

15. Common prudence suggests that these Wards should in Hospital Towns of moderate size be attached to and be managed by the Hospital: that in smaller Districts, as the law now stands, they should be under the control of the Guardians; and that in a few of our largest Towns, separate establishments may be founded for the purpose.

16. Such habitual preparation is, if discreetly contrived, less costly than the arrangements necessarily resorted to during the emergency.

17. All the known conditions for favouring the spread of Cholera existed in Oxford: some have been attended to and remedied: some have been neglected and are not remedied. All known local causes may, by systematic forethought, be either removed from the City, or anticipated, and guarded against †.

† Any one desirous of prosecuting the inquiry suggested by this Part, should compare these Conclusions with those given at p. 214 of "Reports of Epidemic Cholera, drawn up at the desire of the Cholera Committee of the Royal College of Physicians, by Dr. Baly and Dr. Gull; at p. xxv. of the "Third Annual Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners, under the Me-

dical Charities' Act;" at p. 48 especially, but indeed the whole, of the "Report of the Committee for Scientific Enquiries in relation to the Cholera Epidemic of 1854, appointed by the General Board of Health;" and two papers on the Exciting Cause of Epidemics in vol. xiii, 1854, of the British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review.

PART II.

ARRANGEMENTS MADE IN OXFORD DURING THE EPIDEMIC.

CHAPTER I.

Arrangements adopted during the Epidemic of 1854.

§. 1. On August the 6th, a Case reported as genuine Cholera appeared in Walton Road, Jericho; it was fatal. Between that day and the 31st of August inclusive, 5 Cases of Cholera, of which 2 were fatal; and 5 of Choleraic Diarrhœa, of which all recovered, are recorded.

On the 31st of August the Board of Guardians

Ordered—That the Medical Officer of this Incorporation be authorized to employ such Medical assistance during the prevalence of the Cholera as he may think necessary, and that they be remunerated at the expense of this Board*. Also

That a Committee be appointed to act in concert with the Commissioners as a Board of Health. That the Committee have full power to rent houses for the removal of persons from localities infected with disorder, and to supply medicine, &c.

That the following Gentlemen be the Committee: viz. the Chairman (Mr. Carr), the two Vice-Chairmen (Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Boddington), Mr. Alderman Butler, Mr. Alderman Sadler, and the Mayor (Mr. Alderman Spiers), with power to increase their number.

A meeting of this Board so constructed took place on the 2nd of September, and agreed to obtain the use of the field in Jericho, known as Brooks' Close; to convert a shed in that field into a House of Reception or Observation, with three rooms, properly floored, warmed, and lighted; to erect in the same field one or more Tents as temporary accommodation; and to arrange with the Street Commissioners, that, whenever any case of Cholera occurred in the dwellings of the poor, the house should be immediately cleansed and lime-washed.

Between September 1, and September 7 inclusive, 15 more Cases occurred in the widely-separated localities of Blackfriars'-road, Jericho-gardens, St. Clement's, on the River, Market-street, St. Aldate's, the Gaol, Hythe-bridge, and elsewhere. Of these 15 Cases, 12 were fatal, and only 3 ended in recovery.

* In consequence of this resolution the Union Medical Officer (Mr. Wyatt) obtained the assistance of Mr. Hitchings and of Mr. Godfrey.

These facts were not then so rigorously known, but enough was known to excite well-grounded alarm. It was known that fatal cases had occurred in *different* parts of the City; not in the lowest tenements, or filthy localities, but in its centre as well as its suburbs; that more than one had been but of few hours' duration, and that one had occurred in a person of easy circumstances, residing for the time in a healthy locality. This mode of invasion was very startling.

§. 2. Under these circumstances it was decided that the Writer should be invited to attend a meeting of the Board of Health, that the Board might consider with him whether any, and if any, what further measures were necessary.

At meetings held on September 7, and the two following days, the necessity of prompt action having been admitted, the principles, upon which arrangements were to be contrived, were agreed to, and the mode of carrying them out was determined.

These principles were generally as follows:—

1. That, considering the prejudices which existed on former occasions to removal to a Cholera Hospital, (or Pest House, as it was usually named), ample provision should be made for prompt attendance at the houses of persons affected with Cholera, or with Diarrhœa.
2. That for this purpose the City should be divided into Districts.
3. That Medical Attendants should be appointed to each District, in numbers proportioned to the probable wants of each locality.
4. That it was to be desired that the Medical Men acquainted with and resident in the City should, if possible, undertake these duties.
5. That for their aid, in a central spot messengers should be placed, who should convey either messages, medicines, blankets, hot bottles or tins, food, and such other necessaries as might be ordered.
6. That a staff of Nurses should be organized to be ready at all times, their address being kept at the central station.
7. That in each District there should be a Dispensary open at certain stated hours, and, if necessary, at all hours: and that in one central position a Medical man should be accessible by day and by night.
8. That provision should be made for distributing with method rations for the Nurses, and necessary food and bedding for the sick.
9. That accommodation should be provided at the Field of Observation, for the families of the persons attacked.
10. That in default of other accommodation being attainable, in that Field, but separate from the healthy, convalescents should be received.

11. That whereas all Cases could not be treated at their own homes, either from the filthy state of the houses, or from their occurring in lodging-houses, public-houses, or other places peculiarly unfitted for such treatment, a Hospital must be provided for such casual Cases.
12. That such Hospital might be in or near the Field of Observation, though separated from the healthy inmates of the Field; and that a special Medical officer should be appointed to superintend and regulate all the affairs of the establishments connected with the Field.
13. That under this management all clothes of Cholera patients were to be cleansed, bedding destroyed, and such articles of furniture as were deemed by Medical Attendants proper to be removed for purification from Cholera dwellings, should be catalogued, examined, destroyed, or cleansed and returned.
14. That for these last purposes an Inspector be appointed.
15. That a staff of persons be engaged to regulate and arrange all matters connected with the burial of Cholera patients.
16. That from time to time such notices as might serve to instruct or encourage, or warn the public, should be issued*.

§. 3. In accordance with the above principles, discussed on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September, various documents were issued. All arrangements were so far completed by Sunday, the 10th, that at 7 P.M. of that day the House of Observation in the Field was in great part ready. The Medical Gentlemen were furnished with printed Instructions, and Cheque or Order Books, and attended their Dispensaries and Districts. Forms of Reports were prepared and sent in; and all was done that could be desired for guaranteeing to the City that the BOARD OF GUARDIANS were determined to secure, by God's blessing, the public health, as far as they were able.

Of the Documents issued by the Board, that dated Sept. 20th (originally printed in a bold type, on foolscap paper) is here given, as expressing in a brief form the general tenour of the working arrangements. It is hoped that they may serve as examples not unworthy of attention at a future time, or in other places.

* To these principles should in future unquestionably be added, That the most urgent caution be given to all persons engaged about Cases of Cholera, that the Evacuations be buried with Lime immediately after they have been passed, to prevent the consequences to be apprehended from their decomposition.

SIXTH PUBLIC NOTICE.

OXFORD, SEPT. 20, 1854.

Public Health Committee of the Board of Guardians, of the Eleven United Parishes of Oxford.

Among the Arrangements ordered by the Public Health Committee are the following:—
It has been deemed desirable, for the purpose of allaying the alarm of the population in Oxford, while acknowledging the existence of Cases of Cholera in the City, to issue at present, in the name of the Committee,

- 1st. A General Statement of the Precautionary or Preventive Measures which the Board of Guardians have undertaken. (Sept. 8.)
- 2nd. General Advice to all Classes of Persons, adapted from Instructions furnished by the General Board of Health. (Sept. 8.)
- 3rd. A Statement of the several Medical Districts. (Sept. 9.)
- 4th. A Summary of the General Arrangements for the care of the Public Health of the Town, (of which this document is a corrected re-issue.) (Sept. 12.)
- 5th. A Caution against the Use of Castor Oil without Medical Advice. (Sept. 19.)

Copies of these Papers may be obtained at the Town-Hall.

The Committee sit daily in the Town-Hall, at Six P. M., to give information, or receive communications on any subject connected with the Public Health, either given orally or by Letter addressed to Mr. Alderman BUTLER, the Honorary Secretary.

Medical Attendance on Cases of Diarrhœa or Cholera.

Medical Gentlemen have been assigned to DISTRICTS and to DISPENSARIES.

They have been assigned to each of the Wards (as Districts) according to the following scheme:—

CENTRAL WARD.	All Saints' St. Mary Magdalen.	Mr. F. Symonds, Beaumont-street. Mr. Owen, Beaumont-street. Mr. R. Freeborn, Broad-street.
NORTH WARD.	St. Giles's, and Jericho. Summertown. St. Thomas's.	Mr. Tyerman, 5, High-street. Mr. Wyatt, Corn-market. Mr. Godfrey, Beaumont-street. Mr. Leapingwell, St. John-street.
SOUTH WARD.	St. Aldate's. St. Peter-le-Bailey. St. Mary-the-Virgin. St. John's.	Mr. Hansard, 31, High-street. Mr. Martin, 4, Oriol-street.
WEST WARD.	St. Martin's. St. Michael's. St. Ebbe's.	Mr. Hitchings, Oriol-street. Mr. Hyde, (Mr. Martin's), 4, Oriol-street.
EAST WARD.	Holywell. St. Peter-in-the-East. St. Clement's.	Mr. Rusher, 48, High-street. Mr. R. Rusher, 65, High-street. Mr. C. Vincent, 90, High-street.

Application may be made to these Gentlemen by poor persons suffering from looseness of the bowels at any time; but for the purpose of more effectually, and more easily reaching the Cases that may exist, DISPENSARIES are opened in the following places:—

- At Mr. Wyatt's, (the Union Medical Officer,) Corn Market, open at all hours.
The Radcliffe Infirmary, at all hours (by favour of the Board of Governors).
St. Paul's School, Jericho 7 a.m.; 7 p.m.—Mr. Hussey, Mr. Owen.
The Vicarage, St. Thomas's 7 a.m.; 7 p.m.—Mr. Leapingwell.
St. Ebbe's School, Blackfriars' Road 8 a.m.; 5 p.m.—Mr. Hitchings, Mr. Hyde.
The Parish School, St. Aldate's 8 a.m.; 7 p.m.—Mr. Hester.
The Dispensary, Mr. Wood, Broad-street
(by favour of the Committee) 9 a.m.; 5 p.m.—Mr. Wood.
St. Clement's Dispensary (by favour of the Charity Trustees) at all hours.—Mr. J. Hester.
And at 8 a.m.; 7 p.m.—Dr. Giles, Mr. J. Hester.

If it be necessary, arrangements will be made for keeping some of these Dispensaries open for a longer time.

Dr. Acland, as Consulting Physician to the Board, will give his advice and assistance in all the General Arrangements.

The Medical Gentlemen appointed to the Dispensaries will give advice to all poor applicants, (and in any urgent case,) at the various Dispensaries specified above, and will either give Medicine at the time, or a Prescription which may be dispensed by any neighbouring Chemist.

The Medical Attendant may give a written order on any Chemist, to send such Medicines, as he may think fit, for use at his Dispensary.

The Medical Gentlemen assigned to Districts will attend severe Cases of Diarrhœa or of Cholera wherever they occur, with as little delay as may be possible; but inasmuch as there is a Dispensary in every District open Morning and Evening, there can be no reason why the *slightest* case of Diarrhœa should be unrelieved for twelve hours.

It is with deep regret the Committee have heard of Cases in which the poor have not sought advice until too late. All who can urge them to greater prudence are entreated to do so.

MESSENGERS are kept, day and night, at the City Police Office, and by a written order* addressed to them, the Medical Attendant may receive at any hour, through these Messengers, either

A Nurse, Bottles ready filled with Hot Water,
Hot or Cold Beef Tea, Blankets,

or such other things as he may, in writing, with his signature attached, direct.

Instructions given in writing will alone be attended to.

* Medical Gentlemen may obtain Order-Books, Forms of Daily Returns, Tables for entering Cases of Choleraic Disease, and Dispensary Forms, at the Town Hall. They will find it convenient to write every Order or Note on the Business of the Board, on a leaf of their Order Book.

NURSES.

Persons desirous of being engaged as Nurses should enter their names at the Police Office, and, if possible, wait on Mr. Cartwright, at the Town Hall, on any day at Ten A.M. or Six P.M.

A Lady has undertaken the General Superintendence of the Nurses while they are in attendance on Cases of Cholera.

Nurses engaged in Cases of Cholera will be provided with food on sending to Mr. Boddington, one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Board of Guardians, at the Town Hall Kitchen, between Ten and Eleven A.M. or Six and Seven P.M.

Every NURSE, when disengaged, is immediately to report herself at the Police Office, or she will not be again employed.

In every Fatal Case of Cholera the MEDICAL ATTENDANT is requested, besides instructing the Nurse to take the necessary steps for a speedy burial, to point out to her, if time permit, what furniture he desires to destroy or have removed.

The NURSE will be made responsible for the removal of such things, by means of Messengers (who can be obtained at the City Police Office) to Mr. Clark's Close, adjoining the Field of Observation. They will then be destroyed or cleansed under the direction of the Inspector.

It is earnestly requested that in no case Clothes or Bedding, which have been used by Cholera Patients, should go to any Laundry, other than that adjoining the Observation-Field.

In case it is known that such articles are sent to a Private or Public Laundry, an Order will be issued for their instant Removal or destruction.

OVERSEER.

For the purpose of ensuring the thorough Care of the Sick, and the prompt observance of the Orders of the Board, and the instructions of the Medical Attendant, an OVERSEER will visit the House of every Poor Person who is reported to have Cholera, as soon as possible after Notice has been sent by the Medical Attendant to the Town Hall, to that effect.

This OVERSEER is under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Cartwright, one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Board of Guardians.

HOUSE OF REFUGE AND FIELD OF OBSERVATION.

In an open and healthy field, in the North of Jericho near Walton Well, there are prepared as 'Houses of Refuge,'

- 1st. A large tent, well floored with thick boarding, for a day room.
- 2nd. A substantial building, with fire-places, for sleeping Apartments.
- 3rd. A building in which either Cases of Cholera or other serious disease occurring among the Families resident on the Field, or casual cases of Persons without a home, will be treated by Mr. Wyatt.
- 4th. Adjoining to the Field, a Close for the destruction or cleansing of Clothes and Bedding.

Communications concerning these Departments may be sent to the Inspector at the Field, or to the Union Medical Officer, Mr. Wyatt.

In Cases of Cholera not fatal, the Medical Attendant may, if he think fit, suggest the removal of the convalescent to the Field of Observation.

In all cases, the Medical Attendant may suggest the removal of some Members of the Family to the House of Refuge—that their lives may be more safe—and the dwelling may be less crowded. He will then deliver to the Nurse, or to a Messenger, an order to the Inspector at the Field of Observation, "to receive No. of the family of A. B., residing at into the Field of Observation." The Inspector will then send, if necessary, a proper conveyance for their removal.

All persons so removed will be cared for by the Board of Guardians in all respects as much as the nature of the emergency will allow. Divine Service will be performed in their dwellings: and instruction or amusement provided for the Children by Ladies who have offered their services for this purpose, under the direction of the Rev. R. Tiddeman and the Rev. C. Marriott.

INSPECTOR.

An Inspector has been appointed, who will be responsible for the due performance of all Orders relating to the Cleansing and Destruction of Articles sent to Mr. Clark's Close, and who will Report on the Daily State and Wants of the Field of Observation to the Board of Health.

CLEANSING, &c.

Mr. Ormerod's Sanitary Report, the Letters in the *Oxford Herald* on the state of Oxford, the Evidence given before Mr. M'Dougal Smith, and Dr. Greenhill's and Mr. Allen's Tables, furnish such a mass of information on the state of Oxford, with respect to the condition of its Dwellings, Drainage, and other Sanitary matters, that when the intimate knowledge of the subject which is possessed by various individuals, as well officials and others, as the Parochial Clergy, is taken into account, it must be admitted that at least the faults and the dangers of the several localities are well known. But any information, or special details of the condition of impure apartments or dwellings, and all nuisances liable to affect the Public Health, should be reported to the Chairman of the Street Commissioners, or to their Surveyor, Mr. Galpin, at his Office in the Town Hall Yard. It is very desirable that such recommendations should be made in writing.

Medical Gentlemen are especially urged to give immediate notice of any rooms in which severe Diarrhœa, or Cholera, has occurred, and which they consider should be cleansed. The proper steps will then be taken to insure the abatement, or safe removal, of the evil.

DAILY REPORTS.

The Medical Gentlemen attending Districts, or Dispensaries, are requested to send to the Secretary at the Town Hall every morning at 9, a numerical statement, on a printed form, of the Cases of Diarrhœa, of Choleraic Diarrhœa, and of Cholera*, which have come under their notice in the day previous, reckoned from midnight to midnight.

They are further requested to send immediate notice, in writing, to the Town Hall of every Case of Cholera when they first become acquainted with it, with the Age, Sex, and Address, and any Remarks they may think fit to append.

By these means a complete Record of every case will be obtained and preserved.

The Mayor has placed a separate room in the Town Hall at the disposal of the Medical Gentlemen of the Town.

Information concerning these or other arrangements of the Board may be obtained from the Chairman of the Board of Guardians, Mr. Carr; the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Alderman Butler; Dr. Acland; Mr. Wyatt, the Union Medical Officer; or from the Committee, at Six p.m. daily, at the Town Hall.

On behalf of the Committee,

W. H. BUTLER, Hon. Sec.

* It is requested that this may include all Cases, whether among the poor or otherwise: but if any Medical Gentleman prefer to enter only those prescribed for on account of the Board of Guardians, he should enter on his daily return "exclusive of Private Cases."

Arrangements made in Oxford during the Epidemic.

The Form of Daily Report sent in by the Medical Attendants is here given.

DAILY REPORT OF CASES OF DIARRHŒA, CHOLERAIC DIARRHŒA, & CHOLERA.

	NEW.	OLD.
Cases of Diarrhœa prescribed for by me to day		
Cases of Choleraic Diarrhœa		
Cases of Cholera		
Deaths from Diarrhœa		
Deaths from Choleraic Diarrhœa		
Deaths from Cholera		

(Signed) _____

1854.

The Form of Weekly Summary furnished at a later period follows: it is necessarily printed here in a reduced size.

Oxford, 1854. Cases of Choleraic Disease occurring in the practice of Mr. _____ between Sunday, the _____, and Saturday, the _____, inclusive. If any Case dies or recovers subsequently to this Week, enter in the next Week "No. _____," "Dead," or "Recovered," with the Date.

No. of Cases.	Date.	NAME.	Sex. M. or F.	Age.	Occupation	Residence.	Whether Choleraic Diarrhœa, or Collapse.	Whether Pro-motory Diarrhœa, or other symptoms.	Result, with Date.	Remarks, or Treatment.

SIGNATURE.

Notices of new Cases were transmitted to the Committee Room at the Town Hall the instant that they were known. In this manner the Board, and the Physician to the Board, the Inspectors and Messengers, were kept informed of the locality of each Case as soon almost as it occurred. Books containing thirty Cheques of the following form were issued for this purpose.

I have just seen the following new Case of Cholera, or Choleraic Diarrhœa:—

Name	Age
Residence	
Day or Hour of Seizure	
Remarks	Signature _____
Dated	_____

Arrangements made in Oxford during the Epidemic.

Permission was given to all Medical Attendants to obtain Medicine from any Chemists. The prescriptions were written, and orders were issued to the Kitchen, to Messengers, and others, only on a leaf of Cheque Books, of which the following is a facsimile*.

On Account of the Board of Guardians.

Name. _____

Name. _____

Date. _____

Signature. _____

* The covers of these two Cheque Books were of wholly different colours and materials. (In cases of this kind, where many persons were engaged, regularity must be observed. No orders would be acknowledged in vouchers which were not in the authorized orders; and the respective books were easily distinguishable at night.)

To these may be added the form of Daily Summary. One actual Return is here reprinted, half the original size.

MEDICAL REPORTS.

Daily Return of Cases—of Diarrhœa—of Choleraic Diarrhœa—and Cholera. Monday, 18th September, 1854.

RECEIVED FROM	NEW CASES.			OLD CASES.			DEATHS.			REMARKS.
	Diarrhœa.	Choleraic Diarrhœa.	Cholera.	Diarrhœa.	Choleraic Diarrhœa.	Cholera.	D.	C. D.	C.	
Mr. A	20	..	5	21	..	..	..	..	..
— B	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
— C	32	1	2	25	2	4	..	..	..
— D	29	..	1	13	..	1	..	..	..
— E	6	..	..	16	..	1	..	..	..
— F	7	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
— G	20	..	2	10	..	3	..	..	1	
— H	7	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
— I	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
— J	10	3	..	2	..	3	..	..	..
— K	3	1	..	8	3	1	..	..	..
— L	19	..	..	13	..	2	..	..	..
— M	6	1	..	5	1	1	..	..	..
— N	14	4	..	35	..	..	..	..	..
— O	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
— P	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
— Q	13	..	..	6	..	1	..	..	..
— R	2	..	..	6	1	..	..	..	..
— S	5	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
	207	10	10	175	8	18	..	..	1	428

M

Total. Under Treatment.
New D. 207
— C.D. 10
— D. 10
Old D. 175
— C.D. 8
— C. 18

One of the Weekly Summaries also is appended.

MEDICAL REPORTS.

Weekly Return of Cases—of Diarrhœa—of Choleraic Diarrhœa—and Cholera.

Sunday to Saturday, 23rd September, 1854, inclusive.

RECEIVED FROM	NEW CASES.			OLD CASES.			DEATHS.			REMARKS.
	Diarrhœa.	Choleraic Diarrhœa.	Cholera.	Diarrhœa.	Choleraic Diarrhœa.	Cholera.	D.	C. D.	C.	
Sunday, 17th Sept. ..	178	9	9	150	4	11	1	..	2	Under Treatment 361
Monday, 18th	207	10	10	175	8	13	..	..	1	.. .. 428
Tuesday, 19th	167	3	7	168	13	24	..	2	3	.. .. 382
Wednesday, 20th ..	165	10	7	171	12	23	..	..	4	.. .. 388
Thursday, 21st	176	10	4	151	11	24	..	..	1	.. .. 376
Friday, 22nd	141	13	9	140	13	27	..	..	5	.. .. 343
Saturday, 23rd	150	10	4	137	9	30	..	..	5	.. .. 340
	1184	65	50				1	2	21	
	65									
	50									
Under Treatment and Deaths	1299									Saturday. Under Treatment 340
	364									Deaths 24
Discharged or Cured. . . .	935									364

It would be useless to reprint and tedious to read any more of the Notices, or describe in detail the minuter arrangements which were found to be desirable or necessary. But on the following points some information should be recorded, concerning,

- 1st. The General Distribution of the Medical Attendants.
- 2nd. The Field of Observation.
- 3rd. The Management of the Nurses.
- 4th. The Distribution of Food.
- 5th. The Care of the Clothes and Bedding of the Sick.
- 6th. The Arrangements of the Central Police Office.

Distribution of Medical Attendants.

§. 4. It was laid down as a principle that there should be a systematic organization of Medical Attendants, together with Nurses, fed by the Board, who should take immediate charge of Cases among the poor, *at their own homes*: while those only should be advised to remove to the Hospital, whose forlorn or filthy state, or whose

peculiar circumstances, rendered it imperative. Though knowledge on these points is now very widely diffused, it may not be amiss to quote here the words of the instructional Minute of the General Board of Health of 1854.

“The General Board have rather discouraged the multiplication of Hospitals for the reception of Cholera Cases. Experience has shewn that whenever a person is struck with premonitory Diarrhœa or Cholera, it is particularly desirable to keep the patient warm and strictly quiet, in bed, if possible, and to apply the proper remedies on the spot. Numerous Cases have occurred where the exhaustion, consequent on the removal of a patient in the early stages of the disease, has brought on, or greatly accelerated, a fatal Collapse. It will, however, be right to appoint some hospital accommodation for those who may be taken ill in the streets, or at a distance from home, or who live in crowded and unhealthy rooms, in which the proper remedies for the disease cannot be applied. The hospitals should be well ventilated, and well drained, and should be near the epidemic locality without being in it. Whenever there is a general hospital in the town, conveniently accessible arrangements should, if possible, be made with the authorities for the reception of necessitous cases.”

This opinion coincides with the experience of various Medical Practitioners here. The subject has been carefully discussed in Dr. Greenhill's Memoir on the Epidemic Cholera in Oxford*; and the perusal, I think, of his investigation, and of other commentaries on the same subject, will convince a candid inquirer that, as was done in Oxford during the Epidemic now under consideration, provision should be made for attending with equal care in nursing the poor at their own homes, *and also* for removing certain of them to hospitals situated at easy distances from the poorer districts.

As is remarked by Dr. Greenhill, the best locality in Oxford for the western districts would without question be the Infirmary; but unhappily the Governors saw fit to decline to afford to the City the needed accommodation in 1849, and in 1854 there was no time to reopen the question; and the Board of Health was driven to the alternative of obtaining or erecting for the third time temporary buildings. As will be hereafter more fully stated, it is to be hoped this difficulty, waste, and injury may not again be brought upon the City.

It was then determined, 1st, to divide Oxford into Districts, the same Districts, or nearly the same, as those adopted in 1849, and to make the necessary arrangements for providing with Nurses, properly superintended and cared for, every case which required such aid. 2nd, to place the temporary Hospital at the Field under the care of one Medical Man, who was empowered and required to have an Assistant.

It will not be without its purpose to record two methods by which Districts may be attended under these circumstances.

The one, by the appointment of young men, or strangers, who have no other

* Appendix A. p. 44. Greenhill and Allen's Oxford Tables, &c.

occupation, and who being untrammelled by private practice, will be able to give more time for less remuneration than other persons, or residents. The other, by engaging the services of the Practitioners of the Town generally, who, inasmuch as they have other avocations, must be either paid less than the former class; or else, being necessarily more numerous, to ensure equal attention, must cost more. Now for three plain reasons, the latter was recommended to the Board. 1st, because the poor would have more confidence, in most instances, in those whom they know than in strangers. 2nd, because the great local knowledge and personal acquaintance with the poor, their dwellings, and their ways, give to residents corresponding advantage in meeting a great emergency, soon to pass away. 3rd, because (though an argument of less weight) it is a manifest injustice to engage the services of strangers, while resident Professional Men of worth and experience, are willing to devote their skill and their energies to the public service.

Such numbers, then, were appointed to each District as were deemed to be sufficient. The numbers varied frequently. Constant attention to the fluctuation of the Epidemic shewed where more help was needed, and where needless strength was applied. And it may be confidently stated (if any desire to know it) that extreme care was taken to control, in this so necessary department, every unnecessary expenditure.

In every District a Dispensary was opened evening and morning. The Union Medical Officer was directed to obtain an Assistant, and to keep an open Dispensary at his house, in the centre of the town, night and day.

In St. Clement's also the kindness of the Charity Trustees maintained a constantly open Dispensary: the same was the case at the Infirmary, and at the Oxford Dispensary in Broad-street.

The Names of the Districts and the Dispensaries, with the Gentlemen who undertook the charge of them, will be found at p. 88.

The sum agreed upon as to be paid for a District was £1 1s. daily as an average payment. If the work were heavy, it was understood this might be increased; if very light, that it would be diminished. The Dispensaries were fixed at half a District, or at £3 13s. 6d. weekly.

It will be seen how much labour was bestowed by the Medical Attendants, when it is stated that the cost of medicine at the Chemists, whose charges were most moderate, (about 1d. an oz. for mixtures, and on the same scale for other things,) amounts to about half the whole cost of the Medical Staff.

The Medical Staff were wont to meet at the outset of the Epidemic every evening, and afterwards by written notice. A room was provided in the Town Hall; and it is hardly to be doubted that the trifling arrangement of allowing tea to be in the room, and taken without expense by those who desired it, helped

to ensure the perfect good humour and kindly feeling which prevailed on every occasion. This would not be recorded here, but that the world has yet to learn in many things when it is well to maintain, and when it is better to dispense with, form and discipline. And it may be safely asserted, that in every class of life where hard service is required, a reasonable attention to the comfort and ease of those concerned is repaid a hundredfold by the elasticity it imparts, and the sense of sympathy which it evokes. On some of these occasions half the persons present might have scarcely rested for 24 hours before the meeting. One District Officer was called out every night but three out of 49, and in one night seven times. More than once he had severe Diarrhœa, and he was at one period in graver risk from exhaustion. These facts are of the Writer's knowledge, and may tell perchance to some, who have not so thought before, the labours of the Poorer Medical Men—aye, let not the word be cavilled at—among the Poor.

Field of Observation.

§. 5. It will be unnecessary to enter into any special details concerning the Field of Observation, because it is hoped that the Arrangements which were recommended in 1854 for this department will not in any future Epidemic be required. And this is the more fortunate, since of the several departments provided in the emergency of 1854, those placed in the Field are looked back upon with the least satisfaction; and their management cannot be referred to as a model for future imitation.

For the reasons stated above, (p. 94) it had been decided to make arrangements for treating the sufferers at their homes: still it was certain that casual cases of extreme destitution, or of extreme filth, would be met with, and that with these such a course was impossible: for such cases a portion of the Field containing a building that could be appropriated to the wants of a small Hospital was set apart. Here also it was decided to place the temporary laundry, for examining, washing, and purifying clothes and bedding. A storeroom was prepared for the things that had been cleansed, and a shed erected for the reception of the dead.

Unhappily no house could be obtained in or out of Oxford for the reception of Convalescents from Cholera. Neither the building employed in 1832, nor that of 1849, nor any other could be had. Of necessity therefore the convalescents were received in the Field. But the Chairman of the Board of Guardians was able to obtain from Mr. CLARK the use of a Close, separated from the Field only by a garden. A passage was made through this garden. The healthy were transferred to Mr. Clark's Close, and the whole of the Field of Observation was appropriated for the Hospital and the convalescents.

That on a future occasion, if in God's Providence such recur, previous arrange-

ments should have been made for the Hospital, the convalescent, and the healthy in separate localities, is to be earnestly desired.

But if we cannot look on the material condition of this department with entire satisfaction, we may, it is believed, affirm that very much was done for the moral improvement of the inmates.

The Chaplain of the Workhouse, the Rev. J. Tiddeman, and the Rev. Charles Marriott, either or both were daily among the sick, the recovering, and those yet in health. Prayers were read at least once a day; books were freely given; and an estimable lady who, with more constancy than prudence could approve, and more energy than a woman's strength could long endure, was by day and by night among the people, superintended all the arrangements, and provided, to the best of the means allowed to her, for all their wants: in all leisure moments, with the help of her friends, she taught the children, not only by the teaching of books, and of needlework, but by the persuasion of games, and by the discipline of cleanliness, often not less necessary than unpalatable. Nor in these rude and temporary contrivances was a lesser but an important act forgotten: the cheerful decoration of flowers and of pictorial illustrations was provided at the Hospital and the other buildings; and an attempt was made to remove the horror of the pest house, by such means as we in this country, alas! are daily proved to understand so much less than any Continental people.

May these orderly habits, and the nightly prayers and the hymns of the infants, be transplanted to some widowed and fatherless homes, where they were not known before! While these acts of strength and love spring up in time of need, let none be heard to doubt the practical powers and noble nature of English women.

The Nurses.

§. 6. One consequence of the decision that Medical Attendance shall be provided at the houses of the poor is, that Nurses must be engaged, and that they should be accessible as readily as the Medical Staff.

This was done as follows:

In the Police Office, which is near the Town Hall and in the most central locality, a list was kept of all the respectable women who were willing and able to nurse in Cholera houses. Their names had been furnished mainly through the local knowledge of the Parochial Clergy. The list was arranged thus.

Name.	Address.	Gone out.	Returned home.	Qualifications and Remarks.
Anne Walker.	19, Osney Lane.	To Mrs. W. . . . 84, Speedwell St.		An excellent Nurse. A. B. Surgeon.

There was no lack of Nurses but on one day. The wages were 1s. 6d. daily, or 10s. 6d. weekly. After they had nursed three nights, they were allowed a day's rest, or the option of going out again to nurse. Rations were given to them every day. A cook was kept at the Town Hall to prepare them. The allowance was,

1 lb of Cooked Meat.	1 lb of Bread.	1 Bottle of Ale.
2 ounces of Butter.	1 ounce of Sugar.	Half an ounce of Tea.

Except by Medical order, no brandy was allowed.

When a new Case of Cholera was announced, in the house of any poor person, a Messenger from the Police Office proceeded to the house of a Nurse "returned home," and sent her to the place at which her help was required. It was then the business of an Inspector, Condé, an old Waterloo soldier, to go there, to ascertain whether the interior economy of the house was such that the order of the Medical Attendant could be followed. If not, his duty was to forward from the Police Office the deficiency: food, bedding, blankets, hot bottles, &c.

And lastly, because the most important, a lady, (who desires her name to be withheld,) visited daily every house (within a certain area) to instruct the Nurses, to comfort the sick, to cheer the disconsolate; and, where need was, herself to supply a sudden emergency, or to relieve a wearied attendant. By day and by night she plied this task, and when she rested, or where,—as long at least as she knew of a house where disease had entered,—is known to herself alone.

Over the whole of these arrangements Mr Cartwright, Deputy Chairman of the Board of Guardians, presided; he received the Reports of the Inspector, who gave a list of the daily state of affected houses; he paid the wages, engaged or dismissed the Nurses, and shewed in all his transactions the power of blending acute business habits with a most benevolent humanity.

Distribution of Food.

§. 7. Oxford is a small town: it numbers but 27,000 inhabitants: it claims among its residents, if not many individuals possessors of great wealth, yet a singularly large proportion of disinterested, benevolent persons, of easy circumstances according to their condition. It has a zealous body of parochial clergy, and excellent institutions for various purposes and ends of charity. It cannot therefore have many *destitute* families; for few are unknown, and to be known is to be in some sort cared for. It has no great manufactures to make a press of work and a profusion of wages *now*, and a failure of both *then*; but yet it has many *poor*, and a painful proportion of those to whom life is an ever sad struggle for maintenance, to the

degree and in the station wherein they have to work their life, with its history, its course, and its close.

In other words, we have here as elsewhere our rich and our poor—yet not too many of the former; our wise and our foolish; our provident and improvident; our pattern men and women, our drunkards and degraded; our luxury and our want; our Colleges and our alleys of filth; our enlightened and large-hearted philanthropists, to whom this world is a contemplation and their life a prayer; and our families, which through wilful sin, unsought misfortune, or continued sickness, find their labour or their folly a bitterness, and their life despair.

But within and beside this general view, there is one circumstance which necessarily causes much inconvenience and some distress to our labourers, and the smaller tradesmen, and so even up to persons of higher pretensions,—the length of our Vacations. The chief work of the town depends on the fact that it is a University town, and the absence of the University for four summer months is at times a grievous thing.

In the previous winter, 1853—1854, prices were high; less than usual was saved by even thrifty persons; the Long Vacation was come; many we know who, shrinking from public gaze, would *ask* no help; and many more (who had parish relief, or who were in daily risk of requiring its poor pittance) had certainly not sufficient food to strengthen them against the chances of disease in an infected locality. It would be useless here to relate any of the many instances, known to physiologists, of that which few doubt, the proneness to succumb to disease under circumstances depressing to either body or mind. The Writer, therefore, having considered these several circumstances, empowered the Parochial Clergy to give orders for cooked meat, to all persons who, living in spots where Diarrhoea prevailed, were believed to need it*. The kindness of Dr. Pusey placed the kitchen at Christ Church at his disposal for this purpose; but it was shortly after found that the supply did not reach all the districts affected with Diarrhoea, and therefore in addition to the gift of roast meat at Christ Church, and afterwards at Worcester College, and of uncooked meat in part of St. Ebbe's parish, it was decided to prepare at the Town Hall strong mutton broth, each pint containing about ten ounces of meat, and to authorize all the Medical men employed by the Board of Health, to order such quantities as they thought fit for the families of the sick poor whom they saw. The quantity of meat so given away was, after all,

* It was considered improper for the Board to undertake this. If done, therefore, it was to be done on the responsibility of an individual. But this responsibility was very quickly removed: for in a few days the Writer received nearly enough to defray all the expenses incurred. The Rev. Jacob Ley undertook the temporary office of Treasurer for this small, but most useful fund.

not great. For several days about 200 persons received it at the Town Hall, and about 100 from the other kitchens. The quantity distributed amounted to about 3000 lbs.

Very special inquiries have been made by me with a view to learn what success attended this method of prevention and of cure. Absolute proof of benefit is scarcely attainable; circumstantial evidence is overwhelming. The following letter from one of the District Medical Officers will give a clear opinion on this point.

"... The Cases in which the distribution of food was clearly instrumental in checking Diarrhoea in my district were very numerous. There were from *thirty to forty* old Cases which continued from time to time to relapse, and the treatment appeared to be of little use, and in *all these* Cases the Mutton-broth and Beef-tea were given with the *best results*: in children this was always the case. There were many who suffered with pain in the stomach and sickness, (who had previously had severe Diarrhoea); these Cases all rapidly improved when the food was given. I hear but one opinion about the value to be put upon the distribution of food. I am confident that many lives were saved, and a great deal of suffering and pain to the poor patients who received it." ...

The Lady to whom reference was made above as superintending the Nurses, and visiting all Cases of Cholera in the worst Districts, writes:—

29th January 1855.

"I shall be delighted to give you some instances of the benefit derived from the distribution of food in the time of the Cholera, and I think I shall only find it difficult to make a choice amongst the numberless cases of this kind which have come under my notice. I may mention, however, *Green's Yard*, in which three families were suffering from Diarrhoea, and in one a death had occurred, before the food was distributed; but after they had received it for a very few days, they seemed quite restored to health. In *Orpwood's Yard* three deaths had occurred, and every house had Diarrhoea: after the food was given, there were no more fatal Cases, and the complaint was checked. In *Vaughan's Yard* a severe though not fatal case of Cholera had occurred, and most families had Diarrhoea; in all it was checked by the food, and the Cholera patient rapidly recovered, which, without the food, would probably not have been the case. In *Osney Lane*, where five deaths had taken place, and Choleraic Diarrhoea as well as the more simple form of the complaint was almost universal, the sickness very soon disappeared after the food was distributed. In the *Hamel*, where the mother of a family ultimately died of Choleraic Diarrhoea, nearly every other person in the house was suffering from Diarrhoea till they received the food, when it entirely ceased.

It would be almost endless to go on enumerating Cases similar to those, of which the details are naturally much alike. I am sure I could fill pages with them, as I might simply describe what occurred in every street in the parish; but if you will consider the few instances I have mentioned as mere specimens of what might be said of almost every house in our crowded yards and alleys, you will have a very fair idea of the extent of the benefits produced by the food. In addition however I must mention that it was of great use in assisting the recovery of Cholera patients, who would otherwise have probably sunk from weakness, and in preventing the disease amongst children and old people. You have asked me why it was that so many people required such aid as necessary food? To this I must answer, that there are many persons in every town who, under all circumstances and at all times, live on the verge of starvation. Of these kinds of persons we have trampers.

elderly people past work, persons of immoral habits, families with bad husbands, or deserted by the husband altogether, and many more of the same sort. All these are in no condition to meet such an epidemic as the Cholera, and as they must every where form a large proportion of the population, it seems to shew the necessity of raising the diet of the poor wherever the disease appears."

A person who in an official capacity knows the habits and lives of the poor of Oxford with great exactness, writes:

"There can be no doubt, but for the almost unlimited distribution of broth, &c. &c. Oxford would have suffered to a much greater extent than it already has."

And once more, our worthy City Marshal, Mr. Lucas, who saw daily those who came to the Town Hall, tells me, what I fully admit to be no certain argument, "Scores used to say to me every day, This food saves our lives."

Certainly I have no intention, as I have no desire, to imply that our Board of Guardians, or any Board of Guardians, allows out of door relief on too low a scale; but I presume that the allowances are generally calculated on the lowest scale consistent with bare maintenance in ordinary times, and that it is certain that a higher scale is more safe during an epidemic of Diarrhoea and Cholera, and probably in Epidemics generally. And I do wish to suggest it to those blest with abundance beyond their necessity, that they may with discretion add to the diet of their poorer neighbours, whenever again—and it may be not far off—the scourge of the Pestilence is brought once more to our doors.

Duties of Inspector.

§. 8. To prevent, as far as was possible, the spread of Disease by the distribution of infected clothes, an Inspector was appointed, whose principal business may be summed up as follows:

1. To attend at the place appointed for cleansing or destroying bedding or clothes every morning at Seven, and at other times.
2. To be responsible for the destruction of all things sent for that purpose. Great inconvenience arose from burning. Many things were therefore buried with quick lime.
3. To catalogue all things destroyed or cleansed, and to value them before they were destroyed.
4. To see that things cleansed were properly washed with Burnet's Solution, rinsed, dried, laid in store, labelled, and returned to the owners, a receipt being given.
5. To deliver bedding and clothes in lieu of those destroyed; to visit the houses to which clean and good articles were to be forwarded; and to ascertain that such dwellings had been cleansed by the Commissioners' Surveyor, before the clean things were delivered.

Special persons were appointed to regulate and superintend the burials. In this department much strictness and circumspection was necessary, for reasons which need not be dwelt upon.

Business of the Police Office.

The Police Office being in the centre of the town, and close to the Town Hall, was selected as the station at which messengers, and all things which might be required in haste, as bedding, water kept hot for filling stone bottles, &c. could be obtained. The Lists of the Residences of Nurses, and the Nurses' Register, were kept there. Much dissatisfaction arose for some days, because it was decided that for the convenience of the Workhouse accounts, the beef tea and Nurses' rations should be obtained from the Workhouse kitchen, and kept ready at the Police Office. The distance to the Workhouse was at least half a mile. The consequence could be foreseen. The provisions were either deficient, or in excess and spoiled. To strain ordinary machinery, constructed to do plain work, in the hope that it will move with rapidity and precision under heavy pressure, is a course neither prudent nor likely to meet with success. The Board established a kitchen in the Town Hall, to furnish the required provisions, under the superintendence of Mr. Boddington, one of the Board of Health, and no further difficulties arose. Respectable cookshops or taverns in a central position would answer the same purpose.