ing, or through any other defect or imperfection; but each person should wear just such clothing, at all times, as will involve the least risk, and produce the greatest vigor and physical enjoyment.

Our persons should be *nourished* by food of the right kind, properly prepared, and taken at such times, in such a manner, and in such quantities, as will promote the greatest vigor. We should "eat that we may live, not live that we may eat;" take food to nourish us, not to satiate a depraved appetite; and adapt our food and our regimen, at all times, to the present physical and sanitary condition of the body. When debilitated and fatigued, we cannot take with impunity the same kind or quantity of food as when in a different condition.

Our persons should be *preserved* and *strengthened* by wise and uniform care and training. We should *cleanse* our persons by daily ablutions, properly applied, at suitable times, and of the right kind and temperature; *strengthen* our persons, physically and intellectually, by regular and progressive, not transient and excessive, exercise and labor, at such times, to such extent, and in such places, as will be most invigorating; and should *refresh* our persons by rest and sleep, at proper times, in right places, by suitable means, and in sufficient quantities.

What is right and suitable and proper, in each of these cases, must be determined by each one's own intelligence, observation, experience, feelings, and condition, ascertained by himself. If careful personal sanitary examinations were frequently made in this way, and personal health was guarded and improved by these means, we should hear less of the ravages of cholera, typhus, and other epidemics, and of isolated sporadic diseases.

IV. REASONS FOR APPROVING THE PLAN RECOMMENDED.

We have presented, in the preceding pages, some of the principal measures that have occurred to us as worthy of being embraced in a plan for a sanitary survey of the State, which we recommend for adoption. We might have included other collateral subjects, and might have given a more full explanation and illustration of those already presented, but the occa-

sion did not seem to require it or make it necessary. Our design will have been accomplished if our recommendations have been explained sufficiently to be generally understood and capable of being reduced to practical operation. We claim for the whole plan, and for each part of it in connection with the other parts, a careful consideration before judgment is passed upon it, and when so considered we have great confidence that we shall have the approval of all candid minds. We have already given, in the illustrations of the several recommendations, many reasons for their approval; and they are sufficient, it is supposed, to incline most intelligent minds in their favor; we might safely leave the subject here without further discussion. There are, however, some general considerations in favor of the plan which we deem it proper to present.

I. *It should be approved because it is* A PRACTICAL MEASURE.

The great *outline of the plan* is the establishment of a Central General Board of Health for the whole State, and a Local Board of Health for each city and town in the State; each to be composed of competent men, who are to have the general superintendence of all matters relating to the public health within their respective jurisdictions. These Boards, having the assistance and coöperation of the people in all parts of the Commonwealth, would be able to bring to bear, by a practical, systematic, uniform, and efficient plan, a vast number of minds and a great amount of intelligence upon the subject of health, and upon the causes and prevention of disease; and it is impossible to foretell the immense advantages which might result from the facts they might collect, and from the discoveries they might make, relating to the number of lives saved, the prolongation of the periods of human existence, and the diminution of human suffering.

In the preparation of the plan, we have desired, on the one hand, to avoid too much, and on the other too little complication and detail. The proposed act, which is the main legal foundation of the plan, is designed to occupy the middle ground between these two extremes. It contains no provisions which seem to us unessential, and it is designed to contain all such as are necessary. So important a matter cannot be provided for by a few general sections. It must be made clear

and simple; and considerable detail is required for this purpose, otherwise it cannot be understood, and easily introduced into all the towns in the State. It is believed that if the act were passed and put into operation by such Boards of Health as might and ought to be appointed under its provisions, nothing would be required but ordinary intelligence and attention to make it successful, and this every measure must have or it will be useless. If this act should become a law, several of the recommendations *must* be carried into effect; others may or may not be, as circumstances may render it necessary or expedient. The XIIth, XIIIth, XVIIth, XXXIst, XXXIInd, and XXXVIth, would require additional legislation to carry them into operation. The recommendations relating to social and personal matters are designed for the general good, and come in aid of the others without special legislation. They may or may not be adopted, according to the inclination of those interested.

And what is the design, what are the purposes of this measure? What will it probably accomplish, if carried into execution?

It would save life. It has been well said:—"In England alone, the average annual number of deaths from disease is, in round numbers, 300,000, while that of deaths from the mere decay and exhaustion of the human frame by the progress of time, is only 35,000. In the difference between these two numbers we see the vast and vital field in which the sanitary reformer proposes to work. That disease shall ever be entirely exterminated, is of course beyond the belief or hope of the most sanguine. But every disease has somewhere its specific and efficient cause,—and that these causes can be removed or much weakened in their action, in very many instances, is not only within the bounds of hope, but has been satisfactorily proved. When sanitary legislation gives us its successful results, they will be represented by the reduction of the number of those who die of disease in their early days, or in the prime of life—and in the increased number of those who have completed their allotted course in health, and been peacefully gathered to their fathers. Accordingly, sanitary improvements have not directly in view the extension of the *natural* period of

human life, but only the removal of influences which *artificially* curtail it."[1]

Similar illustrations may be derived from observations among us. In Massachusetts, during the seven years covered by the Registration Reports, 64,510 deaths, in all the counties except Suffolk, were recorded and returned to the office of the Secretary of State; and of these, 4,414, or 6.84 per cent. only, are recorded as having died of old age, and 93.16 per cent. from diseases and other causes.

In Boston, during thirty-nine years, 1811 to 1849 inclusive, 62,431 deaths took place, of which 2,079, or 3.33 per cent. only, were from old age, and 96.67 per cent. from diseases and other causes; and for the year 1849 it appears still more unfavorable, being 5,079 from all causes, and 95, or 1.87 per cent. only from old age, and 98.13 per cent. from other causes. Is it not a practical measure to prevent some of this great amount of disease, and assist some of these lives that they may grow old, and die only because they *are* old?

We have constructed and given (p. 82) a very important table, showing the law of mortality for Boston, at three different periods, and also for a district of the average health of the country towns in the State. By this table it appears that 1½ per cent., or 1 in 67 of the population, is about the average rate of mortality for the interior healthy towns in New England. In some towns it rises above and in others falls below that rate; but that may be assumed as a healthy standard. This is nearly the rate of the healthy districts in England. It also appears that in Boston, during the last nine years, the proportion of deaths were, on the average, 2.53 per cent., or 1 in 39. And by the report of the City Registrar they were, in 1849, at the rate of 3.84 per cent., or 1 in 26 of the estimated population of 132,000. If Boston had suffered an annual loss by death of 1½ per cent., equal to the average healthy country towns, instead of 2.53 per cent., there would have been on the average for the last nine years, 1,715 deaths annually, instead of 2,903; showing an excess of 1,188 unnecessary deaths annually. And by applying the same rule to the year 1849, it

[1] Edinburgh Review, Vol. XCI, for Jan. 1850, p. 210.

will give 1,980 deaths only, which should have taken place, instead of 5,079, showing an excess, for that year alone, of 3,099 unnecessary deaths! and this is on the supposition that the rate may remain at 1½ per cent., when it is believed to be possible to raise the public health to a state even better than that. What Boston suffers, in so great a degree, is suffered, to a greater or less extent, in all places, city and country. Very many country towns suffer great unnecessary mortality; and is it not a practical measure to prevent as much of this excess of deaths as possible?

It would prevent sickness. We have stated that the estimated rate which sickness is supposed to bear to the population is double the rate per cent. of the annual deaths. This rule, if applied to our population, would indicate, in the opinion of some, too much, and of others too little sickness. But assuming it to be nearly the average, until we get more perfect returns, let us make the application. The average number sick during the whole year, in a healthy country town, is ($1\frac{1}{2} \times 2$) 3 per cent. of the population; and in Boston for the last 9 years (2.53×2) 5.06 per cent., and for the year 1849 (3.84×2) 7.68 per cent. According to this rule, if Boston had suffered no more than a healthy country town, she would have had but 3,960 persons constantly sick, or suffered that number of years' sickness in the aggregate, instead of 9,837; showing an excess of unnecessary sickness, for that year only, of 5,871 years!

Applying the same rule to the country towns, it will show an immense though not so great a proportion of unnecessary sickness. Estimating the population of the State at 800,000, and assuming it to enjoy a healthy standard, there would be 12,000 deaths annually, and 24,000 persons constantly sick. But the deaths returned in the counties other than Suffolk, were 11,346 for the year ending May 1, 1848, and very many were not returned at all. An abstract of the returns of deaths for 1849, has not yet been made, but when it is made we have no doubt that it will show an annual mortality as high as 2¼ per cent., or an excess in the whole State of 6,000 unnecessary deaths, and of 12,000 years of unnecessary sickness!

It would increase the vital force. We have presented the

loss of life and the amount of sickness as two of the great evils which the people suffer. Another is found in the vast amount of impaired health and physical debility which exist among those not actually disabled by sickness. Many, very many, move feebly about, discharging imperfectly the great duties of life, and have not the capacity to perform the labor which perfect health allows.

"The aggregation of all the physical powers, the original organization, the united energies of the nutritive, respiratory, cutaneous, locomotive, and nervous actions, and the predominance of the vital over the chemical affinities, coöperate in the production of *vital force;* and these together make up what is commonly called the *constitution* of man,—that is, his power for labor or endurance,—his power of accomplishing his purposes, or resisting the causes of injury.

"This constitution, or this quantum of vital force, may be considered as the *capital of life*, with which man operates, does all his work, enjoys all his pleasures, and sustains himself in his present being.

"Some few persons have only vital force sufficient to barely sustain life. They can digest their food, and perform the other functions necessary for the replenishment of the exhausted powers, and no more. They can only keep their vital machines in operation. But most persons have more than this. After supplying their natural wants, and raising the power of the machine to its highest healthy point, then deducting all the vital force necessary for these from the whole constitutional force, there is in them a surplus of energy left to be disposed of otherwise; and this may be expended, at their own will, in actions of the muscles or of the brain, for profit or for pleasure.

"If the constitutional power is considered as the capital of life, this surplus energy may be considered as the *income of life.* This may be expended daily, and yet leave that capital unimpaired. But this expenditure must be limited, in each day, to the quantity of vital force that is generated by each day's nutrition, and each night's sleep.

"This constitution, or quantity of vital force, must necessarily differ in different persons, and in some it differs very widely.

There are differences in the primordial elements, in the original organization, in the distribution of strength through the several organs, in the tenacity of the vital principle, and in the early development of the powers.

"There are also differences in the subsequent management of the system, and in the appropriation of the surplus energies. The animal organization is first determined by the Creator; the constitution is next developed by those who have the care of childhood and youth, and then it is entrusted to the hands of man himself, for preservation and for use. The Creator does not retain absolute control over the organs, nor has He endowed them with a certain and irresistible force, by which they shall supply their own wants, perform their functions, and regulate their actions in the manner which is best for the whole. All of these admit of various degrees; and, in this broad latitude, each one must seek out for himself that degree which is best, and determine what degree shall be allowed."[1]

Here then is the immense field to which our measure applies. Its purpose is to reduce this great number of deaths, to prevent this vast amount of sickness, and to raise the general standard of health as high and even higher than that of the most healthy districts; and this it proposes to accomplish by giving to the legislature an exact knowledge of the condition of the people; by the passage of useful laws for the promotion of their welfare; by giving to the physician a better knowledge of the causes and prevalence of diseases, that he may better adapt his remedies to their prevention and cure; and by diffusing among all classes of the people facts concerning life and health, and the general principles of sanitary science, and by leading them to make progress in sanitary improvement.

We do not suppose, if our measure should be adopted, that these great improvements will immediately take place, neither do we suppose that the time will ever come, let our sanitary regulations be ever so well matured, when no human being will die of any other cause than old age,—the wearing out of the human machine. But what we anticipate is, a gradual sanitary improvement, a gradual removal and avoidance of the

[1] Dr. Jarvis's Address, Communications Mass. Med. Soc., p. 4.

causes of disease, a gradual diminution of human suffering, and a gradual reduction of the number of premature and unnecessary deaths. And there can be no objection to aiming at abstract perfection, and to continuing our efforts at reformation until it is attained.

That our measure *will accomplish what it proposes*, if put in operation, there is abundant evidence in the history of sanitary experience. The recorded facts concerning the causes of disease, and concerning disease itself, in all ages and in all countries, prove it.

Sanitary improvements in England first began in the navy. It is observed in a Sanitary Report, that "so dreadful was once the condition of the Royal Navy, that in the year 1726, when Admiral Hosier sailed with seven ships of the line, to the West Indies, he buried his ships' companies twice, and died himself of a broken heart. Amongst the pictures then presented, as in 'Anson's Voyages, 1740–44,' were those of deaths to the amount of eight or ten a day in a moderate ship's company; bodies sown up in hammocks and washing about the decks, for want of strength and spirit on the part of the miserable survivors to cast them overboard. Dr. Johnson, in the year 1778, thus describes a sea life:—"As to the sailor, when you look down from the quarter-deck to the space below, you see the utmost extent of human misery; such crowding, such filth, such stench! A ship is a prison, with a chance of being drowned—it is worse, worse in every respect—worse air, worse food, worse company.'"

In 1779 the proportion of deaths in the Royal Navy was 1 in 8 of the employed; in 1811 the proportion was 1 in 32 of the employed; and from 1830 to 1836, the average number of deaths annually was 1 in 72 of the employed. And in this calculation the deaths from all sources are included,—from wounds, drowning, and all other external causes, as well as from disease. From the latter source the deaths were in proportion of 1 in 85 of the number employed annually. "These figures are eloquent beyond any words that can be employed. They excite, as they are fitted to excite, especially at first sight, our wonder. They ought, however, to occasion more of gratitude than

astonishment, because the causes of the difference are not difficult to determine, and because almost all that appears in favor of recent times is due to the superior intelligence and humanity infused into the administration of the navy."

Equally good effects have followed the sanitary reforms in the British army. The mortality among the British troops at Hong Kong, in 1842, was at the rate of 19 per cent., or 190 in 1000; in 1843, it was 22 per cent., or 220 in 1000; and in 1844, it was 13½ per cent., or 135 in 1000. But during these years, the garrison was very badly accommodated; in 1845 their accommodation was greatly improved, and the mortality diminished to 8½ per cent., or 85 in 1000; and since that time, the troops having been lodged in what may be termed from their excellence, "model" barracks, their mortality at once dropped down to 2½ per cent., or 25 in 1000; a rate not much exceeding that of stations esteemed healthy. Since the adoption of the measure proposed by Dr. R. Jackson, of removing the troops stationed in the West Indies to cantonments on the mountain ranges, the diminution in the rate of sickness and mortality has been such as to justify the assertion, that if this measure had been carried into effect at the time it was first urged by him, the lives of from 8,000 to 12,000 men would have been saved,—a sufficient lesson, one would think, to our authorities, not to *delay* the introduction of improvements which experienced medical officers concur in urgently recommending.

The subjoined facts relate to the comparative mortality of cities and other places, under different sanitary arrangements:—

"The following table displays the relative mortality in the different parts of the Bolton Union, calculated from an average of five years; showing also the annual excess of deaths above the standard rate of 2 per cent., or 1 in 50, to which, as we have formerly shown, it is next to certain that the mortality even of large towns might be reduced by proper sanitary regulations.

Townships.	Pop. in 1845.	Deaths per an.	Mortality pr ct.	Or one in	Excess over 2 pr ct.
Great Bolton,	35,914	1,313	3.65	27.39	595
Little Bolton,	17,251	485	2.81	35.38	140
Out Townships,	51,043	1,119	2.19	45.66	86

"Thus the mortality of Great Bolton is greater than that of Sheffield, which hitherto enjoyed a bad eminence in this respect; and out of a population of about 36,000, nearly *six hundred*, or 1 in 60, die unnecessarily every year. What should we think of an annual sacrifice of one out of every sixty of our population, to satisfy the cravings of some insatiable monster like the Minotaur of old? Should we not put forth every effort, and be ready to sacrifice all our worldly possessions, to avert it? And yet this sacrifice is in effect offered up every year in Great Bolton to the Ogre *filth*. The fact is too plain to be gainsaid."[1]

We extract from an article on "Cholera and Sanitary Reform," in the work from which the last paragraph is taken, Vol. IV, for Jan. 1, 1850, the following passage:—"Let us endeavor to realize this astonishing fact. A disease has lately crossed over these countries, which, in our metropolis alone, has swept away 15,000 souls. We have lost in all Britain more lives than we have lost in battle since the days of Marlborough. And, looking at the matter in a mere worldly sense, who can know the incalculable value of many of these lives? Every man instinctively pictures to himself how much misery and lasting grief and sorrow this great mortality symbolizes. It requires no stretch of imagination to realize a great national calamity, of which the actual deaths are but the smaller items. Behind each death we can trace easily the anguish of the living; the distress of those left fatherless, husbandless, childless; the hopes blighted; the ties broken; the companionship and sympathy forever destroyed. A thousand mental pangs, and among the poor, a thousand bodily hardships, are the legacies and sad memorials of every death. Callous and cold-hearted indeed must he be, who can turn aside from such a record, without seeking to probe this national wound, and to demand whether there is no healing force whereby its bleeding surface may be staunched. In the midst of the general distress, a set of men come forward to say, that they have found a plan for preventing the recurrence of this frightful slaughter. These men are no enthusiasts, but are the persons who, of all others, by education and

[1] British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review, Vol. II, for October, 1848, pp. 509, 510.

experience, are best able to know the truth of their assertions. The whole medical profession announce, that they can prevent, if means are given them, the recurrence of this mortality and suffering. Are these men worthy of credit or are they not? If they are, then where is the government, where is the nation, that can disregard this assertion,—that can blindly shut its ears to those groans of anguish, the echo of which has not yet died from our affrighted air,—and, careless of the future, can see with indifference the inevitable recurrence of that fearful drama which, in a few short years, must be again repeated?"

Authentic facts and well founded opinions like these, abound in the various English works on sanitary improvement. Similar opinions, founded upon well established facts, also exist in our own community. There can be no doubt, in any unprejudiced mind, of the practicability of the measure.

In 1842, the Hon. Horace Mann, as Secretary of the Board of Education, proposed to several physicians, the following question:—"How great a proportion of disease, of suffering, of diminution of physical capacity, of usefulness, and of abridgment of life, comes from sheer ignorance, and which, therefore, we might hope to see averted, if the community had that degree of knowledge which is easily attainable by all?"

To this question Dr. James Jackson, of Boston, replies,—"I feel assured that the answer should be—*more than one half.* When it is brought to mind that the ignorance of parents is included in the terms of the inquiry, the justice of the answer will probably be admitted by all who are conversant with the subject."

Dr. S. B. Woodward, late superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital, says, "I have no doubt that *half* of the evils of life, and *half* the deaths that occur among mankind, arise from ignorance of the laws of health and life; and that a thorough knowledge of these laws would diminish the sufferings incident to our present state of being in very nearly the same proportion."

Dr. Edward Jarvis replies,—"From an observation of thirteen years, I have been led to believe that *three fourths, perhaps more*, of the ailments of men come from a want of sufficient knowledge of their frame, or a disregard for it."

Dr. Marshall S. Perry, from a special record, estimated that *more than half* of a given number of cases of sickness, might have been avoided, by knowledge, attention and care.[1]

The opinions of a large number of professional men with whom we have had personal intercourse, fully coincide with those here recorded; and we are led to the startling conclusion that *half of all the diseases and half of the deaths* that take place might have been avoided! It is unnecessary to bring further proof of a truth so well established. There is scarcely any person who, in a retrospect of his own life, cannot remember instances of sanitary suffering in himself, which he might have avoided had he understood and observed the laws of health and life. Our measure then is not a visionary, theoretical abstraction, but a simple, everyday practical reality, universally comprehensible, and applicable to all persons, in every place, and at all times.

II. *It should be approved because it is* A USEFUL MEASURE.

If the important practical results which have been detailed, would follow the adoption of our plan, it is unnecessary that anything further be said to show that it is a useful measure. To save life, to prevent sickness, and to invigorate the human frame, are its objects; and none can be of greater utility.

It would give the State a knowledge of its inhabitants. Hasty legislation, based upon imperfect knowledge, is one of the evils of this republic. It prevails, to a greater or less extent, in all the legislatures, national, state and municipal. It is the practice of some governments, when measures deemed worthy of legislation are proposed, to appoint a commission or committee to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject, and to report the facts and the evidence. A bill is then carefully drawn, based upon the facts thus disclosed, and adapted to the exigencies of the case. This is enlightened, effective, useful and economical legislation. England is much indebted for her greatness and power to this practice; and her example, in this respect, is worthy of imitation. The very reverse of this, however, too often happens in the United States. We too often legislate first, and obtain the facts, if we obtain them at

[1] Mann's Sixth Annual Report, pp. 84, 85, 88, 89, 97.

all, afterwards. An exact knowledge of the circumstances of the people, is the surest basis for correct and useful legislation.

It would aid the physician. This would be done in various ways. The information obtained would be of immense consequence in giving him exact knowledge of the *causes* and prevalence of different diseases. This knowledge would greatly aid him in applying his remedies for prevention and cure. Instead of partial facts, obtained for a partial purpose, upon which to ground his theories, he would have a vast collection of impartial facts, truthfully gathered, for no other purpose than the promotion of truth. On such a basis he might construct a much better theory in medicine, and devise a more rational, philosophical system of remedies.

But there is another purpose which they would secure in this relation. One of the most trying circumstances in the life of a conscientious physician, is believed to be the capricious and unfounded judgment which the people often pass upon his skill and professional services. This opinion is frequently the result of accident or prejudice, combined with imperfect knowledge or entire ignorance, and would be changed if the people were better educated in sanitary science. This is an interesting consideration, and might be abundantly illustrated in the experience of every physician; but the mere suggestion is deemed sufficient for our purpose, to show that this is a useful measure to the medical profession.

It would benefit the people. We have already alluded to the murderous imposition which is practised upon a credulous people, by pretenders to medical skill, in curing disease, and by mercenary dealers in injurious nostrums and drugs. This matter may be again alluded to for a more general purpose. Though health is a matter in which every person is directly interested, yet there is scarcely any subject on which so much ignorance generally prevails. When well enough to do without medical advice, we are too apt to neglect to inform ourselves as to the means of avoiding the contingency of sickness. But when attacked with real or imaginary sanitary ills, no people are more liable to err, or can be more easily imposed upon. The body is subjected to experiments, by new advisers and

new remedies, come from whatever quarter they may; and faith is put in certificates, which perhaps have been forged. Many, very many, are thus drugged to death, either by the blind guides of their own uninformed minds, or the unfounded pretensions of others. The object of this measure is to diffuse, among all classes of people, more enlightened views of life, health and disease. In this way it is believed numerous lives might be saved, a great amount of sickness prevented, and a corresponding amount of suffering avoided. Is not this a useful purpose?

III. *It should be approved because it is* AN ECONOMICAL MEASURE.

The expense of preventive sanitary measures is the most common argument brought against their adoption. Epidemics are considered by the ignorant as evils which it is useless to attempt to prevent; and among the better informed, a false idea of economy, which has sometimes led to the most fatal results, has been the ground of resistance to measures which were necessary to save life. It should, however, be known that public expenditures cannot be avoided during the prevalence of an epidemic disease. Money must be spent, either in saving life, or in the maintenance of pauperism, widowhood, and orphanage. In this case economy is on the side of humanity, and the most expensive of all things is—to do nothing.

Debility, sickness, and premature deaths, are expensive matters. They are inseparably connected with pauperism; and whenever they occur they must, directly or indirectly, be paid for. The city or town must pay for the sick man's support—for his food and clothing, for medical attendance on him during life, and for the support of his widow and children (if he leave any) after his death. A town in which life is precarious pays more taxes than its neighbors of a different sanitary character. An individual who is unable to perform a large amount of labor or no labor at all, is a less profitable member of society than one who can do whatever vigorous health allows.

"It is for the interest of the public at large, no less than for the happiness of the few immediately interested in each human being, that the life once breathed should, if possible, be pre-

served, until it is released by the natural wearing away of its earthly tabernacle. We all know that, in the common sense of the term, a short-lived population is generally a surplus population,—not only because those who are reckless of preserving life, will be careless of all its obligations, and will be poor and vicious, but because the tendency of early deaths is chiefly to shorten the existence of those who produce more than they consume, and to increase the number of those who must be dependent on the charity of others. 'A cholera widow' is a significant expression occasionally used by the Board of Health, to indicate one who has been thrown on the parish by the death of that husband who, if he had not been prematurely cut off, might have supported her for years, and left his children old enough to earn bread for themselves. Many communities are now thus paying, in alarmingly swollen poor-rates, for the short-sighted selfishness which made them grudge the cost of precautionary arrangements." [1]

As an illustration, the proportion of deaths by cholera, in two parishes in England—Hampstead and Rotherhithe—have been stated. In the latter, 225 persons died of the disease in every 10,000 inhabitants, while in the former 8 only died. At Rotherhithe, out of 225 persons, 217 died of preventable causes. "There were in that place, 28 times the proportional number of deaths that there were at Hampstead, 28 times the cases of sickness, 28 times the number and cost of funerals, 28 times the doctors' bills, and 28 times the proportional number of widows and helpless children to be supported by somebody." [2]

As a further illustration we present the following extract from a speech delivered by Lord Ashley, at a meeting held Feb. 5th, 1850, to take into consideration the sanitary condition of the metropolis :—

"At least one third of the pauperism of the country arose from the defective sanitary condition of large multitudes of the people ; and he had no hesitation in saying, upon the authority of experienced persons, that if the population of their great towns were placed under proper sanitary regulations, in less

[1] Edinburgh Review, Vol. XCI, January, 1850, p. 212. [2] Do. for April, 1850, p. 389.

than ten years the poor rates would be reduced £2,000,000 annually. What had been the effect produced upon the parish of Lambeth by the ravages of the cholera, a large proportion of which might have been prevented by suitable sanitary measures? He had the official return of the number of persons becoming chargeable to the parish in consequence of deaths from cholera between the 16th of June and the 16th of October, 1849. There were—orphans 310, widows 74; total 384 persons. There was a village in Wiltshire with a population of 510; in this village four widows and 16 orphans, making a total of 20 persons, had become permanently chargeable. A still more remarkable instance occurred in another village, containing 54 inhabitants. Of these, 19 had been carried off by cholera, and their families had become chargeable upon the rates. Let it be observed, that if the attack of cholera in London had been in proportion to the attack in that village, 500,000 persons would have been carried off; but he quoted these instances of the ravages of the epidemic to show that what cholera did rapidly and by fits and starts, typhus and other fatal diseases were doing slowly day by day. If the cholera had sent 1,000 orphans and widows to the poor-house in a few weeks, typhus was permanently sending hundreds and thousands there, to become chargeable upon the rates payable by those parties who, if they had been wise and humane in time, might have obviated all fatal consequences and been the means of preserving the existence of many worthy and honorable citizens. Of all the agencies which predisposed the human body to disease, none were so fatal as over-crowding in small dwellings. There had been remarkable instances wherein localities ill drained, badly ventilated, and exposed to noxious influences, had continued without a visitation from the cholera, whilst a building where the inmates were well fed, well clothed, and had every appliance to keep them in health, with the single exception of over-crowding, presented a mortality greater in proportion than the awful mortality among the pauper children at Tooting. Under such circumstances it was impossible any particular class could insure immunity from disease. The deaths from cholera in London amounted to 16,696. Of these

72 per cent. occurred among the poorer classes, 16 per cent. among the middle, and 3 per cent. among the upper classes; but he reminded the middle and the upper classes that the expenses inflicted upon the community in the metropolis, during the late epidemic, amounted to no less than £1,060,096, including the cost of funerals, medical attendance, and the loss of reproductive labor. It might be asked, was this instructing the people? He did not say it was; but what they were doing in bringing such facts before the public was an indispensable preliminary to their moral and spiritual welfare."

The expenses and losses entailed by a neglect of sanitary measures may be classed under the following heads:—1. Expenses imposed upon the poor, by loss of work or of situations, for medical attendance and medicine, for nursing, for funerals, for the support of widows and orphans, and for other purposes. 2. Expenses imposed upon the tax-payers, for the support of those who are unable to support themselves, besides their own increased expenses arising from a bad sanitary condition. 3. Burdens imposed upon the charitable, for the support of hospitals, dispensaries, and for other more general or special charities. 4. A loss sustained by the state, in consequence of the diminished physical power and general liability to disease. 5. Expenses imposed upon the community, by the crimes arising from the unfavorable physical circumstances by which the laboring poor are surrounded, and which lead with certainty to their moral degradation. Various estimates have been made of these expenses, some of which, as stated by Lord Morpeth, we have already noticed, (p. 44.)[1]

[1] We extract from the Report on the Condition of Large Towns, the following illustrative passage from the testimony of Dr. Taylor, an intelligent surgeon of London:—"Amongst others was the family of a policeman whom I attended. When he applied for relief, the observation which occurred was, 'You have, as a policeman, 20s. a week regular wages, and other advantages; you are never out of work, and cannot be considered a proper object of relief from the funds of a dispensary intended for the poorest class?' His reply was, that he paid for his miserable one room, divided into two, 5s. a week; that he had 1s. 8d. weekly to pay for keeping up his clothes, which reduced the money he had for his family of four children and his wife to 13s. 4d.; that he had had all his children ill, and lost two; that he had during three years paid six doctors' bills, principally for medicine, at the rate of 2s. 6d. a bottle, amounting to between £30 and £40; that two of the children had died, the funerals of which, performed in the cheapest manner he could get it done, had cost him £7: the wife and his four children were now ill. They were so depressed and debilitated, as to render them very great objects for the dispensary and the Samaritan Fund. All this misery was traceable to preventable causes. Take another case in the list before me. A porter, in regular employment, at wages producing £1 a week: he paid 3s. 6d. for a most miserable and unwholesome room, in which himself and six other people, four children and three adults, slept; the children were shoeless, extremely filthy, and badly clad; the wife ill in bed of a

Attempts have been made to show the pecuniary advantages which would result to Massachusetts by the adoption of an efficient sanitary system. The subjoined is given as an estimate, which we believe would fall far below the reality. The number of unnecessary deaths the past year, has been estimated (p. 245) at 6,000, and of cases of unnecessary sickness at 12,000. This is a direct pecuniary loss to the State. If each of these 6,000 persons had been saved, and had lived 18 years, which may be taken as the average length of the labor-period of life; or if the whole 18,000 persons who died in the State, could have lived, on the average, six years longer than they did, (and who will say that they might not more than that period?) then we have 108,000 years of lost labor on their account, which may fairly be estimated at $50 each per annum. The cost of 12,000 years of unnecessary sickness may be estimated at $50 each, and the lost labor of the sick at $100 each.

diseased knee, for which I attended her; two children had been still-born, and he had lost three others; the sickness of one of these children, which had died at fourteen of consumption, had cost him in doctors' bills 16 guineas; the sickness of the one which died eleven months old, of water on the brain, had cost him £6; the third had died fourteen days old. The expenses in the three cases had so impoverished him, that he was compelled to apply to the parish for aid for their burial. I will submit a third case—that of a cook, in receipt of 25s. per week regular wages. He was living with his wife and three children in a small, close, ill-conditioned room, for which he paid 5s. per week rent. He complained that the water was always 'thick,' and very disagreeable to the taste, and the smells from the sewers and the drains in the house were very bad: he had five children, of whom two had died; that he had paid doctors' bills for his wife's confinements £5 each; and for one child which died of scarlet fever, at four years of age, the doctor's bill was £4 18s.; the one which died of debility, at the age of ten weeks, cost him £1, 10s.; the funeral of the eldest child cost him £3; and the one at ten weeks, £1, 10s. He showed that the expenses of confinements, the doctors' bills, and the undertakers' bills, and the illness of his wife, arising from five miscarriages, had so impoverished him, that having now two children ill with scrofula, he was obliged, though reluctantly, to apply to the dispensary for relief. The last case I will submit to the commissioners is that of a shoemaker, a good workman, who earns 20s. a week: he pays 5s. a week for one small, miserable room, in a narrow court; he has had seven children, of whom he has lost five, for which he has paid in doctors' bills between £2 and £3 each; the expense of his wife's confinements amounted to £3, 15s. each; the expenses of the funerals of the five children were between £3 and £4 each: his wife's age was thirty-two, his own age thirty-seven, and at this age of thirty-seven he continually suffered from nervous depression; and having one of his two other children with a lingering disease—a scrofulous affection of the hip—he was compelled to come to the dispensary: he complained that the water of his house was never clear, and never sweet. A man in receipt of 30s. per week's wages, considering his amount of rent which was 5s. 6d. for one room, for himself, wife, and three children; having had four deaths after lingering consumptions, and a wife and children never well, I felt that he also was a proper object of the charity. At the time I visited these 100 families, no less than 212 of the members were suffering under disease manifest in various stages. They had already had no less than 251 deaths and funerals, and a corresponding amount of sickness. It was only in a late stage of my investigations that I began to see the very serious amount of miscarriages they have had, and which in many instances exceed the deaths. Three hundred and fifty of the members of these 100 families were dependent children, whose average age was little more than ten years."

Henry Austin, Esq., in his Report on the Sanitary Condition of Worcester, (p. 40,) says the attacks of fever appear to commit the greatest ravages among those in the vigor of life; and to one fatal case there is at least 10 attacks. "An insurance charge for the mitigation of the effects of sickness and premature mortality for an average family, is more than three times the annual cost of the outlay for the whole of the intended works at Worcester," sufficient to place the city in a good sanitary condition.

Then there are the public paupers, widows and orphans, made so by the premature deaths of relatives, which cannot be estimated at less than 6,000, at $1 per week. According to this calculation we have—

Loss of 108,000 years of labor, at $50 per annum,	$5,400,000
Cost of 12,000 years of sickness, at $50 " "	600,000
Lost labor of the sick, at $100 " "	1,200,000
Cost of supporting 6,000 widows and orphans, at $52 per annum,	312,000
Total annual loss,	$7,512,000

There are other expenses and losses which might be avoided. The General Board of Health, by their superior sources of information, would be able to suggest to the local Boards of Health, and to others interested, the best arrangements and regulations for different objects of sanitary improvement; and many expenses now incurred for want of such information would be avoided. Many works, public and private, have been constructed at great expense, which are nearly worthless in a sanitary view, and might have been dispensed with if a better plan had been known. It has been well said "that it costs more money to create disease than to prevent it; and that there is not a single structural arrangement chargeable with the production of disease that is not in itself an extravagance."

And *what would be the expense of the measure?* If the act we propose should become a law, the expenses of the General Board of Health must be provided for by the State; and they would be nearly as follows, annually:—

For the salary of the Secretary of the Board, say -	$2,000
For contingent expenses, including the expenses of the Board, printing, stationery, &c. - - -	1,000
Total, - - - - - - - - - -	$3,000

The services of the clerks in making abstracts of a census of the inhabitants and of the returns under the registration system, and for other services, would cost no more, if prepared under the direction of the Board, than they now cost in the

office of the Secretary of State. This then would be the whole expense to the State; and in the cities and towns which now have a Board of Health, and do anything for the sanitary welfare of the inhabitants, no more expense would be incurred for the same service than is now paid.

This would be a wise expenditure of money. According to the estimate above presented, the State suffers, from its imperfect sanitary condition, an unnecessary annual loss of more than 7½ millions of dollars! and this arises, partly at least, from the non-adoption of a measure which will cost but about $3,000. If saved, it would add that amount to the wealth of the State, besides the indefinite amount of increased happiness which would accompany it. Should any one consider this an extravagant estimate, let him reduce it to 3 millions, more than one half, and then the relation of expenditures to the savings, or to the income, will be as *one dollar* to *one thousand dollars!* And even if nine tenths of this latter sum be deducted, it will be like paying out *one* dollar, and receiving back again *ten*, as the return profit! What more wise expenditure of money can be desired?

Look at the able report of the State Auditor for 1850, and compare it with any expenditure of the State, or compare it with any measure that has been introduced for consideration, and few, if any, can be found of greater expediency, propriety and usefulness, or that will contribute more to the prosperity and welfare of the people of the Commonwealth. Massachusetts "has required annual returns of information to be made and published, concerning pauperism and crime, banks and insurance companies, agriculture and other matters. She has indirectly offered premiums for the best farms, and the best farming productions; the best implements for manufactures, and the best articles produced; and has paid to agricultural societies, for these objects, since 1830, the sum of $123,319 18. She has instituted scientific surveys—astronomical, trigonometrical, geological, botanical, and zoological—has ascertained the ornithology, the ichthyology, and the entomology of the State; and has expended, for these surveys, since 1830, the sum of $103,414 84. She contributes, annually, to common

schools, over $750,000. In all these, and in many other acts, she has done well. We would not oppose these objects of State inquiry and State expenditure; nor decry the value of facts thus obtained. All useful information should be spread before the people. But while we approve of these matters, we are also of the opinion that there are other objects of equal and even of greater importance for investigation.

"It may be useful to know the extent, the expense, and the circumstances of poverty and crime, in the State; but is it not more useful to know the causes of this poverty and crime, and how much of it arises from diseases and deaths, which might be prevented? Facts and figures may be useful to show us the sanitary condition of banks and insurance companies; but are not facts and figures more useful which show us the sanitary condition of man, who directs and controls them all, who participates in all their benefits, and whose agency ceases on the invasion of disease and death? The money of the State may be usefully expended in premiums for the best farms, the best crops, the best horses, cattle, sheep, swine, the best application of labor, and the best productions of mechanical skill; but might not something as properly be expended in teaching us how and where the best specimens of human life may be produced? what are the causes which most favorably affect its commencement, its childhood, its maturity, its decrepitude, and its extinction? in teaching the people in what places, at what seasons, and under what circumstances it is most invigorated and longest preserved? and how we can best avoid those causes and diseases, which are most likely to occur to debilitate and destroy it? It may be useful to lay out large sums of money to obtain a knowledge of the topography, the mineralogy, the botany, and the zoology,—to have described to us the character and habits of all the wild animals existing in the State; but is it not more important to have described to us the different specimens of human life, as they are modified, formed, and exist, under the various circumstances which surround them in different localities, and how those circumstances affect them for good or evil? Are beasts, birds, fish, insects, of more importance than man, who was ordained 'to have dominion over

all these creatures?' The contributions of the State for public schools may properly be swelled to a sum exceeding $750,000 per annum, and thus secure the general education of mind; but is it not more important to expend a tithe of this sum in educating the body, and in preparing healthy and vigorous abodes for the mind, that we may, as a people, become physically, as well as intellectually great? Compare it with any measure that has engaged the attention of the people of this Commonwealth, or the Legislature, and few if any can be found, which have risen so high, or have equalled it in utility and importance."

All necessary expenses for this object may be easily provided for. If the different items of State expenditure, as given by the State Auditor, were examined, several may be found that seem to us unnecessary, or that might be reduced so as to meet all the cost of this most important measure. It would be easy to specify such items. The Legislature costs about $1,000 per day while in session. By shortening the session three days only, enough might be saved to pay the annual expenses. As much is paid to the Bank Commissioners as would be required for the Board of Health; and it is supposed that all the advantages which result from that commission might be obtained in some other way without any expense. Other items might be specified with equal propriety, and many may be found of doubtful expediency as compared with this. Any candid mind can make his own selection. But suppose we let them all stand as they now do, the adoption of our measure would reduce the cost of supporting state paupers, now incurred on account of unnecessary sickness and deaths, more than sufficient to pay all expenses several times over. And if a direct tax were laid upon the people for its support, though unnecessary, it would be, on the average, less than *three mills* to each person! Who would not consider this a very insignificant expenditure for so noble a purpose?

IV. *It should be approved because it is* EMINENTLY A PHILANTHROPIC AND CHARITABLE MEASURE.

We have recently witnessed three of the greatest nations of the earth lending their aid to discover and save a single adven-

turous navigator, who sailed for the northern regions of this continent to make discoveries, which, if made, would probably have conferred no substantial benefit on mankind. And one of the sons of Massachusetts, with characteristic liberality, has offered, at his own expense, to equip a fleet to continue the search, if the government will provide officers and men. In a beautiful allusion to this matter, Hon. Horace Mann said: "Thus the three most powerful governments in Christendom express their regret and proffer their assistance for the recovery of a single man,—Sir John Franklin. And yet you cannot pass through one of the great streets of this or any other of the cities of this country, you cannot go through the most secluded town or village in all this broad land, without meeting some juvenile Sir John Franklin, some great man in embryo, more valuable, and of more consequence to futurity, than the one who, we fear, now lies buried beneath the icebergs of the Arctic Ocean. All these Sir John Franklins, aye, and Dr. Franklins too, and other names of potential and prospective greatness, who have within them the latent powers which, in their full development, might bless and regenerate the world, are scattered all over this country; but none of the three great nations of Christendom offers its sympathy or succor, or extends an arm for their deliverance from a fate which is as much worse than to be buried beneath the snows of the Arctic, as moral perdition is more terrible than physical."

Yes; and we say if the money that has been thus expended,—if the lives that have been lost in trying to save one life,—had been applied to the discovery of the physical circumstances of the great mass of the people, in the application of useful remedies for their improvement, in saving their lives and in elevating their social and sanitary condition, then, instead of one life saved, the number would have been thousands.

There is another class of philanthropists who are opposed to capital punishment under any circumstances. They look with horror upon the taking of the life of a human being, which has been forfeited to law and justice, even for the crime of wilful murder, though it seems necessary for the safety and protection of other lives. A great amount of labor and money

is spent in the propagation of these sentiments. But how few of such persons apparently turn aside to notice the thousands of lives that are unnecessarily sacrificed,—the social murders and suicides that are daily occurring around us, on account of existing evils which might be removed! If the same zeal, labor and money were expended in diffusing correct sanitary information among the people, in removing the causes of disease which prey upon them, in propagating sound sentiments relating to life and health, and in elevating the physical, social and moral condition of man, how many more lives might be saved! In the one case, if capital punishment should be abolished, an occasional wicked life might be saved from the gallows, though the removal of the terror of that instrument might lead to the loss of many more good lives by the hand of the murderer. In the other case, the philanthropist might count up the lives of thousands saved, and witness social elevation, an increase of sound morals among all classes, and a diminution of the number of murderers and other criminal offenders.

Several noble public institutions, for the removal, cure or relief of the imperfections of human organization, natural or acquired, have been established and patronized by this State. The State Lunatic Hospital has received from the State, during the nineteen years of its existence, $217,140 91, and in 1849 alone, $11,606 34. The Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford, since 1830, has received $87,847 25, and in 1849 alone, $8,155 08. The Asylum for the Blind has received $150,773 91, and during last year, $11,500, including $2,500 for the School for Idiots. The Eye and Ear Infirmary, during the thirteen years of its existence, has received $44,000; and, for the last three years, $7,000 per annum. The State Reform School, during the three years of its existence, has received $115,648 94. And the private contributions and annual payments to these institutions have probably been as great or greater than those derived from the public treasury. We would not lisp a word against these great charities, nor wish they had been smaller. They are honorable to the State, and useful to their beneficiaries. It may, however, be stated that the number of recipients of these charities is comparatively

few and limited. They comprehend a very small part only of the great masses of the people. And there is no doubt that the same amount of money, and even the per centage of it, which our measure might require, if applied to the careful ascertainment of the causes of insanity,—the causes of deafness and dumbness,—the causes of blindness,—the causes of juvenile depravity, and to a vigorous prosecution of the means for the mitigation and removal of these causes, as great and even greater good might be effected,—a much greater number of beneficiaries might be assisted. The diseases which these institutions are established to relieve, would be diminished, and humanity would be more largely blessed.

A Humane Society has existed in Massachusetts since 1786, "for the purpose," says an early historian, "of restoring suspended animation, preserving human life, and alleviating its miseries." "Discreet and concise directions for the recovery of persons apparently dead, from drowning, strangling, suffocacation, electricity, or the use of poisons; judicious rewards to such as have jeoparded their lives for the preservation of others, and furnishing convenient shelters, on our sea coast, for shipwrecked mariners, have extensively diffused the benefits of this benevolent institution." Up to 1830, over $20,000 had been expended in promoting its objects. Medals and gratuities have been awarded to meritorious services in saving life. Similar rewards have been generously granted by the government of Great Britain for the aid afforded by American seamen to foreign seamen in distress. A very large number of other voluntary associations exist in this State; and the hand of private charity is widely opened for the cure of diseases, for relief in sickness, for the support of widows and orphans, and for various other similar objects of benevolence and charity. Too much cannot be said in praise of these noble institutions, from which flow so many streams of "oil and wine," to comfort and bless humanity; but it may be well to inquire whether there is not another and still more noble object of philanthropy.

The evils which it is the object of these institutions to relieve may be called the *diseases* of society. By them all our cities and towns suffer. The remedies lie deeper and farther

back. All along we have endeavored to prove that "prevention is better than cure;" and the distinction we have made between the curative and the preventive physician, might with great propriety be applied to these institutions as the curative measures, and to others which might be adopted as the preventive measures. *These are the removal of the causes which produce the misery which these streams of benevolence are applied to alleviate.* On this deep and broad foundation lie the measures we recommend; and they should be approved as the first, the greatest, and most important objects of philanthropy and charity. If we would relieve sickness we must remove the causes of sickness, and prevent it; if we would relieve insanity, and deafness, and blindness, we must remove the causes of insanity, and deafness and blindness; if we would prevent premature deaths, and premature old age, we must remove their causes; if we would provide against widowhood and orphanage, we must remove the causes of widowhood and orphanage; and so of every other evil which it is the object of these charities to alleviate.[1]

V. *It should be approved because it is* A MORAL MEASURE. "There is a most fatal and certain connection," says the Edinburgh Review, (Vol. XCI, for April, 1850, pp. 384, 386,) "between physical uncleanliness and moral pollution. The condition of a population becomes invariably assimilated to that of their habitations. There can be no sight more painful

[1] After the above was written, and while this sheet was passing through the press, the able notice of Edwin Chadwick, Esq., the distinguished sanitary reformer, in the North British Review, for May, 1850, arrested our attention. We extract from page 26, (Am. Ed.) the following passage, coinciding with the views we have expressed:—"The principle, though apparently so simple that no one could miss it, is in reality a discovery. It may be stated thus:—In every case of a social wrong that it is desired to remedy, get at the antecedents, and apply the legislative or administrative interference at that point or at those points, in the chain of antecedents, where such interference may be either most easy or most radical and effective. These phrases, *Get at the antecedents, Mount to the sources*, appear to be stereotyped maxims in the mind of Mr. Chadwick—secrets in his mode of dealing with all questions of social disease whatever. Whether it is into the means of preventing crime that he inquires, or into the means of preventing pauperism, or lastly, as he has more than once proposed, into the means of preventing insanity, his method is still the same; namely, by a rigorous examination of numerous individual cases, to ascertain the most common antecedents of the evil under notice, and out of these antecedents to select that one or those few, on which the rap of a legislative enactment or an administrative precaution may most easily and surely come down. Even in cases of what seems inevitable and hopeless evil, at which society must just gaze with pity and shake its head, he has commonly found that a little inquiry will reveal at least one antecedent that may be destroyed, one source that may be dried up. Thus as regards lunacy, it is his firm belief, announced more than once in his more recent communications with the public, that were all the cases of lunacy in the country to be undertaken by the state in such a manner that the antecedents in each case should be rigorously traced out, causes of that fearful malady would be expiscated perfectly within the range of general regulation and statute."

than that of a healthy, rosy, active countrywoman brought to one of these dwellings. For a time there is a desperate exertion to keep the place clean; several times in the forenoon is the pavement in the front of the house washed, but as often does the oozing filth creep along the stones, and she feels, at length, that her labor is in vain. The noxious exhalations infuse their poison into her system, and her energies droop. Then she becomes sick. Cleanliness becoming impossible, she gets accustomed to its absence, and gradually sinks into the ways of her neighbors. The art of concealing dirt is substituted for the habit of cleanliness; she becomes a dirty, debilitated slattern, followed by sickly, scrofulous, feverish children; and she falls through successive stages of degradation, till, physical wretchedness having done its worst, she reaches the lowest of all, that in which she has ceased to complain. The fate of the children is, if possible, more heart-breaking. All idea of sobriety, all notion of self-respect, all sense of modesty, all instinct of decency, is nipped in the bud; they congregate in masses, and mix with the worst vagrants. At last some dreadful fever forces on the notice of the public the existence of their squalid dens of misery; such as those in the Saffron Hill district,—where twenty-five people were found living in a room sixteen feet square,—where a man and his wife and four children, occupying one room, took in seven lodgers,—and where one house contained a hundred and twenty-six people, and only six or seven beds. These people save nothing, but invariably spend all they earn in drink; and with that precocious depravity too surely evinced by human beings when herded together like beasts, the young of both sexes live together from the ages of twelve and thirteen years."

"The indirect effects of sickness are far more hurtful, though less observable, than the direct effects of mortal disease. Those who merely suffer from fever are about twelve times as many as those who perish. The poison arising from animal or vegetable decomposition acts as a sedative; it lowers the tone, unstrings the nerves, and brings on physical languor and mental apathy. Persons affected by it become unfit for, and have a hatred of, labor. There is no expedient they will not seek

in order to escape from toil. Under this depression, and as a relief from a peculiar inward *sinking* feeling, they have a craving for the stimulus of ardent spirits to an extent inconceivable by persons in happier circumstances; it amounts to a passion, and these debilitated beings are sometimes almost unable to control it. The same poison, by deranging and weakening the digestive organs, produces complaints of a scrofulous and consumptive character, generally accompanied by a feverish and nervous irritability, constantly urging them to the unrestrained gratification of their appetites; and so the process of degradation goes forward. The effort to struggle against the surrounding mass of filth and wretchedness, is given up in sheer hopelessness, and the man's best energies are sapped by the irresistible poison, even while he is endeavoring to resist its influence. The laborer comes home tired, and is glad to escape from the dirt and discomfort,—the poisonous atmosphere of his home,—to a pothouse. In the morning there is no refreshing meal for his support,—again he is driven to the beer-shop; overpowered by the internal craving and external temptations, he becomes a drunkard, and, in time, unequal to hard work. Soon the comforts of life are gone; then its decencies are neglected; the moral feelings, one after the other, are broken down before the most sordid appetites, alike ungovernable and insatiable: he is crushed by drunkenness, profligacy, and poverty, and sinks from one stage of vice and misery to another, till the intellectual faculties become dimmed, all moral and religious feeling expires, the domestic affections are destroyed, all regard for law or property is lost, and hope is quenched in desperate wretchedness: so that at last, owing to these withering causes, families have been found, even in London, huddling together like animals, the very instincts of humanity obliterated, and, like the brutes, relieving every want, and gratifying every passion in the full view of the community. These are the reasons why the districts of filth are not only the districts of fever, scrofula, consumption, and cholera, but also of crime. Habits are early formed of idleness and dishonesty,—of brutality, inexpressible profligacy, and sensual indulgence; and here are educated the irreclaimable malefactors."

These are no fancied sketches, but awful realities. Such pictures of the sad moral effects of living in badly located, over-crowded, and filthy habitations, are to be seen in most of the populous cities, and, to some extent, in the country. We have had frequent occasion to enter these abodes of wretchedness. "The offensive refuse which even animals will bury out of sight, is brought into perpetual contact with human beings. It stagnates in the courts and alleys, flows into the cellars, and is sucked up into the walls. Men, women and children eat, drink and sleep, surrounded by its disgusting effluvia. The pig in its sty is not more familiar with its own odor, than is the wretched immortal in the dwelling which ignorant carelessness has built for him, and municipal and legislative indifference has suffered him to inhabit."

In some of these houses, one, two, or more families are found in one and the same room,—cooking, eating, drinking, washing, dressing, undressing, sleeping, and doing many other acts namable and nameless. Fathers and mothers, men and women, boys and girls, may be seen living and sleeping in promiscuous confusion. In some instances, too, persons may be found in the immediate presence, or in the same bed, with a dead body, struck down with typhus, cholera, or some other zymotic disease; or by the slow wasting of consumption; and in others, a child is born, or an adult dies,—one immortal spirit makes its entrance into, and another makes its exit from, this world, at nearly the same time, in the same wretched abode, and surrounded by similar appalling circumstances. Can moral principle be inculcated in such an atmosphere, and surrounded by such influences? Must not degradation, vice, crime, be their natural, inevitable tendency? If they are not, in individual instances, they must be taken as rare exceptions. "You cannot degrade the physical man by a life-long familiarity with scenes of filth and indecency, without debasing his whole moral nature."[1]

The object of the measures we recommend is to remove filth and prevent disease, to introduce those accommodations which

[1] Mr. Chadwick, in his report, says of such scenes in England, "the corpse is never absent from the sight of the survivors; eating, drinking or sleeping, it is there." (See Sanitary Movement, p. 13.)

allow, and reform those habits which prevent, the elevation of the physical man, the social nature and moral condition of our fellow-beings. They are the best handmaids we can give to prosperity, to morality, and to religion.

Dr. Simon, whom we have often quoted, gives us a similar picture. "Among the influences prejudicial to health, must be reckoned the social condition of the lower classes; and I refer to this the more especially, because, often in discussion of sanitary subjects, the filthy, or slovenly, or improvident, or destructive, or intemperate, or dishonest habits of these classes, are cited as an explanation of the inefficiency of measures designed for their advantage. It has been urged that to bring improved domestic arrangements within the reach of such persons is a waste and a folly; that if you give them a coal-scuttle, a washing-basin, and a water-closet, each of these several utensils will be applied to the purpose of another, or one to the purposes of all; and that meanwhile the object of charitable solicitude will remain in the same unredeemed lowness and misery as before. Now it is unquestionable, and I admit it, that in houses combining all the sanitary evils which I have enumerated, there do dwell whole hordes of persons who struggle so little in self-defence against that which surrounds them, that they may be considered almost indifferent to its existence, or almost acclimated to endure its continuance. It is too true that among these classes there are swarms of men and women who have yet to learn that human beings should dwell differently from cattle; swarms to whom personal cleanliness is utterly unknown; swarms by whom delicacy and decency, in their social relations, are quite unconceived. Men and women, boys and girls, in scores of each, using jointly one single, common privy; grown persons of both sexes sleeping in common with their married parents; a woman suffering travail in the midst of the males and females of three several families of fellow-lodgers in a single room; an adult son sharing his mother's bed during her confinement; such are instances recently within my knowledge of the degree and of the manner in which a people may relapse into the habits of savage life, when their domestic condition is neglected, and when they are suf-

fered to habituate themselves to the uttermost depths of physical obscenity and degradation. Contemplating such cases, I feel the deepest conviction that no sanitary system can be adequate to the requirements of the time, or can cure those radical evils which infect the under-framework of society, unless the importance be distinctly recognized, and the duty manfully undertaken, of improving the social condition of the poor. Those who suffer under the calamitous sanitary conditions which I have disclosed, have been led, perhaps, to consider them as inseparable from poverty, and after their long habituation to such influences, who can wonder if personal and moral degradation confirm them more and more to the physical debasement of their abode? In the midst of inevitable domestic filth, who can wonder that personal cleanliness should be neglected? In an atmosphere which forbids the breath to be drawn freely, which maintains habitual ill health, which depresses all the natural spring and buoyancy of life, who can wonder that frequent recourse should be had to stimulants, which, however pernicious in themselves, still for a moment dispel the incessant languor of the place, give temporary vigor to the brain, and cheer the flagging pulses of a poisoned circulation? Who can wonder that habits of improvidence and recklessness should arise in a population, who not only has much ignorance and prejudice amongst it, but which likewise is unaccustomed to consideration and kindness? Who can wonder that the laws of society should at times be forgotten by those whom the eye of society habitually overlooks, and whom the heart of society often appears to discard? I believe that now there is a very growing feeling abroad that the poor and degraded of a Christian country can no longer, in their own ignorance and helplessness, be suffered to encounter all the chances which accompany destitution, and which is allied, often indissolubly, to recklessness, profligacy, and perdition. The task of interfering in behalf of these classes, however insensible they may be of their own danger and frequent degradation, begins at length to be recognized as an obligation of society."

It is right that these things should be known,—it is well that

they should be considered. We have one pestilence after another to warn us that the destroying angel is at hand. In the mean time, thousands of citizens are hurried through a miserable existence to an untimely end. While we write, they are dropping into their graves. We fill our jails with felons, and we have city missions, and put our trust in education; but the influences of filth and disease are stronger than the police-man, the missionary, and the schoolmaster. To the abodes which we have described, "the Sabbath never comes. In vain its morning eye peeps kindly in at the gloomy windows, for it meeteth no recognition there! In vain its meridian beams, struggling through the murkiness and filth, above, around, and beneath, seek to shine into the doorways of those den-like homes,—for they are quickly quenched by the deep darkness that abideth there! There the Sabbath's decencies are never cultivated,—the Sabbath's peace never enjoyed,—the Sabbath's festival is never kept,—the Sabbath's blessing is never known!"

VI. *It should be approved because the* PROGRESS OF THE AGE DEMANDS IT.

The half century just now drawing to a close, is a wonderful period in the world's history. Inquiry and discovery have been abroad in the earth. New facts and new truths have been ascertained—new sciences have been developed, and the boundaries of old ones have been greatly enlarged. These discoveries have produced revolution after revolution,—have multiplied the means of convenience, comfort, pleasure, and luxury,—until our social and practical life is a very different thing from the social and practical life that existed fifty years ago. And were it not that we have grown up with the results, they would appear almost beyond the limits of reality or possibility.

How are these wonders produced? Mainly by giving to the human mind a knowledge of new facts, and by directing this knowledge to the discovery of the laws of nature, and to their combination and practical application. The wonders of the steam engine, besides giving us a new and most important stationary mechanical power, has revolutionized our systems and habits of locomotion, by sea and by land. A journey from Bos-

ton to New York, which formerly required days for its performance, is now accomplished within a few hours. A voyage to England, once always of uncertain duration, and frequently requiring months for its performance, is now made in ten days. One month only, instead of six, is consumed in a voyage to the Pacific coast. Events which have taken place in the East Indies have been known here within a month afterwards! These great facilities of intercourse increase, immensely, the number of travellers, and bring the inhabitants of the whole civilized world in contact, and make them acquainted with each other. What is known by one person in one place may be known by all in every place. "Many run to and fro, and knowledge *is increased.*" These are the discoveries,—the characteristics of the age,—and they have an incalculable influence on human development and progress.

A process by which the laws of electricity and magnetism may be applied to the purposes of intercommunication between different minds in different places, is a recent discovery, also exciting the admiration and astonishment of mankind. Who would have imagined, a few years since, that a commercial order could be sent from Boston to New York, that order executed, and the answer received in Boston, and the whole occupying but *ten minutes!* And yet this wonder has been accomplished. Thought, the moment it is uttered, may be transmitted with the speed of lightning to distant regions, and leave its foot-prints, at pleasure, at any place along its course. And copies of these foot-prints can be multiplied by the power of steam at the rate of ten or more thousands per hour, and by the same power scattered in all directions. It is thus that nearly every important event is now known throughout this vast country almost as soon as it occurs.

The discoveries, too, in geology, in chemistry, and in other natural and physical sciences, are no less wonderful. In almost every department of knowledge, and in almost all the features of practical and mechanical life, there prevails an astonishing activity. New discoveries are constantly made, and each gives new impetus to further developments. Man accomplishes more in a few months now than formerly in many years. He seems

to live faster and longer in the same time. All is energy and progress. If these distinguishing characteristics of the age are wisely directed, by wise men,—if the progress shall be towards good and not towards evil,—it is impossible to tell what future glories are yet reserved for the triumph of the human mind. We are among those who believe that the age of discovery is yet in its infancy; and that, great as are the achievements of the human intellect, others still more wonderful are yet in store for us.

Do not these characteristics of the age demand that something should be done for Sanitary Reform? Shall the art of preserving our lives, and of invigorating our health, be the only art that shall remain in the same stationary position in which it has long existed; or that shall be permitted sometimes to make a retrograde movement? Shall ignorance, presumption and apathy brood over this most vitally important matter, while intelligence, attentive application, and vigorous activity press forward other objects in their rapid career of advancement towards perfection? We have described the field of inquiry,—we have shown that there is encouragement to labor; and we believe that in no science or art,—in no department of knowledge or discovery, can more important or more useful achievements be made. Vaccination, etherization, and other preventive agencies, are great discoveries, but not greater than other and similar ones which are destined hereafter to be known.

Observation and discovery in the cure and expulsion of disease after its invasion we would not exclude, but would advocate and elicit in every available and useful form; and we believe there is much in this department of knowledge yet to learn, notwithstanding the great progress which medical science has made within the past few years. One of our most intelligent and eminent physicians was lately asked—"Do you suppose that the medical profession has arrived at that degree of knowledge which shall admit the belief that further useful discoveries cannot be made in the modes of treating disease?" "Certainly not," said he; "*we are as yet only on the borders of ignorance!*" This may be true in many respects. Notwith-

standing the brilliant discoveries that have been made in physiology and in the various departments of medical science and medical practice,—notwithstanding the more thorough education and the more eminent medical skill that characterizes many physicians of the present day,—there are few of them who have not sometimes discovered the imperfection of human attainments, and the uncertainty that may yet attend a practice guided by the highest medical skill. The measure we recommend is designed to pile up fact upon fact, in relation to life, disease, and mortality, until their nature and laws are ascertained and demonstrated; and thus aid, in various ways, in increasing knowledge, in leading to important discoveries, and in removing those uncertainties which attend the practice and success of the profession. And in this way we shall attempt to meet the demands of the age.

But the Sanitary Reform we advocate lies chiefly in another field of observation and discovery, which has as yet been very imperfectly explored. This may be called the *Province of Prevention*—prevention of disease—prevention of suffering—prevention of sanitary evils of every kind; and the efforts of those who enter this hopeful province should be directed to the discovery and the means of removal of the *causes of these evils.* Every effect must have a cause—every disease has its cause. And the effort should be to ascertain the exact relation which one bears to the other—what known, exact and positive causes, will produce a known, exact and positive disease, or a sanitary evil of any specific kind, and none other. And is not this as far within the limits of possibility and certainty as is the treatment and eradication of disease? Cannot the exact nature of an atmospheric, local or personal cause of disease, and the exact personal condition with which it most easily assimilates, and which it most easily affects, be definitely and accurately ascertained? If such a desirable discovery could be made, what manifold blessings on humanity would it confer! We know that a human body, unaltered from its original organization or functions, coming in contact with the virus of small-pox, either inhaled while floating in the atmosphere, or imbibed by outward contact or inoculation, will produce a

specific effect,—a specific disease. Here is cause and effect of a known and exact relation to each other. We know, too, that vaccination, properly performed, will alter the original organization or functions, so that the same virus will not in either way take effect. Here is another exact cause and effect whose relations are equally known. This is a discovery which has, within the last fifty years, saved thousands and thousands of lives, and might have saved thousands more, had it been universally applied. Now it is but fulfilling the demands of the age to press inquiries vigorously, and to endeavor to discover the causes of every disease which may attack the human body. If the same exact and definite information could be obtained, as to the causes of cholera, dysentery, scarlatina, typhus, consumption, and the other grave diseases, to which we are subject, and as to the particular condition of the individual which they most easily affect, how much might be done for the avoidance of those diseases by the removal of their causes! How many lives might be saved, how much suffering might be prevented! Does not the spirit of the age then demand the approval of a measure which promises to do this great,—most important work?[1]

VII. *It should be approved because* IT INVOLVES AN IMPORTANT DUTY.

If a measure is practical, useful, economical, philanthropic, moral, and demanded by the spirit of the age, it needs no argument to show that it is our duty to approve it. And if such is our obligation, nothing further need be said. For, in our judgment, whoever violates a *known duty* is guilty of crime, and justly makes himself liable to its penalties. If an individual swallows poison, and death immediately follows; or if, by improper eating, drinking, or course of life, he gradually debilitates his constitution, and death is the ultimate consequence, he violates a known law, neglects his duty, and justly suffers

[1] "Of all the great undertakings by which the era is signalized, there is perhaps none which so clearly stamps a character of real and essential progress as the Sanitary Movement; for the result of this, mediate and immediate, is a positive, a cumulative good; a social, moral, and intellectual amelioration of a most beneficial nature,—one which we believe is destined to effect great results in the material advancement of a people. Its ultimate effect whether so intended or not, lies beyond the pecuniary advantage—the dollars and cents; it recognizes the existence of claims and sympathies—intimate relations between all phases and grades of society."—*Chambers' Papers for the People, No. 9, p. 1.*

the physical penalties of his guilt. If we, as social beings, make no effort to elevate the sanitary condition of those around us by removing the causes of disease, we violate a known duty, and make ourselves justly guilty and liable to punishment; and we shall inevitably be punished, either by suffering sickness, or by death, or in some other way. If a municipal or state authority neglects to make and execute those sanitary laws and regulations on which the health and life of the people depend, they violate a known duty, and are justly chargeable with guilt and its consequences; and they will certainly be punished, either by means of less capacity for labor, of increased expenditures, of diminished wealth, of more abject poverty and atrocious crime, or of more extended sickness and a greater number of deaths; or in some other form. These are the physical and social consequences of a neglect of sanitary duty. But there are others; and we would mention them with all that regard which is their due.

It has already been said that the first sanitary laws were the direct revelation of the Divine Lawgiver; and that they have been further developed in the successive ages of the world. These laws are now, to some extent, well understood. And may we not conclude that we shall be brought to an account for the manner in which we have observed and obeyed them? May we not reasonably believe that we shall hereafter see the wisdom of that providence which produces the earlier and later deaths, the physical sufferings, and the innumerable sanitary evils which surround and afflict us in this world,—that they were the just and inevitable result of violations of those sanitary laws which were given us for our guidance and happiness,—and that these evils might have been avoided if these laws had been understood and obeyed? May it not then appear that many a law-maker, many a public administrator, and many a private individual, has been guilty of robbing others, and of robbing himself, of health and of life,—all that is dear on earth;—guilty of murders and of suicides;—and none the less fearfully real and punishable because they were unintended? The possibility of such a result may well arrest universal attention. "In regard to the whole range of the laws of health

and life, Providence seems to treat mere ignorance as an offence, and to punish it accordingly." There is a great social and personal responsibility resting upon every one in this matter; and it is well that it should be felt in all its force and importance, and that all the duties which it requires should at all times, and in all places, be wisely discharged.

VIII. *It should not be* DISAPPROVED *because* OBJECTIONS MAY BE BROUGHT AGAINST IT.

In the previous pages we have anticipated answers to some of the objections that may be brought against this measure. There are some others, however, which require to be noticed.

1. *It may be said,*—"Your plan is too complicated; you require too much; it will not and cannot be carried into operation."

Before characterizing any measure, a candid mind will at least examine, and endeavor to understand it. There are some persons, however, who, even without previous study or knowledge, and by a mere casual glance, deem themselves qualified to give an intelligent opinion whether a measure has merit or demerit. Sometimes a plan may appear complicated before examination, but simple afterwards. It has been the fate of new measures, generally, to be thus hastily judged. It was so in the first stages of the sanitary movement in England; and it is not supposed that our recommendations will be exceptions to the general rule. Various reasons and motives operate upon the minds of men to lead them to different conclusions. Ignorance, prejudice, interest, or some other cause, may do it. We well recollect the remark of an intelligent and distinguished member of the Legislature, now deceased, when the application for an act of incorporation for building a railroad between Boston and Worcester was under consideration, and his influence was solicited in its favor:—"I have no objection," said he, "to the passage of the act, for the road will never be built,—it is impracticable. And if it could be built, it would be perfect folly to do it,—it could not be supported." He did not live twenty years afterwards to see $5,000,000 expended on the road, and 57 trains pass over it daily; a single passenger train sometimes carrying 2,700 persons, and a freight train carrying

400 tons of merchandise! The plan for taking the census of Boston, in 1845, was opposed by some, at its first introduction, because it was alleged to be impracticable and useless. The result, however, proved it otherwise in both respects; and the same plan, substantially, has since been approved and followed in other cities, and has this year been adopted for taking the seventh census of the United States. It was said that the laws for the registration of births, marriages and deaths could not be carried into operation; and no special attempt was made to do it in Boston until 1849, when, by a simple ordinance, it was successfully done. Similar illustrations might be furnished in the history of the incipient stages of nearly all new measures and enterprises; but after they have been put into operation, they have been found so practical and so useful that it has been thought strange that they were opposed, and that the same thing had not been thought of before! And in this light, we have no doubt, this measure will soon be viewed.

2. *It may be said,*—"The measure is not applicable to this State; it may be well enough in some other places and countries, but we do not suffer evils which require such remedies for their removal; no people are more healthy than we; we are well enough as we are."

We most cheerfully and most gratefully admit that in some of our towns, and among some classes of our people, sanitary evils do not exist to so great an extent as in some other places. But while we admit this, we affirm, from the most authentic evidence, that in many places and among many classes of our population,—in many families and among many persons,—there is scarcely to be found, anywhere, more ignorance of the laws of health, more disregard to proper sanitary regulations, and more suffering for their neglect. Our towns, our cities, and our dwelling-houses, it is true, are not so old, nor do many of them have so forbidding an exterior, as many in Europe; but it does not take ages to convert a new house,—a palace,—into a den of filth and disease. Conditions may exist, and do actually exist, on open fields, on hill sides, in the interior of the country, as well as in cities, favorable to the production of disease. A whited sepulchre may be full of dead men's bones (or causes

that will produce them) and all uncleanness. Those who say that, in this State, the measure is inapplicable, have yet to learn the condition of the people and furnish themselves an argument for its necessity.

How stand the facts? The average number of persons to a dwelling-house in London, in 1841, was 7.5; in Liverpool, 6.9; in Manchester, 5.7; in Edinburgh, 6; and in the whole of England, 5.4. And it has been considered a monstrous evil that, in some of the districts in the city of London, sixty persons are to be found in one house. The number of persons to a dwelling-house in Boston, in 1845, was 10.75; and, in a section of the city containing 3,131 inhabitants, the number to each house was 37; and the space for each inhabitant, in the whole district, including streets, was equal only to *seven* square yards! This is equal to some of the worst districts in Liverpool. One of this commission predicted, years ago, that if the cholera or any other epidemic should appear in Boston, it would first take up its abode in such places. We refer to extracts from the valuable report of the City Physician, in the appendix, for evidence of the fulfilment of this prediction. And it must be recollected that, in these places, typhus, scarlatina, dysentery, and other epidemic diseases, and scrofula and consumption, are doing daily what cholera does only occasionally. In these abodes "infancy is made stinted, ugly, and full of pains,—maturity made old,—and old age imbecile; and pauperism made hopeless every day."

Much has been said of the sanitary evils of London,[1] where 32 per cent. of the deaths are those of persons under 5 years of

[1] The opponents of the sanitary movement in England, in its incipient stages, represented London as the most healthy city in the world; and yet its condition has justified the following statement:—"About two millions of inhabitants are contained in the metropolis, or about one-eighth of the population of England and Wales, and about one-fourteenth of the United Kingdom. Of this number, according to the Registrar-General's statement for 1844, 50,423 die annually, or 1 in 39. But if the rate of mortality were 1 in 50, in place of 1 in 39, as it is in several large towns of England, and in the healthier parts of the metropolis itself, there would be an annual saving of 10,278 lives. In the metropolis, there are about 266 deaths every week, nearly 38 deaths a day, or considerably more than one every hour, *over and above* what ought to happen in the common course of nature. Now, it has been calculated that, for every death which takes place, there are 23 cases of sickness which do not end fatally. We have, therefore, 387,296 cases of sickness occurring in the metropolis every year, which are unnecessary and preventible. 13,832 lives could be saved,—more than a third of a million of cases of sickness could be prevented. *One-fifth* of the total waste of health and life which takes place in the United Kingdom occurs in the metropolis. Of the 49,089 persons who died in London in the year 1846, 22,275 died before they reached the 15th year of their age, and only 2,241 of old age, which the illustrious Boerhaave stated to be the only disease natural to man."—*Journal of Public Health*, vol. ii. p. 225.

age, where the average age of all, at death, is 26½ years, and where the annual rate of mortality for the whole population is 1 in 40. In Boston, from 1840 to 1845, 46.62 per cent. of all the deaths were those of persons under 5 years of age, and in some classes of the population more than 62 per cent. were under that age; the average age of all that died in the same period was 21.43 years, and of the catholic burials, 13.43 years only. And the rate of mortality for the whole population, for the last 9 years, was 1 in 39, and for the last year, 1 in 26. *And yet Boston is a "healthy place!"* London, with its imperfect supply of water,[1]—its narrow, crowded streets,—its foul cesspools,—its hopeless pauperism,—its crowded grave-yards,—and its other monstrous sanitary evils, is as healthy a city as Boston, and in some respects more so. If sanitary reform is needed in one, it is needed in the other also. And many of the country towns suffer a mortality nearly as appalling,—and yet "this measure is not applicable to us!"

There is another consideration shewing the applicability of this measure. Under no government is human life more valuable than with us; and under none is it more important that it should be preserved and invigorated. If it is for the well being of society in Europe that human life should be preserved,—if it is considered a high social and moral duty to elevate it from a low to a high standard of health, where the poor houses are crowded with inmates,—where labor is cheap, and where its products add so little to general or to individual wealth, how much more is it for the well being of society in this country to preserve human life, where labor is in so great demand, and where each laborer, so long as he continues in health, not only contributes to the general wealth, but provides for his own individual independence! If sanitary reform is a duty there, where the life of man is, in a pecuniary view, of so little value,

[1] The following description of the water used by the citizens of London, is from the Edinburgh Review, (April, 1850, p. 381): "The refuse and dirt from two millions of individuals,—the enormous accumulation of waste and dead animal and vegetable matter,—the blood and offal of slaughter-houses,—the outpourings from gas-works, dye-works, breweries, distilleries, glue-works, bone-works, tanneries, chemical and other works,—and a thousand nameless pollutions,—all find their way into the Thames. The mixture is next washed backwards and forwards by the tide, and, having been thoroughly stirred up and finely comminuted by the unceasing splash of 298 steamboats, is then pumped up for the use of the wealthiest city in the world!" And yet a city which depends upon such water for its domestic use is as healthy as Boston!

how much more is it a duty here where it is of so great value ! And in a social and moral view the contrast makes the obligation still more binding.

Another view of the subject may be presented in this connection. Whatever may have been the sanitary condition of the people of Europe, some of the most unfavorable specimens have emigrated to this country, bringing with them the habits and imitating the customs in which they were educated in the land of their nativity. By these means many of the sanitary evils which have there called so loudly for reform have been introduced among us. Such evils cannot be safely endured in this State. It is in vain for us to suppose that they can be confined to the persons alone whom they immediately affect. We cannot wall up the pestilence, or shield ourselves from its influence. It will diffuse itself through the whole community, until all classes, to a greater or less extent, feel its power,—until all persons and all interests, in all parts of the State, are affected. We have shown that the public health is deteriorating,—that human life, on the average, has been gradually growing shorter; and it may perhaps be partly owing to this cause. And if we would arrest the downward tendency, we must adopt and carry forward an efficient plan of sanitary reform. All the arguments in its favor apply with tenfold more force here than in foreign countries. Can any one say with truth, in this view of the subject, that the measure is not applicable to us? We need such a measure to elevate the sanitary and social condition of every part of the population.

We have said that great ignorance of the laws of health, and a reckless disregard for their requirements, prevail among a large portion of our native population. And this is emphatically true; although as a people we may be generally educated,—possess great application and industry,—great energy and perseverance, yet at the same time we are sometimes led recklessly on by desires for wealth, or for self-gratification, in total ignorance of correct sanitary laws, or in total disregard of the duties of preserving our own lives and the lives of others. These dangerous sanitary habits should be discarded, and more safe and correct ones substituted in their places. And in no class

of our people, among few or no individuals, does there exist a state of health so high that no higher can be attained. By a clearer knowledge of the physical laws, and a closer application of those laws to habits, regimen and training, to local and atmospheric influences, a much higher vigor, a greater power of endurance, and a more full enjoyment of life may be attained by every class of the people. And will not this measure greatly aid in the accomplishment of this most desirable reform? Is it not applicable to us,—*to any people?*

3. *It may be said,*—"I don't think much of your statistics; you can prove anything by figures."

This is an oft-repeated remark, but in our judgment may be easily answered. *Statistics* may be defined *the science or art of applying facts to the elucidation and demonstration of truth.* It is the basis of social and political economy, and the only sure ground on which the truth or falsehood of theories can be brought to the test. Mere columns of figures may or may not be statistics. They form, in any case, a small part only of the illustration. Combination and deduction are required to give them full effect. We belong to that class of statists who have no particular fondness for *figures*, though we have a great fondness for *facts*. We use figures as the representatives of facts, not fiction,—of truth, not falsehood,—and find them very convenient for that purpose. We find it very difficult to prove or disprove many propositions without them. We are aware that some persons have a great antipathy to facts and statistics; but in this "matter-of-fact-age," they are required; and they are far more useful and important than the fiction and theory, the assumption and assertion, that have occupied so much of public attention. We would follow, in estimating human life and human health, in all their various departments, bearings and relations, the same course that judicious men pursue in other matters.

The state and condition, the *statistics* of a country, can be known only by gathering together the facts as to its movements and progress; and the statesman looks at the figures which represent these facts, and combines and deduces the truths they contain, for his guidance.

It is a fact that at an election Mr. A. received a certain number of votes, and Mr. B. a certain other number, in each of several towns. These facts, or statistics, being gathered together and represented by columns of figures, prove that Mr. A. received more votes than Mr. B., and is therefore elected. Suppose you attempt to prove by these figures that Mr. B. was elected, what process would you adopt?

It is not often that the judicious merchant or other business man guesses, estimates, or theorises on this or that kind of business,—on this or that man's account,—on his own profit and loss,—or on his own pecuniary *sanitary* condition; but he goes to the *statistics of his business*,—the records of his progress,—his books; and he values and is guided by the definite facts thus disclosed. So we prefer a definite fact, even if it appear as a statistical truth, and represented by figures, to uncertain theory or vague speculation and assumption.

It would be easy to illustrate, almost indefinitely, these general remarks, and to show the advantage and absolute necessity of this mode of presenting truth, but we deem it unnecessary.

4. *It may be said*—"This measure will interfere with private matters. If a child is born, if a marriage takes place, or if a person dies, in my house, it is my own affair; what business is it to the public? If the person die at one age or at another,—if he die of one disease or of another, contagious or not contagious, it's my business, not another's,—these are private matters."

Men who object and reason in this manner have very inadequate conceptions of the obligations they owe to themselves or to others. No family,—no person liveth to himself alone. Every person has a direct or indirect interest in every other person. We are social beings—bound together by indissoluble ties. Every birth, every marriage, and every death, which takes place, has an influence somewhere; it may not be upon you or me now; but it has upon some others, and may hereafter have upon us. In the revolutions of human life it is impossible to foretell which shall prosper, this or that,—whether I shall be a pauper or have to contribute to support my neighbor. as a pauper,—whether I shall inherit his property or he inherit

mine; and every person should be willing, and even desirous, to place within the reach of every other person, the fact that he has existed, and the means of identification. This is the common right which the public should claim of every one, and the common *privilege* which every one should have in all others.

"A well-organized system of civil registration," says the Edinburgh Review, (Vol. XCII, for July, 1850, p. 43,) "is one of the first wants of an enlightened people. No man in such a people is above or beneath the obligation of authenticating his existence, his claims on the protection of his country, and his fulfilment of the duties of a citizen,—or of contributing his individual quota of information, in what personally concerns himself or his family, in reply to any system of queries which the government in its wisdom may see fit to institute respecting them. Such information may be regarded as a poll-tax, which, in this form, a government is fairly entitled to impose, which is at once the justest and least onerous of taxes; or rather it may be looked on as a mode of self-representation, by which each individual takes a part in directing the views of the legislature in objects of universal concern. Nothing, therefore, can be more unreasonable than to exclaim against it, or to endeavor to thwart the views of government in establishing such a system,—nor anything more just than to guarantee its fidelity by penalties imposed on false returns or wilful omissions."

Erroneous ideas on this subject have, to some extent, existed in the minds of many persons. It has been thought that it was indelicate and impertinent to be thus inquisitive; but happily these views are fast passing away. It is becoming more and more apparent that such information is useful to the public, to protect public rights and public health, and may be very important to the individual, to protect personal rights and personal health. And a little candid thought must convince every unprejudiced mind, that immense benefit would result to the whole community and to each member of it, by the adoption of this measure, and by the information which it would elicit. A knowledge of these matters, alleged to be private, may be an incalculable public benefit. Without it, any attempt to estimate the sanitary condition of a place or a people, and the preva-

lence of different diseases, will be nearly worthless. The results will be uncertain, and not reliable as a correct basis on which to found remedies for improvement and progress.

5. *It may be said,*—"This measure will interfere with private rights. If I own an estate hav'n't I a right to do with it as I please? to build upon it any kind of house, or to occupy it in any way, without the public interference? Hav'n't I a right to create or continue a nuisance—to allow disease of any kind on my own premises, without accountability to others?"

Different men reason differently, in justification of themselves, on this matter. One man owns real estate in an unhealthy locality; and if its condition were known, it might affect its value. Another has a dwelling house unfit for the residence of human beings; and he will oppose any efforts to improve it because it will cost money, and he can have tenants in its present condition. Another does business in a place where, and at a time when, an epidemic prevails; and his occupation may tend to increase it; and, if these facts were known, it might affect his profits. These and similar reasons may lead different minds to oppose this measure. How extensively such opinions prevail we will not attempt to state. Some twelve years since one of this commission introduced into the city council of Boston, an order of inquiry relating to a certain locality supposed to be unhealthy; but it was strongly opposed, because, as was stated, it would impair the value of the real estate in the neighborhood! There may be individuals who place dollars and cents, even in small amounts, by the side of human health and human life, in their estimate of value, and strike a balance in favor of the former; but it is to be hoped that the number of such persons is not large.

We subjoin extracts from three different authorities, which contain correct views on this subject:—

"Every man who chooses to hold property in a town must learn that there are certain duties connected with that property, by the very nature of it, which must be fulfilled. He cannot use it as he would. He must, on the contrary, submit to those wise legislative measures which in all ages have been found necessary to protect the common weal. The attempt to

obtain exorbitant profit, either from the sale of land or the rent of houses, must be curbed by a proper public spirit, and by the legislature declaring what kind of streets and houses it will allow to be built, and how many upon a given space. We must revert to the ancient laws, and permit nothing to be done, come what may, which shall injure the health or comfort of the inhabitants. But those who possess property must not imagine that in doing this we shall interfere with their real interests; for in the moral arrangements of the universe there are certain checks which infallibly prevent our doing as we would in these matters. We may build double the number of houses, and quadruple the population on any given space, but sickness and death, and moral as well as physical degradation, will step in and prevent our reaping the fruits we anticipate."[1]

"One of the primary prejudices,—one of those least spoken of but most felt,—which sanitary reform has to encounter, is a vague apprehension of undue interference. All regulations for securing cleanliness and removing filth, are apt to be considered as invasions of the privacy of the domestic hearth and the person, and amounting to an impertinent intermeddling, in matters concerning which it is insulting even to be inquisitive. But in reality the object of sanitary reform is to free the citizen from the vile fetters with which the acts of others have actually bound him, and to leave him free to pursue the natural tendency towards civilization and refinement, rather than to assume any arbitrary control over his actions. We believe it to be quite true that it always injures the individual to do for him what he ought, and is able, to do for himself. But the operative workman must live in the city, or starve; and if selfish wealth has made the city such that he cannot find a cell in it which is not a living tomb, saturated with corruption,—then he is not left to the freedom of his own actions, but is subject to an abominable bondage caused by the conduct of others. The strength and skill of Hercules could not enable the city artisan of Glasgow to live in purity; and if legislation cleanses the Augean stable, it is not doing for him what he should have

[1] Liverpool Health of Towns' Advocate, p. 87.

been left to do for himself, but only saving him from suffering by the selfishness of third parties beyond his reach."[1]

"In the restrictions which prevent every man from doing for his own profit or gratification that which inflicts on his neighbor a deadly injury, there is no hardship;—it is simple justice. Our law requires that the railway company, the master of the steamboat, and the manufacturer of gunpowder, should respectively conduct their operations so as not to endanger the safety of the community; and there can be no reason why the same responsibility should not be attached to those whose profitable occupation is building or spinning. Such intervention on behalf of the public is not to be confounded with the old sumptuary laws,—for it interferes with things, not with persons; nor can it be compared to attempts to regulate labor and wages, or to restraints on trade,—for it is not done to procure, by the artificial adjustment of something which men can best settle for themselves, some speculative advantage, but, on the principle of *salus populi suprema lex*, to protect one set of human beings from being the victims of disease and death through the selfish cupidity of others. The owner of the soil is the person who mainly profits by the accumulation of a city population;—his, at all events, are advantages for which he neither toils nor spins; and many of the princely fortunes of our day have been created by the rapid rise,—often causeless and capricious, so far as the owner himself may know,—of city populations. It does not seem then to be a very hard rule either of morality or law, that a proprietor who accumulates wealth by any such means, shall be compelled to submit to regulations which, should they even in some degree reduce the amount of his gains, may be a security, against the lives of those who by the necessities of their position are enriching him, from being sacrificed to his avarice or his recklessness. While he derives a profit by letting out his square yards of the earth's surface, it surely is not unfair that he should become bound not to transfer it to the occupant perforated throughout with pit-falls in which health and life may be lost."[2]

[1] Edinburgh Review, January, 1850, p. 213. [2] Ibid. 214, 215.

"It is the common right of the neighborhood," says Dr. Simon, "to breathe an uncontaminated atmosphere; and with this common right nuisances must be considered to clash. It might be an infraction of personal liberty to interfere with a proprietor's right to make offensive smells within the limits of his own tenement, and for his own separate inhalation; but surely it is a still greater infraction of personal liberty, when the proprietor, entitled as he is to but a joint use of an atmosphere which is the common property of his neighborhood, assumes what is equivalent to a sole possession of it, and claims the right of diffusing through it some evanescent effluvium which others, equally with himself, are thus obliged to inhale."

Such are the opinions of some of the most eminent authorities in England on this matter; and they are sanctioned by the highest judicial tribunal in our own State. There have been few decisions in our courts, in cases for violations of the sanitary laws of the Commonwealth; but such as have been made are in opposition to the principle of this objection, and in accordance with the views here presented.[1]

6. *It may be said,*—"Your measure will create an unnecessary expense; the State already spends too much money; we cannot afford it."

Every one should reflect that this *is not an expense,* but an investment,—a saving,—a "stitch in time," which is designed to add to the wealth and not to the poverty of the Commonwealth; and such we have proved will be the result. Expenditures for celebrations, and for various temporary or other purposes, and of doubtful expediency, more than sufficient for this purpose, are often made within this State, without opposition and without counting the cost; and why should the trifling

[1] See Pickering's Reports, Vol. VII, p. 76; and Vol. XII, p. 134. We extract one of these decisions. "It is not only the right but the duty of the city government of Boston, so far as they may be able, to remove every nuisance which may endanger the health of the citizens. And they have necessarily the power of deciding in what manner this shall be done, and their decision is conclusive, unless they transcend the powers conferred on them by the city charter. Police regulations to direct the use of private property so as to prevent its being pernicious to the citizens at large, are not void, although they may in some measure interfere with private rights without providing for compensation. The property of a private individual may be appropriated to public uses in connection with measures of municipal regulations, and in such case compensation must be provided for, or the appropriation will be unconstitutional and void."

outlay for this most useful measure be urged to defeat it? But we have already demonstrated the economy of the measure (especially in pages 250 to 260,) and we deem it useless to reply further to such as may still persist in making this objection.

7. *It may be said,*—"If you diffuse information on these matters generally among the people, will you not make every person his own physician? will you not increase, and not suppress quackery; and thus magnify and not diminish the sanitary evils which it is your purpose to prevent?"

It seems to us that this measure will have an effect directly opposite to the one here supposed. It is not intended, in the least degree, to usurp or to interfere with the duties of the physician, in the *cure of disease*, but to aid him in his professional efforts, and to dignify the importance of those efforts. It is, however, intended to teach the people so much of their physical organization, and so much of the influences that act upon them, that they may know, and be led to avoid, the *causes of disease*, and thus escape the infirmities, the sufferings, and the consequences of sickness. This measure will teach the people to obtain proper medical advice when they are sick, and not to tamper with themselves or with their diseases, by unsuitable or dangerous remedies, nostrums or drugs, ignorant of their applicability to their own particular cases. It will lead them to understand when or in what stage of the disease, it is best to obtain professional advice; from whom to obtain it; and to discriminate between the good and the bad. Ignorance permits a cause of disease to operate unchecked until the disease itself actually invades the system; and the same ignorance permits the disease to make such advances before advice is obtained, that it is often impossible to arrest it. Intelligence, on the other hand, understands and avoids the causes of disease; or if disease should happen to have made its attack, the same intelligence will require medical advice of the proper kind at the commencement of the disease, when advice is most useful, and when the power of medical remedies is most decisive. And this intelligence will preside over all the domestic management of the sick room; and thus second all the efforts of the medical adviser, and give all possible effect to the reme-

dies used for the expulsion of the disease. Ignorance and assumption constitute the essence of quackery; intelligence and a desire to do right, contemn it; and this measure is designed to prevent the former, and promote the latter.

8. *It may be said,*—"If you say so much about health and disease you will excite the alarm of the people, and create more disease than you prevent. It is better to let a place that is unhealthy remain so, unimproved, than to alarm the people about it."

If a place is unhealthy, and on that account an improper place of residence, does not a feeling of common humanity require that it should be known? If people are on the brink of a dangerous precipice, shall they not be told of their danger? —shall they be permitted to pursue their course to destruction, for fear of exciting their alarm? Is not a knowledge of their condition their only safety? The objection, in our judgment, instead of being a reason for the rejection of this measure, is a powerful one for its approval. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed." It is only those who know their capabilities and their liabilities,—who know their dangers and means of removal or escape, that are confident and unalarmed. The ignorant, unconscious of the means of mitigation, are more likely to be timid, alarmed, and to be overpowered with groundless fears, on the approach of danger.

Suppose that it should be ascertained, after careful and particular investigation, that a certain locality in the State is unhealthy,—that in that place certain influences exist, and certain diseases prevail, that destroy, unnecessarily, a great amount of life, and produce a great amount of physical debility, and incapacity for labor. What is duty in such a case? to permit the evil to remain unexposed, and the destruction of life and happiness to continue unchecked? or to make known to the people the exact circumstances in which they are placed, the causes of the sanitary evils which they suffer, and the means of removal? Would not this knowledge lead them to adopt those precautionary means which would reduce the amount of the evil, as their only safety? or, if this were impossible, induce them to seek some other place of abode? and under such cir-

cumstances would not such a removal be a duty? Self-preservation on their part, and philanthropy on ours, say so; and so in our judgment this objection is removed and rendered powerless.

9. *It may be said,*—"It will interfere with Divine Providence."—"It was to be so."—"It was so ordered."—"If we are to die of cholera, typhus, consumption, or any other disease, it must be so,—it is useless and improper for us to interfere."

This is an old sentiment. It has formed a part of religious belief in different nations, from remote antiquity to the present time. Death, whether it come in the shape of a plague, mowing down its thousands, or as a solitary messenger, slowly wasting or suddenly destroying the individual, has been considered by many as the special Providence of God, with which we ought not and cannot interfere. As late as 1720, when inoculation for the small-pox, as a protection against the disease in the natural way, was introduced into Boston, it was strongly opposed; and one reason given was, that it would interfere with this Providence. And even in our day some consider it a disobedience to a Divine command,—"in sorrow thou shalt bring forth,"—to inhale ether or any other agent to mitigate pain, or to alter the character of labor!

We shall not attempt a discussion of any theological or philosophical question, relating to the providential agency manifested by the Supreme Governor of all things, in presiding over and governing the universe which he has made; but we would view this great matter of life and health in the same light that we view all other matters with which they are connected, and over which this providential agency is extended. Could we see clearly the operation of cause and effect, we should see wise laws wisely administered in every event that takes place in the universe. The husbandman does not sit down by the side of his field, and wait until the time of the harvest; and if he does not receive a crop, when he did not sow his seed; or if he did sow, when he neglects the proper care of the growing plant to protect it from injury,—from weeds, noxious agents, or "filth" of any kind,—say "it was to be so." *His* agen-

cy, *his* care, *his* labor, is necessary to success. So in almost every event of practical life, we act in direct opposition to the very sentiment of this objection. If "it was to be so" is to be written upon every effect, why do we send for a physician when we are sick? Why do we take food to preserve life, or use means to cure disease? Why do we not let causes take care of themselves? Every one, in applying the objection to practical life, must see its fallacy. We believe that "God helps those who help themselves," and none others. It was a maxim of Dr. Chalmers, that "man should trust in God as if God did all, and labor themselves as if man did all."

Pain, suffering, and the various physical evils to which we are exposed, may not seem to be a necessary part of the scheme of nature, but only as incidental to it. They result from the violations of her laws; and are permitted for wise purposes, perhaps for the discipline and development of our physical and moral powers. In the operation of epidemic diseases some innocent may suffer; but they are individual exceptions to the general rule; and they come like drought or blight upon the labors of the honest husbandman. It is easy to perceive that the sources of many, even a vast majority of these evils, may be removed by those who suffer from them; and that they do not lie so deep that human agency cannot discover and destroy them. Man has a power to wield over and to expel disease. It has been asserted, by high authority, that "it would be possible to banish nearly all disease from the earth, and to restore man to his pristine vigor. If such a belief be true, that afflicting contrast between the sufferings of mankind, and the beauty and beneficent ordering of the universe, disappears. The source of the contrast is found to be within us,—the fountain of the evil is in ourselves. We are our own tormentors, and are not merely the prey and unresisting victims of powers higher than ourselves."[1]

[1] "So indispensable an element is health in all forms of human welfare, that whoever invigorates his health has already obtained one of the great guaranties of mental superiority, of usefulness, and of virtue. Health, strength, and longevity, depend upon immutable laws. There is no chance about them. There is no arbitrary interference of higher powers with them. Primarily our parents, and secondarily ourselves, are responsible for them. The providence of God is no more responsible, because the virulence of disease rises above the power of all therapeutics, or because one quarter part of the human race die before completing the age of one year,—die before completing one seventieth part of the term of existence

10. *It may be said,*—"We acknowledge that all you say is reasonable and cannot well be gainsayed; but we are a business-like, a money-making, and money-loving people. We are too much occupied to consider these matters. So many other things take up our attention that we hav'n't time to examine, much less to carry out your measure; our people are not up to it yet."

We are fully aware of the prevailing tendencies of the public mind, and of the indifference and apathy with which subjects relating to health are generally regarded. It is only in times when epidemic diseases prevail, or when we are reminded of their effects by our own sufferings or losses, that we are excited and interested. We are too much inclined to consider health as a matter "belonging to the doctors and not to us," and to depend upon them for a supply; that money is best obtained and time is best employed, when the dollar is sought, and desire is gratified, without regard to the sanitary consequences of any particular mode of doing it. Some strange anomalies and inconsistencies are found in society as at present constituted.

"*Money-loving!*" And is this the only object of life? Are there none that overlie it? And even if it be uppermost, are we pursuing the best means to obtain it? It is true that most of us, when selecting an occupation, a place of business, a place of residence, do not inquire into its sanitary influences, as we should do if we acted wisely: if it promises money

allotted to them by the Psalmist;—I say the providence of God is no more responsible for these things, than it is for picking pockets or stealing horses."

"Health is earned,—as literally so as any commodity in the market. Health can be accumulated, invested, made to yield its interest and its compound interest, and thus be doubled and redoubled. The capital of health, indeed, may all be forfeited by one physical misdemeanor, as a rich man may sink all his property in one bad speculation; but it is as capable of being increased as any other kind of capital; and it can be safely insured on payment of the reasonable premium of temperance and forethought. This, too, is a species of wealth, which is not only capable of a life-long enjoyment by its possessor, but it may be transmitted to children by a will and testament that no human judicature can set aside."

"Let the young man, then, remember, that, for every offence which he commits against the laws of health, nature will bring him into judgment. However graciously God may deal with the heart, all our experience proves that He never pardons stomach, muscles, lungs, or brain. These must expiate their offences *un*-vicariously. Nay, there are numerous and obvious cases of violated physical laws, where Nature, with all her diligence and severity, seems unable to scourge the offender enough during his life-time, and so she goes on plying her scourge upon his children and his children's children after him, even to the third and fourth generation. The punishment is entailed on posterity; nor human law, nor human device, can break the entailment. And in these hereditary inflictions, nature abhors alike the primogeniture laws of England and the Salic laws of France. All the sons and all the daughters are made inheritors; not in aliquot parts; but, by a kind of malignant multiplication in the distemper, each inherits the whole."—*Mann's Thoughts for a Young Man,* pp. 14, 23, 19.

we enter into it generally with characteristic zeal, regardless of the consequences. But how often do we have to learn that we committed an error! Instead of gradually accumulating capital, while preserving and invigorating our health, in a way which would give us a more prosperous, a happier and longer life, we make a hazardous speculation and lose the whole. This is the result of ignorance. It is worse than that. It is folly and crime thus to rush recklessly into a sea of uncertainty, when safety and competence are certainly attainable otherwise. Our thoughts receive a significant illustration in an extract of a recent letter from California. "Our party," says this writer, "four months ago, consisted of six persons, of whom two only are now alive. Two died of a disease occasioned by over-exertion and improper exposure at the diggings, on the El Dorado; one of a violent fever, occurring after a scene of frolicking and dissipation in the village; and another was murdered and robbed in his lodgings, of the few thousands of gold dust, which he had gathered by hard labor, and was about to carry back to his native New England. We, who are alive, are doing tolerably well, but work at great risk of property, health and life." If these six persons had known exactly their sanitary capability and liability, and what to do and how to do it, they might have preserved their lives. They might have wrought and acted so as to have avoided the causes of disease; or, if this had been impossible, they might have had discretion enough to abandon their suicidal residence or employment. We would not discourage, but encourage, energy and perseverance in every calling, but only in subordination to higher obligations, and in strict regard to the higher duties of self-preservation and self-invigoration.

"*We hav'n't time!*" Indeed! but we have time for other things,—for labor, for leisure, for dissipation, for almost anything we desire to pursue. And to what purpose more useful than the preservation of our lives and health can we devote a portion of our time? If time is not taken by us, and used by us, for this object, it will be taken by another agent; and we shall be prematurely deprived of an opportunity of using it ourselves for any purpose whatever. A shortened life and a

debilitated frame, will be the consequence of ignorance and inattention; a lengthened life and an invigorated constitution, of knowledge and application. In plain English, *we have no time* means *we have no* DISPOSITION. If we have a *disposition* to examine and carry out this measure we shall find time and ability to do it, and still have enough for other purposes. "Where there is a will there is a way;" where there is a disposition there is a time,—"a time for all things."

The younger portion of society may be taught the lessons of experience which the elder portions have learned during a long life,—the physical calamities to which they have been exposed, the mistakes they have made, and the remedies of reparation they have used. They may be told the best course to pursue to invigorate and prolong their own existence. But how few apply this instruction as a guide to their own advancement in physical improvement! How great a proportion say, "it will do well enough for old people to talk so, but we are well enough as we are, we live in another age;" and they thus neglect and refuse to apply the useful instruction of others, and wait until taught by their own sad experience. They are then often too old to profit by it. They did not learn how to live, until their life-time had nearly expired.

Our people spend an indefinite amount of money in the purchase, and of time in the perusal, of the miscellaneous literature of the age; but a book, written with ever so much talent and authenticity, which contains facts relating to the in-comings and out-goings of human existence, and to the rise and fall in the tide of human welfare,—matters which concern and affect every member of society,—is too dry and statistical; it will not interest; "we hav'n't time to examine it!" An individual can announce that he sells a patent medicine, which is alleged to be a cure for all diseases, and even those supposed to be incurable; and, by a systematic puffing, he will command the public ear and amass a fortune by drafts upon public credulity; but the man who announces, in plain and simple terms, a wise and truthful plan for avoiding disease, for living without sickness and without medicines, will be regarded with indifference, and informed that "the people

are not up to it yet." A lecturer can announce a new system of medicine, "electro-biological" or otherwise, and attract crowds of attentive listeners, night after night; but if an earnest, thoughtful, honest man, presents the simple, everyday, unvarnished principles, by which disease may be avoided and the causes of disease removed, and the facts by which these principles are demonstrated, he will find few listeners, and even those whom he is fortunate enough to obtain, may pronounce him unworthy of confidence,—a visionary dreamer.

The upsetting of a pleasure-boat, drowning several persons; a shipwreck, consigning human life to a watery grave; the bursting of a steam-boiler, scalding and scattering those within its reach; a collision on a railroad, mangling or destroying the passengers; a fire, murder, suicide, or other sudden and sad calamity, will sometimes occur and produce a general public excitement. All the facts are gathered together and minutely detailed in the newspapers; people collect in the streets, and in public and private coteries, to talk the matter over; a strong sympathy is manifested for the sufferers; judgment is immediately pronounced upon the guilty; and a loud call is made for such a punishment as shall be a warning against a repetition of the offence. But the dark stream of disease and death, is every day and every hour crowded with victims, carried down upon its everflowing current beyond the limits of time, and all are unmoved and without emotion or excitement. The people "hav'n't time to consider it;" and make no attempt to arrest or lessen the amount of disease and death that constantly float, in their onward course, on these dark waters. They never ask the question, Can this mortal current be stayed, the number of these victims lessened, the amount of this human wretchedness and human woe mitigated or prevented? And even when informed, in a demonstration as clear as meridian light, *that it may be done*, they make no effort to do it, and reply, "We are not up to it yet; you are before your time; you were born in an age too soon!"

Here we might rest our labors; but we cannot close our report without a few words of appeal which our subject suggests.

1. It appeals to *Physicians.* "The members of our profession," says an eminent medical authority, "who have already embarked in this most righteous crusade against physical corruption, cannot but feel themselves encouraged and supported by the sympathy and coöperation of the clergy; and those who have not yet taken any part in furtherance of the sanitary cause, may perhaps find a motive to exertion in the growing interest with which it is regarded by the members of other professions, and by society at large. But a sense of duty, far more than the mere force of example, ought to enlist the medical man in this holy warfare. No member of society is so cognizant as he is of the facts of the case, or better prepared to interpret and enforce them; no one is less open to the suspicion of mean or unworthy motives; and no one has such frequent opportunities of converse with men of every rank and degree. If he, who knows so much, should appear indifferent, or, what is worse,—from the bad habit of looking at the routine practice of his profession as the only honorable occupation of a medical man, and the work of palliation as his only duty,—should speak slightingly of this higher work of prevention, and carp at the efforts of others on the pretence that they are given to exaggeration; society would soon catch his tone of thought and feeling; and a cause which, on serious reflection and careful examination, he would be constrained to support, must suffer irreparable injury. If, on the other hand, he could be induced to exert himself heartily, but discreetly, in favor of sanitary measures, and to bring his influence to bear on those with whom his professional avocations place him in communication, it is impossible to over-estimate the good he may be the means of effecting." [1]

2. It appeals to *Clergymen.* Their official duties lead them to visit the sick and the dying; and they should be forcibly impressed with the truth that the architect and the scavenger,—that sanitary reforms in their various modes of operation,—are their best colleagues. They should see and feel, that removing physical suffering and raising the social and personal condition of the sufferer, is the surest way of gaining access to the

[1] British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review, Vol. I, for 1848, p. 32.

heart, and of making their warnings, their instructions, and their consolations effectual; that the easiest and most permanent impressions are those made before the body and the mind become degraded in filth, stupefied by disease, or hardened and seared in guilt. In their personal intercourse and in their preaching, they should diffuse sanitary information, and urge the importance of sanitary measures. A weighty responsibility rests upon such men, and it becomes them to feel it, and to make themselves perfect masters of the subject, that they may use the information wisely and usefully in helping forward one of the greatest reforms of the age.

3. It appeals to *Educated men of all classes.* As a matter of intense interest, as a matter requiring profound investigation, as a matter of useful science, few subjects can be presented to an intelligent mind which promises more satisfactory results than the sanitary movement. For these objects alone it is worthy of being studied. But when it is viewed, in its personal and social relations to man and mind, it, in many respects, transcends all other matters. To those, who, by education, are qualified for the labor, few objects present a greater or more extended field of usefulness. Educated men and educated women too, who make themselves masters of sanitary science, may, by their pens, by their oratory, and by their personal influence, do an amount of good of which few or any of us have as yet an adequate conception. Such labors, judiciously conducted, would exert a mighty influence on the happiness of the race and its unborn millions. On such persons also rests a great responsibility. "I would beg you to consider," says Dr. Simon, "the incalculable good which may be conferred on the poorer classes of society by the direct educational influence of those in better and more enlightened circumstances. When I say that the social sanitary errors, to which I have particularly referred, would gradually but swiftly vanish under the influence of education, I do not mean that the cure would be in learning to read and to write, though these attainments, of course, would largely increase the present usefulness and market value of their possessor. The education to which I refer, as an all-important influence for sanitary progress, is

that which would consist in exhibiting to the lowest classes of society frequent practical evidences of the attainability and of the advantages of higher civilization; an education which, by models and examples, would lead them to know cleanliness from dirt, decency from grossness, human propriety from brutish self-abandonment; an education which, by sensible experience, would teach them to feel the comfort and the profit of sanitary observances, and would apply their instinct of self-preservation to the deliberate avoidance of disease." Lord Morpeth uttered this noble language in an address to his constituents, while the bill for promoting the public health was pending in parliament:—"Let my countrymen condemn me as they may, only do not let them hold me; do not let them hold the new parliament; do not let them hold themselves absolved, if they do not, either in their places as members of parliament, or as constituents keeping their representatives to their duty, insist upon early and efficient legislation on this subject."—"No one's conscience, be they ministers of state, be they members of parliament, be they members of corporations, or be they citizens of any class, ought to hold themselves harmless, if in time coming they offer any obstruction, or suffer any obstruction to be offered, to the immediate adoption of sanitary reform." [1]

4. It appeals to the *Wealthy and Philanthropic.* The munificent charities of the people of Massachusetts are well known. Many a one has given living or testamentary evidence that there runs through our society a strong current of social sympathy, and a willingness and even a desire to dispose of portions of the wealth, which has been bestowed upon us, for the relief and elevation of suffering humanity. Among the different objects which present themselves for these noble sympathies, we solicit for the sanitary movement a careful examination. In our judgment no object is of more paramount interest and importance. Money used in collecting and diffusing sanitary information; in the establishment and maintenance of institutions designed to prevent sanitary evils; and in the various modes of operation which may be devised and carried

[1] Journal of Public Health, Vol. I, p. 23.

forward by energetic and wise men, would prevent an amount of evil, and would accomplish an amount of good, promised by few or no other means.

5. It appeals to the *People.* This measure is, unlike many others, limited in its design and local or partial in its application. It reaches, and is intended to reach, every person in every part of the State. If adopted and properly carried into operation it will be universally felt,—by the professional man, the artizan and the laborer, by the rich and the poor; and the general salutary effects will be gradual but perceptible and great, upon the collective interests of the whole State, and upon the social and personal interests of each individual. Every man in every station has a direct interest in its success; and every one should do all in his power to establish and make it successful. Every one should, as far as possible, endeavor to understand the character and design of the measure, and should commend its principles to others; he should unite in forming local sanitary associations; and in obtaining the passage of wise sanitary laws and regulations, and he should assist the public authorities in carrying them into operation. Every person should endeavor to reform whatever sanitary evils may exist in his own person and habits, and those of his family and neighborhood. And by these means the sanitary movement will be accelerated, and sooner accomplish the high and noble purposes for which it is destined.

The sanitary reform we advocate is not like some of the popular reforms of the age. It rests upon no visionary theories, conceived alone in the closet, or by some impracticable enthusiast. It aims at the establishment of no abstract principle, with no definite, practical bearing or application. It is not radical in its character or tendency; does not seek to overturn nor upturn any social, political or religious sentiment or institution; nor abrogate any constitutional or statute law. It interferes with no man's rights,—pecuniary, social, political or religious. But it takes things as they are; looks upon man as it finds him; allows him to enjoy the institutions with which he is favored; and *gives him the means of living longer, and of enjoying more while he does live.* There is in this no tran-

scendentalism, or other ism or ology, to which any reasonable objection can be made; though it transcends, in its simplicity, in its practical utility, and its substantial, everyday, universal benefits, all other reforms. Every person, in every station, can do something to promote this reform; and every such effort, wisely directed, will increase the amount of his own individual enjoyment, and add to the aggregate enjoyment of the people of the whole Commonwealth.

6. It appeals to the *Periodical Press.* In this country almost every adult reads. Indulgence in the luxury of a newspaper is a universal characteristic of our people; and by the power of steam the press is able to furnish this luxury in an unprecedented manner and in any desirable quantity. We have watched with admiration, but not without fear, the growth and influence of the mighty power of the free periodical press. It educates, sways, shapes, and carries backward or forward, many an individual, and often the public, too, in a career of infamy or in a career of glory. It assumes an immense responsibility; and every press should feel it, and wield its influence for good and not for evil.

We have stated (p. 46) that the periodical press generally, in England, has been in favor of sanitary reform. The "Times," the "Morning Chronicle," the "Daily News," the leading papers of Great Britain, and the exponents and guides of public opinion in their respective spheres, and the other less prominent publications of the daily press, as well as periodicals of a different class, have advocated the cause with a talent, discretion and perseverance, which reflect upon them the highest honor. The combined influence of the excellence of the cause, and of the force of public opinion, has silenced all opposition; and sanitary reform has now taken its place among the most prominent subjects of interest among all classes of people throughout the kingdom.

The subject appeals to the periodical press in this country to imitate so noble an example. It is a subject bounded by no sectional interests and no party lines, but is of universal concern and of unbounded application; and one in which every press, of any character, may safely and properly embark. Every

one that aids in its promotion advocates a measure which certainly can do no harm, and may,—judging from all past experience,—do immeasurable good; and every one that opposes it, or throws obstacles in the way of its advancement, lends its aid, not only to defeat a harmless measure, but one designed to promote the progress and elevation of society and the best interests and well being of the human race. It will be an earnest of success if the periodical press shall zealously engage in this enterprise, as it will certainly find it for its interest to do, and support and defend the sanitary movement with the same talent and energy that is devoted to matters considered of the highest importance. Editors will then have discharged somewhat of the responsibility which devolves upon them as guides of public opinion and well wishers to humanity.

7. It appeals to *Towns and Cities.* On the municipal authorities of towns and cities, depends the immediate execution of all sanitary laws and regulations. They are required to perform an important duty. Thorough knowledge of the condition of the people, and wise adaptation and administration of sanitary measures, will benefit and bless them. But blundering ignorance, or inconsiderate measures, or unwise administration, will not do it. Life, health, physical happiness, and even the moral condition of a town, may depend, in some degree, upon the adoption or rejection of proper sanitary regulations. An immense responsibility then rests upon these local authorities. And this impression should abide upon them, and they should be led to act accordingly. If they do not it will be known. Cholera in one district slays its thousands or its tens of thousands, and yet in another cannot find a single victim; and the cause of this difference is attributable to certain sanitary conditions present in one case,—absent in the other. Cholera, typhus, consumption, and other diseases, are "health inspectors, that speak in language which none can misunderstand; they visit persons on polluted rivers, the neglected lunatic in his cell, the crowded workshop, the establishments for pauper children, the sides of stagnant sewers, the undrained city, the uncleaned street, the cellar and the attic, as well as the fair open quarters which strangers frequent and admire.

The oversights, the errors, the crimes of persons who in responsible offices have charge of the health and life of men, are proclaimed aloud by their inexorable voices."[1]

8. It appeals to the *State*. Under our constitution and laws "each individual in society has a right to be protected in the enjoyment of his life." This may be considered in a sanitary as well as a murderous sense. And it is the duty of the State to extend over the people its guardian care, that those who cannot or will not protect themselves, may nevertheless be protected; and that those who can and desire to do it, may have the means of doing it more easily. This right and authority should be exercised by wise laws, wisely administered; and when this is neglected the State should be held answerable for the consequences of this neglect. If legislators and public officers knew the number of lives unnecessarily destroyed, and the suffering unnecessarily occasioned by a wrong movement, or by no movement at all, this great matter would be more carefully studied, and errors would not be so frequently committed.

Massachusetts has always been eminent among the American states. Her metropolis has ever been the metropolis of New England. Her example has been imitated and her influence has been felt, wherever the sons of New England are found, or the name of New England is known. Her deeds are such as to justify even her own sons for an allusion to them.

Her puritan forefathers established the first system of self-government, combining law and order with liberty and equality, and based upon pure morality, universal education and freedom in religious opinion, as the only foundation which can insure its permanency and prosperity. And in her cradle was rocked the first child that drew its first breath under its benign influence.

She has her Concord, her Lexington, and her Bunker Hill, all marked as the first battle-fields in that great struggle which severed the children from the parent, and made them free; into their soil was poured the blood of the most worthy and the most noble patriots the world has ever known; and "the

[1] Quarterly Return, Registrar General, April, 1849, p. 1.

bones of her sons, falling in the great struggle for independence, now lie mingled with the soil of every state from New England to Georgia, and there they will lie forever."

The thirteen united colonies furnished for the regular service of the revolutionary army, besides militia, 231,779 men,—an average of 17,830 each. Of these, Massachusetts furnished 67,907, or 29 per cent. of the whole, 35,968 more than any other state, and 50,077 men more than, or nearly four times, her equal proportion.[1] And she poured out her treasure for the outfit and support of her sons in the regular or militia service, and for the support of their families whom they left behind, and for other public purposes, in nearly the same proportion, and with the same liberal hand, as she did her physical force and her blood.

She established, more than two hundred years ago, and near the beginning of her existence, free schools, open alike to all; and they have been cherished and supported, from that time to the present, by money drawn from the treasuries of towns, replenished by taxes on the inhabitants. She expended in this way, last year, for these free schools, $830,577 33,—a sum equal to $3 87 for every child in the State between the ages of four and sixteen. The whole State has been dotted over with schoolhouses, like "sparkling diamonds in the heavens," giving intellectual light to all that come within their sphere.

She established in the United States the first system for the public registration of births, marriages and deaths, by which the personal history and identity, and the sanitary condition of the inhabitants, may be ascertained. She founded the first Blind Asylum; the first State Reform School; and aided in founding the first Deaf and Dumb Asylum; and her money, public and private, has flowed freely in the support of all the noble charities and religious enterprises of the age.

One of her sons first introduced into the United States the remedy of vaccination for the prevention of small-pox, which has deprived that terrific disease of its power, whenever used, and rendered its approach generally harmless. Another of her

[1] Niles's Register, Vol. XXXVIII, for July 31, 1830, p. 399. American Almanac, Vol. I, p. 187; Vol. II, p. 112.

sons has the honor of making the great discovery of etherization, by means of whose wonderful capabilities the surgeon's instrument is deprived of its sting, and labor of its sorrow; the operator is permitted to pursue his work undisturbed, while the patient remains passive, unconscious, and unmoved by the horrors which, without it, might be inflicted. The blessings of this great prevention of human suffering are already acknowledged and felt the world over.

For these and very many other useful and honorable deeds, which might be specified, she has been named, by distinguished men of other states and countries, "the forefather's land," "the moral state," "the enlightened state," "the patriotic state," "the philanthropic state," "the leading state," "the pattern state," "the noble state," "the glorious old Bay state." And many an ejaculation has gone up in all sincerity, "God bless her;" "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!"

"There she stands;" a bright morning star in the system of the Union. On the pages of her history are recorded the noble deeds which have given her a good name and rendered her glorious. But her people demand at her hands a more full enjoyment of life, and a more abundant diffusion of its blessings; and no more noble and honorable and glorious page can anywhere be found, than that which shall record the adoption of some simple but efficient and comprehensive plan of Sanitary Reform; by which the greatest possible amount of physical power may be produced, the greatest possible amount of physical suffering may be prevented, and the greatest possible amount of physical, social and moral enjoyment, may be attained. "This is the true glory which outlives all other, and shines with undying lustre, from generation to generation, imparting to its works something of its own immortality."

All which is respectfully submitted.

LEMUEL SHATTUCK,
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JEHIEL ABBOTT,
} *Commissioners.*

Boston, *April* 25, 1850.