

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON ELECTION.

ADDRESS

TO THE MEMBERS OF CONVOCATION

BY

EDWIN CHADWICK, ESQ., C.B.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE MEDICO-CHIRURGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON,
ETC., ETC., ETC.

AND

A LETTER

FROM

JOHN STUART MILL, ESQ., M.P.

LONDON :

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1867.

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TO THE SUPERSCRIBED GRADUATE OR MEMBER OF THE CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

1, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

August 22, 1867.

SIR,—

In the present position of the candidatures for the representation of the University of London, it may be assumed that for the representation of sections only of the University have promises been got by the earliest canvassing, and that no one candidate, so far as may yet be ascertained, has, or is likely to have, the support of more than a minority—the majority of the whole number, though declared in four or five separate sections, being against him. Under such apparent circumstances, it is submitted for your consideration whether better agreement may not be obtained on great questions becoming the special support of the University, and on a candidate publicly acknowledged to have obtained a mastery in respect to those questions. Of the great questions of the day, are the Public Health question, the National Education question, and questions of internal administration, such as those for the relief of the destitute, the preservation of individual freedom, by a police and penal administration, against such violence as that lately displayed at Sheffield and elsewhere.

On such grounds we submit to your consideration a letter annexed from Mr. John Stuart Mill, M.P., in answer to one by Mr. Edwin Chadwick, C.B., and also a letter from Mr. Chadwick in answer to invitations given to him to become a candidate. In place of any expressions, at present, from ourselves or other requisitionists in his behalf, we submit, as testimony to his qualifications, the independent public declarations of leading statesmen and others, including members of

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the medical profession, on his knowledge of public questions of the highest importance to the community.

We trust that you will concur in declaring that he who has been selected by scientific bodies to fulfil important presidential positions—which he has done with distinction,—who has been chosen by the Institute of France as a corresponding member, and as a representative of the moral and political science of England, is well fitted to represent the University of London.

Should you do so on the consideration of what is herewith submitted to you, and the comparative pretensions of other candidates, we beg that you will, at your convenience, notify the same to us, and whether you are willing to be named as a member of a provisional committee to forward Mr. Chadwick's election.

We have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your obedient servants,

ARTHUR H. HASSALL, M.D.

W. T. IMESON, B.A.

Hon. Secretaries.

Richmond, Surrey.
Aug. 17, 1867.

DEAR MILL,—

The recognised great authority which your address, as Rector of St. Andrew's University, has given to your opinion on questions relating to the position and interests of our highest educational institutions, together with your connection as a shareholder in the London University College, and your sympathy with the London University itself, induce me to beg of you to look over the addresses of the several candidates for its representation, or of their proposers, together with the answer I propose to give to an invitation to myself to become

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a candidate; and to favour me with your opinion whether I should submit my pretensions to the graduates of the University? whether you think the topics on which I am specially prepared give me a fair claim to offer myself for their suffrages; or whether, in your opinion, any of the other candidates may be expected to render equal service upon any of those topics, or upon any other more important questions, that you think are likely to require attention after the next dissolution?

I think you know me sufficiently to answer for me when I say that I do not care to be in Parliament, as a mere matter of personal gratification, and that I am well content to aid anything like equal service by others on public questions rather than to act myself unless it be necessary.

I will only add that I perceive from the address of the supporters of one of the candidates that very serious misinformation is prevalent amongst them as to the position of the Public Health question, and also as to the position of the National Educational question; on each of which questions, it might be of advantage that I should avail myself of some opportunity of giving separately a full exposition of my views.

Yours ever faithfully,

EDWIN CHADWICK.

John Stuart Mill, Esq., M.P.

Blackheath Park, Kent.
Aug. 20, 1867.

DEAR CHADWICK,—

I think you eminently entitled to offer yourself as a candidate for the House of Commons; and, while I should rejoice to see you elected by any constituency, I should deem it

highly appropriate that you should be returned by the University of London, one of the few bodies which, being emancipated from all local influences, are peculiarly called on to guide their choice exclusively by the capability of a candidate to render important public service.

The services you are capable of rendering are of the precise kind which will be most needed under our reformed Constitution. It is generally felt that one of the most pressing occupations of the new Parliament will be the better organization of the machinery of government, which at present, from defects of construction, produce almost the minimum of beneficial result at almost the maximum of cost. No one whom I know of has devoted so great a portion of his life, or so great an amount of mental power, as you have done, to the study of the scientific principles of administration. The course of your official life has continually brought you into contact with the most difficult administrative problems, and you have so well used the opportunities it afforded that, among all the administrative questions which you have touched (and they are both numerous and of the highest importance), there is hardly one on which you have not originated thoughts and suggestions of the greatest value, some of which have been carried into effect with distinguished success, while the merit of others has been manifested by the consequences which have followed their neglect. On several of the most important branches of public administration, you add to your knowledge of principles a knowledge of details which few can rival. I need only mention the Sanitary Department, the importance of which, now so widely recognised, you were among the very first to press upon a careless public; the various branches of the administration of relief to the destitute; and many parts of the great subject of the education of the poor, which is destined henceforth to be one of the most anxious cares of our public men of all parties, and which it is

next to impossible to make really efficient except by means and on principles repeatedly pointed out by you.

These are claims which, as it seems to me, are well entitled to recognition from a scientific body like the University. They correspond more exactly with the exigencies of this particular juncture than the merits, great as they are, of several of the other candidates; who, moreover, are almost sure to obtain access to the House of Commons through the ordinary channels. The time requires men who are not merely willing to adopt, but able to originate and propose, important improvements; and when a man of this stamp offers his services, the consideration of whether he is or is not a graduate of the University sinks into insignificance.

I am, dear Chadwick,

Very truly yours,

J. S. MILL.

Edwin Chadwick, Esq., C.B.

LORD RUSSELL.

Extract from a Speech on the Public Health Act.

“In labouring for the improvement of the administration of the funds for the relief of the destitute and the prevention of pauperism, for the improvement of penal administration and the prevention of crime, for the improvement of the public health and the physical condition of the population, and for the prevention of excessive sickness and mortality—there was no one to whose zeal and assiduity the country is more indebted than to Mr. Chadwick. If they turned to his Report, they would find there the germ of that amendment which in his (Lord Russell's) conviction had saved the country from great social evils, if not absolutely from social revolution.”

LORD BROUGHAM.

Extract from an address at the Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

“ At the Bradford meeting the Vice-President of the Educational Department was Mr. Chadwick, so well known for his invaluable services on the Poor Law Commission thirty years ago, and without whose aid and agency that great measure of practical social science, the new Poor Law, could never, in all probability, have been prepared. At Bradford he communicated to Mr. Senior, one of the Educational Commissioners who attended our Congress, the result of the discussions in the Sections over which he presided upon the important subjects of reducing the time consumed in teaching at schools, and of forming those schools and unions so as to lessen the cost and increase the efficiency of instruction. The Commissioner requested him to examine those points in detail when the Congress broke up. He did so, and collected a most valuable body of information, by visiting the schools in the manufactories of the West Riding, conferring also with school inspectors and medical men. His report was, unfortunately, too late to be inserted in that of the Commission; but it has since been moved for in the House of Lords, and is presented with his letter to Mr. Senior. It may be considered as an event in the history of education, and it is quite certain to occasion extensive improvements, increasing the number of children taught, lessening their labour, and making it conducive to the health both of body and mind. I certainly regard Mr. Chadwick as having rendered to education a service equal to that which the amendment of the Poor Law owes him. On the former occasion I gave him what I deemed his due commendation, speaking as a minister of the Crown, in the assembly over which I presided. Panegyric is never popular ;

and mine was not soon forgiven. I do not know if the subject of it was assailed. I well remember the author of it was.

‘ Satire is sure to find a willing ear,
And they who blame the sneerer love the sneer.
But righteous tributes no emotions raise,
And those that love the virtues hate the praise.’ ”

Extract from an Address at Edinburgh.

“ The paper of Mr. Chadwick at our Liverpool Congress on the ‘ Application of Sanitary Science to the Protection of our Indian Army,’ led to a Royal Commission for examining the subject. The Report has now appeared; it shows that two-thirds of the deaths are preventible, and that this important advantage is capable of extension to the rest of the inhabitants by the adoption of the same means, thus effecting a reduction of sixty deaths or more, in 1,000 persons, to twenty or less.”

‘ THE LATE EARL OF CARLISLE,

In a speech on the first Public Health Act, declared on his experience as a President, that Mr. Chadwick, as the chief paid Commissioner, had displayed a fertility of resource under difficulties and a brilliancy of ability which might excite envy but must command admiration. He (Lord Carlisle) quite agreed in the opinion expressed, that the two great measures of our time which seemed to him beyond others to have affected the internal condition of the great body of the people, were the amendment of the Poor Law and sanitary reform, and he sincerely believed that the most efficient agent in originating and producing those two great fundamental measures, and in clearing away a host of obstacles, was Mr. Chadwick, and that to one or other of them he had ever since devoted his time, his health, and his strength.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES STEPHEN, K.C.B.,

UNDER SECRETARY OF THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT AND PROFESSOR OF
HISTORY AT THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY.

Speech as President of a Meeting of the Law Amendment Society, 1859, on the Reading of a Paper read by Mr. Chadwick, on the Different Modes of Preparation for Legislation, especially for the Preparation of a Reform in Parliament.

“It was with much pleasure that I accepted your invitation to preside at this meeting, because it conferred on me a great and welcome honour—because it afforded me an opportunity of expressing my sense of the many obligations which Mr. Chadwick has conferred on our common country (insignificant as any such testimony of mine must be to him and to every one else), and because I attach the utmost importance to the moral, the philosophical, and the political questions which he has brought under your review. As a moralist he has denounced one of the most common and culpable, and yet most unheeded, of the sins which prevail amongst us—I mean the sin of falsely pretended knowledge—the sin, that is, of spontaneously undertaking highly responsible duties without the knowledge requisite for the efficient discharge of them. As a philosophical inquirer, he has proposed or suggested the question—Why is it that the progress of social science is so slow and imperfect amongst us, while the progress of physical science is so rapid and effectual? and has answered it by observing, that while they who teach us the laws of the material world never advance to any inference until after the most exhaustive scrutiny into the premises from which it is drawn, they who address us respecting the well-being of the commonwealth are continually arriving at practical conclusions under an almost incredible ignorance of the grounds from which alone they could be safely deduced.”

The President of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, Dr. Shapter, in his retrospective address at Leeds, in 1848, speaking of the Report prepared by Mr. Chadwick on the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain, states that it is “a volume of peculiar value, which has been described by an eminent reviewer (Sir Benjamin Brodie) as constituting the most valuable and complete treatise on certain departments of medical police ever published in this or any other country. It must not be forgotten that the conception and carrying out of these inquiries are owing to one who is not a member of the medical profession, and that in bringing them to a conclusion Mr. Chadwick has proved himself equal to the task so well conceived.”

Dr. C. F. H. Marx, Professor of Medicine at the University of Gottingen, and Dr. R. Willis, then Librarian to the College of Surgeons, dedicated to Mr. Chadwick their treatise on the Decrease of Disease as affected by the Progress of Civilisation, in the following terms:—

“DEAR SIR,—

“There is no man in this great empire whose name can be so appropriately placed at the head of an Essay on the Decrease of Disease by the Progress of Civilisation. Allow us the pleasure of placing it there, and of expressing at the same time the high sense we entertain of your labours, and of associating you, though not of our profession, with its very highest offices, the diminution of the causes of disease, and through this the elevation of mankind in the intellectual and moral scale. Your General Report on the sanitary state of towns is beyond all question one of the most valuable contributions that has lately been made to the noblest department of medical science—the art of preserving the health of the community—and will have an influence upon the human family as long as it exists.”

Mr. Erasmus Wilson dedicates his work on Skin Diseases, and the Messrs. Chambers their work on Sanitary Economy, to Mr. Chadwick in the like terms.

Extract from the Report of the Jury on Sanitary Improvements and Constructions, in the International Exhibition of 1862. Dr. Angus Smith reporter.

“The great power with which Mr. Edwin Chadwick seized on the subject of sanitary reform and compelled the nation to listen and obey, has not yet expended itself. There is now no new principle before us for the management of whole communities, but the laws lately passed are being gradually obeyed, and for a time original thought is not so widely requisite as formerly, although on some points sought for anxiously and in vain.”

TO MESSRS. HASSELL, IMESON, AND OTHER GENTLEMEN,
GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN—

In giving my consent to the request, made to me, that I would allow my name to be submitted for consideration as a candidate for the representation of the London University in Parliament, I wish to mention that I studied jurisprudence under Professor Austin, at University College; that although I entered the public service before the University itself was instituted, I was socially connected with several gentlemen who took part in the movement which led to its foundation; that I was at one time asked to become a member of the Senate, and declined only on account of the severity of my public duties. I was, however, occasionally consulted by some of my friends, original members of the Senate, on several of its early measures; and though not of it, I have always been cordially with it.

A strong inducement to offer myself is, that great questions, such as the Public Health question, the police of great towns the National Education question, which are not likely to be much regarded by common constituencies, are recognised as of special interest and importance by the graduates of the London University. To obviate impressions of dogmatism or undue assumption on my part in these and some other large public questions, it is but right to state that my attention to them has been much longer than may be supposed. My independent writing on penal jurisprudence, and an article on the functions of a preventive police, which I wrote in 1828, before the new London police was established, gained me the intimate friendship of Mr. Jeremy Bentham, who bequeathed to me his library of jurisprudence, some parts of which I have since presented

to University College and to the Law Amendment Society. A paper published in 1827, in which I set forth some studies respecting the casualties of sickness and mortality; and another paper, the result of much special information and study of the public and medical charities of France, which opened up for England some important principles applicable to the administration of relief of the sick poor, and of State medicine, led Mr. Bentham to propose to me that I should lay down the outlines of the functions of the health minister for his draught of a constitutional code.

It is not unfrequent that gentlemen appointed as commissioners of inquiry for the purpose of legislation do not begin to understand the subject so as to direct the inquiries efficiently till about the time they are called upon to close them. But the studies to which I have adverted prepared me to take a leading part in the inquiry into the administration of medical as well as other relief, under the parochial administration of the Poor Rates, as also into the inquiry into the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain in 1842, for which, as having first directed opinion in Europe to the subject of public health as a question of public administration, a jury of the Paris International Exhibition have recently, at their own instance, been pleased to award a medal. They enabled me to take a prominent part in the Commission of Inquiry into the labour of young persons in factories, and to frame the remedial measures. I was enabled also to take a large part in the investigation of the state of crime throughout the country, and the action of the rural and borough constabulary forces, of which the first report in 1839 led to that very useful though imperfect measure, the appointment of the county police forces.

In respect to these labours, and others which from my early preparation for them have devolved upon me, in the investigation of great public evils, and the preparation of remedial and

preventive measures, which have been wholly or partially adopted by Parliament, I may assert defensively, and I do assert with confidence, that in no instance, on close re-investigation, have the evils been found to have been over stated; that no main conclusion has been shaken; that when, of the measures proposed, any prominent part was omitted, it has invariably happened that on subsequent experience competent persons, have represented the necessity of its being restored; and that whenever either of those measures has been even imperfectly adopted, a more extensive application of it has been subsequently demanded, and in many instances made.

Nevertheless, from distracted and imperfect attention and insufficient mastery of the facts, or from the pressure of ignorant or interested opposition, measures for the application of important principles are commonly crippled in the course of legislation, and the crippled measures passed are usually further crippled in their administration. Thus from the plan prepared for the amendment of the administration of the Poor Law was omitted the repeal of the law of parochial settlement, an omission that has been repaired only after a quarter of a century's experience of evils and agitation for their cure; and in the administration of medical relief in large towns, the proposal made for the classification and separate treatment of sick persons, children, the aged and infirm, in separate houses, was set aside for the practice of putting all classes into the same house, which necessitated inferior attendance and treatment in comparatively small numbers in wards;—an administrative error, the fatal effects of which have only in the session of this year been recognised, and partially—though as yet only partially—provided for.*

The shortcomings in sanitary administration from the con-

* Vide exposition on this question in an article in *Fraser's Magazine* for September, 1866, and quoted in Parliament in support of the principle of the new measures.

fused state of the law, the scattered and inefficient organisation and irresponsibility of the local functionaries, and the urgent want of central aid and instruction, are set forth in a memorial prepared by members of the medical profession and others of the Metropolitan Sanitary Association, presented to the Government by an influential deputation from the Council of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

These defects of administration, as well as of legislation, have been prejudicial to the condition of the great body of the Union Medical officers. In my Report on the sanitary condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain in 1842, I first proposed the appointment of medical officers of health. In the Supplementary Report of 1843, on the practice of interments, I described the chief services required to be performed by such an officer; and in other writings I have set forth the conditions necessary to his proper position and independent action. These conditions, I regret to say, have yet to be made manifest to the mind of the Legislature.

On the subject of National elementary education, I have been in favourable positions for observing the results of different methods of training and instruction, and of the great differences of result obtained, with like courses of instruction, by good and by bad teachers. In some conditions of teaching I have found that not above one child out of three succeeded in getting into productive employment; whilst under other methods of physical training and instruction, the failures to do so amounted to little more than two per cent.; and in after life four or even three persons so trained are made as efficient as five without such training for the purposes of ordinary labour. I have derived a strong impression of the great economy of employing trained and superior teachers even in the most elementary schools, and of the great mischief done to the elementary education of the people by recent mistakes in legislation, which have lowered the quality as well as

diminished the number of the pupil-teachers and caused several of the training colleges to be shut up. Finding, from much observation, that the proper employment of the usual long school hours greatly exceeded the children's capacity of attention, I introduced into the Bill for the regulation of the labour of young persons in factories a provision requiring as the condition of employment a school teacher's certificate of the child's having been three hours daily in a school, the provisions made were crippled in legislation, and still further in administration, but after a considerable time they have prevailed, and the principle of the measure has, by an Act just passed, been extended to upwards of a million of children. I have advocated the transference, as much as possible, of military drill and systematic gymnastic training, from the years of full bodily vigour and capacity for work, to the non-productive school, which, besides saving much of the expense of military training in after life, actually increases the aptitude of children for productive industry. My opinions on that subject have been extensively quoted in the United States of America and in Canada, and are in course of practical application there by State grants. On the question of military reorganisation, they have been quoted in the Legislative Assembly of France.

In my view there is an income of upwards of a million per annum worse than wasted in endowed educational charities, and other charities, that ought to be made available for a national education. In respect to middle-class education, I moved a memorial from the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science to the Government, praying for an inquiry into the management of the funds for endowed Grammar Schools, and into the other means of middle-class education. The memorial was well supported, and the Commission has been granted. It may be expected to produce measures needing examination and support with a knowledge of the subject.

In respect to superior education, it has fallen to me to examine and recommend a principle of administration by which it will be powerfully affected. From my knowledge as to the beneficial effects of the competitive examination as tests of fitness for first appointments to the public service in France, I was, I believe, the first in England to advocate its adoption in an article already referred to, published in 1829. I repeated its advocacy at a later period in a paper written for Mr. Gladstone, and in papers read before the British Association at Dublin and at Leeds. The principle has only yet been applied to a part of the public service, and in methods which I consider require much amendment also, especially as to the position required to be given to the experimental sciences.* But, so far as it has been supplied it has succeeded in a manner that justifies, and will in time lead to, its general application.

My early service in Poor Law administration brought me in contact with the works for the formation of the first railway, and led me to observe the great amount of pauperism that was created, and the maimings and injuries done to the labourers by the reckless manner in which the works were conducted. I obtained a committee of inquiry on the subject, which led to the provisions known under the name of Lord Campbell's Act, imposing responsibilities on directors or conductors of works for the consequences of culpable negligence. I was otherwise led to examine the principles of legislation applicable to such works, and to advocate their being maintained as public highways by a responsible public service, as has been done in Belgium, Switzerland, and other great continental states, with the result of lower fares, safer and more convenient service,

* Vide address of president of the section on statistical and economic science "on the subject matters and methods of competitive examinations for the public service," read at the meeting of the British Association for the Promotion of Science, held at Cambridge in 1862, published in the transactions of the Statistical Society.

and with greater security and better returns of dividends. An address which I was called upon to give on the economy of the subject, as President of the Department of Economy and Trade, in the Social Science Association, helped to produce the appointment of a Commission on the subject. Railway directors and others on the Commission interested in the existing system voted for its maintenance. But Lord Stanley and three other distinguished members refused to sign their Report; whilst Sir Rowland Hill has written a separate Report very much in accordance with my views, and Mr. Munsell has written a Report to the same tenor in relation to the railways in Ireland. In regard to these last, a first step is about to be taken by the appointment of a Commission to ascertain the exact conditions and incomes of the railways, as I understand with a view to their possible purchase, in order that, out of the savings derivable from security and consolidated management, reductions may be made in the fares consistently with increased convenience to the public and improved dividends to the shareholders.

By the desire of Mr. Gladstone, I examined the economy of a general system of cheap postal telegraphy, as in Belgium and Switzerland, and made a Report thereon, which subject it is promised shall be early taken into consideration.

It will be for the members of the University to judge whether these large organic questions are more worthy to be promoted by them, through their representative, than those usually brought before common constituencies. These questions involve advanced applications of the sciences more or less specially cultivated by various sections of the members of the University. The Public Health question involves all the sciences which minister to health—the new sanitary science, medical science, engineering science, for the purification of the air of towns, and of structural science for the improvement of

the sanitary qualities of the dwellings and their economy, on which I have made a Report on the model dwellings in the International Exhibition for the British Commission. National education involves psychological science and physiological science. These, and the questions of national police and the freedom and security of internal communication, I need scarcely say involve some advance in the science of legislation, and in that of public administration. Members of the Legislature by whom I have been consulted, and eminent public writers, have repeatedly suggested to me that I ought to seek a seat in Parliament, where I might be ready to give direct information and aid upon the subjects to which I am known to have given years of special examination and study. In a late debate in the House of Commons on the administration of the Poor Laws in the Metropolis Mr. Mill expressed regret that I was not present as a member to give information on the subject, when the expression was received with approbation by members on both sides of the House.

It is for the sake of these objects, and of no other, that I accept the candidature offered to me. Having no personal objects in view, I abstain from canvassing the electors in any other mode than by earnestly pressing on their attention the claims of the subjects on which I venture to hope that I am capable of making myself useful.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

EDWIN CHADWICK.

Richmond, Surrey, S.W., Aug. 15, 1867.