyone. How usual it is to see families of five or six daughters at home, in the higher ranks, with no other occupation in life, but a class in a Sunday school. And what is that? A chapter of the Bible is opened at random, and the spiritual doctor, with no more idea of her patient's spiritual anatomy than she has plan for improving it, explains at random.

In the middle classes, how many there are who feel themselves burdensome to their fathers, or brothers, but who, not finding husbands, and not having the education to be governesses, do not know what to do with themselves.

Intellectual education is, however, as before said, not what we want to supply. Is intellect enough for the being who was sent here, like her great Master, to "finish" her Father's 'work?' There was a woman once, who said that she was the "handmaid of the Lord." She was not the first, nor will she be the last, who has felt that this was really woman's only business on earth.

If, then, there are many women who live unmarried, and many more who pass the third of the usual term of life unmarried, and

if intellectual occupation is not meant to be their end in life, what are they to do with that thirst for action useful action, which every woman feels who is not diseased in mind or body? God planted it there. God, who has created nothing in vain. What were His intentions with regard to "unmarried women and widows?" How did He mean to employ them, to satisfy them?

For every want we can always find a divine supply. And accordingly, we see, in the very first times of Christianity an apostolical institution for the employment of woman's powers directly in the service of God. We find them engaged as "servants of the Church." We read, in the Epistle to the Romans, of a "Deaconess," as in the Acts of the Apostles, of "Deacons." Not only men were employed in the service of the sick and poor, but also women. In the fourth century, St. Chrysostom speaks of forty Deaconesses at Constantinople. We find them in the Western Church as late as the eighth, in the Eastern, as the twelfth century (Augusti's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, xi. 220). When the Waldenses, and the Bohemian and Moravian brothers began to arise out of the night of the middle ages, we find in these communities, formed after the model of the apostolical institutions, the office of deaconesses, who were called *Presbyterae*, established in 1457. "Many chose," it is said, the single state, not because they expected thereby to reach a supereminent degree of holiness, but that they might be the better able to care for the sick and the young" (Mohrlen, *Buch der Wahrheitszeugen*, i 301).

Luther complains how few, in his neighbourhood, are found to fill the office of deacons, saying that he must wait "till our Lord God makes Christians," and further adds, that "women have especial grace to alleviate woe, and the words of women move the human being more than those of men" (Luther's *Works*, Walch's Edition, xi. 2755, ii. 1387). In the sixteenth century it is well known how Robert von der Mark, prince of Sedan in the Netherlands, revived the institution of Protestant Sisters of Charity, and, instead of appropriating the revenues of the suppressed monasteries in his domains, devoted them to this purpose (*Histoire de la Principaute de Sedan*, par Peyran, vol. ii. chaps. 1 and 2). In the first General Synod of the Evangelical Church of the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands, at Wesel, 1568, we find the office of Deaconesses recommended, and, in the Classical Synod, of 1580, expressly established. In England they were not wanting. Among the Non-Conformists, under Elizabeth, 1576, Deaconesses were instituted during divine service, and received amidst the general prayer of the community (Neal's *History of the Puritans*, i. 344). The Pilgrim fathers of 1602-25, who were driven first to Amsterdam and Leyden, then to North America, carried their Deaconesses with them (Young's *Chron. of the Pilgrim Fathers*, Boston, P. 455). In Amsterdam, we read how "the Deaconess sat in her place at church with a little birchen rod in her hand, to correct the children," and "how she' called upon the young maidens for their services, when there were

sick,

and how "she was obeyed like a mother in Israel."

It thus appears that, long previous to the establishment of the Order of Sisters of Mercy, by S. Vincent de Paule, in 1633, the importance of the office of Deaconess had been recognised by all divisions of Christians; and they accordingly existed, *free from vows or cloistered cells*. So many believe this to be an institution borrowed from the Roman Catholic Church exclusively, and, on that account, are prejudiced against it, that we wish we had space to give the numerous other proofs of the existence of the office at different times, among all churches, and earliest in those of the Protestant faith.

We see, therefore, that God has not implanted an impulse in the hearts of women, without preparing a way for them to obey it. Why did not the institution spread and flourish further? Perhaps this may be sufficiently explained by the fact, that there were no nursery-grounds-preparatory schools for Deaconesses, so that fitness for their office was, so to speak, accidental. This want is now supplied.

In Prussia, the system for the practical training of Deaconesses has spread in all directions. In Paris, Strasburg, Echallens (in Switzerland), Utrecht and England, the institution exists. Whether the blessing be greater to the class from which the labourers are taken, or to that among which they labour, it is hard to say. The institution of Pastor Fliedner, at Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine, near Düsseldorf, is now so well known that the history of its rise will, perhaps, be interesting.

The establishment of a manufactory, some years before the general peace, at Kaiserswerth, a small Roman Catholic town, had brought together a little colony of workmen, chiefly Protestant. The bankruptcy of the manufacturer, in 1822, deprived them of the means of supporting a pastor. M Fliedner, being then only twenty-two years of age, and just entering on this cure, would not desert them. In 1823 and 1824, he travelled through Holland and England to collect funds sufficient to maintain a church in his little community. He succeeded, but this was the smallest part of the results of his journey. In England, he became acquainted with Mrs Fry and his attention having been thus turned to the fact, that prisons were but a school for vice, instead of for reformation, he formed, at Düsseldorf, in 1826, the first German society for improving prison discipline. He soon perceived how desolate is the situation of the woman, who, released from prison, but often without the means of subsistence is, as it were, violently forced back into crime. With one female criminal, with one volunteer (Mlle Göbel, a friend of Mme Fliedner), who came, without pay, to join the cause, he began his work in September 1833, in a small summer-house in his garden. Between December and June of the next year, he received nine other penitents, of whom eight had been more than once in prison. A second volunteer was then found, who has since gone out as the

wife of the Missionary Barnstein, to Borneo.

The infant school was the next branch of the Institution, which was added in May 1836, under a first-rate infant schoolmistress, Henrietta Frickenhaus, who still conducts it, and has already trained more than 400 candidates for the office of infant schoolmistresses.

In October, of the same year, induced partly by the general feeling of the great deficiency of good nurses, partly by regret at seeing how much good female power was wasted, and also by the fact that the volunteers, who had come forward for the first Institution, wanted a further field for the education of their faculties, Pastor Fliedner established a hospital" (with one patient, one nurse, and a cook), in the manufactory before spoken of, which was now vacant. The nurse, now the Deaconess Reichardt (sister of a missionary of that name, among the Jews in London), is still in the Institution; though too infirm for physical nursing, her services are found invaluable in conducting the devotions of the male patients, who look up to her as a mother, and in instructing and advising the probationers and younger Deaconesses. During the first year, the number of nurses thus volunteering, had increased to seven, but these were submitted to a probation of six months Sister Reichardt only having been exempted, from her long experience and faithfulness in this department. From fifteen to eighteen patients were now received, so that the number of those nursed during the first year, in the institution, amounted to sixty, besides twenty-eight at their own homes. The hospital having been established chiefly as a school for training the Deaconesses, all kinds of sick were received, though the proportion of recoveries thus afforded a less brilliant list at the close of the year.

Behind the present hospital is a large enclosed court, with outbuildings; and again, behind that, a walled garden, of about an acre, fit for the use of the patients. Beyond, lies a row of small houses, which Pastor Fliedner has hired, and in which the different branches of his institution were established, as they arose. First, on the right, is the Infant School, which numbers about forty children, and almost as many young women, training for infant schoolmistresses. These do not necessarily become deaconesses, and most of them have chosen to remain independent, a fortunate thing for the institution, which, with its present funds, would have provided with difficulty for the old age of so many.

Next to the Infant School is the Penitentiary. Here the institution, which sprung, in 1833, from the small beginning in the summer-house, was transplanted. It has now a large garden and field behind, stretching beyond the infant school, with farm yard and outbuildings. Thirdly, comes the Orphan Asylum, where two families, twelve in each, of orphans, chiefly the daughters of clergymen, missionaries, schoolmasters and other respectable parents, live with their respective deaconesses. These take the

entire care of the children committed to their charge, sleep with them, eat with them and instruct them in household work. This institution is meant to become a nursery ground for future Deaconesses and teachers.

Connected with it is the Seminary (Normal school) for industrial, day, and infant schoolmistresses, who here receive a practical education in learning to teach (passing through the orphan asylum, the infant school, the parish day school, and the children's wards in the hospital), a theoretical education from a first-rate master, and some excellent female teachers, in every branch of knowledge necessary to them, and a religious education from the pastor himself, and an assistant clergyman.

The other houses in the row are occupied by the Pastor Fliedner and his family, by the bureau, where the accounts of the Institution are kept by two clerks; and further on, nearest the river, are the parish school, church, and vicarage. Pastor Fliedner has now resigned the care of the parish, which was become impossible in addition to that of the institution.

In the Rhine are baths for the whole establishment and the scrofulous children receive great benefit from them. Behind the row of houses are about forty acres of land which supply the Institution with vegetables and herbs, and with pasture for eight cows and several horses. And the little summer-house, the starting point of the whole, still stands in the Pastor's garden.

We see by these details, how, with small funds, without a competition of architects, or vast plans for a "new and convenient" erection, using only the means and the buildings near at hand, the present Institution grew and flourished. It is impossible not to observe how different was this beginning from the way in which institutions are generally founded, a list of subscribers with some royal and noble names at the head, a double column of rules and regulations, a committee of great names begin (and end) most new enterprises. The regulations are made without experience. Honorary members abound, but where are the working ones? The scheme is excellent, but what are the results?

"Teach me Thy ways," is the perpetual cry of David in the Psalms and to watch and to imitate the ways of God is the only true wisdom. From the little germ comes up the forest tree so gradually that no one can tell when or how it grows. Pastor Fliedner began his work with two beds under a roof, not with a castle in the air, and Kaiserswerth is now diffusing its blessings and its Deaconesses over almost every Protestant land. We have seen its beginning; let us now turn to its present state.

The Hospital and the Mother House of the Deaconesses That sickness is one of the means sent by God to soften the heart, is generally acknowledged. Let us go into one of the usual hospitals and see how this precious opportunity is turned to account. Instead of a school, whence the patients return home to

their families, often renewed, generally improved, we see, as everyone conversant with hospitals well knows, a school, it may almost be said, for immorality and impropriety, inevitable where women of bad character are admitted as nurses, to become worse by their contact with the male patients and the young surgeons, inevitable where the nurses have to perform every office in the male wards, which it is undesirable to exact from women of good character, how much more so from those of bad, inevitable where the examination of females must take place before a school of medical students. We see the nurses drinking, we see the neglect at night owing to their falling asleep. Where women undertake so toilsome an office, for hire, and not for love, it cannot be otherwise. We see the patients procuring spirits by feeing the nurses, and yet there are many surgeons who still think that such women will tend their patients better than those who undertake the task from Christian motives. They are afraid of their patients being "excited" by "pious nurses." Yet no one can seriously believe that Christian influence is not desirable in times of sickness, as well as at other times. It is the abuse of this influence, it is unChristian influence, which causes the fear and the jealousy we so often see. No one can seriously believe that the word, let fall by the nurse, during a restless night, has not a better effect upon the suffering patient than the set visit of the chaplain. Educate, qualify the nurses to exercise this influence, to drop the word in season, and this jealousy will fall away of itself.

But how has Pastor Fliedner secured such a class of women, as he finds himself able to trust with spiritual influence in this Kaiserswerth hospital? First, by his own self-denial. An institution will never succeed, which is intended to be worked mainly by the middle and lower classes, if left to occasional inspection. The middle classes cannot be expected to give up the idea of saving money, the "cynosure" of English eyes, as long as they can say, "The directors might, if they pleased, out of their easy chairs and good dinners, give me as high a salary as my services are worth * " In Kaiserswerth there are, for all, the same privations, the same self-denial, the same object, one spirit, one love, one Lord.

Another secret of Pastor Fliedner's education is, that he really, not nominally, delegates his authority. Every master and parent knows how difficult this is. He does not like to see another do ill, what he can do well. He doubts how far it is right to allow it, and much as he feels the importance of forming his monitors or children, he ends by waiting till they are fit for their office, like the man who waited to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. Pastor Fliedner, from the unexampled plainness of his instructions to his nurses, and from the constant vigilance with which he follows them up, guards both them and the patients from danger. Every week he gives a lecture

to the nurses, before which, each has to report to him all that she has read to the patients at morning and evening prayers during the week, and generally what has passed in her ward, and to receive his advice as to how she should proceed. He then places before them particular cases which are likely to occur, e. g., where the patient is distressed in mind, where he is self-righteous, etc., and questions them what, in such cases, they would do, attentively listening to, and correcting their answers. His instructions are never in the shape of a formal lecture, but of question and answer. He shows them how they are to approach the hearts of the patients, without assuming the tone of a father confessor, how they are to act in cases of emergency, and at all times they have access to him to ask his advice.

How ready these women become to seize the moment for making an impression on the hearts of their patients, particularly on those of the children, may be illustrated by one or two incidents:

One morning, in the boys' ward, as they were about to have prayers, just before breakfast, two of the boys quarrelled about a hymn book. The "sister" was uncertain, for a moment, what to do; they could not pray in that state of mind, yet excluding them from the prayer was, 'not likely to improve them.' She told a story of her own childhood, how one night she had been cross with her parents, and putting off her prayers till she felt good again, had fallen asleep. The children were quite silent for a moment, and shocked at the idea that anybody should go to bed without praying. The two boys were reconciled, and prayers took place.

Another time, one of the boys stole a piece of bread out of another's drawer. The imputation rested upon two, and the sister asked them to confess. No one answered, and breakfast went on as usual; after the meal, they urged the sister to play with them, but she said that she felt too sad at heart. Still no one spoke. Later, one of the men-nurses, a faithful old servant, who has been there since the Institution began, made a little sermon to the young sinners. Shortly after this, a child came running to tell the sister that William wanted to confess, which he did, and begged her forgiveness. She told him it was God's forgiveness that he needed, and she would pray with him for it. The rest of the day he was as merry as usual. At night she told him that she had not punished him because she thought he was sorry, that the object of punishment was to remind us of the fault we had committed, but that he seemed to have forgotten it. Would he like to punish himself as a sort of reminder? The other patients need know nothing about it. He said he should, but he could think of nothing. She said, would he like to give up part of his bread at dinner, for a week? He said, no, not that; but when she told him to choose himself, he finally agreed. The next day at dinner, she broke his bread in two, and gave it to him. He gave back the larger half, and continued to do so during the week. She thought

afterwards she had been guilty of weakness in keeping it secret from the other children. The sin had been public, so ought the reparation to have been. These trifling anecdotes are only given to show how these women are really training to use a spiritual influence with thought and discretion.

One great reason which deters women of education from this work of love is, that, having seen the unutterable dulness of a common hospital, they say to themselves, "If I am to have no moral or spiritual work to do, if I am only to sweep, and comb out dirty heads, and dress loathsome wounds, as I have no idea of buying heaven by such works, I may as well leave them to those who must earn their livelihood, and not take away their trade." Let such as feel this go to Kaiserswerth, and see the delicacy, the cheerfulness, the grace of Christian kindness, the moral atmosphere, in short, which may be diffused through a hospital, by making it one of God's schools, where both patients and nurses come to learn of Him.

We are aware of the difficulty and the disgust, which would attend a woman who wished to learn in a hospital, as commonly conducted. None such need deter her from visiting Kaiserswerth. First, the kindness of the sisters in imparting their own knowledge is as remarkable, when contrasted with the jealousy of nurses and surgeons, in general, as the refinement with which it is done. The pastor's spirit seems to pervade the whole sisterhood.

The hospital contains above 100 beds, and is divided into four departments, for men, for women, for boys, and for children, which last includes girls under seventeen, and boys under six years of age. The wards are all small. This gives, it is true, more trouble, but also, far more decency and comfort. None of the female wards have more than four beds. Men an examination takes place, or when a particular case requires it, the patient can thus easily have a ward to herself. In no private house is decorum more observed than in this hospital, and the influence this continues to exercise upon the patients after their return home, can well be believed.

The male wards are served by men-nurses, of whom there are five, who have been educated in the hospital, and are under the authority of the sisters. After 8 P. m., no sister goes into the men's wards; the men-nurses sleep in the wards, and sit up in case of need. Even in the boys' ward the sister does not sleep. No sister is called upon to do anything for a male patient but that which, in a private house, a lady would perform for a brother. Everything else is done by the men-nurses, who, brought up in this atmosphere, have always been found faithful and careful. The most fastidious could find nothing to object to in the intercourse which takes place between patient, surgeon, and sisters.

No medical man resides in the hospital. Why should he? In a private family, a patient only receives a visit once, or,

perhaps, twice a day, from the physician. Why he should not reside in the house is sufficiently obvious. He is then master. Whereas, at Kaiserswerth, the clergyman is master. The sisters are, however, bound, of course, punctually to obey the directions of the medical man, and they are too well trained not to do so, with far more correctness than is found in other hospitals. The superintending sister of every ward is always present during the daily visits of the medical man. The apothecary is a sister, and she also goes the round of the patients with him, noting down all his prescriptions and directions, which she afterwards transcribes into a book. By the presence of this sister, and the head sister of the ward, all giggling, all familiarity, everything but the strictest propriety is prevented. The sisters are perfectly well bred.

Every head sister has family prayers morning and evening, in her ward; she generally sings a hymn with the patients, reads a very short portion of the Bible, or of some other book chosen by the Pastor, and prays. All the male patients who are able to leave the wards, assemble in a schoolroom for prayer, which is conducted by the Sister Reichardt, already mentioned, whose practical remarks on the Bible are listened to by the patients with eager interest.

The sister in the children's wards seldom reads to them; as what *is told* to children seems to them true; what is *read* seems to them to come out of the book, and so stays in the book, not in their minds. In the morning, she relates to the elder children a story out of the Bible, sings with them, and prays, not out of a book, but out of her own (we will not say head, but) heart. Afterwards she relates to the younger children a simpler story out of the Bible, showing them, at the same time, a picture, as children's eyes must be appealed to. The Old and New Testament are thus gone through. In the evening, she does the same, but the story is not taken from the Bible, but from missionaries' reports, histories of conversions, etc. Children are always interested in missions. On Sunday, as the children only go to church once, she occupies them, during afternoon service, with looking out parallel passages in their Bibles, which interests them, and prevents that dull and dead reading of the Bible, which, as it is prompted by no feeling, so leads to none.

The children are a great deal in the garden; as they are mostly scrofulous, this is of the greatest importance, and so far Kaiserswerth has a great advantage over a large town.

The night-watching seems remarkably well managed. It must be our part to carry out what we can discover of God's intentions with regard to sickness. "My will be done," does not mean "Thy will be done" in great things, while we wish ours to be done in small. He desires to lead not only the patients, but also the nurses to Himself. If a nurse's physical powers are not too much exhausted, night-watching may have a greater influence on her mind than any other hour. In the darkness, God appeared to the

Israelites as a pillar of light and fire; in the day, only as a pillar of smoke. At Kaiserswerth, the nurse is made to feel the night-watch more a blessing than a burden. She never sits up more than three hours and a half, and the whole establishment takes it in turn, so that it comes once a week at most to each sister. The sisters go to bed at ten, and rise at five. One sister sleeps in every ward, but the watcher is for the whole house; at half-past one A.M. she is relieved by another. Every hour she makes the round of all the wards, goes softly into every room, excepting those of the male patients; and thus a double advantage is secured, the watcher is not likely to fall asleep; and she can minister to the little wants of the patients, not dangerously ill, without waking the ward sisters. In cases of severe illness, and in surgical cases, the sister of the ward is, of course, obliged to sit up. The station of the watcher is in the children's room, where her attention is most frequently wanted, as infants are received at any age.

But we are not describing the hospital as a hospital, but as a training school for the deaconesses. Probation is its grand principle, one which we are familiar with in all God's dealings with us; one which St Paul speaks of, when he says, "And let these also first be proved, then let them use the office of a deacon, being found blameless."

A period of from one to three years is allowed for probation. As nothing is offered to the sisters, neither the prospect of saving money, nor reputation, nothing but the opportunity of working in the cause for which Christ worked, and still works; so, if this does not appear to be their ruling principle, they are dismissed, however painful to the Pastor. They are also at liberty to leave any day. The probationary sister receives nothing for six months, but food and lodging; after that, a small salary. The Deaconesses, that is, those who, after their probation, have received a solemn blessing in the church, are paid, but only sufficient to keep them in clothes. Board, lodging, and the deaconess's upper dress are given to them. There is therefore no pecuniary inducement to come to this work; but a provision is secured for those who have become ill or infirm in the service, to whom the "Motherhouse" always opens her arms. "You have been wounded with honour in the field," as the Pastor said one day to a Deaconess, about to undergo a painful operation.

No establishment can subsist, which does not offer this prospect to those who have disinterestedly spent the best years of life in its service. And it is beautiful to see the attachment which the Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth feel to their "Mother-House".

The Christian liberty of the Deaconess is carefully preserved. Even during the five years, for which a Deaconess engages herself after her solemn consecration in the Church, should marriage, or her parents, or any important duty claim her,

she is free, she is never held fast to conclude the term of years. The Institution may thus be said to be a school for wives as well as for sisters, as no one can suppose that these women are not the better fitted for the duties of wives and mothers by their education here.

The institution stands in the place of a parent to the deaconesses, who have been sent out to other establishments, such as hospitals, poorhouses, etc. It has the right of recalling them, without giving any reason to the directors who have, on the other hand, the right of dismissing sisters and of asking for others. The Institutions of Paris, Strasburg, Echallens, and Utrecht, have reserved to themselves the same right as that of Kaiserswerth. Even Deaconesses may sometimes disagree among themselves, and a timely exchange may save much evil. This provision is necessary, if the institution is to remain a "Mother-House" to the deaconesses, to afford them protection from the demands (often exorbitant) of the other institutions which they serve, and to continue their home for times of sickness and old age. The Deaconess Institution has a vote on the reception of a new sister into the institution, and in the choice of a superintendent.

The great object of the pastor appears to be to interest them in the progress of the kingdom of God upon earth. With them, "Thy kingdom come," does not mean, as it does with many, only "my salvation come." They have a personal feeling for the coming of the kingdom; they watch with keen interest for all that can be heard on the subject.

Every second Monday evening in the month, the Pastor meets them in the Sisters' Diningroom, to communicate all the letters which have been received from sisters abroad; every first Monday to communicate any interesting missionary news; another evening to celebrate the anniversary of the Institution, etc.; and on these occasions, everyone relates anything which may have come to her own knowledge upon the subject; the evening ends with singing and prayer.

Penitentiary and Asylum for Females released from Prison
It contains, at this time, twelve in number, chiefly about twenty-three years of age. As the object of it is to teach them again to know and to love that family life, of which most have been so long deprived, which many have never known, the number is restricted to fifteen. Their stay must be entirely voluntary, so that, if not inclined to submit to the regulations of the house, they are not received or not detained. They have a meadow, a field, and a large garden, which they cultivate entirely themselves with the spade, under the direction of a sister, who had fortunately been brought up in a nursery garden. To those who have had experience among this class of persons, it need not be explained that the pure air, hard exercise, and interest of out-of-door work, are found far more beneficial than needlework, in occupying their thoughts, improving their health, and qualifying

them for places in the country, which the Institution always chooses in preference. No one but themselves enters their territory, and they have each a separate cell at night upon the American system, which seclusion has operated most beneficially on their character. The cell is only furnished with a bed and a chair, as the asylum is to be a state of humiliation. A row of cells has lately been built for them, looking out upon the yard.

Indeed, the whole of this branch is kept quite separate from the rest of the Institution. It has its separate accounts, its separate grounds, its separate subscription list, its separate reports, as it is thought better not to mix up the affairs of this department with the others.

They have cows (stallfed), and poultry, and they are found universally fond and kind to animals, so that the care of them exercises a good influence on their characters. One Sunday night, when the different employments for the week were being portioned out (one girl has the care of the kitchen, another of the house, others wash, others work in the garden), the one to whom the dairy was given, a tall, fierce, hardened-looking girl, like Giorgione's Judith, jumped for joy like a child.

They go out to wash in the families belonging to the institution, but in no others. The great difficulty is in preventing them from procuring brandy.

If during eight to fifteen months (less time is not considered sufficient trial) they have conducted themselves well, the Institution procures them places. Some have, however, been two years in the asylum. These places are generally sought for in the country, rarely in towns, and never in a publichouse, always where they are least known, as far as possible from their previous place of abode. Certain terms are made for them, among which are that they shall be admitted to family prayer, that they shall attend divine service, that the pastor of the place shall be apprized of their coming, that they shall not be dismissed without giving notice to Pastor Fliedner, etc. A correspondence is always kept up between them and the asylum; they are at all times permitted to visit it, they are themselves visited, invited to the yearly celebration (on the 17th September) of the foundation of the asylum, at which the Pastor presides. If they have conducted themselves well, and change their situation, a second is found for them, and a lodging allowed them meanwhile at the Institution. The letters which some of the girls wrote to the superintending sister, during her absence from the asylum, in private nursing, were very touching.

About a fourth of those received turn out well, but these unformed characters are so changeable, one day, so well disposed, another, without apparent reason, so hard or so passionate, that little dependence can be placed upon them under a year. One of those now in the asylum has been in the House of Correction thirty times. Often, however, they deeply repent. One was found at two o'clock in the morning, by the superintending sister,

still upon her knees in her cell. One came to her twice in the night, in great trouble of conscience, to ask her to teach her how to pray, she complained that the sister did not advise her like the others; the sister said that she waited till they wished for it.

For physical reasons, their food is poor--they have meat only twice a week, but discontent is not their fault; they see that the two sisters have the same, and are always thankful. They rise at five, work in the garden, if fine, till breakfast time, then family prayer, at which they sing; the sister explains a chapter in the Bible, and prays. One of the girls says grace. The sister is always in the room with them, and, while sedentary work is going on, such as preparing vegetables for winter's use, sewing or spinning, she relates a story to them, or calls upon them to sing a hymn or to relate something themselves. One of them (a girl who had murdered her children), narrated one day an incident which she had read, which lasted an hour and a half; for persons, whose lightness of character is proverbial, this is much, all the others attentively listening or suggesting. They receive a weekly lesson from the chaplain. They have besides lessons in singing, and those who are quite ignorant, in reading and writing, from voluntary teachers out of the Normal School.

The house consists of a kitchen, workroom, ironingroom, and cells. The income of the asylum last year (including £30, the produce of the milk and eggs which they sell to the Hospital, and £36 paid by some of the penitents themselves, the remainder having been supplied by subscriptions) was £200, the expenses, including hire of house and land, £225.

One hundred and ninety-seven have been received since the beginning of the Institution, in 1833. It is meant to be a place of transition between the prison and social life, where they may, at the same time, qualify themselves for service, and prove and strengthen their desire of reformation. They must, therefore, bring with them a certificate from the prison chaplain, that they at least hope to reform. No one is ever received a second time into the asylum, which they all know. It is not thought desirable to retain them longer than two years, as there is not sufficient work to keep them fully occupied.

"Parish" Deaconesses

One of the Kaiserswerth sisters is deaconess of the parish of Kaiserswerth, and many have been sent out as such to distant parishes, at the request of pastors or of visiting societies.

We know how much the want of capacity to *visit well* depresses and discourages our best meant efforts. We say to ourselves, "But what good do I do? I ask the mother how many children go to school; perhaps I preach a little; I give a little broth and a blanket; I read a chapter out of the Bible, which they don't understand; if somebody is ill, I send the doctor, who opens the ulcer too soon, that he may not have the trouble of coming again. How deplorable this sort of intercourse is. I see

disorder, dirt, unthrift, want of management, but I don't know how to help it. What right have I to find fault with them? and I am too ignorant myself to show them how to do better. I see illness, but I don't know how to manage it. And yet that would be the very thing I should like to do, through the body to find the way' to the heart of the patient. What I want, is something to do in the cottage; to sit on a chair and ask questions, is not the way to have real intercourse from heart to heart with the poor or with anybody. But if I knew how to nurse them, opportunities for doing more would arise of themselves, and I should have some definite errand to take me in. What is said with intention rarely does good; it is only what says *itself* in the natural everyday intercourse, which strikes and bears fruit. Everybody knows this from their own experience of what has most influenced *themselves* in life."

The question is now how to educate ourselves so as to supply this our deficiency; such an education the Kaiserswerth Parish Deaconesses receive; in the hospital, the school, the asylum, the household, they learn the wants of the poor, the wants in themselves, and how to treat them. It is beautiful to see the accomplished Parish Deaconess visiting. She makes her rounds in the morning; she performs little offices for the sick, which do not require a nurse, living in the house, but which the relations cannot do well; she teaches the children little trades, knitting, making list shoes, etc., and all this with a cordiality and charm of manner, which wins sufficient confidence from the parents to induce them to ask to be taught to sweep and cook, and put their house in order. The Parish Deaconess at Kaiserswerth is continually receiving curious little notes written to ask her advice upon such and such household matters, and wherever she goes, the cottage gradually puts on a tidy appearance.

How often a parish clergyman sighs for such an assistant, how of ten lady visitors sigh to be able to render such assistance!

It may be a question whether it would not be better for each parish to send one of its own inhabitants to such an Institution as Kaiserswerth to learn, than for a stranger to be sent out from thence. She would probably be more at home among the people, but this is a matter of opinion. The fact remains that we must *learn* to visit, that we must be qualified to teach.

It has sometimes been said that Protestants can never be found to expose themselves to death in the way in which Roman Catholics will do, because the former do not believe that they shall win heaven by such martyrdom. This has been proved to be false by the undaunted heroines who have gone out from Kaiserswerth wherever cholera, typhus fever or other infectious diseases have raged, and, after saving many hundreds of lives, have died at their post. Last year, twenty-one sisters were engaged in nursing in towns wasted by the cholera. Most of them caught the infection, two, having "fought the good fight and

finished their course," went to their eternal home.

Normal School, Orphan Asylum and Infant School

We have said little about the normal school, not because it is less interesting than the other departments, but because this subject is better understood in England. The great amount of training which Pastor Fliedner himself gives the candidates (for the situation of infant, day and industrial schoolmistresses) must, however, be mentioned. For instance, he takes the narrative in the Bible, which comes next in course, and gives a lecture upon it to the assembled class of candidates. She, whose turn it is to teach the next day in school, relates the story to him alone in the evening. In the morning he comes to the school to hear her tell it to the children. And, at the next lecture, he makes his remarks to her upon the manner in which she has done so, the faults she has made and the ways of exciting greater interest in the children. As some of the candidates are for infant schools, some for day schools (the former of whom practise in the infant school in the institution, the latter in the day school of the parish), he shows in his lecture what points will interest the older, what the younger children most. Great stress is laid upon instructing children *viva voce*. The teacher, Mr Ranke, also gives them admirable practical lessons in the art of teaching.

In the Orphan Asylum each family lives with its deaconess exactly as her children. Some of them have already become deaconesses or teachers; some have returned home. When a new child is admitted a little feast celebrates its arrival, at which the pastor himself presides, who understands children so well that his presence, instead of being a constraint, serves to make the little newcomer feel herself at home. She chooses what is to be sung, she has a little present from the pastor and, after tea, at the end of the evening, she is prayed for.

The Infant School does not differ so much from English infant schools as to require a separate account, though we would gladly describe the unwearied playfulness of the mistress and her pretty little games for the children. All the candidates must be there for one hour a day, and each in turn must undertake the first class for a whole day once a *fortnight*, the second class once a *week*.

The whole of this large institution was supported last year for a sum of less than £3500, such is the economy and self-denial practised by the conductors. The subscriptions, etc., amounted to £3200, so that a deficit of £300 remains. When we see how much good may be done here with how little money, does it not act as an inducement to go and do likewise?

The number of deaconesses is 116, of whom ninety-four are already consecrated (the consecration is simply a solemn blessing in the church, without vows of any kind); twenty-two are still probationary. Of these, sixty-seven are in hospitals, parishes,

and poorhouses, in Germany, England, America, and at Jerusalem; the rest are at Kaiserswerth. More are eagerly desired. From all parts of Germany, from Constantinople, and even from the East Indies, requests for Deaconesses are constantly pouring in, which cannot be satisfied. More labourers are wanted, and more will come. If this may be their future, the fear of becoming "old maids" will disappear; if they may be instructed how to become the active "handmaids of the Lord," what life can they desire more? That English women can work, and work successfully in this cause, is proved by the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity. Shall the Roman Catholic Church do all the work? Has not the Protestant the same Lord, who accepted the services not only of men, but also of women? The harvest is ripe. Where are the sick and the poor wanting? Let those women of England, who sit in busy idleness, look at Germany. There are your sisters all at work, Christ in their midst. Let Him not say, I have called my English handmaidens, but they would not answer. I stood at their door and knocked, but they would not open.

The Rev Pastor Fliedner receives boarders in the Institution, who, without intending to become deaconesses, wish to qualify themselves in general for Christian life. They are boarded and lodged for 10s 6d. a week, receiving, in addition, all the benefits of this admirable education, and there is not a sister in the establishment who does not endeavour in this to second the pastor's intentions.

1858

Anonymous article *The Lancet* (31 July 1858):121-22 [16:269-71]

On the 28th of December last, some time after the Report of the Royal commission on the Sanitary State of the Army was sent in, the minister at war requested the "Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission" to report upon the Royal Victoria Hospital. The commission had in their report pointed out the defects in the present system of construction, administration and attendance in army hospitals. It had shown the necessity for the public service of introducing into those institutions an efficient and economical method of administration and attendance upon the sick, and it had pointed out the defects of the present army hospitals, and the necessity for avoiding these in all future structures. Assuming that the intention of the minister was to ascertain how far the plans, etc., of the Victoria Hospital, if carried out, would realize the objects aimed at in the report already sent in, the commission of course proceeded to deal with the whole question from such a point of view. Having done so, they arrived at the conclusion that for such purposes the hospital was generally unadapted from its construction, and that even if it were used, the cost of the administration would be so great that it would be cheaper to abandon it altogether, or rather to turn it into a barrack. The main circumstances leading

the "commission" to this unfavourable judgment appear to us to be well substantiated as facts, and the reasoning founded upon them as fully warranting the adverse opinions expressed in the report. The commission do not deny the apparent salubrity of the Netley district for healthy men pursuing ordinary avocations, but they maintain that it is not well adapted for the recovery of sick men confined to their beds--a distinction which, although it has been called in question, decidedly holds good. The commission assert that, as regards the district itself, there are ten square miles of mud exposed in the estuary twice in twenty-four hours, and that opposite the site of the new hospital there are seven eights of a mile of mud exposed at low water. In the next place the proposed hospital is to be built upon earth from which bricks are, or were being made, a sufficient proof of the defective character of a sub-soil for such an institution. Farther, it is shown that although on a clear bright day the country for miles around the site of the hospital is dry and self-draining, the *immediate site itself* is not so, and the inspection of the building had to be carried on by crossing upon planks over the mud and water lying upon the surface. The commission place much stress upon the soft and relaxing, instead of dry and bracing, character of the local climate of Southampton. This they rightly affirm not to be the climate which should be desired, as it will retard or prevent the recovery of the particular class of invalids intended to occupy the Victoria Hospital. In fine, the following data being give to the commission, the rectitude of its judgment appears to us unimpeachable.

Site: Close to an estuary, with ten square miles of mud exposed at low water. Mud, containing vegetable matter and sulphurs, and saturated with mixed fresh and salt water.

Climate: Soft, mild, relaxing. Brick earth on the site of the hospital.

Conclusion: The shores of Southampton water are not a desirable spot on which to erect a hospital for the majority of such cases as will be sent there for treatment.

In coming to a judgment upon this important matter, it is most essential to keep in mind the class of patients who would constantly inhabit Netley. They would, of course, be composed chiefly of invalids form the tropics, men suffering form chronic diseases of the digestive organs, the sequelae of fevers, etc., diseases, indeed, belonging to the same category as those described by good authority as common to the hospital locality itself. Mr RANALD MARTIN has shown that all kinds of tropic invalids, whether suffering from fevers or form bowel complaints, thrive best in the *bracing* localities of the United Kingdom. They recover most rapidly in the highlands of Scotland during a summer and autumn residence, apparently from a union there of the ocean and mountain air--a union which appears to be especially advantageous to sick persons from the topics. However advantageous then, the humid and warm climate of Southampton

Water may be for certain pulmonary affections, for delicate persons and women and children who dread a little freshness and cold, we agree with the commission in viewing it as quite unsuitable for the recovery of persons suffering under the sequelae of tropical affections.

The unfavourable conclusions arrived at by the "commission" have been reviewed and answered in a "Report of the Committee of the Royal Victoria Hospital." In this antagonistic reply, however, it appears to us that the "committee" has not dealt with the report fairly. On the contrary, it has simply accumulated as large an amount as possible of professional opinion against *certain only* of the points the commission raised, leaving the others untouched, and then considering the *whole report* as fully and satisfactorily answered.

We shall return to the consideration of this subject.

Anonymous article, *The Lancet* (14 August 1858):175-77 [16:269-71]

So far as relates to the expression of our opinion concerning the unfitness of the climate and locality of the Netley Hospital for invalids suffering under the *sequelae* of tropical diseases, we might rest satisfied with what we have already said. But there are two other important points in respect to the new hospital and the counter statements of the committee which we cannot pass over, and are hence obliged to recur to this subject. In the first place, we must observe that there are certain opinions introduced into the report which tend to discredit the latest improvements in hospital architecture, and which, if they remain unanswered, might be productive of serious consequences in the future. What is called the "pavilion" or "block system" was rightly adopted as the best form of hospital by the royal commission, after ample inquiry into the matter. According to this system, the patients are separated into a number of detached groups, with the air freely circulating around them. Hence one of its chief advantages is its facility for subdividing the sick and for ventilating by *opposite windows*.

Even in the larger metropolitan hospitals (as in Guy's, e.g.) This latter advantage of the older wards can be at once compared with the difficulty of ventilating the new back-to-back wards, with windows on one side only, even with the aid of what is termed "artificial ventilation." The result of many years' experience is that the best observers have been gradually led to adopt the block principle as that which is most conducive to the recovery of the sick. The late and the present director general of the Army Medical Department (as members of the royal commission) have both very wisely affirmed this principle in the Parliamentary Paper No. 361 (11 May 1858). The "block" form of construction for the new hospital at Aldershot, and the main sanitary reasons for employing it, are alluded to in the

following terms:

The board approved unanimously of the general principles to be adopted in the construction of the future building, which consisting of a series of detached structures (each a separate hospital), connected by an open corridor running along the ground storey), will effectually prevent anything like an undue accumulation of the miasms unavoidably generated, more or less, in all hospitals, but more particularly where large numbers of sick are congregated under the same roof.

The new hospital at Aldershot was then proposed to be build on this "pavilion plan," with even as few as 100 patients under one roof. The system, indeed, admits of much variety and accommodation, according to circumstances of extent and means of expenditure, as may be seen by comparing the Melville Hospital at Chatham, the Royal Marine Hospital at Woolwich, the plans of the proposed new Civil Hospital at Blackburn, and the Hospitals of Lariboisière and Vincennes at Paris. Thus not only the highest army and navy medial authorities, and the "royal commission," agree as to the best constructive arrangements for a hospital, but the most eminent civil practitioners go hand in hand with them. Now, the plan of the Netley Hospital differing from the "block system," the "commission" affirmed that such hospital was not the kind of structure best adapted for the speedy recovery of the sick, and for facility and economy of administration. Its report demonstrated the great cost of the Netley construction from the duplicate arrangements of buildings and offices required for its future administration, i.e., regarding it as a general hospital for patients sufficiently ill to be confined to bed. To reply to this that Netley is a good arrangement for an *invalid depot* would not be to the purpose, for the "commission" did not and had not to regard it from this point of view. So far as the "commission" was concerned, the point at issue was "Is Netley the best form of structure for a *general hospital for the sick* in its sanitary, administrative and economic capabilities?"

In the next place we have to remark that if, in order to evade the question of administrative expense, we are to take for granted that the present system of nursing--peculiar, we believe, to the British army hospitals--is to be continued there, we can but deplore the continuance of a method not even permissible in an *invalid depot*. This system is to make those invalids able to walk about nurse those who cannot. The principle on which such practice is based has been condemned by the Poor Law Regulations even in workhouses, and its continuance in any army hospital whatever can only be justified by its being shown that the construction of such building is unfavourable to a reasonably economical introduction of a better system of attendance. Such, indeed, appears to us to be in truth the reason why the committee would necessitate our taking it for granted that this system of nursing is to be continued at Netley.

Lastly, it had yet to be determined whether the new institution would be adapted for a clinical school to the Army Medical Department--a school where medical officers and their attendants were to be trained and kept in readiness for service whenever and wherever they might be required, and a school in which such knowledge might be taught to the junior medical officers of, and candidates for admission into, the service as would tend to prevent the recurrence of such calamities as are well known to have taken place during the late Crimean War. Now, whatever the Victoria Hospital might be as a mere invalid depot, it must be admitted on all hands that for purposes of clinical instruction in military medicine and hygiene, it would turn out to be in this--as in other points when viewed as a hospital--a *tremendous failure*.

We cannot conclude these observations without intimating the assurance of our belief that not a single opinion expressed in the report of the "commission" could have been intended to reflect upon the members of the "committee." Looking at the question from that point of view from which it was necessary for the "commission" to regard it, it arrived at conclusions at variance with those of the "committee," and it has felt it to be its duty not to conceal such difference of opinion. But we are sure nothing could be further from the "commission's" intention than to disparage, in any way, the labours of the intelligent and zealous public officers to whom the selection of the site and plans of Netley was entrusted, and who have afterwards, with perfect consistency, defended their selection.

"Hospital Construction, Netley Hospital, The Ground Plan, *The Builder* 16,814 (11 September 1858):609-10 [16:287-95]

"Hospitals," wrote an eminent French physician of the last century, "are a curse to civilization." "Hospitals," said Sir John Pringle, "are among the chief causes of mortality in armies."

It is not sickness, nor defective medical treatment, nor bungling surgical operations, which the great surgeon blames for the mortality. The medical treatment may be of the most perfect order, and yet be of little avail, if the buildings are bad or are overcrowded. Given a crowded, ill-ventilated hospital, and we are sure to have a high mortality; given the Hôtel Dieu, with its thousands of sick lying five and six in a bed, as was sometimes the case seventy or eighty years ago, and it is quite certain that a fourth part of all sick and wounded or enter such a hospital will be carried out of it to the cemeteries. Given a hospital for fever cases, in which there are four ranges of beds between the opposite windows, and no sufficient means to prevent the stagnation of air by changing it frequently, and we need not be surprised that, even in this temperate climate, we have a

mortality of ten and eleven percent on the cases treated. (In our last section we gave the mortality of hospitals as 7 to 10 or 11 percent. So stated, the mortality appears much less than it really be. The deaths on *cases treated*, may be fairly stated at 7, 10 or 11 percent. When the element *per annum*, is introduced, it must refer of necessity to the number of beds constantly occupied by sick. And, if we apply this test to the hospitals whose deaths to cases treated we have given above, we find the *annual* mortality mount up to 85,134, 110 percent. This estimate, however, depends to a great extent on the rapidity with which the cases pass through the hospital, as well as upon the mortality on the cases treated. The mortality on the cases treated in the metropolitan hospitals varies between four and a half percent. and nearly sixteen percent. Even this enormous mortality is a trifle when compared with the mortality in the metropolitan lunatic asylums. It varies from 9 to 10, 20, 25, up to nearly 42 percent of the cases which enter their destructive precincts. Surely there is "something rotten in the state of Denmark.")

Can we avoid by any structural arrangements such excess of mortality? This is the great question to be decided by hospital architects. Experience replies that there are many illustrations of masses of sick, who, having been treated in the open air, have escaped with few deaths; of large numbers treated in properly constructed tents, and in small wooden huts, who have also recovered. Even the famine stricken fever population of Ireland exhibited a marked contrast, in the small mortality of cases treated under hedges, in the open air, as compared with the same class of cases treated in workhouses and in hospitals. In like manner, in the large, but at first overcrowded, badly drained, and badly ventilated hospitals at Scutari, the mortality rose as high as 42.7 percent on cases treated. In the wooden huts of the Castle Hospital above Balaclava, which only held from fifteen to thirty patients each, the mortality was under three percent of the cases treated. In the large overcrowded and badly ventilated hospitals of the Peninsular army, the mortality was so great that they had to be closed, and the sick to be subdivided amongst a number of separate buildings. The old idea that fresh air was dangerous, and that warmth must be obtained and preserved even for smallpox and fever patients, has been done away with. A smallpox patients will have more chance of recovery if placed on clean straw under an open shed and covered with blankets, than in many private rooms, or in most hospital wards. Smallpox cases have been so treated, and without loss.

After the pestilential hospitals at Scutari had been cleansed, ventilated, and regulated according to the plans and under the directions of the sanitary commission, the deaths among the sick there did not much exceed the deaths among healthy guardsmen at home.

The lesson taught by all experience is, therefore, that large hospitals, as generally build and managed, are destructive

of human life, unless extraordinary precautions be taken, and that it would be safer, as a general rule, in the absence of such precautions, to treat large numbers of sick in the open air. But we *must* have hospitals, and it is only by subdivision of the sick among a number of separate buildings, by relatively large cubic space, and by ample ventilation, that we can make hospitals furnish a minimum rate of mortality and a minimum duration of cases.

Large, rambling, low-roomed buildings, like old mansion houses, are utterly unfit to receive sick. Their wards, or rather their badly constructed, ill-arranged rooms, are hardly adapted for the smallest families of healthy people to live in, much less for numbers of helpless sick people to recover in.

Given a building like Netley Hospital, with 500 sick confined to bed under one roof, in a series of cells communicating with each other by corridors and staircases, and we have not our own intelligence to thank if the sick are not carried off by hospital epidemics. There is a certain ratio between the number of sick placed in a building and the amount of mortality. We know that, of the sick who were treated in the Crimea, almost exposed to the elements, during the frightful winter of 1854-55, not above one half so many in proportion died, as perished in the great hospitals at Scutari during the same time. In the Crimea, the sick were aggregated, twenty or thirty together. In the hospitals at Scutari, there were, at one time, crowded under one roof, upwards of 4000 sick, wounded and healthy men. The subdivision of the sick and wounded should therefore be made a primary object in all hospital construction.

To what extent should this subdivision be carried? We apprehend that the point must be determined by the twofold consideration of uniting the greatest advantages as to health, with the greatest facilities as to administration and economy.

And, first, we would lay down the principle that no hospital should be more than two flats in height. By such a construction, the sick are spread over a wider area, the walls are not so high as to interfere with sunlight and ventilation of neighbouring pavilions, the accumulation of hospital miasms in upper flats is avoided, access to the wards is easier for patients and attendants, and the whole administration is much facilitated. "It will cost a great sum for land to build a hospital with only two flats," will say the hospital economist. No doubt it will cost more money to accommodate a given number of sick in a hospital of two than in one of four flats. But the question has been discussed and decided notwithstanding, that the hospital of two flats is better than one of additional stories, and many hospitals of two flats have been built. Those of St Jean and St Pierre, at Brussels, have each two flats, and land is dear enough in Brussels. In this country also, land, in towns has been used for building hospitals of two flats high. But even admitting the argument of the expensiveness of land as being entirely valid,

the conclusion is certainly, not that hospitals three and four flats high should be built in towns; but that hospitals should be built in the country where land is less expensive. It is little else than a breach of trust to build great lofty architectural structures merely to flatter the bad taste of committees or governors; or to place the hospital in a close unhealthy neighbourhood, to suit the convenience of medical attendants, when the object of the whole ought to be, recovery of the sick.

The number of sick which may be safely placed under one roof will, to a certain extent, be determined by the local position of the hospital, by the amount of cubic space allotted to the patients, and by the state of ventilation. In the most recent hospitals, the number varies considerably. Thus, in the Royal Marine Hospital, which is at present being erected at Woolwich, 84 sick are to be accommodated under one roof. In the proposed hospital at Aldershot, there will be arrangements for about 100. In each of the hospital blocks at Beaujon, in Paris, there are arrangements for 60 sick. In the magnificent Hospital Lariboisière, at Paris, the number is 102 per block. At the Hospital St Jean, at Brussels, it is about 88.

Too great a subdivision of sick must necessarily incur an increase of cost in administration and nursing. On examining the experience of all these hospitals, we are of opinion that from 100 to 120 sick may be safely and economically treated under one roof, provided the ventilation and cubic space be sufficient, and the structure and communications of the building be so arranged as to facilitate the administration and nursing.

The next important question is, how to arrange buildings so as to have pure air outside and inside the structure.

The air must be "moving air" in mass. The motion of the air in any room should never exceed a velocity of two feet and a half per minute, and should not be at any time much below this rate. There must be no "stagnation." It is a great error to imagine that because buildings are erected around a large court, therefore they are airy enough. A court, with high walls round it, does one thing with certainty, it stagnates the air. All closed courts, narrow *culs de sac*, high adjacent walls, closed angles, overshadowing trees, and other obstruction to outer ventilation should be sedulously avoided, at whatever cost. Plan the building so that the sunlight can strike as large a surface of it as possible, and so that the air may move freely over the whole external surface.

[Figures 1-7, p 97]

Figures 1,2, and 3 represent arrangements of buildings at present occupied for hospital purposes, which ought to be carefully avoided.

It may be considered certain that, wherever such arrangements exist, injury to the sick is so constant that, were it practicable, all the angles should be opened to admit of the circulation of air.

The simplest form of structure for ensuring light and ventilation is to build hospital wards in a straight line, Fig. 4, with windows on both sides, *i.e.*, back and front; the lengthway of the ward being the lengthway of the building, and the administration in the centre. By such an arrangement as this, however, no more than four wards could be obtained, if the building were two stories high. For small hospitals not exceeding 120 sick this plan would be economical and efficient. The direction of the axis of such a building should be from north to south, a little inclining to the east, which would ensure the sun shining on both sides every day of the year, and would also protect the wards from north east winds.

One staircase would suffice for a hospital such as this. If it were carried from the bottom to the top of the building, and ventilated above the roof, it would cut off entirely one set of wards from the other, which is all that is necessary to prevent the possibility of any intermingling of foul air.

By adding projecting wings at the ends of such a line of building, as in Figs. 5 and 6, additional ward space might be obtained.

But additional staircases also there must then be at the ends, and such a building would have the disadvantage of a closed angle, although this would be of less consequence, if the wings were very short in proportion to the length of the front.

A much better arrangement is represented in Fig. 7, in which the wings are entirely detached from the centre, and connected with it only by an open corridor on the lower floor. This is the plan adopted in the great military hospital at Vincennes, and is a very good one for hospitals of a certain size, for the open angles permit air to circulate freely round the building. All of these plans, however, have the disadvantage of not admitting extensions beyond a certain limit. The only plan which allows as much extension as can be necessary in any one single hospital up to (say) 1000 sick (beyond which hospital management becomes very difficult), is the plan adopted in the hospital at Bordeaux; or still better, that of the Lariboisière at Paris. In that fine hospital, each block, containing 102 sick, constitutes a separate hospital. There are six of these blocks, which are arranged parallel to each other on two opposite sides of a square. And there are four blocks containing the administrative and other offices. This kind of arrangement is represented in Fig. 8. [Fig. 8, p.98]

All the blocks are joined together by a glazed corridor along the lower flat, and by an open terrace above for convalescents taking exercise. In such a building, for the sake of sunlight, the axis of the wards should run nearly from north to south, and the distance of the blocks from each other should be about twice the height of the side walls.

We have given these illustrations of the arrangements of hospital buildings to show the more recent improvements in this

important matter. Whether any of these or any better arrangement be adopted in building a hospital, it should be kept in mind that the great objects aimed at are, subdivision of the sick, free ventilation outside and inside the buildings, abundance of light, and windows on opposite sides of the wards, the heads of the beds being between the windows.

A hospital of 1000 sick ought to have none of its offices in duplicate. It should have one kitchen, so situated that the diets can be easily carried to any ward, and in the shortest space of time to all. The kitchen should be separately ventilated, and should not be under any part of the building used for sick. The laundry should be at a distance from the hospital, and in no way connected with it. The offices of the administration should be conveniently situated, not only for facility of access, but for efficiency of superintendence. This point was quite lost sight of in the Netley plans, in which, if the unfortunate governor happened to be wanted at the two extremities of the building successively, he would have to walk half a mile; while, with such a plan as that of Lariboisière, he could in the same time walk all round the buildings.

No sewer or drain should pass under any part of the hospital where there are sick. Sewers and drains should be outside, and free even of the external walls; there should be means of ventilation in abundance; there should be means of inspection and for flushing. The water supply should be of the purest and softest description. It should be laid over the whole building hot and cold. This arrangement, together with that of lifts, saves the service of at least one attendant to every thirty sick. For water supply, there should be a water tower and tank placed centrally, affording water under high pressure. The mains should be of cast iron, varnished; the service pipes should be of wrought iron; there should not be any cisterns, but the supply should be constant. Fire cocks, or "hydrants," should be placed at short intervals. Each supply tap should have a waste sink underneath it, and these should be placed so as to save labour. Water closets must be external, but near the wards, and under such arrangement of plan as to prevent any possibility of atmospheric contamination. There should be not less than one closet to each ten patients. All staircases and passages should be wide, light, and airy. This is a most important consideration in hospitals. The steps should consist of stone, but they may be covered with wood, as in some of the French hospitals. Stone is essential to prevent accidents from fire. All hospitals should have convalescent wards, supplied with dining and day rooms. In the pavilion structure these can be placed under a separate roof. Casualty wards and small wards for special cases should be placed in a separate part of the hospital.

The square within the hospital, and the spaces between the pavilions, should be laid out as garden ground, with well-drained and rolled walks, and shaded seats for convalescents.

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It is of great importance to provide places of exercise under shelter, for patients, to be appropriated to that purpose alone. Such recreation and winter airing grounds may be comparatively large, and yet of cheap construction, if roofed on the Crystal Palace plan. The country can alone offer all the necessary facilities for the establishment of such valuable aids to hospitals.

1862

"Army Sanitary Administration and Its Reform Under the Late Lord Herbert," read at the London meeting of the "Congrès de Bienfaisance," June 1862. London: McCorquodale and Co. [15:342-51]

It has been well and truly said that, in long wars, the real arbiter of the destinies of nations is not the sword but pestilence. It is this destroying angel which, following on the march of armies, exacts of every man to the full whatever penalties follow on the infraction of natural law.

In times past, war has been conducted in more or less forgetfulness, sometimes in total oblivion, of the fact that the soldier is a mortal man, subject to all the ills following on wet and cold, want of shelter, bad food, excessive fatigue, bad water, intemperate habits and foul air. And so the waste of human life and the destruction of human health and happiness, have been, in all ages, many times greater from disease than from actual encounter in the field.

If peace has its victories as well as war, it has also its unnecessary losses from disease and death. Only the losses of peace are greater than those of war because they are daily and constant, while war occurs at intervals of time. To endeavour to prevent this destruction of life is by no means to encourage war, no more than to attend on the sick and wounded in a field hospital is to encourage war.

The object is primarily one of humanity. It is to save life and to diminish suffering. And all who engage in this work are, in the best sense, savers of men. Highest among such must be ranked Sidney Herbert. As years pass on, so will the work which he was a main agent in accomplishing become better known and followed up. And who can tell how much systematic attempts, made by all nations to diminish the horrors of this great curse, war, may not lead the way to its total disappearance from the earth?

The faithful records of all wars are records of preventible suffering, disease and death. It is needless to illustrate this truth, for we all know it. But it is only from our latest sorrow, the Crimean catastrophe, that dates the rise of army sanitary

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administration in this country.

//Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army, 1857.//

The losses then incurred, and the experience derived from these, induced her majesty to issue the now famous royal commission on the "Sanitary State of the Army," composed of men qualified to grapple with the whole subject and to suggest the necessary remedies. Sidney Herbert presided over that commission and embodied its results in a masterly report showing, for the first time, the great and unnecessary mortality to which the army was at all times subject, the diseases occasioning it, their removable causes and the administrative reforms required to arrest this awful loss of life and efficiency. At that time the death rate among soldiers from consumption and tubercular diseases *alone* (the monstrous products of breaching foul air), exceeded the *total* death rate *from all causes* among the civil population of the corresponding ages. The total mortality in the army was nearly double--in the Guards more than double that of the civil population. It is now actually *less* than in civil life.

Sidney Herbert's report laid the foundation of army sanitary reform. Lord Panmure, aware of its price, issued, under Sidney Herbert's advice, four sub-commissions for giving effect to its recommendations:

//Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission, 1857.//

One, the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission examined the barracks and military hospitals of the united kingdom and found their sanitary condition as to overcrowding, want of ventilation, want of drainage, imperfect water supply, etc., sufficient to account for most of the excessive death rate from which the troops occupying them had suffered. These establishments have, under the direction of the commission, been provided with combined ventilation and warming, without machinery of any kind. Drainage has been introduced, or improved. Water supply has been extended, baths introduced both for barracks and hospitals and the lavatory arrangements generally improved. The barrack kitchens have been completely remodelled; the wasteful cooking apparatus, only fit for boiling, has been replaced by improved and economical cooking ranges for roasting, etc., so that the men may now have the change of cookery required for health, instead of the eternal soup and boiled beef. Gas has been introduced into many barracks, instead of the couple of "dips," which only made the barrack room look darker still, and by the light of which it was impossible for the men to read, or to pursue any occupation, except smoking. Many important structural alterations for increasing window light, circulating fresh air by removing useless partitions, for ventilating stables, abolishing ash-pits, etc., have been carried out. More simple and healthy principles for the construction of future barracks and hospitals, for ensuring better drainage, efficient ventilation, more cubic

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space for both sick and well and greater facilities for administration and discipline, have been laid down and applied in several new structures--amongst others, in the great "Herbert Hospital" at Woolwich.

//Mediterranean Stations, 1861.//

The labours of the same commission have since been extended to the Mediterranean stations, where they were greatly required and, it is to be hoped, will be farther extended to the West Indies and Canada. The result of the improvements, already made, is that just one half of the Englishmen that enter the army die (at home stations) as formerly died.

The *total mortality* at home stations, *from all diseases*, is now actually *less* (by above one per thousand per annum) than was formerly the mortality from consumption and chest diseases *alone*. The reduction in deaths from consumption has been as remarkable in some areas one half, in others two-thirds of the mortality from this fatal disease has disappeared.

To show what has already been done I have transferred, from the Report of the Royal Commission, a diagram, showing the death statistics of the English male population, between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, and the death statistics of the infantry of the line, serving at home, from 1837 to 1846. This is how Sidney Herbert found the army. I have added a third division, showing the death rate of the same infantry for the three years following the introduction of sanitary improvement, 1859-60-61. This is how Sidney Herbert left the army.

//School in Military Cooking.//

As a supplement to the improvements in barrack cook-houses (already referred to), Lord Herbert directed a school for practical cookery to be established at Aldershot for the training of regimental and hospital cooks, instead of taking it for granted, as was the practice, that any man could cook just as he could mount guard. This school is gradually supplying both regiments and hospitals with cooks capable of giving men a wholesome meal.

//New Code of Regulations for Sanitary Service of Army, 1857-59.//

The second sub-commission was appointed from reorganizing the Army Medical Department and for framing a code of regulations for the hospital and sanitary service of the army. This commission found that, according to existing practice, no provision was made for systematically caring for the soldier's *health*, but only for his *sickness*. The chief recognized function of the army medical officer was attending men in hospital; but in no way was it considered his duty to render it unnecessary for men to come into hospital at all.

To supply this great want, the commission drew up a code for introducing the sanitary element (for the first time) into the

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army, defining the positions of commanding and medical officers, and their relative duties and responsibilities regarding the soldier's health, constituting the regimental surgeon the sanitary adviser of his commanding officer, who is now bound to give effect to all sanitary recommendations made by his medical officer, unless he can assign satisfactory reasons *in writing* to the superior authority for non-compliance.

The same code contains regulations for organizing general hospitals and for improving the administration of regimental hospitals, both in peace and during war. Formerly, general hospitals in the field had to be improved, on no defined principles and on no defined personal responsibility. The wonder is not that they broke down, as they did in all our wars, but that they could be made to stand at all. In all our wars our general hospitals have been signal failures, fatal examples of how to kill, not to cure. All this is now changed and, with the most ordinary administrative capacity, the sick during war may now have every necessary care and comfort.

This code is the best ever framed and, in practice, has been found to succeed in every climate, whether at home, in garrison or in the field. It has been successfully tested in two expeditions since issued by Lord Herbert in 1859. On the day which took him from us its general hospital system was realized in the hospital at Woolwich, including its governor, principal medical officer, captain of orderlies, female nurses and their female superintendent, etc., which system will be transferred to the magnificent hospital now being built there, of which Lord Herbert was the founder and which will bear his name. He also directed a plan to be drawn up for the organization of a second general hospital at Devonport on the same principles, which will shortly be carried into effect.

//Army Medical School at Chatham, 1857-60.//

The third sub-commission was charged with organizing a practical school at Chatham for instructing candidates for army medical service in military hygiene and other specialities. Formerly young men were sent to attend sick and wounded soldiers who *perhaps* had never dressed a serious wound or never attended a bedside, except in the midst of a crowd of students, following in the wake of some eminent lecturer--who *certainly* had never been instructed in the most ordinary sanitary knowledge, although one of their most important functions was hereafter to be the prevention of disease in climates and under circumstances where *prevention* is everything and medical treatment often little or nothing.

The sub commission drew up an admirable scheme and the school at Chatham was opened by Sidney Herbert in person, in 1860. Already its results have been most satisfactory. A large number of men of high attainments have been sent from it into the

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army and we may confidently expect a lower sick rate and death rate (especially on foreign stations and on field service) as one of its results, as well as higher hospital efficiency.

//Army Medical Statistics, 1857-61.//

The fourth sub-commission was charged with the duty of reorganizing the army medical statistics, which were then in such a condition as to afford very incomplete data, especially during war. These statistics have been reformed and are now by far the best and most useful in Europe. They can be reduced, with much less labour and with much greater promptitude than formerly, because the manner of recording cases is now much more precise, and there is a special division in the Army Medical Department for reducing them to obtain the results, while they enable the exact state of health of every regiment and station to be ascertained, and any unusual amount of disease, *with its removable causes*, to be brought at once to the cognizance of the authorities.

In the course of years they will add immensely to our knowledge of army diseases, as well as of those incident to particular climates and seasons.

Although the first annual report under the new system, being a *first* report, does not give all the data, regimental and stational, required by the instructions, yet every succeeding year's experience will render these annual reports more complete and more valuable.

//Sidney Herbert.//

Of all these commissions Sidney Herbert was head and centre. He superintended himself carefully every step of their procedure and took his share of the work, as well as the responsibility attaching to it in his public capacity, by identifying himself with the reforms. In England, it is so much the custom to look upon statesmen merely in their political and not in their administrative capacity, that it is almost forgotten that they have an administrative function at all. No one thinks of a secretary of state, e.g., as the head of an office which has in its hands the lives and morals of men. But Sidney Herbert, although his passion, his hereditary occupation, to which he was born and bred, was politics, yet made his administrative labours greater, set his administrative object higher, recoiled from none of its dry fatigues and attained its highest usefulness. What has been well-advised to a rising statesman, he performed. He did not sink in politics the powers which were meant for mankind.

//Army Medical Officers' Warrant, 1858.//

Army medical officers had felt much and just dissatisfaction with their position in the army. The royal commission advised therefore the preparation of another warrant, ensuring to these officers the rank and emolument to which their services entitled them. It was framed by Sidney Herbert and issued by General Peel

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in 1858.

//Purveyor's Warrant and Regulations, 1860//

Another great reform was introduced into the Purveying Department, which, like many others, had no well-defined position, duties or responsibilities. It was efficient or inefficient almost by chance. Like other departments it broke down when tried by war and all its defects were visited on the sick and wounded men, for whose special benefit it professed to exist.

To put an end to this and to introduce method into the service, Lord Herbert issued in 1861 a new purveyor's code and regulations, reorganizing the department in accordance with the views expressed by himself, as chairman of the Royal Commission. The regulations now define with precision the duties of each class of purveyor's officers, together with their relation to the army medical department. They provide all necessaries and comforts for men in hospital (both in the field and at home) on fixed scales, instead of requiring sick and wounded men (even in the field) to bring with them into hospital articles for their own use and which they had lost before reaching it. These regulations have been already tried, both for home and field service, and have been found to answer every purpose.

//Army Hospital Corps, 1860.//

Lord Herbert also named a committee to reorganize the Army Hospital Corps. In former times there were no proper attendants on the sick. For regimental hospitals a steady man was appointed hospital sergeant, and two or three soldiers, fit for nothing else, were sent into the hospital, to be under the orders of the medical officer, who, if he were fortunate enough to find one man fit to nurse a patient, was sure to lose him by his being recalled "to duty"; sometimes, indeed, men were mounted in rotation over sick in hospital as they would mount guard over a store. And this is still done in India and in some regiments at home.

No special training was considered necessary; no one, except the medical officer, who was helpless, had the least idea that attendance on the sick is as much a special business as medical treatment.

Unsuccessful attempts had been made to organize a corps of orderlies, unconnected with regiments; the result was most unsatisfactory. Lord Herbert's committee proposed to constitute a corps--the members of which, for regimental purposes, are to be carefully selected by the commanding and medical officers--specially trained for their duties and then attached permanently to the regimental hospital, from which they cannot be removed to the ranks except for proved incapacity or breach of discipline. This was carried into effect shortly after his death.

//Success of all these measures in reducing Army Death rate.//

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The crowning testimony of the great national importance of the new system of sanitary administration, inaugurated by Lord Herbert, is to be found in the last Chinese expedition, where his reforms were first practically tested. An expeditionary force was sent to the opposite side of the world, into a hostile country, notorious for its epidemic diseases. Every required arrangement for the preservation of health was made, with the result that the mortality of this force, including wounded, was little more than three per cent per annum, while the "constantly sick" in hospital were about the same as at home. Let us contrast with this great success what happened during a former war in China. The 26th Cameronians, a "total abstinence" regiment and one of the finest and most healthy in the British service, was landed at Chusan 900 strong and left to its fate without any sanitary care. In two months only twenty men could be got together.

To take another contrast upon a larger scale. During the first months of the Crimean War, from September 1854 to March 1855, the death rate among the British troops was sixty percent per annum, until means were taken to prevent this fearful sweep of death. During the same months, the "constantly sick" in the hospitals were sevenfold those in the war hospitals in China. //Indian Army Sanitary Commission, 1859.//

Impressed with the enormous death rate and loss of efficiency in the Indian Army, Lord Herbert undertook in 1859 the presidency of the Royal Commission on the "sanitary state" of that army, called together to devise means for reducing these great losses. He was obliged to relinquish this to Lord Stanley in 1861, on account of official business, and alas! of failing health. But by that time, the evidence received from Indian stations had been sufficient to convince him that removable causes, of far greater importance and intensity than any which have been discovered in our home stations, were destroying the lives of our soldiers and the physical efficiency of the Indian Army.

Among other reforms initiated during Lord Herbert's life, but incomplete at his death, were the following:

//Committee on Barrack Works, 1861//

He had seen that the sanitary defects in barracks and hospitals had arisen from the unsatisfactory manner in which these buildings had been planned and constructed. No one engaged on them had had any knowledge of the requirements for health. If they had been made to put guns and stores in, and not men at all, or horses, they could not, in fact, have been worse. There was no recognition of the necessity even of space, or of fresh air, or of drainage, either for sick or well. To prevent this in future, Lord Herbert called together a committee, to inquire into the present system of executing barrack works and to suggest administrative improvements.

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The department, charged with spending money on buildings to keep men healthy, knew little about the principles of healthy construction, such knowledge not having been required of him.

The result of the labours of the committee, it is expected, will be a better and more economical organization, a proper training in the principles of sanitary works and a total change in the sanitary construction of our future military buildings. //Commission for Soldiers' Day Rooms and Institutes, 1861.//

Another very important commission was also called, to consider the question how best to provide soldiers' day-rooms and institutes, in order to struggle with the great moral evil supposed to be inseparable from garrisons and camps.

Lord Herbert saw that, at present, the soldier was hardly thought of as a man at all. The effect of moral agencies upon him was practically ignored. He (Lord Herbert) had taught everyone by this time the results of treating the soldier physically as if he were not a human being, subject to the laws of physical health. And, in the moral tone of garrisons and camps, he recognized the legitimate results of treating the soldier morally, as if he were not under the laws of moral health. Placed, as he is, under strict restraint, lodged in a crowded uncomfortable barrack-room, without privacy, without social intercourse, except that afforded by the canteen or by some much worse place; without home ties; without occupation or amusement, except such as is provided for him by those (and they are everywhere) who pander to his passions--the soldier has a position most unfavourable to his moral nature. And just as the soldier was formerly accused of dying unnecessarily, or because it could not be helped, the real causes being all the while ignored; so now, the consequences of overlooking moral causes go by the name of "camp vices." Not that nothing has been done in the way of direct teaching to counteract the evil; but, all the while, the immoral agencies or temptations by which the man is surrounded, have been left untouched; while no counteracting agencies of a moral kind have been provided to cope with these.

In civil life at home, it is supposed inconsistent with individual liberty to put down bad places of resort and to prevent open temptations to profligacy, while, in certain continental states, it is not supposed against liberty or morals, to make prostitution as little disagreeable as possible--viz., by "regulating" it to avert the consequences of this vice, leaving all the temptations just as they were.

Lately, the remedy alluded to has been repeatedly urged for Aldershot in the face of the notorious fact that, while no proper places of resort or occupation have been created for the men, the remedy would leave the abominations of the town to go on untouched.

In dealing with this question, there are obvious principles.

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Governments *can* prevent this open infamous trading, as they do other open infamous trading. They can prevent open temptations to vice, as they can prevent open temptations to crime. They can do these things both for the civilian and the soldier. But for the soldier they can do more; and it is this which the committee on soldiers' day-rooms was called to consider by Lord Herbert.

They have shown that the men's barracks can be made more of a home--can be better provided with libraries and reading-rooms; that separate rooms can be attached to barracks where men can meet their comrades, sit with them, talk with them, have their newspaper and their coffee, if they want it, play innocent games and write letters, that every barrack, in short, may easily be provided with a kind of soldiers' club, to which the men can resort when off duty, instead of to the everlasting barrack-room or the demoralizing dram-shop; and that, in large camps or garrisons, such as Aldershot and Portsmouth, the men may easily have a club of their own out of barracks.

The committee also recommended increased means of occupation, in the way of soldiers' workshops, outdoor games and amusements, and rational recreation by lectures and other means.

The plan has been tried with great success at Gibraltar, Chatham, Montreal. There is no reason why it should not succeed elsewhere. At all events, let it be tried.

Lord Herbert's latest act was directing an inquiry at Aldershot, as to the best means of introducing the system there. The country will support the cherished scheme of its dead statesman.

This is a short sketch of the labours and successes of Lord Herbert's last brief administration. The lesson which these reforms teach is, that the real foundation of War Office efficiency is to be laid in the efficient working of each department--in simplifying procedure, abolishing all divided responsibility, clearly defining the duties of each officer--in giving direct responsibility to each head of a department--and, lastly, in placing all the departmental heads in direct communication with the Secretary of State. It is by this procedure that the spirit which was breathed into Lord Herbert's reforms, may be expected to accomplish what *he* constantly kept before him as the great object of his official life--viz., to increase the efficiency, improve the position and preserve the health of the British soldier.

There were indeed other important reforms made by Lord Herbert during this his last short tenure of office. But not for these, or so much for these as for the rest, will be remembered. He will be remembered chiefly as the first war minister who ever seriously set himself to the task of saving life--who ever took the trouble to master a difficult subject so wisely and so well as to be able himself, and to show the way to others, to husband

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the resources of this country, in which human life is of more value than in any other-of more value than anything else.

To the army, in the person of Sir John Pringle, is due the result the credit of first having recognized the real, ever-operating effects of physical laws on human health and life. To the army, Sidney Herbert has, a century later, bequeathed the administrative means of applying those laws so as to mitigate or to prevent the very diseases which previous administrators ignorantly supposed inseparable from the soldier's occupations.

The results cannot fail to react on the whole progress of sanitary reform in civil life. Let us hope that the great lesson which has been taught, will have its weight with those charged with the duty of protecting the public health.

Deaconesses' Work in Syria: Appeal on Behalf of the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Orphanage at Beirut. Cup 401.I.8(5) Beirut

London

19 September 1862

In March of this year 106 Syrian orphan children, stray waifs from the frightful catastrophe of the Lebanon, were moving into a clean, new, roomy, healthy house by the sea, at Beirut, with the noble women who had adopted them, deaconesses from a far off northern home--Kaiserswerth, on the Rhine--the same poor, homely institution which had built them their house. The house was solemnly consecrated to God, whose work indeed it is, more visibly perhaps than even works of charity usually are. For surely, out of less money so much good has rarely been done. But how is bread to be put into these 106 mouths? That is now the question.

The mother institution at Kaiserswerth has already a deficit of more than £1000 for herself. Even with provisions so cheap as they are this year in Syria, the Syrian Institution costs £1000 a year. And it must not be supposed that these children are pampered or spoiled in idleness. They are brought up to wholesome habits of household industry, unknown among Syrian women. Four deaconesses direct this part of their education. Each little orphan has its own little office, sweeping, scrubbing, cleaning knives, cleaning windows, and so on.

There is a children's infirmary in the house, and many of the pupils are destined for nurses and for female teachers, in order to spread the blessings they have themselves received. Three other deaconesses, two Arab Protestant schoolmistresses, and one English, teach them their lessons. 322 children have, since the Lebanon massacre, passed through their hands. Of these, 119 were Greek Church, 128 Maronites, 33 Protestants, 42 Roman Catholics. To show what a work of regeneration has to be done, I may state that the greatest difficulty the "sisters" meet with is the untruthfulness which seems part of the national character.

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The children are as little ashamed to be caught in a nasty lie--I must call it by its own name--as a fish to be seen in the water.

There is a great inaptitude for spiritual things, which one would not have expected in these Syrian children. One of the sisters was trying to teach them that "the Saviour's is the best gifts." And upon asking them afterwards, "What is the best gift?" one answered, "a mess of lentil pottage" (Esau's) and another, "silkworms."

Their natural ability is very great. They learn readily to read and write Arabic, and to read German and English (the latter for the sake of bringing a greater variety of books within their reach) and many who did not know how to read or write when they came, will now ask leave to write a letter in Arabic during playtime. They are very apt at needlework. They already make a good part of the linen for the hospital. They are taught to darn and knit, the object being to make them good household servants, of which there is a lamentable deficiency in Syria.

Besides the children, sixty-nine widows (also out of the Lebanon massacre) have been nursed and provided for by the deaconesses. All but a very few (rendered incapable by blindness or some such cause) have now been restored by the sisters to their homes, or otherwise placed.

Three other Kaiserswerth deaconesses nurse in the women's Hospital in Beirut, opened in March, 1861, by the English and American and German Committee. It has received 495 sick and is just as full as ever.

The deaconesses have also nursed 750 patients in Sidon, which hospital is now, alas! given up from poverty. When these deaconesses left Sidon a great crowd assembled to see the sisters once more and accompany them out of the city with tears, crying out that they were "their mothers," the "flowers of their hearts," the "light of their eyes" and calling down God's blessing upon them.

The Prussian consular agent, a native, has taken a house for the sisters in Sidon, hoping that they will come back, if funds can be raised. Even the children's gratitude is a hopeful quality. They are continually asking the sisters to write to thank their unknown benefactors in Europe.

Since October, 1860, these Kaiserswerth deaconesses have been at work in Syria--comforting, nursing, feeding, clothing, teaching--and, if possible, in everything more touched by (and more applying their efforts to) the spiritual than the bodily needs of these poor women and children.

I have been asked by Pastor Fliedner, who founded the Kaiserswerth Institution of Deaconesses, and has in twenty-six years spread its action over nearly all Europe, parts of Asia, Africa and America, on the smallest funds that ever supported so immense a sphere--I have been asked by him to make more known in

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England this work of his deaconesses in Syria. England has already largely co-operated. Indeed, all Evangelical Christendom have been untied in the effort to give back to Syria some of the blessings we have received thence.

Pastor Fliedner has made a calculation, by which the £1000 a year necessary to keep up the Beirut Orphanage and School could be raised in Evangelical Christendom. And in this calculation he debits England with £200 a year.

1863

"Sanitary Statistics of Native Colonial Schools and Hospitals,"
Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1863 475-88 [6:168-83]

Part 1

If it is said, on reading this paper, "There is nothing in it," I answer that is why I wrote it, because there is nothing in it, in order that something might come out of nothing. It is to show that statistics, capable of affording complete practical results when wanted, have scarcely made a beginning in the colonies. It is to show that when the Colonial Office, with great labour and no little cost, has collected, and I, with the same, have reduced these materials, they are incapable of giving all the beneficial information expected. The material does not exist, or, if it does, it is in a very undeveloped state. Such as it is, I have tried to do the best I could with it. And this is the result.

Several years ago, before Sir George Grey returned to his government at the Cape, I had a conversation with him on a subject which had dwelt very much on his mind, viz., the gradual disappearance of the aboriginal races from the neighbourhood of civilized communities. One of the points raised in the discussion was the probable effect which European school usages and school education might exercise on the health of the children of parents and of races who had never hitherto been brought under education.

It appeared of great importance to ascertain, if possible, the precise influence which school training exercised on the health of native children. I applied to the Colonial Office for aid in carrying out such an inquiry. The Duke of Newcastle entered warmly into the subject, and offered at once to call for any information which might throw light on it. I had a simple school form prepared and printed, copies of which were sent by the Colonial Office to the governors of the various colonies. Returns were made from a large number of schools, but as no information has been received from many more, I presume the school statistics did not afford the means of supplying the required information.

476: I have received, through the Colonial Office, filled up returns from 143 schools in Ceylon, Australia, Natal, West Coast of Africa and British North America, the results of which are

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given in a series of tables, showing the name and date of opening of each school, the number of years included in the return, the average number of native children, their sexes and ages for quinquennial periods, together with the mortality for the period included in the return, the total average attendance for all the schools in each colony, also the total deaths, arranged in quinquennial periods, so far as it could be done; but, as the periods vary considerably, it has been necessary to reduce the data under one common denomination, to obtain the absolute annual rate of mortality for each sex and age.

From this reduction it appears that the average attendance of all ages at these schools has been 7,485 boys and 2,453 girls, making a total of 9,938 as the number of children on whom the rate of mortality has been obtained. A small proportion of these children, only 672 boys and 422 girls, were under five years of age. There were 3,546 (2,651 boys and 894 girls) between the ages of five and ten. Between the ages of ten and fifteen there were 3,268 children, viz. 2,288 boys and 980 girls. At the age of fifteen and upwards there were 1,391 boys and only 156 girls attending school.

The total deaths, for the various periods, on this school attendance were 451 boys and 132 girls, of all ages, besides 79 boys and 39 girls who are returned as leaving school annually to die at home. It is important to remark that, out of a total average school attendance of 9,938 only 235 boys and 82 girls are stated to leave school annually from ill health.

The death rate varies considerably in different colonies. It is least among the native children at Natal, where a little more than five males per 1000 and three females per 1000 die annually. The Ceylon schools give a death rate of $14 \frac{1}{2}$ per 1000 per annum for boys and about three per 1000 per annum for girls. But, including deaths among children who leave school to die at home, this rate would be nearly doubled.

The Indian schools in Canada afford a total annual death rate of $12 \frac{1}{2}$ per 1000 for both sexes, but the mortality of girls is nearly double that of boys. The Sierra Leone schools afford a very high rate of mortality, viz. 20 per 1000 for males and 35 per 1000 for females. The Western Australian schools yield the highest death rate of any, nearly 35 per 1000 boys and 13 per 1000 for girls. These death rates are of course only approximations to the truth. But on any supposition they are very high.

It is important to compare these death rates with those of children of the same ages in England, but we have only the means of doing so for five years of age and onwards. The English rates show that from five to ten the total mortality of both sexes 9.2 per 1000. From ten to fifteen it is 5.3 per 1000. Above fifteen it is 8.4 per 1000. Making allowance for native children dying at

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home, we shall be 477: within the truth in assuming the mortality of native children at school as double that of English children of the same ages.

The next point of the inquiry was to ascertain the nature of the fatal diseases. And here we find a remarkable difference in the returns from different colonies. Thus out of 190 deaths in the Sierra Leone schools, all except eight are due to smallpox, measles and whooping cough, scarlet fever and other forms of fever.

In the Ceylon schools these same diseases, with the addition of diarrhoea, dysentery and cholera, give rise to 261 deaths out of a total mortality of 341. In contrast with this great prevalence of miasmatic diseases, the West Australian schools yield only two deaths from children's epidemics out of a total mortality of nine.

In the Natal schools three children died of miasmatic diseases out of a total mortality of sixteen, while in the Canadian schools there is only one miasmatic death out of a total mortality of twenty-seven.

The adult natives at many of the colonies are considered specially subject to tubercular diseases, more particularly of consumption. This class of diseases is indeed supposed to be a main cause of the gradual decline and disappearance of uncivilized or semi-civilized races.

The facts, as regards these colonial schools, are as follows: amongst the Sierra Leone children there is only one death from consumption and one from scrofula reported out of a total of 190 deaths. In the West Australian schools two of the nine deaths arose from consumption. In the Natal schools there was one death from consumption and one from scrofula out of sixteen deaths. But there died seven children of other chest diseases besides consumption. The Ceylon schools yielded seven deaths from consumption, five from other chest diseases, and one from scrofula, out of a total mortality of 341.

These figures, so far as they go, show comparatively little liability to consumptive diseases among children in these colonies. But there is a native training institution in South Australia, in which a very large proportion of the mortality is due to tubercular diseases. Scrofula, phthisis, and hemoptysis are returned as being occasioned 69.6 percent of the total mortality in the institution among the males, and 61.9 percent among females. When we cross over to Canada we find that, out of a total mortality of 27, 16 deaths arose from consumption and five from scrofula. Indeed, all the specified deaths arose from tubercular disease except one solitary death from fever.

I will next describe shortly the method of school education, with its probable influence on the children's health. The facts under this head are given in the form of notes to each school

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return, the general results of which are as follow:

Many of the school houses are described in the returns as of bad construction, ill situated for health and the ventilation very insufficient. Some of them are unfavourable situated for free external ventilation, or their local position is damp and subject to 478: malaria, the consequences of which, as well as the results of general defective sanitary condition in their vicinity are evidenced by the great prevalence of miasmatic diseases, such as fevers, diarrhoea, dysentery and even cholera among the children.

The period of tuition varies considerably, from two up to ten or more years. The school instruction is generally five, in a few cases six, days a week. At a few stations nearly half the year is allowed for holidays, but generally the holidays are from two to six or eight weeks.

In most of the schools there seem to be no play hours on school days. When play hours are allowed these are from half an hour to two hours. At about a dozen schools only is there any outdoor work combined with instruction. The largest amount of this work is given in the Natal and Canadian schools. Out of the whole number there are only nine schools at which there is any attempt made at combining the elements of physical education with the school instruction, and even where this is done the measure is partial and inefficient, being confined to a few exercises or simply to bathing.

The obvious physiological necessity of engrafting civilized habits on uncivilized races gradually through the means of systematic physical training appears to be nowhere recognized, except at New Norcia (Benedictine) school, Western Australia, on the return from which there is the following very important statement. Gymnastics are stated to be necessary to prevent sickness, and the reporter proceeds, "The idea of bringing savages from their wild state at once to an advanced civilization serves no other purpose than that of murdering them." And the result of the outdoor training practiced at this school is said to have been hitherto successful "in preventing the destructive effects of this error."

Confinement appears to be peculiarly injurious to the aborigines of South Australia, for the governor states that he "almost always finds it necessary to release prisoners before the expiration of their sentences, as death is apt to come from any prolonged confinement." Even partial confinement in schools, he thinks, injuriously affects the native constitution.

Another very important observation bearing on the necessity of careful consideration of habits is recorded on the return from one of the Natal schools. It might be supposed that one of the most obvious duties in bringing native children to school would be to clothe them, but nevertheless clothing an uncivilized child

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requires care. (People have been asked to assist in making clothing for the Kaffir tribes whom missionaries were going out to address, that the feeling of decency might not be offended in addressing the naked.) In their natural state they expose themselves to torrents of rain which runs off them, and they are easily warmed and dried at the hut fire. But it is stated that, when clothed in flannel and jersey, they get chilled by the rain and that pulmonary diseases ensue as a consequence.

479: The method of conducting colonial schools appears to be based on our home system, without reference to physical training or other local conditions affecting health. This fact, together with the high rate of mortality, is the most prominent result of our inquiry. And, although there is not sufficient evidence to show to what extent the school education increases the mortality, there is strong reason to believe that it is a cause. By far the greater part of the mortality is the direct result of mitigable or preventible diseases.

In all the schools within or near the tropics the miasmatic class of diseases occasions most of the mortality at the earlier periods of life. A considerable proportion arises from smallpox, showing bad management of children, and that vaccination is either neglected or imperfectly performed. The other fatal diseases are mainly those which in this country are connected with bad drainage, deficient and bad water supply, overcrowding, and want of sufficient house accommodation and cleanliness. In the Canadian schools consumption and scrofula appear to occupy the place of miasmatic diseases. But there is nothing in the school education, as described in the returns, sufficient to account for their special prevalence in these schools. The causes must probably be looked for in the close foul atmosphere of the native dwellings in a climate where warmth is more likely to be sought by closing every opening capable of admitting fresh air than would be the case in warmer latitudes, together with exposure and other conditions depressing to the general health.

Although these returns show the necessity of making systematic physical training and bodily labour at useful occupations an element absolutely essential and never to be neglected in the training of uncivilized and half civilized children in civilized habits and trains of thought, there is nothing to show that education properly conducted tends to the destruction and disappearance of native tribes.

The general result may be summed up in the following words: "Educate by all means, but look carefully at the problem with which you have to deal, and above all things never forget that education everywhere, but more especially with uncivilized tribes, must always include physical training and useful work."

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Statistics of Native Colonial Hospitals, and Causes of Disappearance of Native Races

Besides this statistical inquiry into the condition of schools, I had forms prepared for colonial hospitals into which natives are received for treatment, in order to compare the school diseases with those prevailing among the adult population. They were sent to the colonies, also by the great kindness of the Duke of Newcastle. And returns have been received from the following hospitals: Free Town, Sierra Leone, Cape Coast, Natal, Mauritius, Colombo and Malabar, King William's Town, Kaffraria, and from two native hospitals in Canada.

480: These returns were applied for as affording the only means of arriving at a knowledge of the prevailing classes of diseases among natives and of the relative mortality from each class. To arrive at the results I had abstracts of the returns prepared, showing the mortality on the admissions for different sexes and ages, and the relative percentages of mortality from each disease. Of course the facts so obtained can be relied on only so far as they represent the proportions admitted and dead from each disease, taken on numbers often hardly sufficiently large for statistical purposes. On account of the smallness of these numbers I consider the results as only approximations, which I give because there is nothing better to be had. The tables do not enable us to ascertain directly the state of health or rate of mortality of the native population, but they afford us, in an indirect manner, a considerable amount of important information as to the diseases from which natives suffer. the hospital statistics appear to be very much in the same unsatisfactory condition as they are in many of our home hospitals. With these reservations, the mortality statistics of these hospitals show a very high death rate upon the numbers treated.

Abstracts of the returns, showing the mortality on the admissions for different sexes and ages, and the relative percentages of mortality from each disease are appended. (Forms I. to Y.) Of course the results [pp 440 to 53] can be relied on only so far as they represent the proportions admitted and dead from each disease, taken on numbers often hardly sufficiently large for statistical purposes. On account of the smallness of these numbers, I consider the results as only approximations, which I give because there is nothing better to be had. The tables do not enable us to ascertain directly the state of health or rate of mortality of the native populations, but they afford us in an indirect manner a considerable amount of important information as to the diseases from which natives suffer. The hospital statistics appear to be very much in the same unsatisfactory

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condition as they are in many of our home hospitals. With these reservations the mortality statistics of these hospitals show a very high death rate upon the numbers treated.

Thus, in Free Town Hospital, the mortality to admissions among males is upwards of 20 percent, and among females 18.6 percent of the admissions. (The admissions are obtained by adding the deaths to the recoveries, in the absence of more definite information.) At the Civil Hospital, Port Louis, Mauritius, the mortality is 21.3 percent for males, and 238.8 percent for females. In Ceylon hospital it is 20.7 percent for males, and 18.1 percent for females. At Natal the mortality is much lower, being 12.8 percent for males and 6.6 percent for females. In Kaffraria the mortality for males and females is 21.8 per cent. In Canadian hospitals it is 12.3 per cent for males and 14 per cent for females.

These high death rates can be attributed only to one or more of the following causes: defective stamina in the population, delay in applying for medical relief, bad and insufficient hospital accommodation, or defective medical treatment and management of the sick. The exact influence of each of these elements could hardly be appreciated without local inquiry. But the tables enable us to obtain some insight into the matter.

We find, e.g., that in the tropical districts the miasmatic class of diseases occasions a large proportion of the total mortality, e.g., at Sierra Leone 20.4 percent of the total mortality among males and 6.8 per cent of that among females is due to small-pox; that 34 per cent of the mortality among females is due to dysentery, and that 19 percent of the mortality among males is due to periodic fevers. The mortality from miasmatic disease in this hospital is no less than 481: 43.9 per cent of the total mortality among men, and 43.1 per cent of the total mortality among women.

At Cape Coast Hospital the admissions from miasmatic diseases, at least those recorded, amounted only to 9 1/2 percent of the total admissions, and no deaths are attributed to this class of diseases. This is quite sufficient to show the imperfection of the hospital records at this station.

At Port Louis Hospital, Mauritius, the miasmatic deaths from dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera, continued fevers, and rheumatism amounted to 54.9 percent of the total mortality for men, and 47.9 percent of the total female mortality.

Dysentery appears to be particularly severe and fatal amongst the natives in Ceylon, for the returns show that 43.6 percent of the men's mortality and 30.1 percent of the women's were due to this one disease. The miasmatic class generally gave rise in these hospitals to 64.3 percent of the total deaths of men, and 60.1 per cent of those of women.

In D'Urban Hospital and Grey's Hospital, Natal, 41.1 percent

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[Table O p.43] of the men's mortality arose from continued fever, and 6 percent from dysentery. This latter disease occasioned all the deaths in hospital among women. These two diseases are the only ones of the miasmatic class which proved fatal.

Miasmatic diseases appear to be rare among the native patients [Table O p. 43] at King William's Town, Kaffraria. Only one of them, dysentery, produced a fatal result, and it gave rise to no more than 6 percent of the total deaths of men and women conjointly. The same diseases appear to be rare also in the Canadian hospitals [Table O p.53], where they occasioned 12.3 percent of the men's mortality and 17.3 percent of the women's. The prevailing types were diarrhoea, periodic fevers and rheumatism.

If we take the other points of comparison, supplied by tubercular diseases, we find a remarkable difference in the proportion of mortality in different colonies. Thus, the death rate from scrofula, phthisis, and hemoptysis [Table O], at Free Town, Sierra Leone, amounts to 3.2 percent of the total deaths from all causes among men, and 2.3 percent among women. In this hospital other chest diseases give rise to a mortality of 2.4 percent for men.

At the Cape Coast Hospital no deaths were registered in the class of tubercular or chest affection. At D'Urban Hospital and Grey's Hospital, Natal, [Table Q] there was a similar absence of mortality from these diseases. The Ceylon hospitals afforded also only a small mortality, 0.7 percent for men, and 1.1 percent for women [Table W p.51]. There was, however, a mortality of 1.3 percent for other chest diseases, among men, and 1.7 percent among women. In striking contrast with this comparative exemption from a class of diseases to which the disappearance of the native races has been to a large extent attributed, we find a very considerable increase in the other hospitals.

At Mauritius the mortality from scrofula, phthisis and hemoptysis 482: was 8.7 percent of the total mortality among men, and 3.7 percent among women [Table U]. Other chest diseases furnish a mortality of 3.6 and 1.8 percent among men and women respectively. At King William's Town Hospital, Kaffraria, the mortality from tubercular diseases, for men and women conjointly, was no less than 70.6 percent of the total deaths, and from chest diseases 11.7 percent.

Both classes of disease afford a high death rate in the Canadian hospitals. For the tubercular forms this amounts to 44.9 percent for men, and 41.3 percent for women. The other chest diseases give rise to 30.6 percent of the total hospital mortality for men, and 24.4 percent for women. Three-fourths of the whole hospital mortality among men, and two-thirds among women were thus due to some form or other of chest disease.

Much has been said and written on the pernicious effects of

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the use of intoxicating liquors by uncivilized races. Diseases of the brain and nervous system, and liver diseases, are those which, at home, are generally supposed to indicate the greater or less prevalence of habits of intoxication among the people. Let us inquire to what extent admissions and deaths from these classes prevail in the various colonies.

At Sierra Leone brain and nervous diseases occasion 5.7 percent of the total admissions, and 12.7 per cent of the total deaths among men, and 9.2 percent of the admissions, with 21.6 percent of the deaths, among women. Liver diseases afford only 0.1 percent of the admissions, and no deaths.

Cape Coast Hospital affords an extraordinary contrast to this, for there we find that, although brain and nervous diseases and liver diseases occasion no more than 4.8 percent, and 2.4 percent, respectively, of the admissions, all the deaths arose from them. The Natal hospitals show a proportion of admissions from brain and nervous diseases of 5.7 percent of men, and 8.3 per cent of women. But no deaths and no admissions from liver disease. The King William's Town Hospitals, Kaffraria, show no admissions from either class. At Mauritius the admissions from brain and nervous diseases were 3.5 percent for men, and 2.5 per cent for women, and the deaths 6.1 percent for men, and 1.9 percent for women. Liver disease is so rare as to be scarcely appreciable.

A similar remark applies to the infrequency of liver disease in Ceylon hospitals. In these hospitals the admissions from brain and nervous diseases are 1.6 percent for men, and 3.2 percent for women. And the deaths 1.5 percent and 3.1 percent respectively. No liver diseases were admitted into the Canadian hospitals. And the brain and nervous diseases afforded 6.3 percent admissions, and 2 percent deaths for men, with 5.2 percent admissions and no deaths for women.

These are the statistical results of this inquiry. To the extent to which the data are imperfect, the results are of course unreliable. 483: The numbers are often much smaller than are required for such purposes. I have used them because [they are] the best obtainable, even with the assistance of the colonial governments; and the first lesson they teach is the necessity for assimilating the colonial registration and vital statistics to those at home. But, with all their defects, when these statistics are examined, they bring clearly into light certain great general facts. As regards the schools, they show us that the educational idea in the colonies is just as deficient as it is at home, and it is attended with worse physical consequences.

No account appears to be taken of the past history of the races on whom it is desired to confer the inestimable blessings of Christian civilization. Our teachers go among them just as they would into English villages. They collect the children who,

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together with their ancestors, have spent most of their existence in active outdoor habits, into all classes of structures, good, bad and indifferent, apparently without regard to the effect of local conditions on their health. In all probability the children are set together as close as they are placed in one of our home "model schools," without any reference to children's epidemics or other fevers. This is not done without great risk, even with children of English birth. But to do this with children taken from their open air habits in uncivilized or semi-civilized communities is to incur the immediate danger of losing the most hopeful pupils by diseases, which, under a more rational system, might in all probability be avoided.

The education appears to be confined simply to head work, and no provision is made for sustaining the health by physical training, while it is in danger of exhaustion by a cerebral stimulus, perhaps applied for the first time in the history of the family from which the child has sprung. It is true that cerebral disease forms only a small part of the school mortality; but the diseases from which the mortality proceeds in the tropical schools are the result of overcrowding, defective ventilation, and other local sanitary evils, all of which are augmented by sedentary occupation.

The remedy for this is obviously to improve the school houses, to give more attention to space, to ventilation, and to the locality where the school is placed, and above all to make physical training an essential and important part of the school system, never forgetting that the habits of generations cannot be suddenly broken through without danger to health and life.

In as far as concerns the effect of the schools on the disappearance of native races, the returns contain no appreciable evidence. Education, if properly conducted, together with the improved personal physical and moral habits consequent on it, ought everywhere to be conservative and not destructive; but to be so it should be conducted, as already stated, with a full knowledge of the physiological effects of altered habits and the influence of these on health.

The hospital returns, so far as they can be relied on, show in the tropical colonies a large mortality from diseases arising from bad drainage, bad water, imperfect agriculture, want of cleanliness, and from other bad habits. Bad, overcrowded, unventilated dwellings must also in these colonies, as at home, bear their proportion of the blame. Thus mortality arising from mitigable or preventible causes of an external nature occasions in all the colonies by far the greatest part of the death rate in hospitals. Incivilization, with its inherent diseases, when brought into contact with civilization, without adopting specific precautions for preserving health, will always carry with it a large increase of mortality on account of the greater

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susceptibility of its subjects to those causes of disease which can to a certain extent be endured without as great a risk by civilized communities born among them.

The hospital returns throw little light on the causes of the disappearance of native races, unless these are to be found in the great prevalence of tubercular and chest diseases in certain of the colonies. This is especially remarkable in the returns from Australia, Kaffraria, and Canada. But why this class of affections should be so much more prevalent in the temperate than in the tropical colonies could only be ascertained by careful local inquiry. One thing is certain that, in those colonies from which complaints of the disappearance of native races have come, tubercular and chest diseases appear to occasion the largest amount of hospital mortality.

The discovery of the causes of this must be referred back to the colonies. Anything which exhausts the constitution, above all things, foul air during sleep, will engender these diseases. Open locality, healthy winds, active daily occupation, are by themselves no safeguards, if the nights be spent in unventilated cabins. The Alpine climates of Europe are known to be the most free of any climates from this tribe of diseases. But even on their healthy mountain slopes scrofula in all its forms prevails among the peasants, engaged during summer on the high pastures, when they pass their nights in the close unhealthy chalets there.

It is possible that a tubercular taint so engendered may be the cause of the whole evil, and it is to this point that the inquiry has brought us.

Appended to the school and hospital returns from each colony there are very interesting notes giving generally the impression of the reporters on the nature and causes of disease among the aboriginal population. These notes confirm the statistical evidence, but they afford little additional light on the causation.

The decaying races are chiefly in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and perhaps in certain parts of South Africa. They appear to consist chiefly of tribes which have never been civilized enough or had force of character enough to form fixed settlements or to build towns. Such tribes have few fixed habits or none. But the papers show that they are naturally, in their uncivilized condition, possessed of far stronger stamina, and that they resist the effects of frightful wounds and injuries far better than civilized men. This latter fact tells strongly against any natural proclivity to diseased action. But we nevertheless see that when they come in contact with civilized men and are, as a necessary consequence, obliged to conform themselves to a certain extent to the vices and customs of their civilized (!) neighbours, they perish from disease.

The evidence contained in these notes unfortunately proves

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that the pioneers of British civilization are not always the best of the British people. Many of them, it is to be feared, leave their own country stained with vice and vicious habits, ready for any act of oppression, ready to take any advantage of the simplicity of the poor aborigines. Such people have introduced everywhere the use of intoxicating drinks, together with the diseases as well as the vices of their own depraved standard of civilization. Where the races are found most rapidly decaying, there the married women are found living in a state of prostitution and exposed to its diseases. And we know where such is the case decline and extinction are inevitable.

This appears to be a main cause of the falling off in births, while the other evil habits introduced by Europeans destroy the stamina of the adult population and raise its rate of mortality. With the facts before us, imperfect as they are, we need feel no surprise at the gradual extinction of these unhappy races. But we should draw from them an argument for doing all that can be done to lessen these evils, and to remove, as far as practicable, any causes of disease and death which it may be in our power to remove.

Complain of such things, in some form or other, runs through the whole of the evidence regarding these aboriginal populations, who appear to be far more susceptible of the operation of causes of disease arising out of imperfect civilization than are civilized men; how much more so must they be to such dreadful causes as those indicated above! (Meaning by "civilized" men who can live together in a city or village without cutting each other's throats).

There is a strong presumption that, if aboriginal races are left undisturbed in their own country to follow their own customs and even their own vices, they will continue to exist as they have hitherto done, in a slowly increasing or stationary condition. But there is no reason to doubt the evidence contained in these papers that certain races require very little disturbance in their primeval habits to pass into a state of decline. The great question at issue is how this is to be arrested.

The facts appear to point to such remedial measures as the following:

1. That provision of land should be made for the exclusive use of the existing tribes, but this, by itself, would be simply preserving their barbarism for the sake of preserving their lives. And the question naturally occurs whether Moravian settlements or settlements conducted on entirely similar principles, under whatever denomination, might not be introduced for the purpose of wisely and gradually winning the people to higher and better habits.

2. A good government which really understood its

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responsibilities would put down with any force requisite that most accursed of all British habits, the sale of intoxicating drinks to those who never knew them before. On the heads of these traffickers rests the blood of thousands of their fellow men.

3. Although a large proportion of children have died while under school instruction, there is no proof that education, if properly conducted, tends to extinguish races. And it is possible that by educating outcast native children, these tribes, with whatever mental constitution endowed, may be spared to contribute their quota to human knowledge and advancement.

4. The school diseases, however, indicate that education should be conducted in a very different manner from what it is in England. Physiology would teach us that it is not safe to take the child of uncivilized parents, and to submit it all at once to the restraints of civilization. What is wanted is a careful study of what can and what cannot be done with safety. Time would seem to be a great element in the education of children. There should be as little interference as possible with their born habits and customs. And that interference should take place gradually and wisely. The probability is that if children could leave school in health, with sufficient training to enable them to enter the pale of civilization, their children would be the more able to bear the required development of the mental faculties. In any case, physical training, and a large amount of out-door work, are essentially necessary to success.

5. We all know how difficult it is to preserve health among dense populations in our houses at home. We may hence infer how much more difficult to draw together numbers of uncivilized or partially civilized people, within the same boundary, or under the same roof, without great risk to health and life. Bring a healthy family from the open country into a narrow crowded London alley, and the little ones will die, the elder ones will be sick for, perhaps, the first time of their lives, and the parents will fall into confirmed ill health, to say the least of it.

Our home experience hence teaches us the extreme importance of favourable sanitary conditions, whenever an attempt is made to bring the uncivilized within the pale of civilization. Every society which has been formed has had to sacrifice large proportions of its earlier generations to the new conditions of life arising out of the mere fact of change. Only by the greatest care and by the adoption of every requisite improvement can London itself bear the rapid increase of its population without danger from pestilence.

This destroying principle is now at work in the colonies where races are decaying. And its results can only be diminished by assimilating 487: the new conditions, involved in the change, as nearly as possible, so far as healthiness is concerned, to the open air activity to which the people have been for generations

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accustomed.

These are the results of this inquiry. Defective in many particulars though they be, they are still sufficient to prove that, on the local authorities of the colonies, there rests a responsibility in the face of public opinion in Europe, of the gravest kind. It is a matter for state interference. It is impossible to stand by while races are disappearing, of whom it can be said that the "Australian is the finest model of the human proportions in muscular development," that his "head might compare with an antique bust of a philosopher," that his "perceptive faculties are peculiarly acute," that he is an "apt learner," and "possesses the most intense desire to imitate his more civilized brethren in almost every thing;" that the Australian aborigines are "possessed of mental power on a par with their brethren of the other races of man; that they are perhaps superior to the Negro and some of the more inferior divisions of the great human family;" that they have "keen perceptive faculties, and a certain want of steadiness of purpose in their characters which appears the great obstacle to be overcome in reclaiming them and bringing them into the pale of civilization and Christianity."

These statements are from a report on this subject, made by a select committee of the legislative Council of Victoria in 1858-59. In this report occurs the following passage with which I conclude on account of its authority, appealing from its facts to the better feeling of the colonies, with the hope that the time is not far off when such a stigma as it affixes to the empire may be wiped away: "The great and unprecedented reduction in the occupation of the country by the white population to vices acquired by contact with a civilized race, more particularly the indulgence in ardent spirits; and hunger, in consequence of the scarcity of game since the settlement of the colony; and also in some cases, to cruelty and ill-treatment. The great cause, however, is apparently the inveterate propensity of the race to excessive indulgence in spirits, which it seems utterly impossible to eradicate. This vice is not only fatal, but leads to other causes which tend to shorten life.

Mr Thomas, the Guardian of Aborigines, stated in evidence that one morning he found five drunken blacks lying buried in the mud at Merri Creek, which being followed by pulmonary attack, death, as is invariably the case, ensued. It may be remarked that consumption forms a fruitful cause of mortality amongst them, in addition to the other causes enumerated.

It would appear that they have materially degenerated since the advent of the whites, as Mr Thomas has said, 'the young die two to one in proportion to the old; I have some old people yet.' The rapid settlement necessary upon the country being occupied by 488: flocks and herds was more unfavourable to the Aborigines

Death of Pastor Fliedner of Kaiserswerth

than if it had only been gradually taken up for agricultural purposes.

Your committee are of the opinion that great injustice has been perpetrated upon the aborigines, that, when the government of the colony found it necessary to take from them their hunting grounds and their means of living, proper provision should have been made for them. Had they been a strong race, like the New Zealanders, they would have forced the new occupiers of their country to provide for them; but being weak and ignorant, even for savages, they have been treated with almost utter neglect.

With the exception of the protectorate, which was an emanation of the Imperial Government, and which seemed to have been only partially successful, little or nothing has been done for the black denizens of the country."

Every colony where the native races are declining could furnish some such report as this. The injustice has been a common one and so should be the remedy.

1864

"Death of Pastor Fliedner of Kaiserswerth," reprinted from *Evangelical Christendom*. December 1864: 1-4 [7:587-92]

London

21 October 1864

Pastor Fliedner died (in harness) on 4 October [1864], at [the] Deaconesses' Institution at Kaiserswerth-on-the-Rhine, which he had founded. He lived to preside at the thirty-first celebration of the anniversary of this his foundation, which he began in September 1833, with one "sister," one female criminal, and no money, in a small summerhouse in his pastor's garden. But though he willingly kept himself in the background on this thirty-first anniversary, he was so exhausted after it, having long been suffering from chest disease, that the medical man, ordered him entire rest and change of air. He went to the Convalescent Institution, which he himself had founded for his sick Deaconesses, but came back for the confirmation of two of his sons on 25 September, and all then saw he was dying. But he had time to collect all his children about him, to give them precious words of exhortation, and to speak to them, too, quite simply and openly about his death, of which he said, "It needs only to be as little child going to its Father."

He was in the last agony on Tuesday morning, 4 October, but hymns were sung and prayers offered aloud, at his own desire, all that Tuesday morning, as he sat in his chair. And the deaconesses were all admitted into his room, by tens and twelves, to see him and to join in these hymns and prayers, till two o'clock; when he died. His last words were "Victory!" and "Overcome!"

Pastor Fliedner created a hospital, a penitentiary and asylum for females released from prison, and orphan asylum, a

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normal school, an infant school, and lastly, a lunatic asylum--the whole to serve as training schools for his deaconesses, whom he also trained as Parish Deaconesses. The mother house was at Kaiserswerth. Not his sisters are not only all over Germany, but all over the world, from the East to North America, from Italy to London. He has Deaconesses at Jerusalem, Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, and Bucharest. And since 1860 he has (as stated in the number of *Evangelical Christendom* of October 1862), at Beirut and Sidon, given a Christian harbour to the orphan children and sufferers from Lebanon massacre, under his Deaconesses' wing.

This year (1864) there were 430 Deaconesses belonging to Kaiserswerth, of whom 275 were full sisters; upwards of 300 are at work at 105 stations in Germany and abroad. Besides these, twenty were at work in the war hospitals of Schleswig-Holstein, ten more had been asked for by the War Minister, but only some of the ten could be spared to go. In the Schleswig-Holstein war hospitals were more Danes and Roman Catholic Austrians than Prussians. (So much the better. The Roman Catholics know now how Evangelical Sisters of Charity can work.) Thirty-three sisters are at work as Parish Deaconesses in twenty-five parishes, but yearly have applications for sisters to be refused. The harvest truly is ready, but the labourers are still too few. Seventy-five sisters devoted to education only (of whom thirty-one are full sisters) are included among the above 430. But this number gives no idea of the work of training mistresses for infant schools, and governesses for private families, which goes on at Kaiserswerth. 1,007 have been thus trained, who work freely for the good cause, but do not enter as Deaconesses; and, blessed as is the work of the latter, perhaps the former work has an equally worldwide influence for good.

When arrived at their destination, the schoolmistresses try, by Sunday schools, by visits to the poorer children at home, by friendly acquaintance with the mothers, to spread the real work of education. At the young ladies' boarding schools, besides excellent instruction, the girls can, if the parents wish it, receive an initiation into housekeeping, cooking, and making clothes. They are exercised in gymnastics and in the open air; and they have all the beautiful German music teaching.

A few stations (e.g., London) were originally started with Pastor Fliedner's Deaconesses, who still administer them, though no longer attached to Kaiserswerth.

And when we consider that all this was done at an annual expense (last year) of about £7500 (plus a sum of about £1500., spent in building in 1863), we may truly say, never was so much good effected with such small means. And all this has been accomplished in little more than a quarter of a century, in twenty-seven short years or, including the penitentiary, which was Pastor Fliedner's first work, thirty-one.

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540 persons have now to be daily provided for at the institution. They ask our prayers from Kaiserswerth for the continuance of his work. He leaves a widow, who was as efficient a "mother" to the Deaconesses as he was a "father," and seven children without provision. His eldest daughter by a former wife is married to Pastor Disselhoff, who seconded him in the institution. They ask our prayers, not for these fatherless children and widow, but for his work.

Let us, then, after returning thanks to Almighty God for the life and work of this good man, pray that it may please Him to up men who will continue the work, which belongs more to Him than to us, in the same spirit of poverty and of taking up the cross, of purity and of a sound mind, that His servant Fliedner did.

Florence Nightingale

London

21 November 1864

To those who have prayed with us, that it will please Almighty God to continue Pastor Fliedner's work on earth in the same spirit, the news will be welcome that his widow, who faithfully worked at his side for more than twenty-one years, as "Mother" of his Deaconesses, has been confirmed in her post of "Superintendent of the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses' Institution" by the committee in whose hands Pastor Fliedner had himself so wisely placed it (which committee consists of members, ecclesiastical and secular, of the Westphalian and Rhenish provinces); that his son-in-law, Pastor Disselhoff, has, in like manner, been appointed "Secretary" and member of the committee; and that his son by a former wife, George Fliedner, a young man ordained just before to rejoice his father's deathbed, has been appointed Madame Fliedner's personal assistant.

No wiser arrangement could possibly have been made, under their great loss. Yet never did the widow and the institution more want our prayers.

Quite latterly, and when Pastor Fliedner's work had spread beyond all human expectation, he was continually preaching, exhorting, teaching, mourning like Jeremiah, how little had been done. And he was not like so many who say, Go. He could say, Come, and work with us for God.

In everything, whether he had to refuse deaconesses out of his small number to institutions applying and imploring for them, whether he had to reply to fellow-pastors, who almost reproached him for not sending them deaconesses enough, "We have sent you more than you have sent us to train; we cannot make deaconesses spring up out of the ground," whether he had, in the "Homes and Training Schools" for servant girls, directed by his "sisters" (for this was another of his works), to answer 1600 applications for servants with 410 maids--in all, his cry was always the same: "The harvest truly is ready, but the labourers are few." In the

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midst of what others thought his success, his stirring voice was always heard crying, "See, the Roman Church has its thousands of thousands of Sisters of Charity, of all orders. We have but a few hundreds. No more zealous proselytisers are found than these orders. And will you, the maidens of Church, remain like idle cowards—you who might labour with equal zeal and greater light?"

And what but this have we to say in England? There is such a chattering and noise here about "fields," wanted for women's work. Yet every training institutions with one voice tells the contrary tale: of applications innumerable for trained women to fill responsible posts of few to fill them, of living materials wanted, situations and "fields" being never wanting; of workers needed, not work.

This was all Pastor Fliedner's "lamentation." After having done so much, he said, "How little! a few hundreds, that is all." Perhaps his life and death, when two of his sons, after their confirmation (he had meant to have confirmed them himself, but he was dying then), came to him in his room, he rose and stood up, though he could scarcely move for dropsy, and opening his arms so as to clasp them both, he cried, "Welcome, fellow-communicants! welcome, fellow-combatants!"

When, on the very morning of his death, at half-past eight, the sister-superintendent of the hospital came in to see him, he said to her, "I ought to be ashamed of myself before you all, that here I am half-past eight not up; but I am so weary."

The poor, the noble widow, herself the very life and soul of the institution, but with seven young children (the three older children of Pastor Fliedner are of a former wife), with suffering health, and worn with an over-share of the work, wished to look upon her husband's departure from the earthy part of it as the signal that she was no longer intended by God to superintend it. But the day before his death, her husband spoke to her with all his own incisive word; "God will himself show you how long you have to work. But I wish that you may continue at it many years after me." And to his seven sons he said, as they stood round him, "If you could *all* be ministers of God's Word, I should like it. But He will show you your way." So strong was the spirit of his Master to the very last gasp in this good servant of God.

No one who knew him in his work but would have said, "This shows what a prophet of old was like!" No one who knew him in his death but would cry, "My father! my father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!" For never, surely, were the inspired words so applicable to any man of these days.

Florence Nightingale

London

10 December 1864

Since the above was written, the friends of Pastor Fliedner in

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Germany have set on foot a subscription to enable them to give an independent provision to his widow and children. The circumstances are these: Pastor Fliedner actually reserved for the services for himself and his wife, as Superintendents of the institution, an income of only £90 a year, although the whole of the capital, £80,000, an enormous sum for the country, had been collected by himself for the institution (there is a debt upon it of £21,000 more).

Quite lately the committee forced upon him a trifling annual sum, the salary for his younger children's private tutor.

The King gave him the theological education of his elder sons, but this is by no means a special favour in Protestant Germany.

Of course Pastor Fliedner was compelled unwillingly to accept help from friends in bringing up his ten children.

Pastor Fliedner's friends specially and rightly deprecate an appeal in the newspapers for the widow and children thus left purposely by him without provision. They naturally wish that any appeal should be made privately. They have formed themselves into a committee at Dusseldorf, which will receive and invest any money that may be collected for the benefit of the Fliedner family, all of whom, according to their strength are devoting themselves to the institutions, as their husband and father did; and upon her, the widow, seems not to depend the very existence of the institution in its former spirit.

If we could convey to English eyes and minds what we have seen, and tasted of the frugality and self-denial by which all this wonderful good was worked, with which, indeed, alone it could be worked; if we could show them the four little, bare, unfurnished rooms (which would pack into, but not furnish, one secretary's room in London) where all the correspondence of this worldwide concern was carried on, without a secretary, by Pastor Fliedner, and his own family; if we could set before English eyes the frugal food, well cooked and always clean, but upon which no London artisan or servant would subsist, which the Fliedner family, and 540 persons belonging to them, contentedly enjoy; the dress, well made and exquisitely tidy, but scarcely equal to that of a cottage's family in England; the constant check that poor Madame Fliedner, herself so much higher than a mere gentlewoman, has to keep upon the little sordid details of housekeeping for a family of 550 persons (and this is the real burden, not the living in the north); if we could show the baking, the printing, the other workshops, some to save money, some to earn it, all of which have to be carefully superintended; if we could convey the reality of this English charitable institution has the least idea, we English should be glad and proud to give our mite to the "Fliedner Fund."

Contributions will kindly be received by the Rev. James

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Davis and the Rev Dr Schmettau at the office of the Evangelical Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C., and by Messrs Nisbet and Co., 21, Berners Street, W.

Florence Nightingale

"Note on the Aboriginal Races in Australia" in *Transactions of the National Association of the Promotion of Social Science*, 1864, 552-58

At the last meeting of the Association a paper of mine was read on the Sanitary Statistics of Colonial Schools and Hospitals. By the kindness of the Duke of Newcastle, copies of that paper were sent to all the colonies, and have called forth numerous communications of interest addressed to the Colonial Office. Mr Cardwell has been good enough to place these papers at my disposal; and now I beg to lay before the Association extracts from two or three of the most important of those bearing on the fate of the aborigines of Australia.

The allusion made in my former paper to the Benedictine establishment of New Norcia has led to a long report from the Roman Catholic Bishop Salvado (of Port Victoria) on the practical working of this institution, containing points of considerable interest, strongly confirmative of the views advanced as to the general principles on which the natives should be trained.

Bishop Salvado combats the idea that the mortality among Aborigines is produced by diseases, simply as such. The considerations he adduces all lead to one conclusion, viz., that so soon as native habits and customs begin to undergo change under European influences, the work of destruction has at the same time begun. "Few sick aborigines," he says, "are restored to health," whereas, under similar circumstances, "few Europeans would die."

The native appears to have little or no chance of recovery from the moment he sets foot within a house or hospital and comes under medical treatment. He longs to return to the bush; he escapes; "and yet that dying native, a few weeks afterwards, when every one that knew him believed him to be dead and buried, is as strong and healthy as ever, having travelled perhaps fifty or more miles on foot."

The native dislike to hospitals is confirmed by a communication from Dr Hale, our Bishop of Perth, in which he says:

"As regards hospitals, I am sorry to say that it is so impossible to keep the poor natives (i.e., the uncivilised natives) under any kind of restraint when they are sick--they so completely set at defiance all rules and regulations--that

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anything like regular hospital treatment is quite out of the question in their case. They are ready enough to take medicines and such other things as may be thought needful for them, but they will not tolerate restraint or confinement. Their unmanageableness in illness arises from a deeper feeling than that of mere restlessness. A positive and very strong dislike to any locality where they have been for some time sick takes possession of their minds, they persuade themselves that there must necessarily be some connection between the locality and their illness, and they are constantly haunted by the idea that they would be better almost anywhere else than where they are."

It would seem from this extract that the natives have an instinctive dread of quiescence in one place. And this natural feeling is doubtless founded on some physiological law of their organisation.

A curious illustration of this instinct is mentioned by Bishop Salvado:

A native belonging to the institution became ill with spitting of blood: a sure mark of fatal disease, if the patient is treated in the usual way. The patient begged to be allowed to go into the bush; and after three days' hunting of horses, he returned sufficiently recovered to resume his occupations.

Guided by experience of this class, Bishop Salvado has been led to conduct the institution at New Norcia upon the following principles, which I give in his own words (he "apologises" for his "foreign English"):

"Having fixed my residence here in the year 1857, and admitted successively a good number of native boys, I thought and did establish for them three daily hours of light work in the morning, and three daily hours of school in the afternoon. I left free the other hours of the day for them to play, as necessary gymnastic exercises.

"My object in fixing them physical work has been threefold, viz., to prevent sickness by the daily development of their exercised body and strength; to have them busy in doing some useful thing; and to introduce them by degrees into the habits of civilised and industrial life. Although I acknowledged the great advantages of mental work by fixing a certain time for their school, including religious instruction, I greatly feared the deathful consequences of indoor restraint.

"We ought to bear in mind that the aborigines are exotic or foreigners to our civilisation. they cannot stand at once, not even our food, much less our daily hard work, let it be mental or physical. For this reason, I have always been rather indulgent in the exact keeping of their hours of school or work. In ploughing, shearing and reaping seasons I dispense them of their school and every one of them, according to their age and capabilities, is employed in the general work of the season. Indeed, the work of

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most of them is no other thing than a continual childish play work, but it is by playing that they learn by degrees how to work.

"Of the two works, viz., physical and mental, I have given the preference to the former; for, according to my own ideas, a native that knows how to cultivate his field, I believe him to be much more advantageously initiated in the civilised life than another that knows not to read and write.

"I have seen aborigines, males, and females, read and write quite correct as I thought, yet they were nothing better for it. Reading and writing are things utterly useless to them as far as their living is concerned, for not to starve they are obliged to return to the bush to live by hunting as their forefathers did. We look at them with European eyes, consider them as Europeans, and try to train them as such, but in doing so, we delude ourselves. Their case is quite another, quite different from ours, and we ought to bring them to our case and high position not at once, but by the same way we came to it, by degrees.

"Physical work, as ploughing and so forth, will bring them the means of their living; mental work, as reading and writing, will bring them, what we have many a time seen, vices and debauchery. There are many things that in theory are really beautiful, yet cannot bear to be put in practice.

"There is an establishment, I will say, for the sake of argument, where one hundred or more aborigines have been well and highly educated, in fact every one of them is a good Christian and a good scholar. Their schooling time is over, and then what? Are they to remain all their life's time in that establishment? Are they to be supported always and in all their wants by that establishment? If this neither can be nor is intended by the rules of that establishment, can they support themselves, and perhaps their wives and children, by their learning when out of that establishment? Once out of that establishment where will they go? What will they do? All these questions have already been answered by the fact that all the time, trouble, and expenses in having brought them to that state of civilisation did them no good, all has been lost; for those aborigines, having no means of support, become the worst specimens of their race.

"I am well aware that when a Mr Anybody sees the aborigines of such or such school read well their lessons, write clear their copy-books, and sing in good time certain favourite songs, he remains highly gratified, and everywhere he goes and to every one he speaks, he praises it to the skies. He and all will applaud it as a true blessing, never dreaming that the whole of it will have no good result at all, and all will disappear as the smoke before a strong current of wind. That gentleman thought he was seeing all this in a school of European children, but he was mistaken, as well as in all he thought would follow it."

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"As a principle, I think that in civilising the aborigines of Australia the learning of the A B C, etc., ought to be a secondary thing; religious instruction and physical work, both at the same time, ought to take the first and leading place.

"I will make a hypothesis and suppose an establishment where the aborigines are daily and practically instructed in religious matters, and gradually trained in the doings of a well-directed farm. Their daily school is not long, neither is their daily work, yet the latter is encouraged by all means and the aborigines are paid for it. In many cases, and perhaps in most of them, their work and the benefit of it do not cover the expenses of their support; nevertheless, they are rewarded for it, and faithfully.

"The aborigines, seeing the real and positive advantage they are getting for their work, will exert themselves the more, and thus by degrees they will become acquainted with the various branches and different works of a farm. They are trained in everything save in minding sheep, cattle, pigs, or goats, which thing does no good to them. Even tailoring, shoemaking, and similar trades are considered too sedentary and unwholesome for them; nevertheless, if any of them has an inclination to be a shoemaker or to learn any other trade, he is allowed to follow it. But, as a general rule, they are trained in the branches of agriculture.

"When any of them gets to be of a proper age and sufficiently instructed to cultivate by himself a field, a parcel of land is apportioned to him for that purpose. That land is to be cleared by himself, the other natives helping him, for which work the establishment pays them. It pays also somebody else for the rooting out of large trees and old stumps; for that work is considered too hard and even injurious to the health of the aborigines; pays as well for the fencing of the land, and thus the land is ready for the plough at the expenses of the establishment. At ploughing season that native being supplied by the same establishment with a team, plough, seed, harrow, and other necessaries, he ploughs that parcel of land or part of it.

"At the latter end of November our native is reaping the wheat of his field, and as cheerful as any man can be. The other natives are paid by the establishment for helping him; the native owner of the field is not paid for his reaping, nor has he been paid for his ploughing; he is not paid for any work he does for himself, but he is supported and supplied with everything he may be wanting at those times.

"The crop of the field is respected as his property, but it is also well understood that whatsoever money that crop will produce to him, that money shall be employed in buying tools and utensils of agriculture; and if those means are enough, a bullock or more are to be bought. Of the money he receives as wages for

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the works he does at the establishment he may dispose at his pleasure, although he is often advised to employ it usefully.

"If he is a single or unmarried man, the establishment provides him with a cottage at its own expenses, but he had been provided with it before that time if married.

"Should the single native find any of the girls at the same establishment willing to become his partner, they, supposing them both well instructed in their Christian religious duties, will be married. If there is no girl at the establishment or none of them is willing to marry him, then he may obtain any from out the establishment, and when instructed and baptised he may marry her.

"That native once married, the establishment supports him, as before, his wife and children (if they have any) for some time, perhaps for two or three years, and then by degrees the means of the establishment are shortened to him in due proportion to the increase of his own means.

"The children of that native, or natives, as the case may be, will be a great step further advanced in civilisation than their parents were at their age. They will have a better chance of having from their early days a good Christian and civil education, and the children of those children will be further advanced still.

"Thus by means of practical religious and physical work, education together with but little school in the beginning, and over all by the blessing of the Almighty, in the course of time a village of industrial small farmers and good Christians will be gradually formed.

"To this hypothesis it may be said that after all there is no more in it than a theory. Indeed it is a theory, but such that the fathers of our grandfathers by putting it into practice have fully demonstrated to have been the medium, and the high road by which they reached to their high state of civilisation, and even ourselves to the enjoyment of that we have the happiness to possess at present.

"After religion, I believe reading, writing, and what follows it, to be, to the already civilised people, one of the greatest, if not the greatest blessing of civilisation, but I do not think it to be so in the case of savages or uncivilised people, as the aborigines of Australia are. Nature itself teaches us that the first thing a newly-born child looks after is the breast of its mother, and no man can make use of his mental or intellectual faculties if he has not the necessary physical powers to enable him to do it.

"It would be, perhaps, not out of place to add that even to the most of civilised people who do write, their pen is their plough, their ink their seed, and their paper their field. Very few indeed are those whose thought, and not whose ink is their seed; in fact, the more get their living by the plough, and the

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privileged (exceedingly) few by the thought.

"Anyhow that theory has regulated my operations here, and that hypothesis is nothing else but the same theory put here into practice, in order to attain our charitable and heartily wished-for-end, viz., the conversion and civilisation of the aborigines of this province.

"There are already better than eighteen years since I first came to this colony, but only seven since it has been my privilege to begin this benevolent work in my own way. For nearly the first four years (out of seven), the whole system worked well; at the latter end of the fourth year, the measles and its consequences were a great drawback to our efforts, nevertheless we continued exerting ourselves, and I have no reason to complain of the general result.

"A period of seven years is rather too short to expect in it great things from a work and system depending on the age of children. We had several young natives able already to work for themselves when the measles decimated them, but at present of 33 native boys and girls we have with us, four young men only are able to plough for themselves, and their joined crop yielded, this year, 200 bushels of wheat save 10.

"They themselves alone, ploughed the ground, threw the seed, harrowed the field, and at the proper season reaped materially the fruit of their hard labour.

"Self-interest is the oil that makes every wheel go. Take away self-interest, and not one will move; for nothing is done for nothing.

"Surely, if the aborigines are left to themselves, they cannot but follow their forefathers' traditions and customs, but if properly and timely trained, I, for one, do not see the impossibility of their being truly civilised. A great deal depends, there is no doubt, I think, on the system adopted, and on the way and manner of carrying that system out. The experience of many past years has taught us that the time, labour, and expense of civilising the aborigines of Australia by only teaching them how to read, to write, etc., etc., has been as yet an unfortunate failure. I have no doubt that neither want of zeal nor of means have been the cause of it, therefore it must lie in the system adopted. It seems to me that the physical work system as adopted in this Benedictine mission answers better, the practical result of it shows this, although in a short time and on a small scale. I regret not being able to carry it out on a larger scale, but the simple reason is no other than our scanty means or private income. I thankfully acknowledge in this place, in justice and with gratitude to the colonial government, their helping us in our charitable work these three years with 100 pounds sterling per annum.

"An enterprise of this magnitude cannot be properly carried

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out, even on our small scale, without incurring great expenses (and I know it too well), but, after all, the conversion and regeneration of man is not the work of man alone.

"We generally do select the best means as the medium for the better and surer attainment of our ends; but in the conversion of man, not the medium of that system, nor the other; not the scanty means nor the ample ones; not the management of that man nor of the other can alone succeed, for neque qui plantat est aliquid neque qui rigat; sed qui incrementum dat Deus,' neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase.'

"Nevertheless, if we in such a charitable work comport ourselves as God's coadjutors,' and if as such we persevere in doing our best, every one of us shall receive his own reward, according to his labour.'"

I have introduced this somewhat lengthy abstract from Bishop Salvado's paper, because it explains the method of civilising adopted by him,- and which in his former communication, cited in my last paper, he stated had been successful in training the aborigines without destroying them. The method employed presupposes the possession of considerable capabilities on the part of the native population. But the direction given to these is more towards physical improvement and introduction of better physical and moral habits, than towards mere head-knowledge.

In dealing with uncivilised races, it has hitherto been too often the case that the Roman Catholic Missionary has believed: "Sprinkle this child with holy water; and then, the sooner it dies the better:"--that the Protestant Missionary has believed "Make this child capable of understanding the truths of religion, and then our work is done."

But the wiser Missionary of this day says: "What is the use of reading and writing to the natives, it does not give him a living. Show him his duty to God. And teach him how to plough."

Otherwise, he does but fall into vice, worse than before. Ceres comes before Minerva.

As for the Australians, in their present state, very few of the human race are lower in the scale of civilisation than these poor people: excepting indeed, those who trample upon and oppress them,--who introduce among them the vices of European (so-called) civilisation.

What must be the condition of a people of whom an English lady (Mrs Camfield, of Anesfield, King George's Sound, Western Australia), conducting a native school, can write as she does to me:

There is not in nature, I think, a more filthy, loathsome, revolting creature than a native woman in her wild state. Every animal has something to recommend it; but a native woman is altogether unlovable."

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And yet the daughters of these degraded women can give examples, like the following, cited in the same letter:--

"Bessy, the girl, has just commenced to play the harmonium in church, a superior instrument with two key boards (Alexandre's), and it is very gratifying to hear her, she plays so well, and with such coolness and composure, and not with any idea that she is doing what I suppose was never done before by an Australian native. She is very simple-minded, but quite equal in knowledge and intelligence to an English girl, who has not had greater advantages."

It is an advantage of an Association, such as this. that it enables difficult social problems to be subjected to discussion, and public opinion to be brought to bear on abuses which would not perhaps be otherwise reached. The voluminous papers, of which I have given a few extracts, are the first fruits of last year's discussion-by making them public, further good will ensue. This question of the fate of aboriginal populations is one closely concerning our national honour, and every day enhances its importance. I cannot better conclude, in the way of application, than with the following words from Bishop Hale's paper, already cited:

"Upon the Australian races European civilisation (Christian in name, but far from Christian in reality) has come suddenly and with overwhelming force. It has found them utterly unable to hold their own against it, equally incapable of joining with and flowing onward with the advancing tide; and therefore these races have been, since the contact first took place, and still are, going down before and beneath its, to them, destructive progress.

"If their condition had been less degraded, or if the tone of our civilisation had been less overbearing, self-seeking, and oppressive, or even if the irruption of the one upon the other had been less sudden and less violent, the result might have been different. But it is vain to speculate upon what might have been;; we know, too well unhappily, what has been taking place, steadily and surely, from the moment when Europeans first set foot upon the Australian continent until this present time. The native races sink down and perish at our presence."

Here we have the undoubted fact graphically described. The only question is, whether Bishop Salvado's plan of training the children of the disappearing race will save the race. His method is founded on sound physiological principles; and being so, is one of the most likely to succeed.

1865

"Introduction," in William Rathbone, *Organization of Nursing: An Account of the Liverpool Nurses' Training School, Its Foundation, Progress and Operation in Hospital, District and Private Nursing.* Liverpool: A. Holden/ London: Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer

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1865:9-16

I have read the following pages with much interest. I regret that we have been so busy, and my strength so over-tasked, that I have only now been able to do so, but once taken up, I could not lay it down till I had read it through in two sittings, and then I read it through again.

I have studied all the rules and forms with the greatest profit and interest to myself--as indicating a master hand in securing that unity yet independence of action, that personal responsibility and yet liberty, which are so vitally essential to the continuance and development of a great and wide charity like this.

I am asked to write a few remarks by way of preface. I have some difficulty in doing this, because I am cited as authority for some part of the principles. A report on such a subject as the training of nurses, to supply "lack of service" towards the poor afflicted and dying, should of itself command attention, simply on its own merits. But, if any argument were required on its behalf, in this practical age, the best argument is the success which has attended the efforts made in Liverpool. These most satisfactory results, though no greater than you deserve, are greater than even the most sanguine hope could have foreseen. Nowhere that I know of are the difficulties of organizing a system for nursing the sick in their own homes likely to be greater than have been there encountered, and so far overcome.

There is a dense and rapidly increasing population, drawn from all quarters, most of them of that lower class which has to change its home in order to live. There has been hitherto strong religious partizanship, a very great amount of sickness (as is testified by the extent of local Medical Charities), a lamentably high death rate, especially among children--always the readiest victims to want of good nursing in sickness--and, together with all this, much inevitable poverty, ignorance amongst the poor as to the proper management of their sick at home (this we find everywhere, but nowhere else, perhaps, so much), often want of every appliance and nursing care which should surround the sickbed, and great, though remediable, suffering as a consequence.

It is the old story, often told! but this book opens a new chapter of it. It gives us hope for a better state of things. An institution for training nurses in connection with the infirmary has been built and organized. This is a matter of necessity, because all who wish to nurse efficiently must learn how to nurse *in a hospital*. Nursing, especially that most important of its branches--nursing of the sick poor at home--is no amateur work. To do it as it ought to be done requires knowledge, practice, self-abnegation, and, as is so well said here, direct obedience

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to, and activity under, the highest of all Masters, and from the highest of all motives. It is an essential part of the daily service of the Christian Church. It has never been really otherwise. It has proved itself superior to all religious divisions, and is destined, by God's blessing, to supply an agency, the great value of which, in our densely populated towns, has been unaccountably overlooked until within these few years.

Nothing, indeed, can afford a stronger argument for the local support of the Liverpool agency, than the simple fact of its past success, while, at the same time, the example should be followed among other large populations, *and will be*.

It is a comparatively indifferent matter under what organization a system of home nursing of the poor is carried out. It may be done, and well done, by districts as in Liverpool, or by parishioners in parishes, or by members of Christian churches. The great thing is, that *it be done*, and done well. And to those who want to know how such a work can be successfully carried out, in conformity with our English feeling for freedom of action, I would urgently recommend a careful study of this book. I need scarcely say, therefore, how earnestly I press for the publishing of this account of the work, as being a pioneer, rather than a model, for similar institutions all over our country.

The work in Liverpool requires greater extension, and more support, before all the fruits of it can ripen. But, so far as it has gone, it has proved its own future possibility by its past success, and promises to be one of the most important agencies for coping with human misery which the present day has put forth. Let us all wish it Godspeed.

No words of mine are wanted to call attention to the subsidiary benefits to the poor involved in this great work. They are not new, but they are not so widely put in practice in our country as they should be.

For example:

They will, where it may be desirable to do so, send convalescent patients for recovery to the seaside at Southport, where they will be supported for three weeks' residence. To obtain such aid the same course is necessary as stated above, with the addition that the certificate of the medical attendant must be obtained, prescribing sea-side residence or bathing for the patient." *Extract of Letter to the Ladies Superintendent, p 77.*

The sending convalescent poor to the seaside is a kind of benefit of which is it impossible to calculate the benefit, any more than its results in diminishing pauperism.

Every large town in the kingdom ought to have its Convalescent Institution for the poor by the seaside, or in the country. For the rich the good of change of air, nay, even its necessity, is never doubted. it is *ten times more* necessary for

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the poor. Again, "We may mention here that the owner of a house may be compelled, by application to the Inspector of Nuisances, Cornwallis Street, to have it whitewashed when in an unwholesome state." *Extract of Forms used in District Nursing*, p 88.

"The charity has also been of use in timely calling the attention of the Board of Health to fever cases, where whole families were infected, and the safety of the surrounding neighbourhood endangered," p 97.

"The ladies superintendent have in several instances called attention to the state of the courts and houses where sickness has been prevalent, and their representations have always been well received, where urgently required, the ladies superintendent have themselves provided the means for purifying and cleaning dwellings, bedding, etc. Two patients have been sent to Southport; several have been provided with means to go to the country; others have been supplied with clothing to fit them for respectable employment; and the necessary expenses of getting children into the Blue Coat School have been defrayed. The ladies superintendent have found the clergy, the doctors, and the authorities of the Board of Health most willing to co-operate in the working of the charity," p 99.

These alone, if these were the only benefits, show the wisdom and efficiency of incorporating in an organization the assistance of local authorities, and securing the willing co-operation of charitable volunteers.

I do not mean to say these efforts are new and original, but I mean that it is most satisfactory to find the ladies superintendent and nurses exercising certain powers and influences in sanitary matters, such as obtaining the cleansing and lime-washing of unhealthy houses and places. It is a wise addition to their duties. It improves the domestic habits of the poor. It protects their health. It prevents disease. Similar sanitary duties should always be associated with nursing.

Yet, even now, though "Sanitary" has become almost a cant word, of which we are tired, few educated persons, even philanthropists, are practically acquainted with our health acts, so as to call in their help in time of need. Again:

I may just add, that it occurred to me a short time ago that it would be a good plan to allow some of our poor patients dinners at the Workmen's Dining Rooms for a little time after their return to their usual occupation. The superintendents of the dining rooms are prepared to supply dinners on receiving a written request to that effect from the Lady Superintendent of a district, and on the production by the applicant of a note in the same handwriting. *Extract of Ladies' Superintendent Report* p 100.

What a merciful suggestion is that of supplying good food,

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properly cooked, from Workmen's Dining Rooms, to poor patients recovering from sickness. It is a means only second to change of air, and to be employed after it in most cases.

I have taken only a few instances out of the Appendix of collateral good arising from this work. I cannot better end my preface than by quoting, from the "Address to the Nurses," words which I would take to myself, and address to all engaged in this great work:

If you feel that you are members of a family, you will be ever desirous that the character of that family should be as high as possible, that it should be a credit to belong to it, that no act or word of yours should bring shame upon it, but on the contrary each of you will strive, by the gentleness, quietness, modesty, and proficiency in your profession, and by the thoroughness and conscientiousness of your work, continually to raise the character of the school, and of all belonging to it, higher and higher. x x

There is no pride so mean, so contemptible, as that which makes a person above her work. There is nothing really mean, or degrading, or unclean, which our duty calls us to do, but if ever pride leads us to leave part of our duty or work undone, or ill done, *then indeed we are degraded.*" x x

There is work, there will be times, for which all motives are too weak but one; you can only do your work as it ought to be done, if you do it as servants, as brethren, of our Lord Jesus Christ.

If you are merely hirelings, working for man's wages or man's praise, there will be much of your work that will be distasteful, wearisome, heartless; if all your work is done as in His sight, and for His sake and God's, how different will all appear?

Your work lies, as much of His did, among the sick and suffering and dying; if you do it as feeling yourselves fellow workers with Him, it is impossible to say--you will never know, no one can ever know--how much good you may accomplish. Your patients may be irritable and ungrateful, but if they see that, patiently and constantly, and where no master's eye but God's sees you, you go quietly on with your duty, neither discouraged nor weary in well doing, you may be sure you are sowing good seed which will not be lost, for Almighty power is working in you.

Not only the life of your patients may depend on your faithfulness to duty, but by it you may also influence for good their virtue and happiness, here and hereafter. Remember, when wearied and perhaps discouraged by ingratitude, it is not alone the poor, wretched, irritable, and perhaps it may seem to you worthless, sufferer you are serving, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these, ye

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did it unto me," by his suffering, which you can alleviate, the object of your care becomes to you the representative of Him who died for you. Think of this, and your task will become a grateful one, your labour one of love, pp 101-02.

I have read all this with the most intense interest, and can only hope that I too shall draw from it the profit which I ought—that I too shall read in it, and learn well, that lesson which I ought to learn anew every morning. God bless the work and the workers, is the earnest prayer of

Florence Nightingale

1969

|"A Note on Pauperism." *Fraser's Magazine* 79 (March 1869) 281-90
[5:132-45]

Seven millions of pounds are spent annually in this great London of our in relief, Poor Law and charitable. With what result? To increase directly and indirectly the pauperism which it is meant to relieve. Pauperism in London has doubled in the last ten years.

The evil is become so pressing that Poor Law administrators, the charitable, the philanthropists, even the political economists are beginning to turn their attention to it, and no longer to spend or to sanction the spending, or to prevent the spending of money without looking where we are going. First as to charity: the same tie unites us to God and to everyone of our fellows. Therefore the ill-use or neglect (worst kind of ill use) of every imbecile old woman or dirty child is a sort of treason against the Almighty. Love to God is synonymous with love to man. But the love which leads to pauperizing man is neither one nor the other.

All the paupers who can move arm or leg can more or less support themselves. The first thing to do is to remove all the sick (incapable) out of workhouses and provide for their cure or care. This is, in a considerable measure, being done or about to be done [through the Metropolitan Poor Bill]. The next is not to punish the hungry for being hungry, but to teach the hungry to feed themselves.

Statesmen fancy this is to be done by *education*, the three R's, teaching the laws of nature. Now some of the very greatest rascals that ever lived are those who knew the laws of nature best. In a country where local self-government has trenched largely on the fourth R, rascaldom, everybody knows the three R's. The greatest sovereign the world ever saw, Charlemagne, organized the civil polity of Western Europe at a time when scarcely anybody could either read or write.

There have been those and are to this day who applied themselves not only to teach the laws of nature but to teach men

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how to live. The only way to teach paupers to support themselves is the way of the early Benedictines, of St Bernard of Clairvaux, a way practised by some excellent Protestants at the present day. The Benedictines set themselves down where everybody robbed his neighbour, and invited any to join them who would, not only obey, but work and get others to work. Clairvaux was a colony, a colony for agriculture, carpenters, smiths' work, and many other things besides learning. Early monasticism did this for all. All learned, but a residuum of pure paupers. These will always require to be taught how to feed themselves.

When a government delivers up its own responsibility into the charge of its subordinates who are permanent, it pays a staff to prevent human progress. The best work the world has seen has been paid work. But for any one of us to deliver up his or her charity, his or her personal responsibility as to every imbecile old woman, as to every dirty child, into the hands of a paid staff, into the hands of any staff indeed, paid or unpaid, is to salve over the sore which we ought to heal.

As has been well said: "work is the strongest of our instincts and the first of our necessities, and in work we either command or we obey." Again: "no doubt it is the first duty of man to take care of himself, but there certainly is a very large proportion of mankind who cannot do it with the least success." "All these people...will work, if they have the work to do and the very circumstance that they have been accustomed to special places in large industrial organizations contributes to their helplessness when cast on their own invention and their own resources. They don't know what to do because they have always been told what to do, and they cannot work because they have not masters." Who "will collect and gather" these "to order, industry and self reliance?"

The answer is: it *has* been done in some cases, in many not known to fame, and which publish no reports. Why cannot it be done in many more? The Poor Law taxes the whole country to support (and to pauperize) those who are starving in the inevitable fluctuations of trade. A testimony like that of Mr Hill to the law of Elizabeth cannot be lightly passed over or disregarded. But the law of Elizabeth was for an age which lived by agriculture and land alone. Is it impossible for a legislature, for a nation to apply it, to modify it *mutatis mutandis* so as to suit the present age? The old political economists simply give the go-by to the whole question, saying "let well alone, which being interpreted means let bad alone. Yet this *bad* is now so alarming, so pressing, that even *they* say "something must be done."

Consider the always recurring distress of every winter, for example that of the East End. It is no longer possible to shut our eyes to the facts. Free trade, from which so much was

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expected, although it may have provided for many willing workers, has left a vast number without work. When shall we have a "right to free course for trade in labour?"

The Poor Law has completely broken down, so far at least as diminishing the amount of pauperism, by increasing the number of willing workers who could find work. Private charity has broken down, and worse, it has increased the evil. The "workhouse test" has completely broken down, the *unproductive labour* test the same. Not only are they punishing these pitiable paupers with unproductive labour at unremunerative prices, but the punishment test is of no avail. For the workhouses are overflowing and the people are starving. And the least harm of the overflowing workhouse is the burden on the rates. The greatest harm is the withdrawing all these heads and hands from contact with the materials and means of production. The "workhouse test" has saddled this country with pauperism, more perhaps than anything except the want of education--education not into the mystery of letters and figures, but of work. Consider the amount of real practical workable knowledge shown by the trades' unions in the answers given a winter or two ago by the shipwrights, to the offer of employment on two ships. These men, knowing that ship building is an irregular, a fluctuating employment, pitch their expenditure at the *maximum* rate of their wages, and then will not take less.

As long as the legislature can find no legislative remedy against the tyranny of trades' unions, who decree work to be judged by quantity not quality, who decree that superior quality of work shall not be paid for, the first element of freedom is wanting. For this is, not to steal from me the result of my power of production. "Who steals my purse steals trash." Who steals my power of production steals all I have.

As long as a man is liable to be deprived of his right to labour where, when and how he likes, he cannot be called a free man. Our political liberties are a farce and you have a machinery at hand for filling your workhouses. Is it really possible to believe that our legislators could not, if they gave their minds to it, frame an act by which the workman might make his own bargain as to wages with his employer, with an appeal to courts of justice or other authorities?

Is it possible to believe that, at least in exceptional times of distress, the state could not give productive work at remunerative prices, as in Lancashire (*not on the principle of Ateliers Nationaux*)? The state, in one department, does give work, but it is unproductive work. Unproductive work seems as great a blunder as trades' unions ever made.

It is always cheaper to pay labour its full value. Labour underpaid is more expensive. This has been the opinion of the most experienced contractors, employers and true economists. The

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great French contractor of the Suez Canal has, it is understood, given every man employed under him "a direct pecuniary interest in the success of the work and its speedy completion." Among these workmen are Dalmatians, Greeks, Egyptian fellahs, Nubains etc.--not very promising students of political economy, but in a better way perhaps to learn it practically than our Englishmen with their "rates in aid of wages."

Day by day, year by year, all kinds of reports of associations and advertisements in newspapers indicate that we cannot go on as we are, and that the whole subject of the unemployed poor, in other words of the working faculty without the will or means of applying it productively, must be taken up by a special commission or committee which will go into the whole question without prejudice, and tell us what is to be done.

Who ;have risen up to do the real Poor Law work? Müller at Bristol, the Roman Catholic *Little Sisters of the Poor*, both societies of foreigners, and doing their voluntary part of Poor Law work with more Christianity and more economy than the guardians themselves.

The Poor Law says "there shall not be a single orphan wandering about the streets." In London we know that there are 100,000 stray children. In Bristol Müller collects them and the means to support them. *He* gets money enough, while half England is clamouring and complaining about the rates. The unreason of it is unbearable. Try voluntary effort in a single parish. When Dr Chalmers was minister of St John's at Glasgow, he so managed the voluntary family assistance to the poor that no legal aid was necessary during his incumbency.

If we could suppose for a moment by way of hypothesis that the state could, by seizing and educating the 100,000 homeless children running about the streets of London (even though the education should be free), enable all these to earn their own maintenance honestly and well, without ever coming back as paupers or as thieves upon the rates and the country, even political economy would say "well done," even those who seem to think that unlimited liberty of the Briton must include that of stealing or of starving or of pauperizing his family.

This is not a wild hypothesis. It is an experiment which has been successfully tried. Especially has it been successfully tried in Scotland, where the pauper child has been placed out to board with a cottager at an expense, covering everything, of nine pounds a year. Here it has been proved what family kindness, shown even by strangers, will do to depauperize.

It is well known that a pauper child must be removed from all his pauper associations in order not to turn out a pauper. He must not even be apprenticed in the parish whence he comes, otherwise he and his children will turnout paupers forever. "Nearly one-fifth return to the workhouse of those brought up in

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workhouse or district schools." ON the other hand, "it is a rare thing," says the Edinburgh Inspector of Poor, "for either a boy or a girl" put out to board with a cottager as above described, "to become chargeable to the parish in after life." That is, if you remove children from their "hereditary pauperism," educate them, body and mind, you may make them good citizens.

Political economy requires farther expansion in order to include all the elements of this great social problem. It is a true doctrine that demand and supply regulate the price of all things, labour included. But this doctrine presupposes that there is a possibility of the supply coming to the demand, for example, whatever demand there was for cotton in Lancashire and whatever supply there was of it in America would matter little to the Lancashire manufacturers, if there were no ships or other agencies whereby the supply could encounter the demand. In the same way, whatever amount of labour may be available and whatever demand for labour there may be, this would matter little if there were no means of bringing them together. At the present time there is an agency which brings cotton and cotton mills, separated by half the globe, into immediate relation, but there is no agency whereby labour and the demand or means of labour can be brought together. This is simply done by chance at present, and both labourer and employer suffer.

Political economy does *not* say "let madmen run about the streets and pick up their living as they can." But it does say-- and it takes for granted in spite of every day's cruel experience--that all human beings having any producing power have also the power of finding work if they choose. Now no one can ever really have seen much among the poor, especially in workhouses, without seeing that the faculty of finding work is quite a peculiar one, or the result of education. The great mass of workmen are perfectly incapable, if work fails them, of forming any reasonable scheme for going to find it elsewhere or in other wise, and starvation will not teach geography.

The industrious widow left with children, for instance, cannot go out to find work, and if work comes to her, it is a welcome accident. A man may certainly go out to find work, but whether he gets it or not depends exclusively upon his previous training in the habit of obtaining work. How is he to obtain the previous training? Our laws of settlement were actually devised upon the express principle of discouraging a man from changing his residence. Also, instead of presenting work as the greatest blessing of man, it is proposed by the law as a punishment, a penalty, a grievance.

St Paul's opinion, that a man must work to eat, is so clear that one would think it was also clear, for people who read the New Testament, that not giving money but helping men to work, to exercise their producing power, who have not the gift, natural or

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acquired, to do so unaided, is the charity which, above all, is preached there. When Christ says "The poor ye have always with you," he cannot have meant that we were *always* to be giving them money, but that we were *always* to be *doing good* to them. The only real *good* is done by helping those to work who could not do it without our help. Instead of this, we say to those who can't find work, "Go into the workhouse." If indeed it were what its name implies, a house for work, an adult industrial home, there would be some sense in it.

But our national common sense has not yet arrived at this result: take out all the sick, infirm, those who have lost either for a time or for life all producing power, cure them or make them as comfortable as you can. For the rest, those who have only half lost their producing power, or have not lost it, but, from want of education, want of knowledge of industrial and commercial matters, want of geography, in short, of *faculty*, know just as little as the madman whom our political economy does *not* leave to pick up his own living, how to utilize their producing power--say to these, "Come and we will help your to find work."

The wage-producing power of the population is said to equal the consumption. This may be, but the Poor Law statistics show us exactly how much of the producing power is squandered on those who cannot produce because we don't help them. Now, as above said, the wages of a nation ought to cover the maintenance, both of the producers and of the sick and infirm depending upon them. Without falling in the least into the error of the French of Spanish *Ateliers Nationaux*, surely it is possible for a Poor Law to help its poor to find work, where work is in one place and labour in another to bring them together.

This restoring the balance betwixt the labourer and his work was one of the original objects of the reformed Poor Law. IN the report of the Poor Law Commissioners for 1837 it is stated that not only was emigration encouraged but that "the over-stocked labour market" in one county had been "relieved of 2,000" profitless mouths sent to the manufacturing districts "at a cost of 3,600 pounds," with the practical result of lowering their cost to the rates from 2,000 pounds to sixty-five pounds.

So far as concerns the able-bodied and non-criminal poor, the real function of a Poor Law is neither to punish nor to feed, but to train them to self-dependence and industry, a branch of national education which is in small sense helped by reading, writing and figures, or by an any "conscience clause" which can be framed. There must be, of course, the natural premium of work, namely pay, subject, of course, to the natural rise and fall of prices in the labour market.

Three not rich ladies have solved this insoluble problem for about twenty-five poor women, weak in intellect, weak in habits of temperance, in an "adult industrial home (Miss Hurry's, St

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Stephen's Home, Shepherd's Bush, West London). These are just the helpless class we find in workhouses, just the class with whom, says the Poor Law, we can do nothing. They were set to laundry and other work for which they were fit, and the earnings of these poor incompetents have amounted the last two years to between 800 and 900 pounds a year. Each of the inmates has a share in the profits of the laundry. Here was a successful depauperizing experiment. The Poor Law would have set them to pick oakum as a test of hunger, and have said, "How can the impossible be done?" The answer is it *has* been done, and with the most unpromising materials.

The works for which adult paupers, under supervision and with the natural stimulus of pay, are fit and numerous. There are two for which they are unfit: attending to sick and to children. All grown-up paupers are paupers from defect--moral defect, intellectual defect, physical defect. It has been found by actual experiment that no training can make these grown-up ones such as we ought to put about sick or children. Take the next generation, if you please, and train them to be nurses.

It is, above all, however, towards devising new industrial occupations that our ingenuity might be directed, for example Lord Shaftesbury's Ragged Shoeblack Brigade: there a want, namely to have one's shoes cleaned away from home, was supplied, or in filling new fields of industry which we have not to create, for God has created them for us somewhere or other in the boundless empire on which the sun never sets.

At Edinburgh the "Industrial Brigade" which began with shoeblacking has gone on to finding remunerative situations for the boys. These boys could not have found places for themselves. The earnings of the boys in the institution pay rent and food. This is one successful industrial experiment. Here is another: "1,750 persons have been rescued from pauperism at an expenditure of about 6,400 pounds," that is to say at less than four pounds a piece (which in today's advertisements is offered for a lost dog). Where? How? Who were these persons rescued? By emigration and migration from the East End of London. Of these, seventy families were in the lowest sink of pauperism, selected by the guardians themselves as those they wished to be rid of. All have done well and re, except two, permanently settled. Therefore, for four pounds a head you can provide permanently, with a little care, skill and common sense, for starving people.

Even oakum picking, out of the workhouse, and as an intermediary to finding more suitable work, can be put to some good use, when fairly paid for. It is cheaper than idleness in the workhouse, as the following Birmingham experience will show (quoted by the *Times* 8 February) in the employment of able-bodied women in oakum picking for out-relief. "Each woman is required to pick three pounds of oakum per diem, for which she receives 4s 6d

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a week." "The total estimated saving on orders issued for work, as compared with the maintenance of the women as inmates of the workhouse, during the year, is calculated to have been 646 pounds."

There is good sense as well as good political economy in this, only the work should not be made a *test*. It should be made to pay. And surely oakum picking is not the most profitable occupation to which women can be put. Is there not needlework? It is true that needlework, although peculiarly fitted for women, must be taught. If the vast majority at present of the needlewomen are not well paid, it is because their work is not worth the money. Those who can work well can command their own terms.

Only the shortest allusion can here be made to one of the most fruitful causes, if not *the* most fruitful, of pauperism in England, and this is the state of the dwellings of the poor. Some of the best Poor Law medical officers, who now can only give a little useless or mischievous medicine to poor people, and who helplessly see disease growing up from its root, namely the ill-drained, ill-built dwelling, should be endowed with the function of bringing the cause of disease immediately before the magistrate, as the inspector of nuisances must do, and compelling the removal of this cause of pauperism. Does not the wretched, degenerate, puny population of Bethnal Green, Shoreditch and other parishes cry aloud for this? (Alderman Waterlow, MP, has shown that healthy dwellings for the poor can be built to pay 5 percent--actually 7 percent, but the company have kept 2 percent in hand for extending their operations.)

The English maxim, "Every man for himself" means "Let every man have as much wages as will just keep soul and body together, and when he can't get them, be taken care of by the community." It was a kind of savage communism, meant to keep down wages.

Suppose for a moment a thoroughly prosperous and well-ordered community. In such a one, as we have said, every man ought to be able to earn as much as he requires for his own sustenance and for that of his family, besides laying up sufficient for illness, temporary want of work and old age. AS this state of things does not exist we act as follows: The law takes it for granted that all employers of labour will get the labour done at as cheap a rate as possible. The law takes it for granted that this rate is not sufficient to do more than supply, and that barely, the present necessities of the worker. The law hence levies a tax on the whole community, whether employers of labour or not, for the purpose of supplementing the want of wages, want of foresight, or want of self-control, as the case may be. It has now to be considered how the evil can be met.

Beginning with the political economy of the question: in all trade and great mercantile and manufacturing enterprise there is

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an element of uncertainty, an irregular element not existing to the same degree in land and agricultural enterprise. There are times when there is a great deal too much to do, and times when there is a great deal too little, in other words, times when there is too much labour for the market and times when there is not enough. There is a wicked element here, and this is that, whenever emigration of the surplus population--the population which the land, according to the law of Elizabeth, did find work for, and can no longer find work for, and which now overflows into the large towns, by a rush of blood as it were to the head--whenever, we say, emigration on any large scale has been proposed, the answer has been "No, we can't afford to part with our surplus population because then we shall not be able to undersell every other country by having more hands than we can employ at all times."

As the *Times* says, "There is an obvious convenience in the possession of a vast industrial army ready for any work *and chargeable on the public* when its work is no longer wanted." While, on the other hand, the old political economists, the Poor Law administrators, consider that starvation is the proper stimulus to work (as if starvation were a quickener of the wits) and make no provision for finding work for those who don't know how to find it, but who would do it if they had it to do.

Private subscriptions and almsgiving then step into supply the obvious defect in this mode of dealing with the poor and the practical result is an increase of the evil. A French *administrateur* once said: "We cannot understand your English laws--you have a Poor Law--you pay rates for your child-paupers to be educated, for your sick paupers to be housed and doctored in places called workhouses etc. Then you subscribe to private charities to take your paupers out of the power of the Poor Law. If you do the one, why do you do the other? Would it not be cheaper to see that the two work in the same direction? We cannot understand such a principle of administration."

Has then the future Poor Law reform, which we are so anxiously hoping for, nothing to do but to economise? It has to do this certainly, but only as a means to a higher economy. The private enterprises, referred to above, showed a truer economy than that recommended theoretically by the greatest political economists. Has then private charity nothing to do but to hold its hand? If the word *charity* is but named, political economists cry out that "all charity is pauperizing." The answer is: if it is pauperizing, it is not charity.

In the *Times* of 25 January occurs as follows: "It has been officially reported that the resident population of Great Britain is increased by 240,000 persons annually, and it is calculated that these newcomers would require for their subsistence in bread alone, the crops of 50,000 acres of land under skilful tillage."

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Now it is clear that these 240,000 people must be fed. It is also clear that an area of ground of about ten miles long by eight miles broad must be put under cultivation to feed them with bread alone. Is it not also clear that all of them who cannot be profitably employed on productive industry, for which other people cultivating ground would be content to exchange part of their surplus produce, ought to be put to cultivating for themselves? Or that, if this is not done, they must live on other people's labour? And this is really the only resource provided at present either by our legislature or, except in mere dribblets, by our private charity.

One would think a very obvious permanent arrangement in such a country as England, with such a limitless extent of colonial lands, would be to prepare areas for colonization, to put up, at a cost to be repaid by the colonists, some kind of shelter, to select the colonists, to brigade them and send them out to the land, seeing we cannot bring the land to them. But in England we don't colonize: we only emigrate. And people left to themselves to learn how to emigrate successfully often die in the process. In the Roman sense of colonization, or even in the French sense, we do nothing.

Do the ratepayers ever think that the seven millions of annual poor rate would in one single year place every recipient of Poor Law relief, old and young, man, woman and child, on the shores of America, would pay all expenses and leave them one or two pounds in their pockets to begin the world with? Suppose that to this sum were added the amount squandered on the same class by private so-called charity in one single year, would it not in all probability be sufficient to pay the outfit of every one of these poor people on the land?

Of course it is not intended that aged, sick and infirm should be dealt with in this way. But the fact ought to make us all think whether we cannot carry our rates and our charity to a better market than we have been in the habit of doing, to think, not that the remedy is to be sought in this exact way, but whether the annual rate is not to a large extent equivalent to an annual capital, which, once spent, would extinguish the rate altogether.

Supposing it were a more usual thing for younger sons to take their portion of the hereditary wealth and also the overflowing population of their fathers' estates to the colonies, as was formerly the case with the Spanish noble families who set out with some of each trade, in place of one America we should have twenty Englands. And what an outlet for our produce! Here in England unemployed poor are a negative quantity. They eat up what we raise. In Australia they are a positive quantity. They take our produce and pay for it.

Surely this matter of bringing the many lands in our

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colonies into direct relation with the multitude of strong arms, forcibly idle at home, must be one function of any good government administering a group of islands such as ours, where the population expands itself in so great a ration, while there is no power of expansion in the soil. This is the end of the whole matter: it is a fact that our population exceeds the means of labour, either because the material for labour does not exist, or because there are no means of bringing labour and material together.

It is a fact that our poor rate is seven millions and that seven millions are spent every year between charity and Poor Law relief in London alone, in the metropolis of the greatest empire the world has ever seen and amongst the most practical people of the earth. It is a fact that, notwithstanding all this transfer of the produce of industrious hard-working people to non-workers, distress and hunger are more clamorous than ever. It is a fact that our trades' unions have increased the evil by interfering with the free course of the labour market, and have thereby driven away work to other countries. It is a fact that the present amount of pauperism exists, notwithstanding free trade, trades' unions to raise the value of labour, Poor Law tests to compel people to find labour where there is little to be had, outdoor relief to supplement low wages and an unprecedented amount of private charity or almsgiving. It is a fact that all this exists, notwithstanding an annual voluntary emigration.

It is a fact that, within the Queen's dominions, there are entire Europes waiting for settlement and ready to repay labour with such interest as no part of the old world can yield. It is a fact that a very large proportion of our foreign commerce is made up of trade with the very people who, if they had never left England, would probably long ere this have converted it into a desert. A great many of our present population live by those who have formed a home beyond the seas.

These are the fact with which legislation has to deal, for which benevolent effort has to find a remedy. Is it not time that some attempt should be made to systematize and economise the rates and multifarious agencies, and almost imperial revenues with which private charity has failed to reach the evil--nay, has increased it? Legislation cannot do all. But it can do much of itself, and perhaps more by recognizing and giving a proper direction to the never failing streams of private charity which at present end in a marsh. The evils are as sorrowful as they are great; the evils no one denies. On the contrary, they are acknowledged to be the most pressing question of the day, a question which *will* not put itself off. But surely among us we can cope with it. As Mr Bright has said: "A people which could dip its arm into the depths of the Atlantic and pick up the electric wire to bind two continents together, can surely do this

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thing."

Postscript

The same problem applies to prisoners. It always appears the greatest *non sequitur* to give, for example, to a forger "five years' penal servitude," that is, provision and lodging in prison. What has that to do with his crime? But, if you sentence him to repay (say) twice the amount he had stolen, his sustenance to be repaid meanwhile to the state out of his earnings, and let him go whenever he had done so, that would be something like a reformatory.

The object is to teach a man that it is dearer to steal than to work. Hitherto the object of our laws seems to have been to teach that it is dearer to work than to steal, and not only this, but that it is dearer to work than to beg. Labour should be made to pay better than thieving. At present it pays worse. To jail governors it is well known that certain "excellent" prisoners, very good artisans, who work well at their trade in prison, will leave it as soon as they are out, because they have a better trade "to look to," namely professional thieving.

As for the common run of prisoners, we know what their educational imprisonments do for them. Take an example which appeared the other day. B, aged eight, entered the "professional dishonesty" trade in 1856; during the next twelve years up to the present date, was in prison eleven times, some of these considerable terms, one for four years. In fact he merely came out of prison to perform the forty or fifty successful thefts, the "three months of safe and pleasant practice" which is the average *de rigueur* before going re-caught and to go in again. He is now twenty. We ask ourselves why we are put to the expense of keeping him in prison. Is it merely to prevent him from stealing during that time? Had he been made to work out the value (or twice the value) of his theft, he would have learnt that it is dearer to steal than to work. It certainly costs a great deal more at present to give him this prison provision and home than it does to provide permanent maintenance for honest starving people. And the remedy, we are told, for this increasing crime is to pay for more police, for more supervision of criminals out of prison, and we suppose for more imprisonments!

1869 [by]

Method of Improving the Nursing Service of Hospitals [printed paper, undated] BL Cup 401.1.7(6) [by 1869]

This is an Abstract of the "Suggestions" made at the request of the Provincial Hospitals who asked for information for themselves.

1. Method of Training Nurses at St Thomas's and King's College

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Hospitals (*Under the Nightingale Fund*)

(The nursing of King's College Hospital and of Charing Cross Hospital is carried on by the Society of St John's House, which is a Protestant religious house, a sisterhood having for its main object the care and nursing of the sick in hospitals, among the poor in their own dwellings, and in private families of the higher classes, besides the training and education of nurses for this work.

The sisters are gentlewomen trained (for two years or more) in all that relates to the nursing of the sick, the routine management of hospitals, wards, &c.

Some of these sisters have charge of wards in hospital and the training and instruction of probationers, the oversight and direction of nurses, &c., both in wards and when off duty. Each sister has *definite* duty, either in wards or teaching probationers otherwise, attending to the sick poor, or control of housekeeping matters and oversight of domestic servants--the system being to guide and encourage those engaged in the paid labour of the society by the aid of others (the sisters) who are unpaid, more intelligent, educated with a view to raising the whole tone and character of the nursing attendants of the sick.

Each probationer passes one year in special training for her future duties, by instruction in the manual work of a nurse, attending classes for various instruction by sisters, lectures given by the medical men on physiology, &c., before ranking as nurse, being then drafted off for either hospital work, nursing in private families, or among the poor, but continuing in the service of St John's House.)

In the process of training the following are the steps:

Every woman applying for admission is required to fill up the Form of Application (Appendix No. 1) which is supplied to her by the matron of St Thomas's Hospital on application.

Appendix No. 2 are the Regulations under which the probationer is admitted to training.

After being received on a month's trial and trained for a month, if the woman shows sufficient aptitude and character, and is herself desirous to complete her training, she is required to come under the obligation (Appendix No. 2a), which is printed on the back of No. 2, binding her to enter into hospital service for at least four years. This is the only recompense the Committee exact for the costs and advantages of training.

The list of "Duties" (Appendix No. 3) is put into the hands of every probationer on entering the service as a general instruction for her guidance, and she is checked off by the matron and "sisters" (head nurses) in the same duties, as will be mentioned immediately.

Appendix No. 4 is the Day and Night Time Table, to which all probationers are required generally to conform.

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It prescribes the time of rising, the ward hours, time of meals, time of exercise, hours of rest.

From the nature of midwifery training it is not practicable to exact the same system at King's College Hospital Midwifery ward as in the regulated wards of St Thomas's Hospital.

The class of duties required of midwifery nurses is also different, but the principles and methods of selection and of training are much the same, as also the conditions of admission and of service.

For these trained midwifery nurses, who are exclusively for the poor, we find there is now a demand by ladies' committees and other institutions (chiefly benevolent) which pay them a salary.

Once admitted to St Thomas' Hospital, the probationer is placed under a head nurse (ward "sister" having charge of a ward. In addition to her salary received from the hospital, the ward "sister" is paid by the "Fund" for training these probationers. The number of probationers she can adequately train of course depends on the size and arrangement of her ward and its number of beds.

The ward "sisters" are all under an able matron, who superintends the training of the probationers, in addition to her other duties, for which the "Fund" pays her a salary, irrespective of her salary as matron to St Thomas's Hospital.

The ward training of the probationers is thus carried out under the ward "sisters" and matron. (The probationers are, whether on or off duty, entirely under the moral control of the matron.)

To ensure efficiency, each ward "sister" is supplied with a book in the form Appendix No. 5, which corresponds generally with the List of Duties, Appendix No. 3, given to the probationer on her entrance.

The columns in the ward "sister's" book, are filled up by suitable marks once a week.

Besides the ward training properly so called, there are a number of duties of a medical and surgical character, in which the probationers have to be practically instructed. And this instruction is given by the resident medical officer at the bedside or otherwise, for which he is remunerated by the "Fund," independently, of course, of his salary as permanent medical officer of the hospital.

St Thomas's Hospital is the seat of a well-known medical school, several of the professors attached to which, voluntarily and without remuneration, give lectures to the probationers on subjects connected with their special duties, such as elementary instruction in chemistry, with reference to air, water, food, &c; physiology, with reference to a knowledge of the leading functions of the body, and general instruction on medical and surgical topics.

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At King's College Hospital, instructions are given in midwifery and matters connected with the diseases of women and children, during the time of the special training in midwifery.

While the ward "sisters" are required to keep a weekly record of the progress of the "probationers," the probationers themselves are required to keep a diary of their ward work, in which they write day by day an account of their duties. They are also required to record special cases of disease, injury or operation, with the daily changes in the case and the daily alterations in management, such as a nurse requires to know.

Besides these books, each probationer keeps notes of the lectures.

All these records kept by the probationers are carefully examined, and are found to afford important indications of the capabilities of the probationer.

A Register, Appendix No.6, is kept by the matron of St Thomas's. It will be seen that it corresponds with the ward "sister's" book, No. 5, and has space for monthly entries during the entire year of training.

At the end of the year, all the documents are carefully examined by the committee of the "Nightingale Fund," and the character the nurse receives is made to correspond as nearly as may be with the results of the training.

We do not give the woman a printed certificate, but simply enter the names of all certificated nurses in the Register as such. This was done to prevent them, in the event of misconduct, from using their certificates improperly. When a nurse has satisfactorily earned the gratuity attached to her certificate, the committee, through the secretary, communicate with her and forward the money.

The elements required for working such a system of training are:

- a. A good hospital or infirmary.
- b. A competent training matron (by such a matron we do not mean a woman whose business is limited to looking after the linen and housekeeping of the hospital, either wholly or mostly, but a woman who, whatever may be her duties as head of the establishment, performs chiefly and above all others the duty of superintending the nursing of the sick). The number she could train would depend mainly on the construction of the hospital, and on the capabilities of the "head nurses" or "ward sisters" under her.

C. Competent "head nurses."

If such head nurses are or can be appointed, they should be responsible to the training matron. There should, of course, be but one infirmary matron, with a housekeeper subordinate to her. (It is understood that the superintendent (training matron) resides there where is her chief business, viz., in the Training

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School for her nurses, which must be *in* the hospital, and this even where there is a Nurses' Home attached. It is a very great mistake to put the superintendent in the Home, and to put the nurses, whilst in the hospital, under a matron not their own. There where the nurses are *at work* must the superintendent be. It follows that she must be also matron of the hospital.)

The head nurses must be competent trainers.

Of course the training matron, if she is to be herself her only head nurse, can only train such a number of probationers as a head nurse could train.

Our period of training is one year for a nurse, but we should much prefer giving her two years to train those who have to train others in their turn.

The training and nursing matron should be responsible to the governing authorities of the infirmary, or to any committee appointed by them for the purpose.

It is taken for granted that the medical officers of hospitals where training is to be carried on, are willing to render every assistance in their power in aiding the training by oral institution and bedside work.

Sufficient has been said on the subject of training to show that the success of any system must primarily depend upon obtaining trained nurses, themselves capable of training others.

If it should so happen that a good training matron cannot be found, the best way would be to select a competent woman and send her for training.

It is hardly necessary to state that no women but of unblemished character can ever be admitted as nurses. Infirmarys are the worst places to employ penitents in.

It is perhaps thought (1) that my requirements for a good nurse involve that she should be *perfect*, both as a woman and as a nurse; that a search for any such is a search for a roc's egg; (2) that women above 25 years of age, with such characters as are required, are either settled in good situations, or, at all events, that their prospects are such that they would not be likely to go into hospital service.

[sidebar] Answers to objections

I reply (1) that my requirements refer to women as they are, and that they exclude the obviously unfit, without aiming at an imaginary or too high standard.

(2) On this I humbly suggest that the point is *not* that women who have to earn their bread will not be likely, after 25 years of age, to embrace an occupation which cannot be exercised under that age; on the contrary, not a newspaper but contains advertisements for women "not under 25" or "30 years of age" to fill situations of trust, both in institutions and in domestic service, to be children's nurses, matrons, "confidential" servants of all kinds. The real point is, that women who have to

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earn their bread cannot, after 25 years of age, seek situations which require a year's previous training; this, which is often overlooked, is so important that one *sine qua non* for all institutions which train nurses is that the probationers, if really good subjects are to be obtained, should receive wages during their year's training.

There is another experiment which might be tried.

[sidebar] Training girls from union schools

This is, whether, among the large union schools, a number of girls might not be found willing and suitable to be trained as nurses.

These girls are usually put out to service between the ages of 14 and 16. This is quite too young to put them at once into any kind of infirmary or hospital to take their chance altogether with the other probationers, especially in the men's wards. But it is not at all too young, where arrangements and provision can be made under a proper female head, for them to learn sick cookery, cleaning, needlework, orderly habits, all that is learnt in a servants' training school, and to take their turn in doing what they can be taught to do in children's sick wards, and in female sick wards, till the full-blown hospital nurse is developed out of them.

Girls of from 14 to 16 years of age are not at all too young to choose between domestic service or hospital nursing, under the restrictions mentioned above.

To a Training School for Nurses it would not be difficult to attach an Industrial School for Girls, as suggested.

Infirmary training matron must be the head of all; under her, one good capable woman to take special charge of the girls, as in a "Home," and to apportion them their duties.

Of course the expense might be an objection. It is certainly easier to get rid of the girls altogether and at once into service. On the other hand, there is at present a great dearth of the material for good nurses. Here it might be found. These girls, if trained into good hospital nurses, would earn higher wages than girls who enter domestic service at 14 or 15 years of age ever would do. And they would be far less likely to fall into temptation (which fall so often brings back to the workhouse girls sent out to service too early). Besides, the labour of these girls while in training would not be valueless.

2. Relation of Hospital Management to Efficient Nursing

Equal in importance to the provision of trained nurses is the nature of the hospital authority under which these nurses are to perform their duties. For, unless an understanding is come to on this point, the very existence of good nursing is an impossibility.

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In dealing with this question, I may state at once that to turn any number of training nurses into any infirmary to act under the superintendence or instructions of any master, or matron, or medical officer, would be sheer waste of good money. This is not matter of opinion, but of fact and experience.

The "original sin" of this part of the infirmary system, or no system, has been:

1. The nature of the authority.
2. The nature of the nursing material on which the authority has been exercised.

Experienced administrators will scarcely suppose that I mean to imply an independence, and to ask for uncontrolled hospital authority, for the nursing staff in what I have said.

On the contrary: Vest the charge of financial matters and general supervision and the whole administration of the infirmary in the board or committee; i.e., in the officer who is responsible to that board or committee. Vest the whole responsibility for nursing, internal management, for discipline and training (if there be a training school) of nurses, in the one female head of the nursing staff, whatever she is called.

The necessity of this, again, is not matter of opinion, but of fact and experience. I will enter a little more fully into this, viz., the relation which the nursing establishment ought to bear to the government of the hospital.

The matron or nursing superintendent must be held responsible for her own efficiency and the efficiency of all her nurses and servants. As regards the medical officers, she must be responsible that their orders about the treatment of the sick are strictly carried out.

To the governing body of the hospital she must be held responsible for the conduct, discipline and duties of her nurses, for the discipline of her sick wards, for their cleanliness, for the care and cleanliness of sick, for proper ventilation and warming of wards, for the administration of diets and medicines, of enemas, &c., the performance of minor dressings and the like, for the care of linen and bedding, &c., and probably of patients' clothing.

The duties which each grade has to perform should be laid down by regulation, and all that the Medical Department or the governing body of the hospital has a right to require is that the regulation duties shall be faithfully performed.

Any remissness or neglect of duty is a breach of discipline as well as drunkenness or other bad conduct, and can only be dealt with to any good purpose by report to the matron (superintendent of nurses) of the infirmary.

I may perhaps again point out that the superintendent should herself be responsible to the constituted hospital authorities, and that all her nurses and servants should, in the performance

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of these duties, be responsible to the superintendent only.

No good ever comes of the constituted authorities placing themselves in the office which they have sanctioned her occupying.

No good ever comes of anyone interfering between the head of the nursing establishment and her nurses. It is fatal to discipline.

All complaints on any subject should be made directly to the superintendent, and not to any nurse or servant.

She should be made responsible, too, for her results and not for her methods.

Of course, if she does not exercise the authority entrusted to her with judgment and discretion, it is then the legitimate province of the governing body to interfere, and to remove her.

It is necessary to dwell strongly on this point, because there has been not unfrequently a disposition shown to make the nursing establishment responsible on the side of discipline to the medical officer, or the governor of a hospital.

Any attempt to introduce such a system would be merely to try anew and fail anew in an attempt which has frequently been made. In disciplinary matters a woman only can understand a woman.

It is the duty of the medical officer to give what orders, in regard to the sick, he thinks fit to the nurses. And it is unquestionably the duty of the nurses to obey or to see his orders carried out.

Simplicity of rules, placing the nurses in all matters regarding management of sick absolutely under the orders of the medical men, and in all disciplinary matters absolutely under the female superintendent (matron), to whom the medical officers should report all cases of neglect, is very important. At the outset, there must be a clear and recorded definition of the limits of these two classes of jurisdiction.

But neither the medical officer nor any other male head should ever have power to punish for disobedience. His duty should end with reporting the case to the female head who, as already stated, is responsible to the governing authority of the hospital.

3 Structural Arrangements in Hospitals Required for Efficient Nursing

One essential condition of good infirmary discipline is that the matron and her nursing staff should have their own special quarters within the precincts of the hospital building. No woman, be she superintendent, head nurse, nurse, night nurse or scrubber, employed about the patients should be boarded or lodged elsewhere than in the building.

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The night nurses should sleep where they will be undisturbed by day. Every nurse ought to have, if not a small room, a compartment to herself. The matron's authority, for obvious reasons, must be supreme in these quarters.

A good nursing staff will perform their duties more or less satisfactorily, under every disadvantage. But, while doing so, their head will always try to improve their surroundings in such a way as to liberate them from subsidiary work, and to enable them to devote their time more exclusively to the care of the sick. This is, after all, the real purpose of their being there at all, not to act as lifts, water carriers, beasts of burden, or steam engines--articles whose labour can be had at vastly less cost than that of educated human beings.

Hence certain ward conveniences form absolutely essential parts of the machinery required to economize the time of good nurses. These have been or are being provided in all the more recent hospitals and asylums, both at home and abroad, in pauper lunatic asylums, in asylums for the infirm and aged, in nearly every civilized country; in countries, too, where labour has a much lower market value than in our own.

The general object of these conveniences is to simplify and facilitate work and to enable the superintendent to systematize and economize the labour of her staff by knowing the conditions under which it has to be performed.

(E.g., lifts and the laying of hot and cold water all over a building will economize the labour of at least one attendant to every 30 patients); this is but a small instance.)

It would be a great mistake to turn an efficient nursing corps into a building unprovided with reasonable means for performing their duty. A head nurse cannot always be in her ward. She must have a small room, with fire and furniture, where she sleeps at night (for a head nurse must command her ward day and night), takes her meals, inspects her ward through a small inspection-window, keeps her ward records, &c. Each ward should have, besides, a small scullery with sink and hot and cold water laid on; with small range for making poultices, preparing fomentations, warming diets and drinks, &c.

The scullery ought to be made sufficiently comfortable for the ward nurses to take their meals in. It is a great advantage, in preventing gossip, &c., when each separate ward staff has its own separate dining and sleeping accommodation, so that the ward "sister" may always know where her nurses are. Where there is a training school the probationers will, however, probably have a dining room of their own, and it may be better in that case that the nurses should all, also, dine together, though in two detachments. But, whatever the arrangements, they must all be under the moral control of the matron. She must be responsible for the government of her nurses, both on and off duty.

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The ward sink is intended for washing up small ward equipments, e.g., cups, saucers, mugs, spoons and the like.

A separate sink must be provided close to the ward W.C., into which the nurse can empty bedpans, slops, expectoration cups, and the like.

Each ward must be provided with its own crockery, wash-hand basins, cups and saucers, &c.

A very essential part of nursing is care of the linen, and this must always be committed to the matron (superintendent). This duty requires a linen and mending room, conveniently situated, from which clean linen can be given out for the daily use of the wards, and into which clean linen should be received from the wash to be mended and stored.

Probably patients' clothing will have to be included.

In large hospitals, the matron may possibly require a linen nurse to assist her in addition to her housekeeper.

Of course each ward will have its proper W.C.s and lavatories, with hot and cold water laid on, and a fixed bath--conveniences which are as necessary for the due treatment of the sick as for their nursing.

[sidebar] Number of beds per ward

Till the last few years in England, though not so in France, it has been very little considered how much the cost of *efficient* nursing varies according to the size and distribution of wards.

A head nurse can efficiently supervise, a night nurse can carefully watch, 32 beds in one ward, whereas, with 32 beds in four wards, it is quite impossible.

Again, distribution of duties is so important, if you wish for efficiency, that it is difficult to believe that such a rule as this once existed--one nurse to be responsible for the sole charge of, say, 10 patients. Was she to do everything for them day and night? Of course this was impossible. If she were a head nurse, it was wasting her, because she might as well have had the charge of 32, or even 64 patients, if these were in two wards on the same floor. The same may be said of the night nurse. If she were an undernurse there was no supervision over her, and she was utterly incapable really to take charge. If she were a head nurse, again, she was called upon to perform duties which are just so much lost time for her to do.

It is extremely important, therefore, to consider what is the greatest number of beds per ward which will effect the least cost in nursing staff.

This appears now to have been fixed by European hospital experience between 24 and 32 beds per ward. I prefer the larger number.

[sidebar] Superficial area required for efficient nursing

It is now generally admitted by authorities on hospitals that the superficial area allowed per bed is practically an

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element of more importance than the mere cubic space, at least as regards healthiness, but it has been overlooked, or at all events not sufficiently recognized, that a nursing staff requires room for work, just as much as any other staff. It is of no use supplying an infirmary with the most efficient nursing establishment if there is not room for them to turn round in for the due exercise of their functions. Of course there is a difference in the amount of care required in the nursing of different patients; but wherever there is a nurse, there must be room for her; space must be given for the nurse to pass easily between the beds, and for more nurses than one, besides the medical officers and (may be) probationers.

Although there has been no distinctly recognized rule in this matter, the practice of all the best hospitals shows that the question of working area has tacitly received a solution.

In some cases, the solution has no doubt been arrived at while endeavouring to improve the healthiness of the wards; and, in doing so, the area required for good nursing has also been decided.

In this matter, we ought to be guided by what are manifestly the lessons of experience; and these I will now proceed to state by reference to some of the general hospitals into which systematic nursing has been introduced.

The Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army, 1857, directed its attention to this subject, and obtained certain data from the leading hospitals in the metropolis, from which the following superficial areas per bed have been calculated:

	<i>Sq. ft. per bed</i>
Royal Free Hospital	105
London	104
Guy's	138 max.
Middlesex	88
St Thomas's (old)	101 max.
St Bartholomew's	79
St George's	69

It will be seen that there is some diversity in these allotments of space; and a similar difference exists in provincial hospitals, in certain of which the superficial space is from 110 to 120 square feet, while in others it ranges between 70 and 80.

The space allowed in some of the naval hospitals, where there are nurses, is as follows:

	<i>Sq. ft. per bed</i>
Haslar	77
Plymouth	79

In military hospitals:

	<i>Sq. ft. per bed</i>
Herbert Hospital (woolwich)	99

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Netley 103 (a hospital not intended for sick, but for invalids *in transitu*, only a fourth of whom are confided to bed)

In the more recent great Paris hospitals, nursed by sisterhoods:

	<i>Sq. ft. per bed</i>
Lariboisière	104
Vincennes (military)	90

In the new Hotel-Dieu, now being built:

	<i>Sq. ft. per bed</i>
In the 26-bed wards	110
In the 6-bed wards	104 (the same as at Lariboisière)

In addition to this experience, I have made special inquiry as to the superficial area found to be required for efficient nursing in those hospitals where nurses are trained under the "Nightingale Fund."

At King's College Hospital it is found that 105 square feet is sufficient for good nursing and ward administration, except in the lying-in wards, where the superficial area is much more.

I have already given the space in old St Thomas's at 101 square feet.

When the plans of the new St Thomas's were under consideration, it was at one time proposed to give as much as 126 sq. ft. per bed; but the exigencies of the site rendered it necessary to reduce this amount to 112 square feet, which, I am informed, will be sufficient.

All these superficial areas are intended for general hospitals, but it is in the highest degree doubtful whether any of them would be enough for a lying-in or special hospital.

In fever hospitals, there is a great and constant sacrifice of life in the establishment itself. Scarcely a year passes in which some most valuable lives, both among medical and nursing attendants, are not lost, in consequence of defective structural arrangements and bad sanitary conditions, under which they have to do their work. One of the most obvious of these defective conditions is want of sufficient area. If large fever hospitals must exist, then the superficial area per bed must be increased, not only for nursing, but to give increased security for the health and life of the nurses.

(Of course the very large area required for safety where a considerable number of fever cases are treated under one roof may be reduced, if the sick are subdivided into small numbers in separate buildings, e.g., in huts.)

It may be said that you must fit your nursing arrangements to your sick, and not your sick to your nursing arrangements, and that nurses must take their chance of fevers.

Perfectly true as far as the sick are concerned; but most untrue as far as the hospital arrangements are concerned.

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Every employer of labour is bound to provide for the health of the workers. And any society which professes to provide for sick, and so provides for them that the lives of nurses and of medical officers have to be sacrificed in the discharge of their duties, gives sufficient proof that providing for the care of sick is not its calling.

For, as it happens, the arrangements required for the welfare of sick are the very same which are required for the health of nurses, nurses, that is, who are really discharging their duty in constant attendance on sick.

But in dealing with the question of superficial area required for nursing, it is said that the special class of cases to be nursed must be considered; that we must also take into consideration the fact that many hospitals have large medical schools attached to them; that in a ward where all the cases are of a severe character a larger nursing staff and, in consequence, more area will be required than where all the cases are of a comparatively slight character.

Whatever apparent truth there may be in such a statement, we must not lose sight of the fact that nurses are there because patients are there, and not because case A. is severe and case B. is not severe. The prior question is, whether there should be an infirmary with patients in it at all, and if this be decided in the affirmative, in a nursing staff, with the required conditions for good nursing, must be provided. If heavy cases occur, a good superintendent or a good head nurse will always economize her staff so as to provide attendance for the sick, except, e.g., in a severe epidemic outbreak, as of cholera, when temporary assistance may be required. But nothing shows the want of a good nursing system more than where an "extra" nurse has to be engaged for every operation.

As to the argument drawn from the existence of medical schools, this is a matter apart from nursing, and it will be found, on reference to the practice of a number of hospitals, both in this country and abroad, that a sufficient area per bed for nursing is often given where there is no medical school.

But the extent of surface area necessary will depend on the structure of the ward. In this, as in other matters, bad construction is always the most costly. A ward with windows improperly placed, so as to give deficient light, or where the beds are so placed that the nurse must necessarily obstruct the light in attending to her patients, must have the bed space so arrangement as of such dimensions as to allow of sufficient light falling on the bed. In well-constructed wards with opposite windows the greatest economy of surface area can be effected, because the area can be best allotted with reference both to light and room for work. An infirmary ward should be constructed with a window for every two beds and 8 ft. of bed space along the

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walls. In really good hospitals, there should be not less than 100 square feet per bed for average cases of sickness, excluding zymotic diseases and lying-in cases. As already stated, this space is much too small for fever or lying-in wards.

I may state with reference to two great hospitals at present under construction, St Thomas's and the Hotel-Dieu, that the ward width is 28 ft. in the former, and 28 ft. in the latter.

Summary

I have entered into considerable detail in the preceding remarks, because it is absolutely indispensable that the relation of efficient infirmary nursing to training, organization, infirmary management and infirmary construction should be thoroughly understood if infirmary nursing is to be made efficient. And I shall conclude with a recapitulation of those requirements, without which any attempt, not at ostensibly improving (for that is to "keep the word of promise to our ear, and break it to our 'hope'"), but at really improving the nursing of the sick poor, at present admitted into infirmaries, would be attended with results not worth the trouble and outlay.

1. Hired nurses, unless they are also *trained* nurses, are not worth their hire, unless by accident.

There must be trained matrons (superintendents) to superintend trained nurses.

2. Every trained and organized nursing staff should, as one of its duties, undertake the training of nurses for infirmary work, on some such plan as that the details of which have been given above.

3. The matron (superintendent) should be responsible to the government of the infirmary alone for the efficient discharge of her duties; and the nurses should be responsible to the matron alone for the discharge of their duties.

4. It has been proved by experience that the efficiency of nursing is to a considerable extent dependent on hospital construction, and on the kind of accommodation provided for the nursing service. The following structural arrangements are among the most necessary for this object:

a. The larger the sick wards, up to, say 32 beds, the less expense is necessary for nursing staff, because supervision is so much easier with a given staff where the wards are large than where they are small.

b. The matron and the whole of her nurses must be lodged within the hospital buildings.

c. The matron should have sole charge and responsibility of mending, storing and issuing linen. Hence a linen store and mending room close to the matron's quarters are required.

(Patients' clothing and bedding, &c., will probably also come under the matron.)

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d. Each ward should have a small room for the head nurse, suitably furnished.

e. Each ward should have a small scullery, with hot and cold water supply, besides the usual lavatory, bath and watercloset accommodation.

f. The superficial area per bed required for good nursing and good ward administration will depend on the form of the ward. More is required where the ward is badly shaped and insufficiently lighted than where the floor and window space are properly arranged. With well-proportioned wards and windows on opposite sides, with the beds between the windows, the floor space per bed should be at least 100 square feet, with 8 feet of wall space per bed.

1873

"A `Note" of Interrogation." *Fraser's Magazine*. new series 7 (41) 567-77 [3:12-28]

A novel of genius has appeared. Its writer once put before the world, in a work of fiction, too, certainly the most living, probably the most historically truthful, presentment of the great idealist, Savonarola of Florence. This author now can find no better outlet for the heroine, also an idealist, because she cannot be a *St Teresa* or an *Antigone*, than to marry an elderly sort of literary imposter and, quick after him, his relation, a baby sort of itinerant Cluricaune (see *Irish Fairies*) or inferior Faun (see Hawthorn's matchless *Transformation*).

Yet close at hand, in actual life, was a woman, an idealist too, and if we mistake not, a connection of the author's who has managed to make her ideal very real indeed. By taking charge of blocks of buildings in poorest London, while making herself the rent-collector, she found work for those who could not find work for themselves. She organized a system of visitors, real visitors, of referees, real referees, thus obtaining actual insight into the moral or immoral, industrial or non-industrial conduct of those who seemed almost past helping, except into the workhouse. She brought sympathy and education to bear from individual to individual, not by ruling of committee, but by personal acquaintance, utilizing the committee-relief as never had been done before, and thus initiated a process of de-pauperization. One might be tempted to say "were there one such woman with power to direct the flow of volunteer help, nearly everywhere running to waste, in every street of London's East End, almost might the East End be persuaded to become Christian.

Could not the heroine, the "sweet sad enthusiast," have been set to some such work as this? Indeed it is past telling the mischief that is done in thus putting down youthful ideals. There are not too many to begin with. There are few indeed to end with, even without such a gratuitous impulse as this to end them.

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Another ideal has just been published, most powerful, yet lame and impotent in its conclusions for, if conclusion it has, it is this: that Christ was, or would have been had He now lived, a red republican. Yet in that book is a true embodiment of what will make itself be recognized, and in political storm and social tempest soon, if we refuse to recognize it by shutting our eyes and writing "there is happiness enough," namely the intense miseries in our one dark London alone, the undeniable fact that upon the great mass of of London poor all existing forms of religion have lost all hold whatever, and that Charity Organization people are helpless to cope with the former farther than by preventing mischief being done, which is doubtless a great thing, as helpless as are Bishop of London Funds to cope with the latter.

(Not a word against Charity Organization people. They are doing a great work, leading the way to a greater. But they pander, unconsciously, to the prevailing fallacy that, if we do not give to vagrants, they will find work for themselves. While helping the industrious to help themselves, there is a greater thing still to do yet, to help the helpless to help themselves.)

Another ideal, really an ideal though somewhat marred by flippancy on the most serious of all subjects, and by a tendency not to fight light a man, but to scratch like a cat, has also lately appeared which, while discarding miracle and legend, shows a true and even deep insight into the character of Christ and the value of Christianity as teaching us (1) to cherish our own higher, inner self, to *find our own soul*; (2) to deny, nay more, to disown our lower, outer self; (3) to be mild and gentle, *meek and lowly in heart*. (Very curious, this difference as to who Christ was. In two contemporaries publishing in the same tongue, the same year, and almost the same street, or "hill." One says Christ the red republican, the other Christ the teacher of self-knowledge, self-renunciation, mildness and lowliness.)

On the other side we have a professor, a real man of science, undoubtedly one of the prime educators of the age, but making a profound mistake when he says to mankind: "Objects of sense are more worthy of your attention than your inferences and imaginations. You can't see the battle of Thermopylae take place. What you can see is more worth your attention." We might almost, and more truly say: "On the contrary, the finest powers man is gifted with are those which enable him to infer from what he sees what he can't see. They lift him into truth of far higher import than that which he learns from the senses alone.

As our penultimate author speaks a great deal of *extra-belief* (*Aberglaube*), meaning not superstition, but belief in things not verified by the senses, so this most able professor and man of science advocates or succumbs to a sort of *infra-belief*, covering indeed but small part of the ground man stands

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upon, less still of the horizon he looks on. All these are *signs of the times*. They suggest a note of interrogation. Faint indeed is the note of this *note*, the veriest hint that will be here sounded.

1

"Because I am God and not man," said One a few thousands of years ago. Then surely is it not the most important and at the same time the most neglected point in theology to determine what God is, what His character is like? Reams of sermons are written on every point but this. Yet this is the foundation of all. It may seem a little too familiar an illustration to say that in marriage it is a constant reproach brought against continental nations, that they do not let the woman know what her husband is like, nor the man his wife, before they are married.

A poet who is gone from among us [Arthur Hugh Clough] said that *love was fellow-service*. That is just what it is. How can there be *fellow service* in the way in which men and women meet now? How much more is this the case with regard to Him whom we (some of us) say we serve? Yet Him we have always with us and we make no effort to know Him. Indeed it does not seem to be so included as a part of theology, as a point of inquiry, as a basis of all sermons, the knowledge of, the acquaintance with God. The same poet writes:

It fortifies my soul to know
That tho' I perish, Truth is so;
That howso'er I stray and range,
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
A steadier step when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.

Yes, but *Truth is so* that I shall not "perish." "Though He slay me," says Job, "yet will I trust in Him." Yes, but I trust in Him because I know that He will not *slay* me or anyone else.

It always seems to be a fact ignored, or put out of sight, that for no one of our beliefs, religious, physical, moral, scientific, have we any dependence but the character of God. It is said that the reason why we believe that the sun will rise tomorrow is that the sun has always done so. But Joshua did not think so. Surely the reason is our dependence on the invariable character of God. This seems to most people to be a very poor dependence. At least few take the pains to find out what *is* the character of God.

A very great deal of foregone conclusion of what, as it appears, is untrue to fact and to feeling, is talked, for instance as to belief in a future state, that this is *instinctive, intuitive*, the fruit of the natural craving of man etc. We do not see such *craving*. On the contrary. There is perhaps no one subject interesting himself on which ordinary man thinks so little, cares so little. Of the best men there are,

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too, many now who would rather not have a future state for themselves. Alas! The highest stamp of men are oftenest those who feel this, men who have consecrated themselves to the good of their kind. Such men are generally extremely sensitive. The very strain of constant self-consecration acting on such a temperament produces that condition of mind, so far more common (at least in this age) than any ecstasies of the saints, that longing, not to live forever, but to die forever, to be at rest.

Whether this be so or not, whether there are *instincts* or *cravings* for a future state now or not, surely it is a complete fallacy to reason from them to the existence of a future state. Surely the *presumption* of an immortality grounded merely on *unsatisfied instincts* is a fallacy. It is another thing to say: "A perfect God, whose only design can be to lead everyone of us to perfection, put those *instincts* into us. He never leaves any work unfinished. He is invariable and without a shadow of turning. Therefore He will enable each one of us to fulfil in another state those aspirations after perfection which are necessarily left *unsatisfied* in this, because this world is not perfect and cannot be made perfect till all mankind agree to make it so."

Says Coleridge, in a better mood: "We must earn earth before we can earn heaven." Rather let us say: "Mankind must make heaven before we can go to heaven, as the phrase is, in this world in in any other. Is God's whole scheme to put us in the way to make heaven? "We have to earn the earth before we can think of earning heaven." Yes, but when only a few are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, they cannot be filled.

Why then is there a future state: *Because God is*. For no other reason. Let us drop the word *a future state*. *What* future state? An eternal life which, beginning here, shall lead each and every one of us to finite perfection and therefore to happiness. *Because* there is a God, *therefore* there is this eternal life for each and for all of us. For no other reason. And let us also drop the word *a God*. *What* God? That is the question and no one answers it. It is only *because God is*, the *perfect* God, that we shall have eternal life.

It is said of the French soldier in an expeditionary force that he always wants to know where he is going, what he is doing, why he is suffering. Except on the condition of letting him know this you will not get out of him all he can give. And if any can justly be called an expeditionary force, it is surely the expedition of mankind sent by God to conquer earth, to conquer perfection, to create heaven!

How can man give his best unless he knows, unless you will try to find out for yourselves and for him what is God's plan for him in this world and in the next, as it is truly called; why there are such sufferings in this world; who is this God who has

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put him here; and why He has put him here to suffer so much? In short, he wants to know why he is here, where he is going, what he is doing, why he is suffering.

Is it not a simple impertinence for preachers and school masters, literally *ex cathedra* to be always inculcating and laying down what they call the commands of God, and never telling us what the God is who commands, often indeed representing Him as worse than a devil? "Because I am God and not a man." But you represent Him as something far below man, worse than the worst man, the worst Eastern tyrant that ever was heard of.

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." Ah, from the mouth of Him who said those words they are indeed "the first and greatest commandment." He who went about doing good, who called all of us who are weary and heavy laden to come to Him, who towards His cruel torturers and murderers felt nothing but "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," He might well say "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," for He needed not to explain to us His character.

But--and what a descent is here! For us to lay it down as a *command* to love the Lord God! Alas! Poor mankind might easily answer "I can't love because I am ordered, least of all can I love One who seems only to make me miserable here to torture me hereafter. Show me that He is good, that He is lovable, and I shall love Him without being told." Does any preacher show us this? He may say that God is good, but he shows Him to be very bad. He may say that God is Love but he shows him to be hate, worse than any hate of man. As the Persian poet says: "If God punishes me for doing evil by doing me evil, how is He better than I?" It is hard to answer. Certainly the worst man would hardly torture his enemy, if he could, forever. Unless God has a scheme that every man is to be saved forever, it is hard to say in what He is not worse than man. For all good men would save others if they could.

A poor man, dying in a workhouse, said to his nurse after having seen his clergyman: "It does seem hard to have suffered so much here, only to go to everlasting torments hereafter." Self has the feeling, which must be that of half the world, been so simply expressed.

How then is it possible to teach either that God is Love or that God commands any duty, unless God has a plan for bringing each and all of us to perfection? How can we work at all if there be not such a plan? It is not enough that God should not be willing to punish everlastingly, to show that He is good. He must be accomplishing a *design*, "invariable and without a shadow of turning," the design to save everyone of us everlastingly. There must be no giving the go-by to searching out, as the very first condition of religion, whether there be such a plan.

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Sermons sometimes start from a knowledge, or *would-be* knowledge, of human character. None start from a knowledge of, or even an inquiry into, God's character. Yet, one would think, if this is really His world, if He governs by His laws, which are the effluence of His character, not only the universe but every, the minutest circumstance in it, it must be of paramount importance to find out what His character is. Else how do know where we are going? Indeed it may be said that the greatest, the most world-wide and the most fatal mistakes, extending through all time, which have been made in this world have arisen from not understanding His character.

It is not that men have not been absorbed throughout the history of man, in religion. Probably no subject, not even how to procure food, has absorbed man more. But scarcely any study has received less attention than that of the character of God. Men have been content to take it upon authority, upon sympathy, antipathy, blind *intuition*, xx association, they have been content to give this study not even the serious inquiry which is given the anatomy of a pigeon or the construction of a bivalve shell. They have even written their "passing thoughts" on religion. What wonder if there is no subject in the world on which man *has* such crude, such *passing* thoughts as religion? And this the most important, the most *surpassing*, the most difficult subject of all.

How would it be possible to construct any other science without knowing its fundamental law? To construct the physical science of astronomy without knowing whether the sun or the earth moved round the other? To construct moral science without knowing man? "Know thyself," said the Greek wisdom which we have scarcely surpassed. "Know God" has indeed been said, and that to know God is eternal life, as indeed it would be. But has one step been made in knowing Him since that time? Have not indeed the most awful retrograde steps, the most astonishing mistakes, been made, upon which whole polities have been founded, from *not* knowing the character of God?

Take, for example, some of the most familiar instances of mistakes arising from not understanding the character of God. That God regards suffering as good in itself, that He pays well those who inflict it on themselves, is the basis on which was founded a very large polity in the Roman Catholic Church. That God has so let go man as to become essentially wicked for which He has instituted no other system of help except letting another pay the penalty for man, was the foundation of another theory of religion sometimes called *Evangelical*. That this barbarizing doctrine does not make man barbarous, at least not very, can only be because men are so much better than their God.

That God has made a scheme of salvation and damnation by which a certain number of His creatures are *saved* everlastingly,

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a certain number *damned* everlastingly, is considered by all the orthodox millions of the church which calls itself *Christian*, whether Roman Catholic, Greek or Protestant, as the fundamental doctrine or one of the fundamental doctrines of their faith. Then the so-called *liberal* steps in and says, "No, God would not be so ill-natured." If you ask the *liberal* you will find that he does not suppose God has made any other plan, any plan for conducting each and all of us to perfection; he simply supposes that God has no plan at all, or that, if He has, we can't find it out. In that case it is difficult to see how his God is better than the others. Indeed, in point of intellect, He is worse. What is the use of working on at all, what is the use of sermons at all, if we do not begin at the beginning, if we do not know who God is? Why should I be told to serve Him if I do not know whom it is I serve?

To please God, I am justly told, is the end of my being, but I must know what God is like, in order to know what is pleasing to Him. The most frightful crimes which this world has ever seen have been perpetrated "to please God." So strange and fatal have been the mistakes as to what He is and what does please Him. I sit not, therefore, at the beginning of all knowledge to know Him? The very first step in theology, in education, in every line and moment of our conduct, to find out what is God's character? We do not even make it the last. "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending," the first letter and the last and every intermediate one of all this life-alphabet of man. How true those words are! How little they are attended to! For example, we are told that God looks only at our *intentions*. It would seem indeed as if we thought God Himself had only intentions. As to crediting Him with a plan within which we have to work, without which we can do nothing, we never so much as believe that He has any.

It is strange how, *à priori* and in direct opposition to every testimony, every testimony, every positive experience since the world began, we lay down or take for granted that God has such and such qualities. Take, for example, this dictum, that God looks only at our intentions, a loak, by the way, for every laziness, every unwisdom of man, an excuse for not taking the means of success which we must take for every walk of life, for not cultivating judgment, obtaining experience, watching results, as we do in every other profession, science and business.

Yet we say, and say truly, that He visits the sins of the fathers upon the third and fourth generation; that is, so far from "looking only at the intentions," the race, the place, the climate, the conditions (sanitary or otherwise), the education, the moral influences and associations, all that goes to make up that vast item which we call by the little word *circumstances*, all this tells on the next generation, and the next, and the next, and makes the world. Mankind is to create mankind. Mankind

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has to create the circumstances which make mankind. Mankind has even to find out from experience what is virtue and what is vice. No instancet shows him this, no conscience. All that conscience tells him is to do what is right, and not to do what his wrong. *What* is right and what is the wrong mankind has to find out.

We see that inexorably consequences are visited upon the "third and fourth generation." Consequences of what? Of ignorance. Why? Because this is the very plan of God to teach man through inexorable consequences. To teach him what? That suffering is to be the inexorable, the interminable consequence of error. *Not so*, for under this and through this all is the river deeply flowing, the imperishable, never interrupted Nile, the warp upon which all this suffering is the woof, the *still small voice*, which is the plan of God to bring each and all of us to perfection, through mankind learning to create mankind by experience, learning by means of the invariable, the inexorable nature of these consequences.

It is said that, in Japan, everyone in whose house a fire originates, whether accidentally or not, is beheaded without appeal, that is, no one looks at his *intentions*. Is not this something like the government of God? If one has not had the wisdom to prevent the fire, does He the less permit the fire to burn us and our children? *Does He forgive* us the consequences? There seems in almost all present teaching of Christianity an ineradicable prepossession that *forgiveness* means the removal of future eternal punishment, that God has nothing to do with laws regulating or registering results in this world, but that He keeps, as it were, a rod in pickle for us in the next, which rod in pickle is to be averted by a certain number of ceremonial observances. (A law is only a register, a register of the will of God, always the same.)

This is another of those curious practical mistakes extending through centuries from misunderstanding the character of God, the believing Him to be pleased, to be best worshipped, with ceremonail, not moral, service. How could this mistake have originated in Christianity, since Christ may be said to have preached beyond all other things the *spiritual* service of God, the serving Him by servng man? It is a mistake actually more prevalent now in Christianity than it was in some other religions, such as Buddhism. Mysticism in all ages and in all creeds, as in Oriental religions, so in Western Christianity, seems to have been a reaction against this.

2

As often happens, there has been another reaction besides mysticism in quite another direciton, and this is positivism. By positivists it is thought that, to learn the laws of nature as far as we can, without troubling our heads about Him who made them, if indeed there be One about whom, they say, we *can* know

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nothing, is the only course for man. Is not this leaving out the most inspiring part of life? Suppose Plato had said, "I find certain words, a certain life, on which I mean to base my own, but I do not care as to whether these are the words, the life, of Socrates. I can know nothing really about him. He is indifferent to me." The whole inspiration of Plato's life seems to have been his having known Socrates. Shall it be less of an inspiration to us to have known God, to know God?

By positivists it is said, the aspirations, the *unsatisfied instincts* of man point not to the development of that particular man, to *eternal life* for *him*, as the moralists say, but to the development of *humanity*. This appears strictly illogical. If one human life is a disappointing fragment, humanity means a mass of disappointing fragments, a crowd of unfinished lives, an accumulation of worthless abortions. Is it worthwhile for me to work either for humanity or myself if this be so? (*Collective humanity*, a term of religion much used by the positivist, and indeed by the extremely not so too. Angles and ministers of grace defend us! A *collection* of abortions, a *collection* of me's. Is this what I am to reverence? This which I am to work for? Above all, is it worthwhile for me to work if there be no God, or if there be only such a God as this? Unless I am a fellow-worker with divine Power, who is working up all our poor little puny efforts into a whole, a whole of which our efforts are only parts, and worth anything only in as much as they are parts, shall I work at all?

To be a fellow-worker with God is the highest inspiration of which we can conceive man capable. How can we be fellow-workers with God if we do not know His plan?

The world is God's, not thine: let Him

Work out a change, if change must be, says the Tempter in the ballad. The Tempter says what is, though in a different sense, strictly true: it is God who made the world and all that is in it, whose plans must work out its progress and perfection. We can only be anything or do anything towards it exactly in as far as we are fellow-workers with God; exactly in as far as we study, discover and work in accordance with His laws, His designs.

The Tempter in the ballad goes on:

The hand that planted best can trim

And nurse the old unfruitful tree.

Quite true, Tempter, but not true in so far as we are not trees. At least we advance beyond being trees. Then we must help to *trim* and *nurse* not only ourselves, but those who have not yet advanced beyond being trees. At present their name is legion.

The world is God's, not thine.

Even the positivist acknowledged this in the sense that there are inexorable laws beyond altogether, not our ken but our touch. We

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cannot more than a hair's breadth to the right or the left. The world is God's, not ours. But God means to make it ours. How can He make it ours except by leading us, by His invariable laws, to know how to govern *by them*? It is law which makes us kings. His kingdom is a kingdom of law. Without laws there can be no kingdom. He wants to give us His kingdom. How is He to do this?

3

INTo this kingdom we scarcely seem up to this time to have effected the smallest entrance, for two reasons: Firstly, that we have but the vaguest and most general acquaintance with the character of its King, restricted indeed only to a few words, to which words mankind attach the most opposite meanings. Second, that we have not as yet even begun to inquire into any method for ascertaining the laws of the kingdom, moral philosophy, as I believe it is usually called.

"A Sub-Note of Interrogation:' 1. What Will be our Religion in 1999?" *Fraser's Magazine*. July 1873. new series 8 (43):25-36.

Monday, 26 May 1873

[3:29-46]

The eclipse of the sun has begun 7:36 am.

The eclipse of the sun has ended 9:24 am.

After this a dearth of great eclipses of the sun visible in this country succeeds for years.

On 11 August 1999, at 9:47:40 am local time, the next total solar eclipse in England is to occur, we are told.

Supposing us to study the laws under which the political and moral world is governed as we study those under which the solar system, the material world, is *governed*, could we arrive at something of the same certainty in predicting the future condition of human society? How it will be with Europe? How it will be with England? How it will be with any of our homes or institutions on 11 August 1999, at ten o'clock in the morning (for I would not be particular to a minute)? (Castlereagh's estimate of *human foresight in politics and in war* was for seven or ten years.)

One thing is certain, that none who now live will then be living here. Perhaps by that time we may have sufficiently mastered the laws of moral evidence to say with equal certainty that everyone who now lives will then be living--where? Another thing is certain, that everything down to the minutest particular is so governed "by laws which can be seen in their effects," (Mr Froude on Calvinism) that not the most trifling action or feeling is left to chance, and that any who could see into the mind of the all-ordering Power, as manifested by His laws or thoughts, could of course predict history.

All will be order, not chance. Whether it be the order of disorder, so to speak, or the order of good order, depends upon us. This is practically what we have to consider: what will this

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world be on 11 August 1999? What we have made it.

Signs of a Religious War without Religion

There are not wanting signs that, before 1999, even it may be before 1899, great revolutions may have occurred. What would we not then give to have guided them in the right direction? Take only the state of religious, no, we mean ecclesiastic, things in France, Rome and Germany: the deposition of the free-and-easy Voltairian with all his unmatched services to his country for the *ultra* Roman Catholic marshal and the *ultrissima* Roman Catholic his wife, the new pilgrimages, miraculous Madonnas, the Roman Catholic majority in the Théâtre Royal, Versailles. Have you not the elements of an awful future? Awful not merely in the sense of terrible but as big with the fate of awe-inspiring events?

Bismarck, the *ultrissimo* on the other side, *ultor* and *ultra* indeed, Jupiter Ultor forced into a kind of Roman Catholic South Germany, the people all on his side, but not for any torrent of religious feeling, as in the Thirty Years' War, only for a righteous longing after political unity and social freedom. (Jupiter, not Mars Ultor. Mars was KCB'd Ultor for avenging the death of Caesar by somebody after gaining Philippi. This is not Bismarck's way now.)

France, it is just possible, forced to drift into the current in the opposite direction by her people, again from no religious motive, to interfere with Italy. Papal Court gathering both men and money, the whole Roman Catholic world putting on its armour. When this is done, will not the end come? North Germany and Italy against all comers? Then Spain, for how many hundred years under the clergy as her sole governors? Not a government to be got rid of by proclaiming and federal-republicanizing. Then Alsace and Lorraine, as French and Roman Catholic as ever, perhaps arming to oust German and Protestant: the struggle which began in the fourth century culminating at the end of the nineteenth.

Who believes that in all this there is any religion? It is like a Reformation without Reformers. It is a godless God-service, pregnant with great results. Before 1999 we may be left without a religion. Shall we remain magazine-ing while all this is going on? Are we to live alone because of this? Negative and solitary dissent is a mistake. Every great reformer began by being a solitary dissenter, that is true. Our great Master Himself was a solitary dissenter to begin with. In every case it was a *positive* dissent, ending not in a protest but in a great reform.

The Indian's Estimate of our Religion

What says in these years of England a chief of an Eastern religion? "I saw Christ's hand in England, but I did not see Christ's heart and soul in England....It was the hand of Christ outstretched for the purpose of doing good to England and to the

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world....But where is Christian devotion? Where is He who went on the mountains to pray? Where is that desire to overcome temptation with the all-conquering force of *God*....Where is that daily communion with God?" He goes on to explain what he means by "those devout men who could not live *except in prayer*, that is, who *felt the reality*, or as we should say, the laws or order, tried to discover the order and laws "of the spiritual world as we see today the *realities* (laws) of the physical and moral world." (In this sense are not the spiritual and moral worlds the same?)

"Men who wanted to prove everything upon the ground of direct spiritual testimony" (we like that word, but does anyone now in England believe in moral or *spiritual* evidence as he does in physical evidence? Or if he means anything by "direct spiritual testimony" do we not suppose him bitten by the madness of spirit-rappers and table-turners?) "Men who distended their hearts" (do any *distend* their hearts now to grapple with the idea, the reality of God's order?) and "opened the eyes of faith in order to see and worship the living Father as one infinite Spirit," that is, as the almighty Father of whose thoughts the laws or order of the physical and spiritual worlds are only the expressions.

See the Eastern's estimate of our Christianity: "By Christianity I never mean a certain number of stereotyped dogmas and doctrines." Does the Indian understand by this the established church and Orthodox dissenters? "By Christianity I do not mean rites and ceremonies." Does the Indian understand by this the papal church? "No, for true Christianity says there is no justification in works, nor in external rites, but righteousness, justification and sanctification must be the results of spiritual conversion, must be worked out by faith. That is true Christianity, that, I say, is true Hinduism, true Mohammedanism, true Zoroastrianism....Not if you are proud of ten thousand works of charity, not if you have inundated all London with outward institutions. No, if you have faith in the living Father, and your whole heart has been converted and regenerated, then I say you are fit for the kingdom of God. England is still as far from the kingdom of heaven as you and I are. We are still far from that integrity and fulness of *true theistic life*, call it Christian life if you like, we are all yet far from that." [Box: "To Christ God was everything, to us He seems nothing...if He is anything, He is only the God of Sundays."]

We are indeed. What *is* Christianity? What is it to be followers of Christ? Is it not to be full of what the Indian calls the *true theistic life*? That is, to see God in everything, to find Him in everything, in the order or laws as of His moral or spiritual, so of His political or social, and so of His physical worlds? To find out, one is tempted to use the homely

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word, what He is driving at? Is it not the sole thing of importance what God is driving at? To Christ God was everything, to us He seems nothing, almost, if not quite nothing. If He is anything, He is only the God of Sundays, and only the God of Sundays as far as going to "what we call our prayers," not the God of our week-days, our business and our play, our politics and our science, our home life and social life, our House of Commons, government, Post Office and correspondence (such an enormous item in these days), our Foreign Office and our India Office.

Our Indian goes on after a bit at his "Hindu, Mohammedan and Parsi friends," let *Christian missionaries* and *Christian governments* "admit the truth of this, that not by preaching dogmas and doctrines (can anything be more appropriate to the state of Europe now?), but by bringing the spirit of true devotion," that is, finding out God's purpose in everything, "firm faith and fervent communion with God and, on the other hand, Christ's noble charity and untiring industry in the matters of doing good to others," must their work be done.

Then our friend gives us a hit for what he thinks our *bigotry and superstition*, our "250 small narrow sects into which Christendom in England has been split up...the fetters, the bonds of our *sectarian dogmatism*." He calls our *sectarianism* the "curse of the country." He pays us a noble tribute when he says that, "point out the defects of the English *character* to English people and they will receive your words, I assure you, with the utmost alacrity and cheerfulness. In fact I was oftentimes amused to find that what I said against English people was received with cheers, and all my words, which were meant as a sort of encomium on the British people, fell flat on the audience. What does that show? Is that not a wonderful trait in the British character, that they are so honest, that they like to hear a foreigner say what is wrong in their character? What better proof can you have of the national honesty? Tell John Bull his faults and he praises and admires you. Then, I say, England requires only to be enlightened to do justice...."

Perhaps in this quality England differs more than in any other from French, Germans, Italians, Spaniards. Perhaps from this very quality she may be destined to strike out the honest, true God-like, not Godless, God service, for we are always, consciously or unconsciously, carrying out God's plans, for all her brethren of mankind. Our Indian religious founder ends: "Now are the grand and glorious days of Reformation at hand, the kingdom of heaven, methinks, is drawing nigh....Sleep not, humbly I beg and beseech you."

Whether the "glorious days of reformation" are drawing nigh for Europe, or whether Europe is simply to be shattered into two hostile camps, the German Empire and Italy against the Roman Catholic host, England standing by, or rather rushing by, as to

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her business in a state of restless, ceaseless activity, as to her spiritual interests in a magazine-y state, depends, does it not? upon whether we discover and live by the laws of God's moral world, or whether we content ourselves with leaving such things to criticism and chance.

Listen to our Eastern preacher: "Say not that indolence and apathy, hypocrisy and inaction, characterise" (shall we insert European Roman Catholicism and Protestant Reformation at the present day?) "but rather say from this time forward there shall not be compromise or sleep, apathy, hypocrisy or inaction." Also, "the voice of civilization is *onward, forward and heavenward*, and let our motto from this night be *onward, forward and heavenward*." Or shall it be backward, to idolatry, superstition and bigotry, or stand still at stupidity, indifference and hardening routine, the rotten garment of a dead creed, or earthward, to engrossing, adulterating and shopkeeping and shopping, and to trifling or sensual amusements? This depends upon us.

What will this world be on 11 August 1999? What we have made it. What in 1999 shall we wish to have been doing now? What shall we wish *not* to have been doing now? What of all the things that we do, say or think will it have signified that we should have done, said or thought then? What will it *not* have signified? Will crime, pauperism, the established churches, the views of God's government be the same then as now? Will the views of family life, social life, the duties of social life, be the same then as now? Will the distribution of riches, poverty, land, the relative importance and civilization of nations, of old countries and colonies, be the same then as now?

Will religion consist then, as now, not in whether a man is "just, true and merciful," whether the man seeks to know God, what He is and what He wishes us to do, whether the man seeks to be a fellow worker with God and, for this purpose, to find out God's plans, but whether the man "had believed what he was told to believe," had gone to church "for what he called his prayers" and "had duly paid the fees to the temple?" (Mr Froude on Calvinism). What 1999 will be, whether all these things are the same then as now or worse, or better, depends, of course, in its proportion upon what we are doing now or upon what we are *not* doing now.

What shall we then wish to have been doing now is the question. Is it reading or writing mere articles of the *day*, one cannot say or even of the hour, of the Minute and the Boy, not *The Hour and the Man*, in weekly and daily papers? Is it criticism, the most trifling criticism of the most important of all subjects, religion, God?, speaking of Him not so seriously as we should of the Royal Academy, frittering away our time and what is much worse frittering away ourselves in what are called *social duties* or *family duties*, which too often mean what the famous

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"jack" meant by helping Tom to do--what? To do "nothing, Sir." While on the other hand the vast majority of our fellow creatures are forcibly absorbed in the great low problem of *bread and beer* without one intellectual, one spiritual, one civizing influence in their lives.

Is it working, solving by real personal work the great questions or rather problems which, as they are solved or unsolved, *will make 1999 what it will be?* Such de-pauperization, colonization, education, reformation, legislation, making religion and God a real personal presence among us, not a belief in a creed, a going to a room or church "for what we call our prayers" (St Clement, quoted by Mr Froude).

Religion, sermons, consist now either in telling us to believe what we are "told to believe," and to attend *the means of grace* "as by law established," never inquiring whether there be not other *means of grace*. Or else, in telling us to practise certain so-called religious or social virtues in that state of life, or state of mind, "to which it has pleased God to call us," leaving life just as it is, taking for granted that *that* "state of life" is the one *we are born into*.

In 1999 shall we not wish to have worked out what life, family life, social life, political life *should* be? Not to have taken for granted that family life, social life, political life are to be as they are and we to get as much enjoyment out of them as we can? To dare to offer some petty suggestions as to the conduct of every day on the way to 1999 seems like gratuitously setting out to imitate the mountain which brought forth mice. Nevertheless, here are a few mice:

1

Speeches, articles, sermons seem always to be made for happy people, at least for tolerably successful people, those who have not to construct or alter their lives, sometimes to begin again life "right from the bottom," but only to make themselves and others as happy as possible *in* their lives. It seems taken for granted that life is on the best possible footing, that life is to be as it is, in families, institutions, schools, colleges and universities, among the *masses* as they are called, as if they were *Silurian strata*.

We are only told that we are not to be vain, selfish, ambitious therein, not to think of ourselves but to consider others, that our *conversation* is to be *in heaven*, and not in the earth's opinion or in vanity or egotism. But we *must* "think of ourselves" if we cannot do anything well or do the thing that we are doing well. It is not *all* "vanity" or "egotism," this thinking about ourselves. A person who does well what he is doing, or who aspires to nothing better or more difficult than what he is doing, needs not to think of himself. What of him who does not, or who tries at something higher?

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Neither is thought taken or advice given for this: sympathy in good work is an essential of well-being. So much has this been felt to be the case that one church has invented a whole system of saints, angels, guardian angels, communion of saints, to supply the sympathy which it is too evident does not generally exist here, though perhaps it is felt less and less that it does *not*, owing to our being more and more taken up with material wants or enjoyments.

Says one, for anyone may feel he has it *not*, though few may now feel its *want*: "sympathy in work *is* an essential of well being." I have none. I used to batter myself about, because, having none I longed for it. What am I to do? It is much better to acknowledge a legitimate want and that you suffer from it. But then this is *so*, that you cannot help thinking of yourself!

All solicitude, repentance, every plan of self-improvement is in fact thinking of yourself and very poor creatures we should be if we had none of these things. (A disciple of one of the best of *saints* and founders said: "Do not go and put yourself in a doubtful situation when you are in a safe place. Now what I call being in a safe place is when you are rent with solicitude and sorrows, and when you bear the weight of weariness according to God's pleasure and for His sake.")

Neither is thought taken or advice given for this: conversation is not only for *vanity* or amusement, but for persuasion, for teaching, sometimes in most important things. A conscientious person speaking the truth in love *must* "think of himself," of his success or failure in such cases, and not at all on the score of vanity or sensitiveness. (There are not a few who feel like poor Archbishop Darboy of Paris, when in prison under the Commune: "Shoot me here where I am, but no more interviews, no more interrogatories. I am not fit for them.") Sometimes indeed he may have *sacrificed* his vanity or sensitives, or the world's opinion, to do or say the thing which nevertheless recalls to him "the busy restless image of self," which he would so fain forget, recalls it by his very desire to examine whether he has done or said the thing aright or could do it better.

If we were more anxious about *right and duty*, it is said, we should be above all this. But it is sometimes for right and duty's sake that we leave the easy path where we *need* not think of ourselves, where we are easily enjoying (I will not call it happiness), perhaps praised and flattered with the *world's approbation* and go into a path for us so difficult as to involve continual doubt, care, reflection, even if not heart-rending anxiety. How can these things be in imperfect mortals without thinking of ourselves? Imperfection, struggling with difficulty, in the path to perfection, is almost equivalent to failure and mistake, while gathering experience. How can experience be free from self-reflection? In short, a conscientious person must often

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give up the self-complacency of conscience in the very path of conscience and of Christ, and must often think of the world's opinion in the very path of deserting the world's opinion.

Never dispute with anybody who wishes to contradict you, says a most reasonable saint. For even if you are victorious, yours is the loss. Quite true: nevertheless, often in the path of right and duty we must contend, not with anybody but with everybody, and be contradicted by everybody. We are thus compelled to think of ourselves and of the "world's opinion" in the very act of disregarding ourselves and the world's opinion.

Can any of us have dwelt half a century in this world and not feel if we have others depending upon us. I have lived twice the time or more of these young things, have had twice, perhaps a hundred times, their experience, and have I no more truth to tell them, no more help to give them, than this? Till we can say: "The word which you hear is not mine but the Father's which sent me," can conscientious people who have others depending on them for a life's guidance have any confidence in their own words.

How is this to be attained? Only by being always with the thought of God, not with our own thoughts, not repeating over and over to ourselves our own thoughts and plans, but asking what is His plan? What will He bring out of this? Asking what in 1873 will have been the thing that we in 1899 should have wished to have done in 1873, to tell not only upon 1873 but upon 1899 and 1899?

This requires a very different *agonizing* from what we see in workshops, drawing rooms, churches, schools, Hyde Park or even in the House of Commons or the Cabinet; though one would have thought it a very inspiring thing to legislate, and so form the lives in as far as they can be formed by legislation, of millions of our fellow beings. To do what we have to do "for the work's sake only," to be grieved at failure only because it is failure in the work, we are most truly told. Then we must know *how* to do the work; we must study how not to make a failure, if we are not to fail, in God's work as in all work. There is a higher thing than to be grieved only at one's failure in God's work and that is to strain every faculty not to make a failure, to give all ones powers to succeed in that work, as men do to succeed in making a fortune.

Failure is essential, on the road to success. It never seems to be thought that it is more difficult to discover the ways of creating the kingdom of heaven on earth than to discover the ways of the solar system. Yet no one would ever think of recommending the study of astronomy to be pursued in the weak, pretentious, sententious manner that we are preached to about pursuing life. Yet life is a harder study than astronomy if we are really to succeed in it, really to succeed in bringing about a little corner of the kingdom of heaven.

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We are never lectured about the study of anything else in the wild, wishy-washy, womanish terms that we are preached to about *life*. This is thought Christian, as if Christ had not been the boldest preacher that ever was about reforming life.

"Whosoever will save his life shall lose it." "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." "He has married a wife and therefore he cannot come" in sad irony, as if he ought not to bring her with him! Or rather, as if he ought not to have "married a wife" for fellow service in God's work!

"Who is my mother? And who are my brethren? Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sister, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

2

This is what the best morality teaches us now: "If we lived habitually above ourselves," it is most truly said, "we might hope to attain that self-control which is the source of freedom." Freedom is indeed not doing as we like, not everybody following his or her own way (even if that were possible), but *self control*. Self control *plus* a control or command of our subject gives *freedom*, but a person who has no control over any subject or right use of any faculties cannot have freedom. It all comes to the same thing, namely the necessity of doing what we do well, of what we do being what is well to do, if we are to attain what is commonly called *humility*, disregard of self, useful service of God and of our brethren.

The kingdom of heaven is within, but we must also make it *without*. There is no public opinion yet--it has to be created--as to not committing blunders for want of knowledge. Good intentions are supposed enough, yet blunders, organized blunders, do more mischief than crimes. Carelessness, indifference, want of thought, when it is organized indifference as in a family, college or university, in an institution as in a great government office, as in social or political life. Indeed, organized carelessness is more hurtful even than actual sin, as every day we may have cause to find out.

To study how to do good work as a matter of life and death, to *agonize* so as to obtain practical wisdom to do it, there is little or no public opinion enforcing this, condemning the want of it. Until you can create such a public opinion little good will be done, except by accident or accidental individuals. When we have such a public opinion we shall not be far from having a *kingdom of heaven* externally even here. For this *is* creating a "kingdom of heaven" *without*. A "kingdom of heaven" within only, in this modern world at least (as Christ put it, the truth was perfect) a kingdom of heaven within only is the good intention *sans labour*, *sans "agonizing"* to create it *without*. To create a

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religiously high, true public opinion *is*, is it not? to create a "kingdom of heaven" *without*, that is, externally in this world.

There was a young man once, rich in all the gifts of nature and of fortune or, as he said himself, with "means, time and inclination," who was not satisfied with merely embellishing a happy home with good manners, with taking the world as it is, as the phrase runs. He was so convinced of the necessity of creating a kingdom of heaven *without*, of the little that is done towards this among the great mass of people that, again to use his own words, he felt he "should be a thief and a murderer" if he "withheld what he so evidently owed." He accordingly went to live in the East End of London, to study the people first, in order to know how to help them.

This is his striking evidence: "The people create" (not the kingdom of heaven, but) "their destitution and their disease." He saw "the habitual condition of this mass of humanity, its uniform mean level, the absence of anything more civilizing than a grinding organ to raise the ideas beyond the daily bread and beer, the utter want of education, the complete indifference to religion, with the fruits of all this, namely improvidence, dirt and their secondaries, crime and disease." But he was not satisfied with coolly saying: "It is the people's own fault." He saw the necessity and set about the work of altering the circumstances, the *state of life* in order to bring about a kingdom of heaven. He is particularly clear in his views. He says that "moderate frugality and providence" would bring "the destitution and disease of this city within quite manageable limits, that *this* "amount of change," namely to "bodily ease and advancement in life...will be within two generations." "Good laws," he says, "energetically enforced, with compulsory education, supplemented by gratuitous individual exertion...will certainly" give "the mass so much of industry and morality" as is "conducive" to this "bodily ease and advancement in life."

Is he satisfied? No. He adds: "Unfortunately, this amount of change may be effected without the least improvement in the spiritual condition of the people." Were "the best disposed in the West [End]," who have "means, time and inclination," to go and live in the East End, as he did, where, as he says "there are hardly any residents with enough leisure to give much time," what a work for them! (This man is dead but, "being dead, yet speaketh.") Then they must know *how to do it*.

(We hear that the Shah of Persia is now owned by Baron Reuter, the kingdom of Persia leased to a telegraphist. This is the most curious sign of the age, material progress apparently eating us up. For the telegraph monger to own the "King of Kings," who thinks himself the "Asylum of the World," the Son of the Sun, is as if Pickford owned the Pope.)

"To practise, to feel" these so-called *dreams*, "to make them

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our own," this is, we are truly told, "not far from the kingdom of heaven upon earth. But we must also make them not only our own, but others' own. The kingdom of heaven is within, but no one labored like Christ to make it *without*. He actually recommended people to *leave* their own lives to do this, so much was he penetrated by the conviction, filled by the enthusiasm, that we ALTER the *state of life*, NOT conform to it, (no, oh thrice, ten times no, a hundred times no) into which we are born in order to *bring about* a "kingdom of heaven." Never was anything less like remaining within good intentions than Christ's teaching, than Christ's example.

When we remember what a tender nature He was of, His providing on the cross a home for His mother, and so many other incidents, then we see that the call of God was there, that He was right, that we must go forth into the world to bring about the kingdom of heaven. His was not Roman Catholic mysticism at all.

"Myself is so different from myself" under different circumstances. We must *make* these circumstances for others and for ourselves, these circumstances which shall *make* ourselves different from our low, mean, selfish selves, which shall raise us to "live habitually above ourselves."

"It is no use praying for rain if the wind is in that quarter," said the observant country clerk. "It is no use praying for Parliament, if the wise and earnest leaders are not, who know what they want and are able to show the way to what they want, if these are the days of superficial discussion when everybody, even the Cabinet, is like a periodical and a magazine, that is *getting up* out of reading a subject, whether a pauper or an iron-clad, whether a soldier or a colony it does not matter, as people get up leading or periodical articles, and calling *this* administration. If we *did* the things people now prate about, write about, speechify, debate, report about, that *would* be administration.

It is no use bringing about *Army Re-organization* or abolishing *purchase* (making the Crown outwit the House of Lords), if our control or supply system cannot march 30,000 men thirty miles with friendly farmers in our own country, if this annual autumn campaigning is not real campaigning, with supplies not coming across the "enemy's" lines, if all the subsidiary services are not to be called out to co-operate, really to co-operate as in time of war, in actual campaigning combination, to ensure, really to ensure, the exercise and thereby the proper selection for promotion of officers in executing these combinations. Otherwise *re-organization* is only a much-abused word.

It is no use preaching about the "kingdom of heaven within" to undergraduates, if a great *ancestral* college, the seat of political and noble men's sons, is a seat of carelessness,

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idleness, conviviality, practical jokes, even if nothing worse. It is no use talking about the "kingdom of heaven within" if our home is a nest of jarring or thoughtless elements, every member trying to do as he or she likes, even though without much harm, to get all they can of pleasure or amusement out of this poor earth, giving nothing back. Everyone of us has known how the finest moral natures in this home life have been trampled out, have existed uselessly. Unable to raise others to *their* standard, their very virtues, their humility and unselfishness have turned against them, have dragged *them* down to others' standards.

The kingdom of heaven within and not without is too much of the doctrine of Roman Catholic or other modern mystics, or Euthyphros (Euthyphro said that *piety* was "to do as I do") or ecclesiastics, who never propose any kingdom of heaven without, except that there should be more prayers organized. This is exactly the doctrine of modern religious women. They would never create a kingdom of heaven without, would never "contribute to the re-constitution of society," (a phrase borrowed, somewhat reluctantly, from a not admirable Communist philosopher). In some sense our teaching of universal *toleration*, of *charity* rather than teaching that we must search out the truth "with groanings that cannot be uttered" is an *obstacle* to "progress" by making the present state of things beautiful.

Is there not danger that we may run altogether into universal toleration, universal criticism? Though this seems a paradox, is it one? For in eclecticism people lose discrimination, of truth, character, between the merits of various ways of life or various circumstances, discrimination between what is mere criticism and what is creation or progress towards creation. There are some who see no difference between Sidney Herbert and other war ministers, between Sir Robert Peel and other premiers. There are some who see little difference between St Paul and a *Saturday Reviewer*. There are some who see no difference between Christ Church and Balliol Colleges. Or, if they do, they think indifference and carelessness better than what they are please to call a "hot bed of rationalism and infidelity." There are some who see little difference between a Luther and a Père Hyacinthe, a Savonarola and a Dr Döllinger. There are some who see no difference between the mutual flattery of clever men of a college or members of a family, and the real, honest sympathy and co-operation in the real honest search after truth.

There are some who see no difference between a positivist and a John Stuart Mill--oh! Too soon taken from us--he "should have died hereafter." When shall we see again that true *liberality*, which would *wish* to be defeated in the cause of truth? When shall we see again that passion of reason or reason of passion, impassioned reason and reasonable passion, wise, but

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"thrilling with emotion to his fingers' ends," passionate in the cause of truth alone, Sancta Sophia? Had there been a goddess called the "Passion of Reason" he would not have considered the gender humiliating, but have asked: why did the Greeks made wisdom a woman? There are none like him, none to come after him. It seems equally impossible to pass over the death of such a man without a note, or with such a note as this. But we must on.

Does it not follow from such want of the discriminating power that criticism is rife, very rife indeed? That people scarcely *can* speak of others except by speaking ill of them? So that whoever is rightly disgusted by this can hardly let others be spoken of at all in his presence. Also, that there is scarcely anything between stupid praise or bitter criticism? and no discrimination as to the ideal lying hid in each man's character as to the work he can do in life. There must be an ideal in God's mind for each man, woman and child, for the work he, she or it is put here to do.

May we not be pretty sure that by 1899 or 1999 either Père Hyacinthe and Dr Döllinger will not have reformed the church, that Bismarck will not have assisted religion by expelling the Jesuits, that the French will not have given France a government or a constitution, at least through ousting of M Thiers, that Christ Church College will not have brought Oxford to philosophy, statesmanship, or real learning, at least under the present *régime*, that reviewing will not have made one discoverer of truth or of the ways and plans of God, nor even one earnest seeker after the ways and plans of God, that present politics will not have re-organized Army, Navy or Church, or abolished crime or pauperism, that present preaching which takes so very small a part aspires after so very small a part of the reorganization of *life*, will not have re-organized life by 1999?

Discussion nowadays almost precludes consideration, it leaves no time for thought. Criticism precludes real judgment. It is not mere discussion, the busy body discussion, not people discussing a subject who know nothing and have thought out nothing about it, or only what they have gleaned by reading different articles of opposite periodicals, which brings any contribution to the real knowledge of the subject, which does any good. That is discussion not of sense but of nonsense. The only discussion which can be of any use is that between persons who have thought out something about the subject, who bring some contribution of individual thought or of personal knowledge to the common stock. What a valuable rule it would be, for every half hour spent in discussion, spend two previous half hours in thought! Discussion will not govern the world nor even a single home in it.

Language, said Talleyrand, was given us to conceal our thoughts. Even that is better than what we see now when language

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seems to be given us to conceal our want of thoughts.

3

Did a voice come "crying in the wilderness" now, what would it cry? In this wilderness, not of *monkeys* but of critics, would it not cry: Create and do not criticise? Goethe's idea of a devil, "der Geist der stets verneint," [the spirit that always denies] was the spirit of criticism without earnestness, which is always negative, never creates, which neither hates what is bad nor loves what is good, criticism without results.

The German tale indicates the same: The student rising by earnest effort to a certain height then, what comes to kill the enthusiasm which bore him up? Criticism without depth! He becomes a clever commonplace critic of that towards which he once so earnestly struggled upwards, the insight into God's plans of moral government which are leading us on to perfection in eternity, for perfection equals eternity, that is, the idea of perfection, of progress towards perfection includes the idea of eternity, is the same, in fact, since we see very well that no one attains perfection here. He must be but a stupid creator who grants, nay arranges for a little progress and then cuts it short. As St Anselm and Descartes found a formula for the evidence of the existence of God, so a formula, perhaps, might be found, might it not? for evidence of the existence of eternity in God's idea of perfection.

Criticism has no sympathy with nor insight into the ways of God, the higher ways of man. It has no idea of understanding the *Welt Ordnung*, the plans or laws of the almighty Father. It makes a great show of inquiry and of power, but there is nothing behind, nothing within, nothing with the principle of life in it; it is all temporary, negative, unreal. It interrupts us when we are beginning to find out something of the ways, thoughts and purposes of God and volunteers a thought or way of its own.

May we finish with another parable? Criticism has stripped religion of many superstitions, has killed innumerable parasites which choked her vigour, truth and beauty, has cleared away historical or traditional rubbish, or rather what was not historical, with mistranslations, interpolations and all the rest of it, has cured religion of many ugly excrescences. Has it advanced us one step nearer in the study of God's real character, the character which makes us love? Has it taught us the knowledge of the perfect Being? Is not the love of a perfect Being the essence of all religion? May it not rather have killed religion with the cure of superstition? Here is my parable: A famous French physician exclaimed when his patient died: "He died healed." Let us not have to say: Religion is cured, but dead. Let us not think when we have stripped or cured astronomy, science, history, above all religion, of their superstitions, errors, vain traditions, excrescences, that this is all.

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Sometimes it had almost been better if we could not go on to the discovery of truth, that we had let feeling, though mixed with error, alone. *True truth* must always inspire a higher feeling than truth mixed with error. But truth must be found. Up then and *onward, forward, heavenward*, as our Hindu reformer says. Let us press on so that 1999 shall have as much more truth than 1873 as it should have, much more advance of truth than 1873 has over 1746, for truth should advance by geometrical, not arithmetical progression, or rather by progress which cannot be measured or fettered by numbers.

1877

"Preface to Ninth Edition," Ellice Hopkins, *Work in Brighton; or, Woman's Mission to Women*. London: Hatchards 1877:iii-iv [8:492]

London

October 1877

From my own experience in long past years I am quite sure that the way, as indicated in *Work in Brighton*, is the only true way, and I would entreat the women of England to read the little book, and then judge, each for herself, how best to use that influence, never to be forgotten, lost or set aside, of every pure woman in the cause--an influence which must one day tell for or against, whether she will or no. She cannot be neutral.

This is the cause, one would think, of every Englishwoman, for to every Englishwoman home and family, here imperilled, with or without her knowledge, have a sacred name; the cause of every wife and mother, for the happy wife and mother (as was truly said by one of these) has the strongest reason to do something to help those who have no home and no happiness; the cause of God, who is the Father of the poor outcasts as well as of the happy homes.

In these holy names I beg you to look at this work. What is character given us for, but to help those who have none? I bid the work "Godspeed" with all my heart and soul and strength.

1978

"Who is the Savage?" *Social Notes* 11 May 1878 No. 10 145-47

[5:159-63]

A vast town of some hundreds of thousands of people--a splendid river, immense docks, fleets of merchant vessels to and from all parts of the world, rich "argosies" steaming to and fro, representing almost every port on the globe: this city lies like a colossal industrious spider in the heart of a web of railroads. Plenty of work, plenty of wealth, art enterprise, patriotic monuments, merchant princes devoted to the good of their native place, a metropolis of trade and commerce--this is a true picture of that vast city.

Now, with the eyes of a nurse by the bedside of many among

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the "masses" in that great city, this will be a true picture of their condition: wages nearly as much *per day* as are earned per week in some of the southern agricultural counties of England--10 shillings a day not an uncommon rate for unskilled labour. This is squandered in drink, as much by the women as by the men. One woman said what, being translated means: "She thought no more of her money than of a 'flea in a churchyard.'" The first day that these people who are earning, say, their 10 s a day are out of work they are absolutely bare. They beg of what we may call the district visitors and nurses, beg to pawn.

If a mutton chop, say worth 7 pence is supplied by the nurse, unless she sees the patient eat it, it will be trucked by the family for a pennyworth of drink. A doctor prescribes stimulant for a child, the mother takes it herself as a matter of course. A doctor says to the lady nurse of his patients: "Oh, don't was them; feed them up; you can wash them when they're dead." Bedclothes lent, even when stamped right across, are pawned at once for drink. This with people in receipt of a yearly income equal to a government clerk's in London or to that of many curates.

A woman dying of consumption was found by the nurses literally with nothing in the house: no food, no fire, no bed. They made her comfortable and, coming back at night unexpectedly with supplies, found her provided with everything: lamp and all, "everything beautiful," sitting up nicely dressed by a good fire.

In the lodging houses of people in good work you may find all ages, both sexes--boys, men, girls, women and children--lying perfectly naked in the same bed or on the same straw, with nothing over them but their own day clothes. It is impossible to tell details without a strong feeling of sickness. We spare the reader.

How can the women, even when not drunk, attend to their homes? They are degenerating, deteriorating--body, mind and heart--under drink or the reaction of drink. There are but two conditions under which they can do nothing--when they are drunk and when they are not drunk. And these two conditions make up their whole lives.

Unmarried mothers with babies lie about on the floor--"they did not wish to be married." There are, indeed, here whole classes of different stages of fallen women or, rather, as was once too sadly said, "these women cannot be called "fallen women" for they have never stood, they have never been *not* fallen, they have never known a state to fall from." How could they?

Street brawls are, of course, the rule of life and not the exception. The "cornermen," that is, the men standing at the corners of streets waiting for a fresh job, are hardly safe for any woman or child to pass. ("Oh, those are the scalp wounds," would be said by the infirmary doctor of a large class of his

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patients, street brawlers, in a similar town.) A gentleman, a magistrate, passing by saw one of these men strike first his wife and then his baby in her arms. He, the magistrate, instantly defended the weaker party with force and a stick. He was thrown down, the woman, the mob and the policeman all siding against he, and he scarcely escaped with his life.

The son of one of these men killed his father at home; the son of another, his mother, both murderer and murdered being drunk; and in one case the son, the murderer, perfectly indifferent after it. "Yet these are the same flesh and blood as we are," was the agonized cry of the nurse. How to help them one does not know. These people are not wholly illiterate; their language is often good, sometimes even elegant.

But not only do they pawn all they have and all that is given them, not only do they run tick for all but drink, I was about to say, but this cannot be said: they do pay ready money, they pay it to have something to pawn beforehand generally for drink. They have a frugal foresight for nothing but pawning. They have actually invented a new method of pawning thus: they will buy, say, an article of clothing, paying for it at the rate of 1 s a week, giving 20 s for what would cost 10 s, and then pawn it beforehand for half the cost.

Where is this town? Is it in some gold diggings? In some half-settled state of the new world? Or on some African or eastern or south sea coast where the most demoralized of European or Levantine adventurers or slave stealers meet with the lowest forms of savages and fetish worshippers? Is it there? Is it an old convict settlement on ticket-of-leave? Does it belong to some past age--the invasion of Attila? the Spaniard in South America? Some past age of lust and brutal savagery?

This town is in England. The time is the present. It is in order-loving, Christian England, the only country untouched by revolution and riot, the home of family ties, the home of a boasted free civilization. And this is civilization--Christian, settled progress and civilization. If this is to be civilized we could almost wish to be uncivilized.

If this is civilization, what are we to of the Hindu, the frugal, laborious, sober, poor Hindu who supports his whole family on 10 s a month, who never begs and who never has "parish relief," for there is no Poor Law, no union for his "superfluous relatives" who live with him? Must we speak of him as belonging to a higher civilization?

Loathsome details I am not here to enter into about such dwellers of this town, for the object is not to disgust, but to ask what is to be done:

1. Can a lesson be taken of Octavia Hill in London and others as regards improved dwellings, taking blocks of the present poor dwellings, letting them out and collecting the rents and

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improving the dwellings and the dwellers by degrees?

2. Can coffee public houses be extended so as to make them in time as plentiful as gin palaces? As plentiful, did I say? Rather to make the coffee palace cut out the gin palace. can the coffee public house always supply meals both to men and women, and cooking for those who bring their own food, dining rooms, reading rooms, newspapers and games with no temptation to gambling, as has been so successfully done elsewhere? Can decent lodgings for single men be added to the coffee tavern? Also a coffee room for women?

3. Can co-operative stores be multiplied? Co-operative stores begun, as once was done, by a counter displaying side by side a large heap of say, sugar or tea: "This is what you buy with ready money," a small heap; "This is all you have for the same money if you run tick." And so with other articles: the large heap and the small heap, side by side, speaking to the eye--the large loaf and the small loaf. The co-operative store followed, where the child may put his penny into a bank and receive 5 percent.

Now in shops of the vast town we speak of, by the small heap sold to the runners-on-tick should appear the much smaller heap sold to the ingenious person who tries to get the very least for her money instead of the most--to be pawned before it is paid for, supposing it to be at that same shop--thus getting the twice-reduced quantity on the reduced quantity. Show her the twice *increased* quantity and even she must mend her ways.

4. Can some system be extended, as that described in "Work in Brighton," for bringing the poor vicious women out to "Homes," instead of waiting for them to bring themselves? Indeed the nurse here does the "Work in Brighton" herself. "These poor women are closed to Scripture readers, closed to Bible women, closed to ministers of every denomination, not closed to us alone," said a lady nurse.

Instead of the pawnbroker's, to set up the co-operative store, instead of the gin palace the coffee public house, instead of the filthy, indecent den the improved dwelling and, if possible, to rescue some of these poor victims of vice, mere girls as they too often are. Are not such the ways to help these, our own poor flesh and blood?

1882

"Hints and Suggestions," *Thrift*, January 1882. p. 5

I am deeply interested in the whole national thrift movement, and all its kindred topics, in furthering which, every man, woman and child ought to be enlisted, and I would mention a few very homely ways of helping on the cause. Not to give Christmas boxes or gratuities in money, but to give the Post Office Bank form with postage stamps instead of coin, which would probably go straight

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to the public house. This will sometimes be received with a surly laugh, but oftener than might be expected, the answer will be: "I have a little lad at home that puts in to the Post Office Savings Bank. He shall have this." In a penny bank in a large elementary school, the children's weekly payments often amount, in the aggregate, to a considerable sum, some putting in as much as a shilling a week. But alas! the bank and coffee room do not successfully rival the public house, and catch not the drunkards, but the respectable, so the school savings bank has given another means of thrift to the thrifty, not a "saving" hand to the thriftless. The educated, and especially educated *ladies* must attend the institute, and themselves must hunt up the people to do these things. In some counties of the manufacturing districts, the average of a family's wages is often far beyond the salary of a London government clerk, who is expected to appear like gentleman. But their money goes in eating and drinking, and in dress, and never, or hardly ever, in healthy dwellings, or even decent bedrooms. Three or four generations, plus lodgers, may be mixed up in two or three small bedrooms, and brothers and sisters up into the teens may sleep in the same bed. And this even in families professing religion! What wonder if ill health and immorality are rampant? The women, as a rule, can neither make nor mend. All the needlework, even sometimes the washing, is put out. The making of government grants to elementary schools should depend much more on good needlework for the girls than the do. None but those who have practically entered into the matter know what the temptation is--owing to the conditions of the government grants--to cut down the needlework to six, five or even fewer hours a week, instead of the good old-fashioned ten, or even to substitute such subjects as geography for needlework. Next year sewing will cease to be an *optional* subject, which it never should have been, and we may hope that this essential matter, which for women certainly ranks in importance with the "three Rs," will practically become so. It was justly said the French women, especially the peasant women--earned and paid the enormous fine which France had to pay to Germany after the war of 1870-71. Every French countrywoman can make, mend, cook and save at home. She is the foundation of French thrift. The Frenchwoman saves more to her family and to the state by managing at home; the Englishwoman wastes more to her family and to the state by earning abroad, than is dreamt of in our political economy. One subject more: parish relief inculcates *thriftlessness* as it is managed in most places. If a man or woman has saved anything, or if his or her relatives assist him or her as they ought, the parish relief is cut down. It is, now was, the fashion to rail at convents (not unjustly once) for encouraging dependence and thriftlessness. "The parish" has succeeded the convent in England. What in a different way has the parish done?

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1893

"Health and Local Government." Aylesbury, *Bucks Advertiser* i-ii
[6:600-01]

I gladly send you a few words of sympathy and of deep interest in what was said and done at the recent Bucks County Sanitary Conference.

It is to be hoped that, under the new law, we shall see all that was vigorous in the old self-government of former times revived and utilized, together with all that can be added from our modern education, our modern social life, our modern physical development, combined in the active service of the newer forms of local self-government now offered to our rural districts.

If there is one thing more than another for which intelligent self-government is necessary it is sanitation. The laws of health can only be efficiently applied when there is cordial co-operation between those who govern and those who are governed. But this cordial co-operation is really exactly the same thing as self-government.

Obedience by consent is poles apart from obedience under compulsion. In some cases obedience under compulsion is not only necessary but successful, but the health of a community means the health of each member of it, and by no conceivable amount of compulsion or inspection can the personal cleanliness and personal health of each member be secured.

We look to local self-government as the gospel of obedience by consent, and we hail this gospel as specially applicable to the laws of health--laws that come to us from a source far higher than that of any human law, and that are enforced by a sanction of pains and penalties, personal and vicarious, more terrible than those invented for the enforcement of any human code. Nature sends in her bill, a bill that must be paid sooner or later, sometimes by those who incur the debt, sometimes by those down to the third and fourth generations, to whom has been bequeathed the "dunnomosa hereditas" [overgrown inheritance] and sometimes by others, strangers in every sense but one, that one being the link of a forced obedience to the law of vicarious sacrifice. The poison that has its home in a cowshed saturated by filth, the existence of which is a callous and wilful violation of a law old as humanity itself, this poison claims its victims among the children living miles and miles away, and the mother who would die to save her child is with her own hands giving it the milk that has been poisoned before it reaches her. Preventible disease should be looked upon as social crime. The cost to a village of an outbreak of fever is immense, least of all in doctor's bills, much more in precious lives sacrificed, in weakened health for those who survive.

The mere cost of preventing crime by educating and rescuing

children is recognized to be much less than that of punishing crime and of maintaining prisoners. Money would be better spent in maintaining health in infancy and childhood rather than in building hospitals to alleviate or cure disease. It is much cheaper to promote health than to maintain people in sickness. Bad health and bad lives are too often almost synonymous, while good health, if not synonymous with intellectual as well as physical growth, is at least the essential atmosphere for the growth of every kind of life, including the spiritual. Pure air and fresh water are the free gift given to and stolen away by us, the "perfect gift" which costs us nothing, fouled by us at its source.

Add to this plenty of clean milk and you have the chief essentials for physical health and also for moral health.

Healthy surroundings and temperance are linked together. The devil of dirt and intemperance are linked together. It has been said by some that county councils have had no power in the past and will not have very much in the future to compel those within their jurisdiction to be healthy and cleanly in their habits.

But we began by admitting that from the very nature of the case, compulsion can under no conditions work the changes we want to see wrought by the obedience of consent. Where power cannot reach, "influence" wins her way, and where the rigid law stops dead, there a public opinion, active, intelligent and educated, works wonders by creating obedience by consent. Here county councils, district councils, parish councils, may we not add "family councils," will all co-operate to give to each man and woman the chance to take his and her part in the great march forward, onward and upward that is to lead us to the higher life.

F.N.

1890

"Hospitals," *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge*, new ed. London & Edinburgh: William & Robert Chambers 1890 5:805-7 [16:911-18]

Hospitals are so called from the medieval *hospitia*, or more properly the class of hospitals established very generally for the reception and relief of lepers, whose malady was one of the scourges of Europe. These leper hospitals were very commonly in England and in Scotland called "spitals," hence the frequency of such names of places as Spital, Spitalfields, etc. The leper hospitals and other kinds of the old *hospitia* disappeared with the improvement of society, and substitutes for them on a broader scale began to be established in the modern form of hospitals. Of public establishments under this general designation there are now, as is commonly known, three distinct classes: hospitals for the reception and treatment of the sick and hurt, hospitals for

the board and education of children, and hospitals for the reception and permanent board of poor old persons of both sexes. Hospitals of these several classes are numerous and on a munificent scale in Great Britain, where they take the position of leading charities in the country. As in the present work the more remarkable hospitals receive some notice under their respective heads, we need here only offer a few general observations.

Hospitals for the sick and hurt are in some parts of England and Scotland termed infirmaries. Under whatever designation, institutions of this kind are now established in all parts of the civilized world. They are supported in most cases on a principle of charity, but in some special instances from the funds of the state or the civic municipalities. The primary or more important object of all such institutions is to mitigate bodily suffering, whether that arises from natural or accidental causes, in which respect they are indispensable as a refuge to all who are unable to pay for private medical or surgical aid, or as a convenient means of succour on emergencies to persons of every rank and degree of opulence. While such is the main object of these benevolent institutions, they are also serviceable as schools for medicine and surgery; as such, no university at which these and kindred branches of learning are taught can be said to be complete without the adjunct of a well-organized hospital, where professors can practically educate their pupils by pointing out varieties of disease and injuries, and exemplifying methods of treatment. Hence the best specimens of hospitals are found in university towns, as in London, Paris, Edinburgh and some other cities famed as schools of medicine and surgery. The older of the London hospitals are St Thomas' (1553), St Bartholomew's (1546) and Bedlam or Bethlehem (1547), to which may be added the Westminster (1719), Guy's (1725), the Lock (1746), St George's (1733), the London (1740), the Middlesex (1745) and University College (1833).

A considerable accession to the number took place in the reign of George II [1727-60], when society became alive to the value of such institutions. It was at this period that the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh was established (1736). The antiquity of British hospitals sinks into insignificance in comparison with that of some institutions of this kind on the Continent. The Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, which is alleged to be the most ancient hospital in Europe, was founded in the seventh century and, long known as the Maison-Dieu, received the benefactions of successive sovereigns.

In London, Paris and other large seats of population, besides the general hospitals, there are now lying-in hospitals, ophthalmic hospitals, consumptive hospitals, children's hospitals, etc., each with its peculiar accommodation and staff of officials. Convalescent hospitals (q.v.) are a valuable

adjunct to ordinary hospitals for the sick. Independently of these there are hospitals for the treatment of mental maladies, of which Bethlehem and St Luke's in London, and the establishments in Paris known as hospices, are examples. To this class of institutions belong lunatic asylums (q.v.), also asylums for the reception and treatment of naturally imbecile children, these last, though in operation for some time in France and Switzerland, being but of recent establishment in Great Britain. To these must be added the isolation hospitals for the treatment of smallpox, scarlet fever and other forms of infectious diseases, which have been established in recent years by every energetic sanitary authority out of the rates. Besides these institutions under civil administration are those hospitals which are maintained by the English, French and other governments for the military and naval services. In the United States, where every medical college has its own hospital, or the right to teach in the wards of public institutions, there are also many hospitals or asylums for inebriates (see Inebriates), for opium users and those addicted to the use of other narcotics (see also Foundling Hospitals, Ambulance). <id = defective>

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the organization and management of hospitals and the nursing of the sick in Britain and in most parts of Europe were, except in some few instances, extremely defective. Public opinion was then aroused on the question, and certain principles were laid down on hospital construction and hospital nursing which have been recognized and adopted to a greater or less extent since that time. These principles may be briefly summed up as follows under the three heads: (1) construction, (2) administration, (3) nursing.

(1) *Construction*. The first object is to obtain pure air in and around the building. The purity of air around will depend upon the site. The soil should be clean and dry; the position should admit of free circulation of air untainted by surrounding sources of impurity or damp. The number of sick who can be placed on a given site depends on the form of the buildings in which they are to be placed. It is now considered that more than 100 patients should never be under the same roof. And less is better. This has led to the pavilion form of building being adopted, blocks connected by corridors. *Two* floors only of patients' wards are admissible, but hospitals with only one floor for the ward accommodation are now universally recognized as best. More than three is insanitary.

Hospital buildings consist (a) of the wards for the reception of the sick, and their appurtenances; these necessarily form the basis of the design; subsidiary to these are the operating theatre, etc.; and where there is a medical school instructional accessories have to be provided; (b) the buildings

for administration, i.e., for lodging the staff, the kitchen, stores and dispensary should be always subordinate to the question of the accommodation for sick. In some hospitals extra out-patients' departments are provided. These should never be placed under the same roof with the wards for the sick.

(a) The first principle of the ward unit is that the ward and ward offices should be self-contained within one door commanded by the head nurse's room, so that at any moment she may know where every patient is. The size of the wards has to be somewhat guided by economy of administration, so as to enable the largest number of patients to be nursed by a given number of nurses. The limit of the ward is practically the number who can be efficiently nursed under one head nurse. Each ward may have subsidiary to it one or two small wards for bad cases.

The ward appurtenances consist partly of nursing accommodation and partly of offices for patients. The nursing accommodation includes a bedroom for the head nurse; a serving room in which food can be warmed, drinks and extra diets made, and linen kept and aired, hot water obtained, poultices, etc., made; also a nurses' water closet near. The head nurse's room should be so placed as to enable the nurse to exercise constant supervision over the ward and the patients. The offices for patients comprise a lavatory for the patients, a bathroom with a movable bath, which bathroom and lavatory should be large enough for minor surgical operations, and water closets in the proportion of about 3 to 10 percent of the number of patients--the general hospital for acute cases, mostly in bed, requiring the lesser number--one or more slop sinks, a place for keeping ejecta of patients for medical inspection. These appurtenances should be cut off from the ward by ventilated lobbies, and should be always warmed and ventilated independently of the ward.

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small sum for board and medical or surgical attendance.

Hospital Sunday: On one Sunday in the year it is the practice for churches of almost every denomination in London and throughout the provinces to have special collections for the support of the hospitals of the country. In London the movement originated in 1873, its author being Dr Wakley, editor of *The Lancet*, and the gross total collected there in 1873-89 was £512,476.

See Mouat and H. Saxon Snell, *Hospital Construction and Management* (1884); J. Clifford Smith, *Report of Conference on Administration of Hospitals 1863*; Douglas Galton, *Construction of Hospitals* (1870) as also his report on *Herbert Hospital, Woolwich* (1865) and his article on "Hospital Administration," in Quain's *Dictionary*; H. Saxon Snell, *Charitable and Parochial Institutions*; Florence Nightingale, *Notes on Hospitals* (1859, new ed. 1863) and *Notes on Lying-in Institutions* (1871) and, amongst Blue Books, the reports and commissions on the sanitary condition of barracks and hospitals (1863), on *Regulations affecting the Sanitary Condition of the Army and Organization of Hospitals* (1858) and on smallpox and fever hospitals (1882);

"Hospitals" in *Chambers's Encyclopaedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge*. new ed. London & Edinburgh: William & Robert Chambers 1901 [1892] 5:805-07

Hospitals are so called from the medieval *hospitia*, or more properly the class of hospitals established very generally for the reception and relief of lepers, whose malady was one of the scourges of Europe. These leper hospitals were very commonly in England and in Scotland called "spitals," hence the frequency of such names of places as Spital, Spitalfields, etc. The leper hospitals and other kinds of the old *hospitia* disappeared with the improvement of society, and substitutes for them on a broader scale began to be established in the modern form of hospitals. Of public establishments under this general designation there are now, as is commonly known, three distinct classes: hospitals for the reception and treatment of the sick and hurt, hospitals for the board and education of children and hospitals for the reception and permanent board of poor old persons of both sexes. Hospitals of these several classes are numerous and on a munificent scale in Great Britain, where they take the position of leading charities in the country. As in the present work the more remarkable hospitals receive some notice under their respective heads, we need here only offer a few general observations.

Hospitals for the sick and hurt are in some parts of England and Scotland termed infirmaries. Under whatever designation, institutions of this kind are now established in all parts of the civilized world. They are supported in most cases on a principle

of charity, but in some special instances from the funds of the state or the civic municipalities. The primary or more important object of all such institutions is to mitigate bodily suffering, whether that arises from natural or accidental causes, in which respect they are indispensable as a refuge to all who are unable to pay for private medical or surgical aid, or as a convenient means of succour on emergencies to persons of every rank and degree of opulence. While such is the main object of these benevolent institutions, they are also serviceable as schools for medicine and surgery; as such, no university, at which these and kindred branches of learning are taught, can be said to be complete without the adjunct of a well-organized hospital, where professors can practically educate their pupils by pointing out varieties of disease and injuries, and exemplifying methods of treatment. Hence the best specimens of hospitals are found to in university towns, as in London, Paris, Edinburgh and some other cities famed as schools of medicine and surgery. The older of the London hospitals are St Thomas' (xx?153), St Bartholomew's (1546) and Bedlam or Bethlehem (1547), to which may be added the Westminster (1719), Guy's (1725), the Lock (1746), St George's (1733), the London (1740), the Middlesex (1745) and University College (1833).

A considerable accession to the number took place in the reign of George II, when society became alive to the value of such institutions. It was at this period that the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh was established (1736). The antiquity parison with that of some institutions of this kind on the Continent. The Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, which is alleged to be the most ancient hospital in Europe, was founded in the seventh century and, long known as the Maison Dieu, received the benefactions of successive sovereigns.

In London, Paris and other large seats of population, besides the general hospitals, there are now lying-in hospitals, ophthalmic hospitals, consumptive hospitals, children's hospitals, etc., each with its peculiar accommodation and staff of officials. Convalescent hospitals (q.v.) are a valuable adjunct to ordinary hospitals for the sick. Independently of these there are hospitals for the treatment of mental maladies, of which Bethlehem and St Luke's in London, and the establishments in Paris, known as hospices, are examples. To this class of institutions belong lunatic asylums (q.v.), also asylums for the reception and treatment of naturally imbecile children, these last though in operation for some time in France and Switzerland, being but of recent establishment in Great Britain. To these must be added the isolation hospitals for the treatment of smallpox, scarlet fever and other forms of infectious diseases, which have been established in recent years by every energetic sanitary authority out of the rates. Besides these

institutions under civil administration are those hospitals which are maintained by the English, French and other governments for the military and naval services. In the United States, where every medical college has its own hospital, or the right to teach in the wards of public institutions, there are also many hospitals or asylums for inebriates (see Inebriates), for opium users and those addicted to the use of other narcotics (see also Foundling Hospitals, Ambulance).

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the organization and management of hospitals and the nursing of the sick in Britain and in most parts of Europe were, except in some few instances, extremely defective. Public opinion was then aroused on the question, and certain principles were laid down on hospital construction and hospital nursing which have been recognized and adopted to a greater or less extent since that time. These principles may be briefly summed up as follows under the three heads: (1) construction, (2) administration, (3) nursing.

(1) *Construction.* The first object is to obtain pure air in and around the building. The purity of air around will depend upon the site. The soil should be clean and dry; the position should admit of free circulation of air untainted by surrounding sources of impurity or damp. The number of sick who can be placed on a given site depends on the form of the buildings in which they are to be placed. It is now considered that more than 100 patients should never be under the same roof. And less is better. This has led to the pavilion form of building being adopted, blocks connected by corridors. *Two floors only of patients' wards are admissible, but hospitals with only one floor for the ward accommodation are now universally recognized as best. More than three is insanitary.* Hospital buildings consist (a) of the wards for the reception of the sick, and their appurtenances; these necessarily form the basis of the design; subsidiary to these are the operating theatre, etc; and where there is a medical school instructional accessories have to be provided. (b) The buildings for administration, i.e., for lodging the staff, the kitchen, stores, and dispensary, should be always subordinate to the question of the accommodation for sick. In some hospitals extra outpatients' departments are provided. These should never be placed under the same roof with the wards for the sick.

(a) The first principle of the ward unit is that the ward and ward offices should be self-contained within one door commanded by the head nurse's room, so that at any moment she may know where every patient is. The size of the wards has to be somewhat guided by economy of administration, so as to enable the largest number of patients to be nursed by a given number of nurses. The limit of the ward is practically the number who can be efficiently nursed under one head nurse. Each ward may have

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See ANTISEPTICS, DISINFECTANTS, GERM, HYGIENE, INFECTION, MEDICINE, NURSING, PYAEMIA, SURGERY; Burdett, *Hospitals and Asylums of the World* (4 vols 1893); Billings and Hurd, *Hospitals, Dispensaries, and Nursing* (1895); Mouat and Snell, *Hospital Construction and Management* (1884); Clifford Smith on *Administration of Hospitals* (1863); Douglas Galton, *Construction of Hospitals* (1870), and

Healthy Hospitals (1893); Wylie, *Hospitals* (New York, 1877); the present writer's *Notes on Hospitals* (new ed. 1863), and *Lying-in Institutions* (1871); and such reports as those of the Commission on the Sanitary Condition of Barracks and Hospitals (1863), on Regulations affecting the Sanitary Condition of the Army and Organisation of Hospitals (1858), and on Smallpox and Fever Hospitals (1882).

1894

"Rural Hygiene," a paper by Florence Nightingale read by Mrs Frederick Verney at the *Official Report of the Central Conference of Women Workers* 1894:46-60 [6:607-21]

I have been pressed to write a paper for the Leeds Conference of Women Workers on Rural Health Missioners and, though sorely entangled by pressing matters, I am the more anxious to do so because of the great attention which many ladies seem to be giving to the subject, and which appears to be spreading out not only west but east. In two of the provinces of wide India it has been asked whether something could not be done there by instructed native lecturers, who were also to go round the village showing the people on the spot where to put their refuse, how to keep their water supply pure and so forth. In one of these provinces the lecturers were to be seconded by instructed native women visiting and teaching health habits to the village poor native women in their own homes. The true word has been spoken: what can be done for the health of the home without the woman of the home?

Let not England lag behind, especially not in the conviction that nothing can be done without personal friendship with the women to be taught. It is a truism to say that the women who teach in India must know the languages, religions, superstitions and customs of the women to be taught in India. It ought to be a truism to say the same for England. We must not talk to them, or at them, but with them.

A great man who has just passed away from us used to advise his young men, when they entered life, to make personal acquaintance with the poor, whether they took or not to "works of philanthropy." He did not believe in any "philanthropy" which was not in fact what the word means--the love of man. But the knowledge of a man must go before love for him--acquaintance, friendship, love can only come in this order, from the love that springs from the sympathy of a close and accurate knowledge of the ways, habits, the lives of the poor is not a mere sentiment but an active and fruitful enthusiasm.

This is eminently the case with cottage mothers in the matter of rural hygiene. You must know them not as a class but each one by herself, in order to do her service in this all-

important matter. Now I propose, with your leave, to touch upon:

1. The present machinery of rural public health;
2. The present state of rural hygiene;
3. What the women have to do with it;
4. (in answer to many questions asked) Some sketch of the scheme of health-at-home training and work;
5. What we mean by personal acquaintance and friendship between women instructors and women to be instructed, always bearing in mind that the latter differ as widely from each other in character as they do in the circumstances of their lives.

1. WHAT IS THE EXISTING MACHINERY OF PUBLIC HEALTH, what are called--with a grim sarcasm--our rural sanitary districts? Is health or sickness, life or death the greater miracle in the present condition of things? To some of us the greatest miracle repeated every day is that we can live at all in the surroundings which our ignorance and neglect create.

There is the *Board of Guardians*, "Sanitary Authority," who give the tag end of their time to a subject which might monopolize the whole of it and yet not be exhausted.

Medical Officer of Health: generally a busy man with a private practice covering a very large area, who earns a pittance for doing a most important public duty, a man appointed to his office and maintained in it by those whom he ought to criticize fearlessly and openly when they are careless about the health of those dependent on them. His salary, which ought to be proportionate to his capital of knowledge ever accumulating, and his income of experience rolling up as years go on, which should give him an opportunity for sufficient leisure to work at public health as a scientific study, apart from his medical practice--his salary, which should be enough for this, is often hardly sufficient for his necessary travelling expenses as a public official--sometimes only a few pounds per annum.

Sanitary Inspector: an official appointed by the Guardians, who are at liberty to select anyone they like, without any guarantee whatever that he has either the knowledge or the will to do his work, but upon the efficient performance of which may depend the health and even the lives of many hundred families in the district he inspects. He may be--sometimes has been--an unsuccessful farmer or tradesman, and he may be entirely independent of the control of the medical officer, who generally has had nothing whatever to do with his appointment, and is powerless to dismiss him.

We all know that in 1890 an act was passed--there are more than 100 sections in it--for the housing of the working classes. It is an act which consolidates the wisdom and experience of experts and was backed by the authority of the most influential men in the country. On paper there could hardly be a more perfect

health directory for making our *sanitary* authorities and our *sanitary* districts worthy of the title they bear. We have everything defined for us that can require a definition. We have *powers* given to everyone who can possibly wish to have them. We have duties imposed upon our officials in language that is as clear and precise as the best draftsmen in England could make it. We have awful threats launched against any and every dwelling house which appears to a Medical Officer of Health "to be in a state so dangerous or injurious to health as to be unfit for human habitation."

In fact, everything is provided for except the two things more necessary than all the rest: namely the money to pay for and the will to carry out the reforms. And it is perfectly well known that, if this law were enforced immediately and completely, say three-fourths of the rural districts in England would be depopulated, and we should have hundreds of thousands of houseless poor upon our hands for such, as least, is the proportion of houses unfit for habitation in our rural districts.

We all know that, even where the law can and ought to be enforced it is daily and persistently evaded to the great danger of the public health, for example where dairies, cow sheds and milk shops' regulations are supposed to be in force, and where there is practically no registration and no inspection exists that is worthy of the name.

These are the acts as they are. Now let us consider what they ought to be. We want independent Medical Officers of Health, appointed by the County Council and removable only by them, men trained up for this as a profession. We want Sanitary Inspectors with a proper qualification, appointed with the Medical Officer's approval. We want that each Medical Officer should be informed as to all approaches of dangerous disease, and bound, in his turn, to supply the information for other neighbouring districts. We want Sanitary Inspectors who are duly qualified by examination, acting under the directions of the Medical Officers, in order that they may feel themselves responsible for their appointment and co-operators in their work, Sanitary Inspectors who are not removable unless for neglect of duty and certain to be removed if they do persistently neglect it.

We want a fully-trained Nurse for every district and a Health Missioner. This Nurse must have supervision, even if only periodical, from a trained Superintendent Nurse. If she is a Queen's Jubilee Nurse this is provided for. But the question of her assistant requires the most careful management. An untrained assistant, who afterwards may say she has been trained, is disastrous, and justly prohibited by some associations.

We want a water supply to each village, pure and plentiful, rain water properly stored, earth closets--scavenging [garbage collection] as necessary a public duty as paving and lighting,

gardens near houses and allotments where refuse and privy contents are used for manure. (For uses of earth see Dr Poore's "Rural Hygiene.") Cottage owners made amenable to sanitary laws, compelling the landlord to give his cottages the essentials for health as far as construction is concerned; school teaching of health rules, made interesting and clear by diagrams showing dangers of foul drains and so forth. (But we must not expect too much practical result from this. It has failed, except as a book or lesson, where it has been tried in India. The school master himself should be a health apostle.) When our water is poisoned we want to know it. Then we shall avoid it. But it is far more difficult to get people to avoid poisoned air, for they drink it in by the gallon all night in their bedrooms and too often in the day.

We will now deal with:

2. PRESENT STATE OF RURAL HYGIENE, which is indeed a pitiful and disgusting story, dreadful to tell. For the sake of giving actual facts it is no use lecturing upon drainage, water supply, wells, pigsties, storage of excrement, storage of refuse etc. in general; they are dreadfully concrete. I take leave to give the facts of one rural district consisting of villages and one small market town, as described by a Local Government Board official this year and I will ask the ladies here present whether they could not match these facts in every county in the kingdom. Perhaps, too, the lady lecturers on rural hygiene will favour us with some of their experiences.

A large number of poor cottages have been recently condemned as "unfit for human habitation," but though *unfit* many are still inhabited, from lack of other accommodation. Provision for conveying away surface and slop water is conspicuous either by its absence or defect. The slop water stagnates and sinks into the soil all round the dwellings, aided by the droppings from the thatch. (It has been known that bedroom slops are sometimes emptied out of window.) There are inside sinks, but the waste pipe is often either untrapped or not disconnected. It is a government official who says all this.

Water supply almost entirely from shallow wells, often uncovered, mostly in the cottage garden not far from a pervious privy pit, a pigsty or a huge collection of house refuse, polluted by the foulness soaking into it. The liquid manure from the pigsty trickles through the ground into the well. Often after heavy rain the cottagers complain that their well water becomes thick.

The water in many shallow wells has been analyzed. Some have been closed, others cleaned out. But when no particular impurity is detected, no care has been taken to stop the too threatening pollution, or to prohibit the supply. In one village, which had a pump, it was so far from one end that a pond in an adjoining

field was used for their supply. "It may be said that, up to the present time, practical nothing has been done by the Sanitary Authorities to effect the removal of house refuse etc." (See Appendix.)

In these days of investigation and statistics, where results are described with microscopic exactness and tabulated with mathematical accuracy, we seem to think figures will do instead of facts, and calculation instead of action. We remember the policeman who watched his burglar enter the house and waited to make quite sure whether he was going to commit robbery with violence or without before interfering with his operations. So as we read such an account as this we seem to be watching, not robbery, but murder doing going on, and to be waiting for the rates of mortality to go up before we interfere. We wait to see how many of the children playing round the houses shall be stricken down. We wait to see whether the filth will really trickle into the well and whether the foul water really will poison the family, and how many will die of it. Then, when enough have died, we think it time to spend some money and some trouble to stop the murders going further, and we enter the results of our "masterly inactivity" neatly in tables, but we do not analyze and tabulate the saddened lives of those who remain and the desolate homes of our "sanitary districts."

Now let us come to:

3. WHAT THE WOMEN HAVE TO DO WITH IT--that is, how much the cottage mothers, if instructed by instructed women, can remedy or prevent of these and other frightful evils? First *Our Homes: Back yard and garden*: Where and how are slops emptied? The following are some of the essential requisites: slops to be poured slowly down a drain not hastily thrown down to make a pool round the drain; gratings of drain to be kept clean and passage free; soil round the house kept pure that pure air may come in at the window; bedroom slops not to be thrown out of the window; no puddles to be allowed to stand round walls; privy contents to be got into the soil as soon as possible; cesspools not to be allowed to filter into your shallow wells; pump water wells must be taken care of; they are upright drains, so soil round them should be pure. Bad smells are danger signals.

Pigsties: Moss litter to absorb liquid manure, cheap and profitable, danger from pools of liquid manure making the whole soil foul. Your privy contents are most valuable for your garden.

Now, what have we to teach practically about the *Bedroom*: Is not what we want to get into a bedroom--fresh air--the most important thing of all, and sunshine--not merely light, but sunlight? What we want to get out of a bedroom--foul air? An unaired bedroom is a box of foul air. Opening of Windows: but windows differ so much in their construction one from the other that no ground rule can be laid down except that in all cases

there must be ventilation near the ceiling, and the Health Missioner must see the kind of window and how it opens in order to show the best way of airing the room. If, happily, there is a fireplace, no board or sack must fill up the chimney.

Furniture of Bedroom: Bed and Bedding. No feather or flock bed be allowed with unwashed tick or which has not been pulled to pieces for years to be cleaned. Cleansing of chamber utensils--danger of unemptied slops--how to get rid of dust and not merely let it fly into the air and settle again. How to get rid of vermin. Lumber--not to turn the space under the bed into a lumber closet with rags and refuse, worn out clothes and boots, coals and potatoes. Nothing to be kept under the bed but the chamber utensil with a lid. No valance, only a frill. No carpet in the bedroom. Fresh air and sunshine in the bedroom by day promote sleep by night.

Kitchen. Danger from refuse of food, grease in all the rough parts of kitchen table and chopping blocks, crumbs and scraps in chinks of ill-laid floor. Even typhoid has been known to result from this in barrack rooms. How to fill up these chinks. Danger of remains of sour milk in jugs and saucepans. All refuse poisons the air, spoils fresh food, attracts vermin, rats, beetles etc. Brick floor too porous, dangerous to sluice with too much water. Where do you get your water for cooking? Is it water plus sewage? Where do you get your milk? Is it milk plus water plus sewage? Where do you keep it? How to keep milk cool; how to clean kitchen table, crockery, pots and pans. Danger of dirty sink.

Parlour. Danger of uninhabited rooms without sunlight and fresh air and with blinds pulled down--genteel parlour chilling to the bone. Clean papers not to be put over dirty ones. Tea leaves for sweeping carpets, but better to have no carpets nailed down.

Ourselves. The skin and how to keep the body clean. Simple account of functions of skin. Beauty dependent on healthy state of skin, not on a fine hat. Use of the skin as throwing out waste matter. Compare the village child with a beautiful clean skin--such a child as any mother would long to kiss--with the leper of the Scriptures, a loathsome object, the skin all sores, so repulsive to others, so painful to himself that, as a miracle, he asks to be made "clean" and the gracious answer comes: "I will: be thou clean." Then show that the difference between the child and the leper is just the difference between a healthy and unhealthy skin. The difference between a clean skin and a dirty skin is the difference between health and sickness.

Enter fully but not learnedly into the work of the pores. Dangers of a choked skin. The body choked and poisoned by its own waste substances might be compared to a house whence nothing was thrown away: the scullery choked with old fat, potato peelings and so forth, the drain from the sink stopped up, the grate full

of cinders, the floor of dust, the table of grease and crumbs. None of these things were dirty at first; it is the keeping them that makes the house uninhabitable. Then speak very plainly of the offensive condition of an unwashed body, the smell of the feet, the horrible state of the hair, the decay and pain of the teeth etc., the consequent poisoning of the air of the room etc.

It is the human body that pollutes the air. Then, how and when the body can best be washed; large vessels and much water not indispensable for daily cleansing. But there are great advantages in the Saturday's tub and plenty of soaping and in friction of the skin. Not babies only, but men and women require daily washing. The body the source of defilement of the air. The entire want of privacy in the bedrooms, the constant drive of the mothers' occupations, make it a matter of difficulty when she can wash herself. (As a matter of fact, most women do not wash at all.) The Missioners should show the utmost sympathy, should, without giving offence, draw her out by careful questions, asking what plan the women would recommend rather than what they do.

Then comes the question of towels. Then comes the question of hair and hair brushes. Mothers should encourage their girls' natural wish to look nice, make them proud of beautifully-brushed and well-plaited hair, rather than of a smart hat above it. Then comes the question of tooth brushes. (How often does it happen that the lady's own under-servants come to her service without a tooth brush?) The Missioner should be able to give the price of each article she recommends: towels, hair brushes, tooth brushes etc.

The cottage homes of England are, after all, the most important of the homes of any class, that they should be pure in every sense, pure in body and in mind. Boys and girls must grow up healthy, with clean minds, clean bodies and clean skins. The first teachings and impressions they have at home must all be pure and gentle and firm. It is home that teaches the child, after all, more than any other schooling. A child learns before it is three whether it shall obey its mother or not. Before it is seven its character is a good way to being formed. When a child has lost its health, how often the mother says "O, if I had only known, but there was no one to tell me." God did not intend all mothers to be accompanied by doctors, but He meant all children to be cared for by mothers.

Clothes: The circulation and how to keep the body warm. Simple account of how the heart and lungs act. Clothes to be warm and loose--no pressure. Test for tight lacing if when stays are worn. Danger of dirty clothes next the skin: re-absorption of poison; danger of wearing the same under clothing day and night; best materials for clothing--why flannel is so valuable; danger of sitting in wet clothes and boots; too little air causes more chills than too much; the body not easily chilled when warm and

well clothed.

Food: Digestion and how to nourish the body. Simple account of how food is digested and turned into blood. Worse food (well cooked) fresh air, better than best food (ill cooked) without fresh air. Diet, not medicine, ensures health. Uses of animal and of vegetable food. Danger of all ill-cooked and half-cooked food. Nourishing value of vegetables and whole-meal bread. Danger of too little food and too much at the wrong times. Dangers of uncooked meat, specially pork, diseased meat, decaying fish, unripe and over-ripe fruit and stewed tea. (In one county it is a common habit to add a spoonful of tea every day to the teapot and empty it out only, say, once a month, stewing the tea all the while.) Vital importance of cooked fruit for children, stewed apples and pears, damsons, blackberries. Value of milk as food. (Don't sell all your milk.) Influence of diet upon constipation, diarrhea, indigestion, convulsions in children; small changes of diet promote appetite and health.

Extra Subjects--Home Treatment: What to do till the doctor comes and after the doctor has left. Grave danger of being one's own doctor, of taking quack medicine or a medicine which has cured someone else in quite a different case.

A cottage mother, not so very poor, fell into the fire in a fit while she was preparing breakfast and was badly burnt. We sent for the nearest doctor, who came at once, bringing his medicaments in his gig. The husband ran for the horse doctor, who did not come, but sent an ointment for a horse. The wise woman of the village came of her own accord, and gave another ointment. "Well, Mrs Y." said the lady who sent for the doctor, "What did you do?" "Well you know, Miss, I studied a bit, and then I mixed all three together, because then, you know, I was sure I got the right one." The consequences to the poor woman may be imagined.

Another poor woman in a different county took something which had been sent to her husband for a bad leg, believing herself to have fever. "Well, Miss, it did he a sight of good and look at me, ban't I quite peart?" The "peartness" ended in fever.

Liquid food only to be given till the doctor comes. Dangerous signals of illness and how to recognize them. Hourly dangers of ruptures if not completely supported by trusses. What to do if clothes catch fire--and for burns, scalds, bites, cuts, stings, injuries to the head and to the eye, swallowing fruit stones, pins etc. Simple rules to avoid infection After the doctor has left, how to take care of convalescents; how to feed. It is not uncommon to give such things as onion broth or solid food to people and children recovering from typhoid (enteric fever), which generally produces a relapse, sometimes fatal. In convalescent homes for children the urchins have refused their bread and milk and asked for pickles, which seem now to have taken the place of sweets, and when they have found that only

bread and milk was to be had for breakfast, these urchins have gone out and succeeded in getting pickles, and even kippered fish and the like, after breakfast. When to keep rooms dark and when to admit plenty of light. Danger of chills.

[Box: No child can be well who is not bright and merry and brought up in fresh air and sunshine and surrounded by love--the sunshine of the soul.]

Management of Infants and Children: How to feed, clothe and wash. Nursing, weaning, hand feeding, regular intervals between feeding, flatulence, thrush, convulsions, bronchitis, croup. Simple hints to mothers about healthy conditions for children. Baths. Diet: how to prevent constipation and diarrhea. What to do in sudden attacks of convulsions and croup. Deadly danger of giving "soothing syrups" or alcohol. Made foods not wholesome. Headache often caused by bad eyesight. Symptoms of overwork at school--headache, worry, talking in the sleep. Danger to babies and little children of any violence, jerks and sudden movements, loud voices, slaps, box on the ear. Good effects upon the health of gentleness, firmness and cheerfulness. No child can be well who is not bright and merry and brought up in fresh air and sunshine and surrounded by love--the sunshine of the soul.

4. (In answer to many questions asked) SOME SKETCH OF THE SCHEME OF HEALTH-AT-HOME TRAINING AND WORK. The questions asked have been mainly: How to begin? What is your plan for Health-at-Home instruction and training the Health Missioners to train the cottage mothers in their homes. It is altogether different from nursing disease; it is preventing disease. The answer must needs be somewhat dry: first and foremost, the pivot must be a rural Medical Officer of Health chosen for fitness and experience by the proper local authority. (2) The keys to the whole situation are the educated women desirous of becoming Health Missioners, to whom lectures, training in the village itself, are given by the earnest Medical Officer of Health.

(2a) The lectures by the medical officer to include elementary physiology, that is, a simple explanation of the organs of the body--how each affects the health of the body, and how each can be kept in order. This constitutes the science of hygiene, framed so as to give the practical scientific basis on which popular familiar teaching to village mothers and girls can be given. Other ladies may be admitted to this course of not less than fifteen lectures.

(2b) The Medical Officer of Health gives further instruction in classes to those who wish to qualify as Health Missioners, both by oral instruction and papers. (2c) The medical officer now takes those who have attended the classes into the villages to visit the cottages and shows them what to observe and how to visit. If the medical officer is himself in touch with the village mothers not only will he not give offence but these will

be welcomed.

[Box: Not bacteriology, but looking into the drains is the thing needed.]

(2d) The medical officer chooses the candidates he deems qualified to be examined for Health Missioners. These qualifications must be good character, good health, personal fitness for teaching, tact and power, so as to be "in touch" and in love with the village mothers--to be acceptable to them--growing in sympathy for them, to be their personal friend, and to make them her personal friends--not "prying about," as the village mothers might say. Not bacteriology, but looking into the drains is the thing needed. Even medical students do not learn from lectures, unless with the objects before them. (N.B. Both medical officer and missioners must be enthusiasts in the work, must believe in hygiene and sanitation, believe in them as a life-and-death matter.)

(3) The candidates are now examined by an independent examiner appointed by the local authority, one who is familiar with the conditions of rural and village life, so unlike town life, who then, in conjunction with the medical officer, recommends the candidates who have satisfied them both to the local authority, and the latter appoints as many as are required.

(4) The Health Missioners are appointed to districts consisting each of a number of small villages grouped with a larger one or the market town. Over these there is a District Committee which is represented on the local authority. Each village has a local committee represented on the District Committee. The local committee makes arrangements for the lectures by the Health Missioner and for receiving her. (5) The Health Missioner works under the supervision of the Medical Officer of Health, who as often as possible introduces her to the village in the first instance, and he makes it his business to enquire into the practical results of her work.

(6) Lectures to the cottage mothers are delivered in simple, homely language. (7) But the lecture is only the beginning of the work, the prelude to it. The real work is when, having made friends with the cottage mothers, and being invited by them to their own homes, every one of whom and every one of which differs from every other, the Health Missioner practically shows the cottage mother there, in the bedroom, in the kitchen and parlour, in the back yard and garden, in washing everybody's skin clean, in clothing and food--aided by the cottage mothers, who alone can tell her how to make what she has taught practicable. They teach her as much as she teaches them. The mothers should help her by asking questions and by relating their own experiences. And, in a lecture, the Missioner should welcome such questions, even if asked rudely. If she snubs them, it is all over with her usefulness.

(8) After a Health Missioner has become settled in a district she will then be able to receive a Probationer who, while attending the medical officer's lectures and classes, will find time to accompany the Health Missioner in her round of visiting. (It will depend on the tact of the two ladies if this is acceptable or not to the cottage mother. If unacceptable, it must, of course, cease.) The Lecturing Missioner must be well acquainted with the busy life of cottage mothers. The contrast is indeed strange between the poor woman who said (she was every day thirteen to fifteen hours on her feet) "O that I could sit down one hour a day with nothing to do!" and the young lady who has her arms and legs pulled about by "kinesipathy" or some such conundrum to supply the want of exercise.

(9) You will doubtless ask: How shall we get the results of the Health Missioners' work fairly and completely tested? A question not at all easy to answer, because in the first place there can be no speedy results; the process is necessarily very slow; and because, in the second place, the results are often not on the surface but in the intimate and private habits of life which a stranger who comes on a tour of inspection can hardly enquire about without giving offence. There are, however, two kinds of tests. The one is that which a carefully prepared system of written returns will give, showing attendance at village lectures and the number of cottage visits paid by invitation, and other figures and facts that are capable of tabulation. The other test is that which can be obtained from a tactful Lady Visitor, who may go round either with (if she be a stranger to the people) or on the track of the Health Missioner, gathering as she goes by the talk of those whom she visits and the condition of their cottages what the influence of the Health Missioner has been, and how she has bettered the facts and conditions of the lives of the people.

(5) WHAT WE MEAN BY PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE LADY LECTURERS AND COTTAGE MOTHERS. This is not made by lecturing upon bedrooms, sculleries, sties and wells in general, but by actual examination of the particular bedroom, scullery, sty and well, which differ as much in different cottages as the characters of the inmates. A lecturer is a prescribing person. But what should you say of a prescribing doctor who only saw his or her patient on the benches of a room, who never examined into the case of each individual, never visited his patient, or came into touch with any of them? This is the lecturer. He or she is not even a tutor who sees pupils separately. He or she never comes into contact with them. To the lectured mother it is like going to a play. The cottage mother is, as a rule, both civil and timid. How often one has heard her say: "I be sure, it's very kind of the ladies to come and lecture to we, or try to amuse we. But that's not what we want. They don't know what us wants."

Sympathy, with interest in the poor so as to help them, can only be got by long and close intercourse with each in her own house--not patronizing--not *talking down* to them, not *prying about*. Sympathy which will grow in insight and love with every visit, which will enable you to show the cottage mother on the spot how to give air to the bedroom etc. You could not get through the daily work of the cottage mother--the washing, cooking, cleaning, mending, making. So ask what plan she would recommend to carry out your suggestions rather than what she does. The old cottage mother has no idea of responsibility for the health of her family. It is all the "will of God." But the young mother, who has had some education, is anxious to be taught. A very pregnant remark was made: "How superior the animal mother is to the human mother in intelligent care of her offspring; the cow never tries to teach her calf to eat grass and the cat licks her kitten all over before it is half an hour old."

As has been said of other people, may yet more truly be said of cottage mothers. You cannot know them by just seeing them in class. You certainly cannot know their homes, their circumstances, their daily work--so excessive--their troubles so bravely borne, their gossip--often their only recreation. You cannot know the points through which they can be influenced and influence others. They certainly cannot be managed or influenced in a lump, rather less than anybody else. You must know each and her individuality, separately at home, if you are to do any good. And you must be welcome to them. You must *mother* the cottage mother and the girls. And don't think the gain is all on their side. How much we learn from the poor--how much from our patients in hospital--when heart meets heart.

It is a rule among the best District Nurse Societies not to give alms (money). This also should be a rule of the Health Missioners. But without knowing the wants, the difficulties, temptations, fatigues of their daily lives--without a serious study of their world--we cannot help them. Much fatigue is occasioned by their want of method. Their deplorable manners to their children have been noticed: "I'll bray your brains out if you don't do it voluntarily"--this was an affectionate mother about going to school. Then, the heroism of the poor! The lecture is only a foothold for knowing the cottage mothers. Let us remember the town can no more instruct the country than the country the town. The success of this or any work cannot be tested by the number of lectures delivered, or even by the attendance at the lectures, but only by the practical results that have actually appeared from the teaching applied in personal visits. Such results must of course be slow, but slow and sure wins the race. The test of success is the gaining the confidence of village mothers and being invited to help them in their own homes. They must feel that the Health Missioner comes not to find

fault, but to find friends. The lectures will indeed be a dismal failure unless the cottage women support the Missioners. "It seems to be of no use talking," said a great Sanitary Commissioner. It is perfectly vain to try to convert the villages without themselves. Results shown are the only test.

Conclusion: The criticism on all this will be: "What an enormous time it will take. You are describing a process that will not take weeks, but months and years. Life is not long enough for this." Our reply is that for centuries there have been superstitions, for centuries the habits of dirt and neglect have been steadily and perseveringly learnt. If we can transform by a few years' quiet, persistent work the habits of centuries, the process will not have been slow but amazingly rapid. What is *slow* in more senses than one is the eternal lecturing that is *vox et proeterea nihil*--words that go in at one ear and out at the other. The only word that sticks is the word that follows work. The work that *pays* is the work of the skilful hand, directed by the cool head and inspired by the loving heart. Join heart with heart and hand in hand and pray for the perfect gift of love to be the spirit and the life of all your work. Can there be any higher work than this? Can any woman wish for a more womanly work? Can any man think it unworthy of the best of women?

When the greatest men of science devote a large part of their lives to bring, in simple language within the reach of all, the results of their deepest study, the women of the highest cultivation and of the deepest sympathy may well take up such work as we have attempted here to sketch out. But they must "stoop to conquer." Or, rather, they must not think it *stooping* but following the Divine in their hearts to be "at home" in cottage mothers' homes.